



**TRICONTINENTAL / 1966**



FIRST TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE



## I N T R O D U C T I O N

“This Conference, which will unite the anti-imperialist organisations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, is a historic event; it is historic because of its composition, because the two great contemporary currents of the World Revolution will be represented in this Conference: the current which started with the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, and which is the current of socialist revolution, and the parallel current of the revolution for national liberation.

The massive meeting of these two currents will take place in this Conference on a three continent scale.

This Conference is also historic because it takes place in Cuba; because the Cuban Revolution is in effect the concretisation of the union of these two historic currents of the World Revolution; because Cuba has known her revolution for national liberation and is now accomplishing her socialist revolution; therefore, it was the country most indicated for the celebration of this meeting.”

*(Fragments of the Press Conference held in Havana, Cuba, by comrade El Mehdi Ben Barka, President of the International Preparatory Committee, vilely kidnapped and possibly assassinated by imperialism to prevent the holding of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.)*



ANTECEDENTS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE MOVEMENT OF  
SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA  
AND LATIN AMERICA

The twilight of the XIX century was characterised in Europe and in the United States by the development of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, as well as by the progress of technology, science and culture for the benefit of the privileged minorities who retained and enjoyed the fruits of power. It culminated with the appearance of monopoly capital and the increase of financial capitalism. The imperative necessity of expanding existing markets, and the search for other markets to export capital accumulated at the expense of the toils of the peoples, determined—while the world was being distributed among the great powers—the strengthening and extending of the system of colonial rule, which had been set up in Asia, Africa and Latin America—recently freed from the Spanish yoke—as well as the beginning of a colonial policy of monopolist domination which generated new forms of political and economic subordination. The colonial powers, formed after the great geographical discoveries of the XV and XVI centuries—the first international adventure of the growing capitalist regime—and the subsequent advent of imperialism established a policy of aggression, exploitation and plunder of the three continents.

As soon as the partition of Asia and Africa was completed by the European powers, the end of the last century and the beginning of this, was characterised by the setting up of zones of influence in which colonial administrations took definite shape, that of repressive and governmental bodies, conceived and organised to put into force a permanent system of exploitation at the service of the metropolis. The ample natural resources and man power of these continents made them both the mainstay of the European colonial powers and the pillars of the system of world imperialism.

The outstanding feature of the process of colonial exploitation in Latin America has been its evolution into new forms of neo-colonial dependence, a phenomenon which originated earlier in that area than in Asia and Africa. There it appeared in its most acute and extended form only a few years ago, when many countries arrived at political independence.

The struggle for independence of most of the colonies of the European powers, and especially those of Spain in Latin America, culminated during the first three decades of the XIX century. Needless to say, the political principles, the economic ideas, social criteria and the juridical standards which inspired this struggle came from the French Revolution and the North American Revolution, both traditional personifications of the beginning of universal domination of the bourgeoisie as a class, and the gradual geographic expansion of its political and economic hegemony in the underdeveloped regions of the world.

Because of the political, economic and social backwardness to which they were submitted by colonial exploitation, the countries newly freed

from Spain soon became a favourable field for economic penetration and monopolistic domination by European powers, especially by the United Kingdom. But after the Spanish-Cuban-North American war—which was the first imperialist war recorded in history and a sober preface to the plunder, robbery and crime to be written from then on by Yankee imperialism, European influence in Latin America was progressively substituted by the new colonial system of the United States, aided and abetted in each country by the native oligarchy, which had seized power when the armed forces of Spain surrendered.

The political independence of Latin American countries was limited in reality to a nominal change of sovereignty which actually meant the strengthening of the semi-feudal, social and economic structure instituted by the colonial domination of Spain, with its corresponding class relations, hierarchy and privileges.

The poverty-stricken, exploited and affronted masses, from which were recruited the heroic and unselfish armies of Bolívar, San Martín, Sucre, O'Higgins, Páez and Artigas, stayed harshly subjected by the regime of exploitation, oppression, discrimination, ignorance and poverty which burdened them for four centuries and was made even worse by disguised impositions of the new colonial system and deceiving intoxicants of "representative democracy". The governments of these countries, servile administrators of the native oligarchy, and mere puppets of imperialism, represented for a great number of years before the world the dramatic farce of a constellation of politically independent nations, although progressively becoming new economic possessions of the United States.

It is important to note that in Latin America the process of substitution of direct forms of colonial exploitation took place at a time when the degree of development of social consciousness of the oppressed masses did not yet permit them to fight for definite objectives, define the class enemy and separate the fiction of national independence from the reality of neo-colonial servitude.

On the contrary, when at the end of the Second World War—in the midst of the emergence of progressive ideas resulting from the defeat of fascism and of international reactionary forces—the process of independence of most of the European colonies in Asia and Africa began, we are then in a totally different era, in which the death rattle of the old world in agony is intermixed with the birth cry of a new world. The principles, concepts, criteria and standards sustaining the colonial system of imperialism are now confronted by principles, concepts, criteria and standards which challenge it, both in theory and in practise. Their development and diffusion have extended so deeply and widely that they permeate and galvanise large sections of the exploited classes in the oppressed countries. The peoples of Africa and Asia are undoubtedly more mature and politically aware than the countries of Latin America were in a similar situation, possessing as they do a wealth of experience, accumulated in their struggles for national independence.

The following significant events have decisively contributed to widen, deepen and invigorate the struggle of the peoples for their national liberation and for the progress of revolutionary ideas: The October Revolution, an event that changed the historic course of humanity and pointed the way to freedom and full justice to the peoples of the world; the Chinese Revolution; the upsurge of the world socialist system; the increasing struggles for independence from colonialism, the emancipation

of many nations of Africa and Asia, and the Cuban Revolution which gave birth to the first socialist state in America.

These events have tipped the balance in favour of progressive, democratic, socialist and peace and freedom-loving forces, giving impetus to the liberation movements of the peoples and opening the way to national sovereignty for many countries of Africa and Asia. The colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated into pieces.

Under these new conditions and circumstances, the peoples of Asia and Africa are directing their efforts, with an ever clearer and firmer conscience, to obtain complete national freedom and to establish themselves as independent nations, both from the political and economic point of view. At the same time, the peoples of both continents already independent, or in process of emancipation, are becoming aware of the policy of imperialist expansion that the United States has begun to impose upon them after the Second World War, when it began to displace the old European colonial powers with such open insolence that it was soon unmasked before international public opinion as the pretended heir of its now less powerful allies, as well as the main support of the colonial system of imperialism, both in its old and its new manifestations. It blandished the monopoly of the atomic bomb for several years as a symbol and expression of universal predominance and as an arm of blackmail and aggression.

In line with this policy of expansion and hegemony, directed on one hand towards a more effective rule over and exploitation of the peoples and, on the other hand, towards the establishment of a menacing siege against the socialist nations, the government of the United States began to create a series of alliances and aggressive military pacts throughout the world.

Especially in the Far East, the North American imperialists, who dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have concluded aggressive military pacts with their new allies and puppets in Japan, South Korea, the Chinese territory of Formosa, the Philippines and Thailand, occupying the Japanese territories of Okinawa and Ogarawara and establishing hundreds of military bases in these areas.

In 1950, in accordance with their policy of war and aggression, the United States imperialists began the invasion of Korea, developed an aggressive move to "contain China" and recently launched aggression in Vietnam and Laos. They are trying to extend the war all over Asia.

The United States imperialists, who continue to occupy the southern half of Korea, have turned it into a nuclear rocket base and are constantly carrying out war provocations along the military demarcation line in violation of the Armistice Agreement. Particularly in recent times, the United States imperialists are concocting a collusion between the Japanese reactionary government and the puppet clique in South Korea, and enforcing the "conclusion" of a criminal "Japan-South Korea Treaty" thus blatantly opening a road towards the re-invasion and the overseas expansion into South Korea of Japanese militarism, which is being rapidly revived. Thus, with the revival of Japanese militarism as a lever, they are creating the aggressive North-East Asia Military Alliance and openly pushing forward its policy of aggression against Asian countries.

Now, taking advantage of the possibilities offered to them by oppression in Asia, the Japanese reactionary forces are rapidly infiltrating

South Korea, and stepping up manoeuvres of attacking the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries.

This does not only perpetuate the division of Korea and aggravate tension, but also creates a serious situation threatening peace and security in Asia and the world.

The United States imperialists also deploy the Seventh Fleet, equipped with nuclear weapons, along the coast of Asia, trying to bring these weapons into Japan and other areas, thus resorting to nuclear blackmail and posing a danger of nuclear war.

This policy of expansion and hegemony of Yankee imperialism is directed chiefly against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Korea. Accordingly it has concluded with the puppet governments organised in the southern part of Vietnam and Korea, arbitrarily divided, separate, aggressive military agreements. Likewise it has signed with the puppets of Taiwan —set up and backed by the North American Seventh Fleet— a similar military pact.

Faced with such a complicated and dangerous situation, the new states of Asia and Africa realise that it is a politically imperative necessity to unite their forces and bring about their solidarity for the joint defence of their independence and of the cultural and economic development of their peoples, threatened by distorting foreign influences. Thus, the historic Conference of Bandung —in which the Heads of State or Government of twenty-nine nations of those two continents participated— was held in April, 1955.

The Bandung Conference represented a vital landmark in the growing awareness of the peoples of Africa and Asia. It was the culmination of a movement of solidarity which had arisen in and had developed from the days of their fight for national freedom and independence, proclaiming the well known principles of Bandung, of relevant importance for the anti-colonialist movement. The Congress of the Peoples of Asia, assembled in New Delhi in March, 1955, was an outstanding precedent to this Conference.

During this same period the government of the United States manoeuvred to prevent any possibility of union among the balkanised peoples of Latin America. It operated by resorting openly to force or by taking advantage of the servile and corrupt policy of the ruling oligarchies, which at the turn of the century, had accepted the setting up of the Pan-American Union following the directives and under the control of the new rising empire. In 1948, this served as the base to create the Organisation of American States, the sadly famous Yankee Ministry of the Colonies.

The previous year, in 1947, the United States, in accordance with its policy of expansion and hegemony, concluded with the governments of Latin America in Rio de Janeiro the infamous Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance for the defence of the hemisphere against imaginary aggressions from outside the continent. The real and only object of this treaty —so events have demonstrated— was to serve as a docile mechanism to enforce the United States foreign policy on this continent.

The contrast could not be more obvious. While on the one hand, in Bandung, the peoples of Africa and Asia were leading an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle for closer unity and solidarity, on the other

hand the majority of the governments of Latin America were betraying the aspirations and interests of their people, and were tying themselves to imperialism in its common policy of exploitation and domination. At the same time, while the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, fused into a single front in Asia and Africa, North American neo-colonialism in Latin America strengthened and refined its system of political subjection and economic profit with the connivance of the local oligarchies, thus creating complex and difficult situations for the struggle of the peoples for national liberation.

During their heroic struggle against Yankee imperialism, the peoples of Latin America had to suffer, not only the draining of natural resources and the merciless exploitation of their labour force, but also direct military intervention of Yankee imperialism in their internal affairs. In 1898, coinciding with its appearance on the world scene, it intervened in the Cuban war against the Spanish colonial rule. It artfully stole away the independence of Cuba and occupied its territory, grabbed Puerto Rico and other islands in the Caribbean area, as well as the Philippines, and finally arrogated, by the imposition of a treaty, the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba and to occupy a part of its territory in Guantánamo, where Yankee imperialism established a naval base against the will of the Cuban people.

In 1903, interfering with and acting against the political aspirations of the people of the isthmus of Panama, it imposed by force the adoption of a treaty guaranteeing the control, for its benefit, of international maritime transit between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and at the same time giving it the right to establish a strategic military base to serve as a spearhead for its policy of expansion and domination in Latin America and in the world.

On various occasions and under different pretexts, Yankee imperialism has violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a large number of the countries of Latin America in order to maintain its economic privileges, to impose its policy of domination and to intimidate the people. Mexico, Guatemala, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic —now the victim of an intervention more brutal and cynical than any previous one— have been the object of this hateful and rapacious policy.

In one way or another, and in the measure possible, the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for their national liberation followed its course with the same tenacity the peoples of Asia and Africa had shown while trying to weld their solidarity previous to, and above all, after the Bandung Conference.

The struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for independence clearly shows the character of Yankee imperialism. In a premeditated and persistent way, ever since North American imperialism, taking advantage of the collapse of the colonial rule of Spain, grabbed this Isle of the Antilles, it has been exploiting the wealth and toil of the Puerto Rican people, and has been drowning in blood their outbreaks of rebellion. Yankee imperialism has been trying to destroy the cultural wealth of Puerto Rico and to adulterate its history by imposing on it an education contrary to its national tradition. To crush the people of Puerto Rico, Yankee imperialism maintains in the country an enormous military force and some of its bases there are equipped with atomic weapons. Puerto Rico constitutes an outdated remnant of the oldest and most predatory form of colonialism in our hemisphere.

The African liberation movement, developing simultaneously with the revolutionary movements of the post-Second World War era, dates more precisely with the Manchester Conference of 1945. This Conference, organised and conducted by contemporary African leaders, formulated the strategy for political action of the struggle of the liberation movement of Africa. Characteristically, the tempo of the movement was to be determined by historical factors. The political divisions of the continent under the oppressive rule of the colonial powers had the effects of limiting the unity of purpose and action throughout the continent.

The revolutionary creed of the Manchester Conference —Positive Action— successfully implemented in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) completely swept aside British colonialism in this area in 1957. In East Africa, what was characterised as the Mau Mau uprising was certainly the manifestation of the revolutionary upsurge initiated by the Manchester Conference of 1945. In view of the entrenched interests of the imperial masters in this part of Africa, the struggle here took on an intense confrontation no different from an armed struggle. On the other hand, the liberation movement in the former French colonial area, under the banner of the R.D.A. (Rassemblement Democratique Africain), became crucial in the liquidation of French colonialism.

Further accelerating the de-colonisation throughout the continent, the First Conference of All the Peoples of Africa held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958 galvanised into one front the organisational efforts of the fighters for freedom directed to unleash a massive assault on the colonial regimes of Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. The achievements of the liberation movement since 1958 are brilliant landmarks of the struggle in Africa; Belgian colonialism in the Congo crumbled down as did the white-dominated Federation of Central Africa made up by the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Like the conference of All the Peoples of Africa, the first meeting of the Heads of State and Government held later in Accra was simply to strengthen at a summit level the peoples' determination to wipe out imperialism by various means. But colonialism and imperialism die hard; the massive de-colonisation of the 1960's in Africa was a deceptive phenomenon. Neo-colonialism only superceded traditional colonialism. And what are the characteristics of this new colonialism? The colonial power retaining military and economic interests continues to dominate the economic and political life of the ex-colony long after formal political independence. It must be understood, nevertheless, that this change in form from colonialism to neo-colonialism does not imply a complete change in political tactics. Just as colonialism and imperialism for too long successfully employed policies of "divide and rule", so also does neo-colonialism.

The astounding successes of the liberation movement in Africa are yet to be crowned with victory over neo-colonialism. If the Organisation of African Unity could survive the machinations of the neo-colonial powers, Africa's ultimate victory will be won. But throughout its history the Organisation has become a victim of the diabolical policies of "divide and rule" engineered by the neo-colonial powers. This implies an ever-growing need of intensifying the struggle until final victory is reached.

An analysis of the struggle in the African continent since the Second World War, shows that it has been rent by a heroic resistance of the peoples against foreign oppressors and exploiters. The African peoples at last have

risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. These struggles represent noble chapters in their history. These are some of the chapters:

- 1.—The Egyptian revolution of 1952.
- 2.—Positive action and the birth of the Republic of Ghana.
- 3.—Guinea's open defiance of French colonialism.
- 4.—The epic seven-year patriotic war of the Algerian people.
- 5.—The heroic resistance of the Kenyan people.
- 6.—The undaunted courage of the African peoples under the heels of apartheid and white domination.
- 7.—The gallant struggle of the Africans in the so-called Portuguese colonies against Portuguese colonialism.

Out of these struggles new African states are being born. The emergence of sovereign African states, however, has coincided with the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism. Hence the inevitable march of history has involved the African peoples in a mortal struggle with neo-colonialism. The logical climax of this struggle gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity. The First Conference of independent African states in 1958, elaborated and proclaimed the goals and strategy of African unity. The strategy of African unity is that of total liberation and complete independence for Africa at a time when the crisis of imperialism is more acute. This is the theory and practise of African emancipation.

In present times when Africa's basic problem is to free itself from centuries of colonial subjugation, the concept of African unity is essentially directed against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Africa's vital interests still are the end of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, the construction of a new economic, social and political order and the safeguarding of world peace.

Inspired and guided by the principles formulated in Bandung, the unity movement of the Afro-Asian Peoples, having an outstanding precedent in the Congress of Asian Peoples held in New Delhi the previous year, is being consolidated, drawn together and broadened.

A very important event in the history of the liberation movement took place in 1956. According to its program for political and economic liberation, the Egyptian Revolution nationalised the Suez Canal, an action that led to the tripartite aggression of Great Britain, France and Israel, which was defeated by the struggle of the Egyptian people with the militant solidarity of the peoples of the world.

The victory of the Egyptian Revolution over the colonialist and imperialist powers was a great step forward in the struggle for liberation, as is clearly demonstrated by the fact that imperialism could not prevent it. The first Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples held in Cairo, United Arab Republic, from December 1957 to January 1958, was the decisive point in the tasks of consolidating and organising the solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples.

The Organisation for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples was created in this first Conference, and the Permanent Secretariat, which has been successfully working for the last 8 years, was elected.

*During the Second Conference held in Conakry, Guinea, the Organisation for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples was more strongly consolidated, broadening its activities through the recently organised Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund.*

*The Organisation gained new strength, and has solved many important problems in subsequent meetings; the Third Conference in Moshi, Tanzania, in 1963, and in Winneba, Ghana, in 1965.*

*These efforts, together with the creation of new independent states, mainly African, have strengthened the struggle and made it more effective.*

*The expression of this solidarity has been shown in a large number of agreements, resolutions and practical measures adopted in the course of this vast movement, as well as in countless international conferences of various types.*

*The resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Economic Seminary held in Algiers at the beginning of 1965, contributed to strengthen the fighting unity in this field and to define clearly the consequences of imperialist exploitation.*

*The Organisation of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples held important conferences in various fields of Afro-Asian Solidarity, as for example: The First Conference of Afro-Asian Youth in Cairo, U.A.R., in 1959; the First Conference of Afro-Asian Women in Cairo, U.A.R., in 1961; the First Conference of Afro-Asian Writers in Tashkent, U.S.S.R., in 1958; the Second Conference of Afro-Asian Writers in Cairo, U.A.R., in 1962, etc. It is especially necessary to emphasise the increasing unity among African countries, which in 1963 were already able to create the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).*

*Similar objectives have also been reached in the regular meetings held by the heads of Arab States at a summit level during this period.*

*On the other hand, the Conferences of Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, especially at the second conference held at Cairo in 1964, in which the majority of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa, as well as Cuba and observers from Latin America participated, were very effective steps in the struggle for self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the peoples, and for the unity of anti-imperialist forces, as well as in denouncing and rejecting aggressions and intervention by imperialist powers.*

*As a counterpart to this movement of solidarity, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have created their African O.A.S. in the Malagasy Common African Organisation (MCAO).*

*In the sphere of cultural and educational exchange, the outstanding event in the movement of solidarity was the holding of the athletic competition of the new emerging forces in Indonesia, in 1963, and the creation of the GANEFO organisation.*

*In Latin America, the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 was a turning point in the development of the anti-imperialist struggle, which showed itself in the strengthening of existing revolutionary movements, and in the widening and deepening of the fighting conscience of the masses. It can be affirmed that following this significant event, the strategy of Yankee imperialism in that part of the world was conditioned by the*

increasing strength of the Cuban Revolution, which shook the bases of the Yankee imperialist system in America and destroyed the myth of geographic fatalism. It revealed the new correlation of forces in the world and demonstrated the possibility of revolutionary struggle and victory of the peoples in this continent, and further furnished a firm base for the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for their self determination, independence and sovereignty.

These antecedents and circumstances, as a whole, made the broad and powerful Afro-Asian Solidarity movement reach out towards Latin America, and examine similar experiences of the struggles and hardships of the three continents—all subjected to the same policy of exploitation, aggression and intervention of the imperialist and colonialist powers—together with the peculiarities originating from various historical, economic, social and cultural conditions.

The Second Declaration of Havana, approved in a General Assembly of the people of Cuba as of February 4, 1962, had already expressed the following: "What is the history of Cuba if not the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America if not the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania?" And "what is the history of these peoples but the history of the most merciless and cruel exploitation by imperialism in the entire world?"

The need for organising the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents was first raised during the Fourth Session of the Council of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples, held at Bandung, in April 1961, the same month and year as the imperialist aggression at Playa Girón, crushed by the Cuban people in less than seventy-two hours. This resounding victory undoubtedly inspired the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with new stimulus, vigor and drive.

At this meeting, attended for the first time in the history of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, by an observer from Latin America, in the person of a representative of the Cuban Revolution, the study of the possibilities for holding a conference of solidarity of the three continents was recommended. On the basis of this recommendation, the Executive Committee of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples in its meeting at Gaza, Palestine, in December of that same year, passed a resolution tending to prepare the convening of a conference of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In 1962, a Cuban delegation attended, as observers, the Second Conference of Afro-Asian Jurists that took place in Conakry, from the 15th to the 20th of October.

The First Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in Mexico in 1961, unquestionably contributed to foster conditions for a Tricontinental Conference by declaring itself in favour of it.

During the Third Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples celebrated at Moshi in 1963, decisive and concrete steps were taken. In this Conference, also attended by a Cuban delegate as observer, an invitation from the Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, Major Fidel Castro, was extended. It offered Havana as the seat for the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Moshi Conference received the invitation with enthusiasm, set up the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, and adopted a special resolution to this effect.

The Preparatory Committee should be formed by eighteen members or organisations from the following countries: Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, South Africa, People's Republic of China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Vietnam. After the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity, at Winneba, Ghana, this later country was elected to replace Morocco, to which was given the Chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee in the vigorous revolutionary personality of El Mehdi Ben Barka. The Moshi Conference was a demonstration of the full support for the celebration of a Tricontinental Conference by all the movements and organisations that struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for complete national independence and for the peace and progress of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The sixth meeting of the Council of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Algiers, decided to convene the twelve African and Asian members, in order to set up the conditions for the formation of the Preparatory Committee. Measures to carry this out were adopted at the meeting held in Cairo, in April 1964, where the following Latin American countries were accepted as members of the Preparatory Committee: Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and Cuba.

In the Fourth Conference of Solidarity held in Winneba, the historic decision was adopted to convoke a meeting of the Preparatory Committee in Cairo, and to hold the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in Havana, in the first days of January 1966, a date coinciding with the Seventh Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. In the Cairo meeting, it was decided that the final list of participants would be determined through consultations with the Chairman and the Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee, with the African and Asian representatives of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa and Asia, and with the six representatives of Latin America.

The Cuban Revolution and the most representative organisations of the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, have shown their solidarity with the Asian and African peoples in an active and consistent manner on different occasions, and especially on the most critical ones as, for instance, the Yankee imperialist intervention in South Vietnam and the subsequent aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the Belgian-North American-British intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville); and previously, during the Algerian War of liberation; with the people of Cyprus in their fight for self-determination and full sovereignty; as well as in the case of other African countries, numerous demonstrations of solidarity and assistance took place in Latin America. This solidarity was kept alive and vibrant throughout the development of the anti-imperialist struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples, especially during such times as the imperialist aggression in Korea in 1950, the war of French colonialism against the people of Vietnam, the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention in Egypt, the criminal policy of racial discrimination pursued in South Africa and other African States by the imperialists and in support of all the campaigns waged in both continents against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

At the same time, the movement of solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples with those of Latin America has expressed itself consistently, above all in the case of Cuba, which had its support in the struggle against Yankee imperialism. Similarly the people of the Dominican Republic were backed when suffering the armed intervention of imperialism.

The Movement of Afro-Asian solidarity has also declared itself for the abolition of colonialism in Latin America, and in favour of the fight of the peoples of Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique and British Guiana for their national liberation. Likewise it has expressed itself unequivocally for the elimination of North American military bases located in Latin America, for the end of all forms of racial discrimination in the United States and of the neo-colonialist policy of oppressing Latin American countries and also in support of their struggles against the policy of exploitation, aggression and intervention of Yankee imperialism.

The movement of militant solidarity among the peoples of the three continents in a joint defence and unity for their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism that was spontaneous at the outset, began, in consonance with the facts, to lay the bases for its organisation and development into an undeniable living reality.

The celebration of this Conference in Havana is an event of world-wide importance. For the first time, delegates of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist militant organisations of the three continents meet. For the first time, the ideas tending to unify efforts towards the eradication of all forms of colonialism which imperialist and colonialist powers stubbornly insist on prolonging; to frustrate the aggressions of imperialism and of the reactionary forces of the three continents; to accelerate the liberation of the peoples; to assure their economic, social and cultural development; to consolidate the movement of solidarity of Africa, Asia and Latin America; and to maintain active and permanent the linking and coordination of all countries struggling to achieve or to maintain their independence, take a definite shape. All these joint efforts and the concrete measures to be adopted in order to materialise their solidarity in every sense, will help to strengthen and widen this fight even more, and will be a severe blow to the backbone of imperialism.

There is no more appropriate setting for the celebration of the Tri-continental Conference than the capital of Cuba, whose people, after having conquered by force of arms its full self-determination, independence and sovereignty, resists unswervingly imperialist aggression in the form of brutal economic blockade; implacable political hostility; constant infiltration of spies, saboteurs and subversive agents; mercenary invasion; provocations from the Yankee military base arbitrarily located on Cuban soil; piratical raids and the real and permanent danger of a direct military attack.

This Conference in itself constitutes, because of this circumstance, a powerful demonstration of support and solidarity from the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples to Cuba and its Revolution, and also to the peoples of the three continents that at this very moment are struggling for their freedom, and most of all, to those facing imperialism in Vietnam, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Peru, Angola, Guatemala, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Colombia and so many other countries, fighting with weapons in hand and under the most dramatic conditions. Their sacrifice and heroism will enlighten its deliberations and resolutions, which will surely be implemented by effective and concrete measures of help and solidarity towards these fraternal peoples.

The First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America is meeting at a time when the imperialists and the forces of reaction are unable to extinguish the flames of the movement of national liberation, or change the path taken by the countries that have achieved their independence. In view of all this, it is obvious that the imperialist system is in crisis and that its own internal contradictions are becoming more acute, lessening its capacity to manoeuvre. The powerful drive of world public opinion, which rejects the outdated pretensions of the colonialists and neo-colonialists supplied and directed by the Government of the United States, the military and ideological source of the forces now operating against the interests of the peoples, constitutes another dissolving factor for the warmongers and exploiters.

We all know the way imperialism operates. Its very reason for existence opposes national emancipation at every stage. Imperialism has never left a single ray of hope for the peoples of the world. The balance of its behaviour is very evident: exploitation and discrimination; backwardness and poverty; cultural sterility and contempt for traditions and national dignity. This is its sole legacy. The unrestricted disposal of national wealth, the full development of the diverse ways of expression in each country, the unblemished decorum and self-determination are fruits that the poisonous tree of imperialism does not bear. Nor could it be otherwise, because the very basis of imperialism, that is to say, the benefits obtained by the huge capitalist monopolies from both the man power and the material resources of the peoples under their rule, would disappear if its principal aim were eliminated. This is its only goal. It has no other. Because of this, any concession that imperialism may seem to make, is not a rectification of conduct, but only a tactical withdrawal.

History, logic and reason prove that in the long list of the deeds of imperialism there is not, and cannot be room for withdrawal. Military operations to conquer the peoples, or capitalist penetration to yoke them are two streams of the same torrent of mud and blood that for centuries has been flowing from colonialism. Brute force or the corrupting influence of money, threat and intimidation, economic blockade and diplomatic isolation, difamation and deceit are the weapons employed either separately or all together. In the long history of imperialist crimes, not a single step has been taken to favour the peoples. Nothing has been done that would imply a limitation of privileges; nothing has been said, but to offend; nothing has been attempted but to sacrifice its victims and to increase the power of the metropolis.

The so-called tactic of "war of escalation" unleashed against the heroic people of Vietnam is the most recent manifestation of these aggressive actions.

The despoiled masses have resisted and rebelled against the wicked plunder to which they have been subjected. Never have they resigned themselves to poverty and humiliation, but instead, in their unceasing struggle for freedom, they have gained strength, increased their experience, and with a growing political knowledge have continued to pursue unity and solidarity in spite of distances in order to fight their oppressors. Every step forward towards freedom and independence has been won by popular rebellion. Not a single example can be cited in which the accomplishment was a consequence of the mercy or the repentance of the exploiters. These abandoned their positions only when existing conditions opened the way and the peoples, knowing how to take advantage of this, became makers of history. Faced with the thirst for justice of all the peoples, the voracity of the exploiters has turned into desperate actions,

criminal interventions, bloody repressions and in the long run, into defeat, and sooner or later the liberation movements, blandishing the indestructible arms of justice and assisted and encouraged by the moral force of conscientiousness, march unrestrainably forward to final victory.

Victory, however, is not the fruit of spontaneous generation. Breaking the barriers that prevented their development, the different societies of history slowly made their way through to progress, but the differences in available material resources, the accumulation of capital and the use of techniques applicable to the production of goods for peace, or for war, the abysmal differences in the levels of knowledge imposed upon the poor masses by the wealthy classes, brought about the monstrous disproportion of today. It not only reflects the injustice of the imperialist system and of its colonial variants, but also explains the backwardness of some peoples in relation to others in the liberation process. That is why it is a great responsibility of the Tricontinental Conference to determine correctly the forms, ways and means to be followed in order to surmount these barriers which hinder the emancipation of the exploited classes, whether political, ideological or cultural or in connection with every form of struggle, including armed struggle.

One objective lesson that should not be forgotten is the history of international relations. Sometimes taking on the title of "spheres of influence," at other times "balance of power," either "dollar diplomacy" or "the big stick"; sending aggressive expeditionary forces to other lands or in the case of alliances or doctrines, as the Monroe Doctrine, the truth is that the original purpose and the final result is the imperial domination of weaker countries, the distribution of the colonies, the exploitation of the rich and toil of other peoples. The revealing and denunciation of the thousand faces of imperialism and the unmasking of its tactics are important tasks in warning the people and orientating them correctly in the struggle to halt the aggressors.

Each people must decide its own destiny and must not be subject to a rule foreign to its vital interests, emancipation being an intimate part of the historic development of society. So long as the tutelage of one country over another still exists, the cycle which each nation must follow will be incomplete. It is also true that the internal organisation of each society will reach its greatest development only when it has political and economic freedom as its base, and when this society enjoys autonomy of action in the world scene. These are historic axioms impressed upon the minds of the masses and there is no other way of applying them except by capturing the positions of imperialism. The imperialist system is today the main obstacle to progress.

Liberation is a right which the imperialists stubbornly fail to recognise. This inalienable right is born of the unjust nature of oppression. Eager to cover up their crimes, the imperialists and their oligarchic agents invent false legal arguments to justify the use of laws and agreements which they themselves took on, but which are no longer useful to their interests.

In the face of the growing struggle of the oppressed peoples to shake off the yoke of imperialist exploitation, the imperialists, especially the North Americans, use the incredibly cynical argument that this fight constitutes a foreign aggression, when it is their own bloody repressions that bring on a brutal armed intervention against the rights of peoples to independence and social progress.

This argument has been used by Yankee imperialism, to try to justify its criminal intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. The House of Representatives of the United States, in a recent resolution, proclaimed the alleged right of the United States to intervene with its armed forces in any Latin American country in order to crush the revolutionary movement.

In opposition to this arbitrary norm of international conduct announced and carried out by imperialism, the Conference must proclaim and carry out the right of each subjected country to solidarity; the right and the duty of all countries to assist, by all means within their power, those peoples who are fighting for their national liberation, in every corner of the world.

In our time we find appropriate conditions in Africa, Asia and Latin America to purify the atmosphere of the poisonous fumes of colonialism, which keep millions of human beings economically asphyxiated and offended in their dignity. These conditions emerge from the actual modes of existence of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, from the history of their hardships and struggles and from the extraordinary impetus which the modern era has achieved in science, technology and culture. The dramatic contrast between the conditions of the masses and the exploiting classes, together with the political clarification of their consciousness, are also powerful ingredients which today create exceptional circumstances for the ripening of the process of liberation.

In the light of these undeniable realities, one fact emerges strongly: peoples must be followed in their march forward. If the fight for their liberation is a right of the peoples, this fight is also the inexcusable duty of all revolutionaries. Right paths must be opened along which the heroic people will move to the final attainment of its destiny. On whom does this glorious task fall? On whom does history impose such a great obligation? The revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguards of the three continents are the ones called upon to create the subjective conditions wherever they are lacking, and to join the popular insurrection, wherever it has already begun. It is a task that cannot be evaded. Not only the prestige before the masses of the patriotic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist parties and movements, but also their own reason for existing, are committed to this implacable fight against the forces striving to hold back the advance of humanity.

The Tricontinental Conference, of course, faces a difficult and complex task. The meeting of the representatives of the revolutionary forces, of the national liberation movements and the mass organisations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, is something of great significance and importance. The Conference meets at a time that may be considered decisive, not only in the history of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, but also in the history of all humanity; a moment of rapid advance of the national liberation movements against imperialism and both old and new colonialism, the fight for total national independence and world peace. These circumstances make the task easier, but do not free the way from obstacles.

During eight years of constant struggle, of militant action and close cooperation, the representatives of Africa and Asia went from victory to victory, establishing brotherly bonds forged in the struggle for common interests and objectives which arose from a common inheritance and from similar historic conditions. The same factors make imperative the

need for tighter fraternal cooperation among the three large continents. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by North American imperialism and the achievement and consolidation of national independence of these three continents is the most urgent task of their peoples. Furthermore, national reconstruction and the establishment of the bases for new economic, social and cultural structures in the emerging countries of Asia and Africa is now on the go, and these facts add new responsibilities.

The struggle to achieve an independent economy and emancipation from the economic yoke of the colonial powers, the struggle against the penetration of neo-colonialism under different disguises in the newly independent countries is reaching new proportions. Nowadays this struggle on the economic front is apparently difficult and the future road of reconstruction depends on the victory of such a struggle.

The Conference must prepare plans to give even more drive to the glorious battles which brighten the horizon of this promising situation. To carry out this task effectively, it is necessary to investigate and analyse exhaustively the multiple forms of the tortuous behaviour of imperialism, to extract lessons from experience and to foresee its tactics in order to carry out a suitable activity which may shorten the struggle, striking in the most sensitive areas, keeping principles safe and planning firm action which will not conclude until the extermination of the common enemy. The struggle for liberty and independence is really constituted by a series of episodes more advanced in some countries than in others, but already on a triumphal march. This struggle, endorsed by the blood of millions of heroes and martyrs, has a definite route.

The drawing together of the revolutionary movements of Asia and Africa has proven its extraordinary value, surpassing the test of time, surpassing barriers and difficulties, to emerge as a force which not only represents a contemporary historic reality but is also able to grow and join the revolutionary forces of Latin America to make possible the creation of what may one day be one of the greatest historic movements in the world.

The enemy maintains a policy of hostility in all geographic zones and the anti-imperialists must carry out actions which will be an adequate answer to this aggression on a world scale.

The importance of the struggle in some locations over others will never mean —nor will it justify— the abandoning, the weakening or the cooling of the struggle in spots of a transitory, lesser urgency. The struggle is total and complete, without alternatives. The three continents must unite as one.

Within the context of the historical tricontinental movements, the consolidation of independence and national sovereignty of the peoples that have left behind the colonial and semi-colonial bonds, carry a seal of urgency in our deliberations. The new colonial form of exploitation known to Latin America for more than a century, and still known to Asia and Africa, is expressed in different ways. Imperialism, which uses all types of weapons in its eagerness for profit and control, must be opposed by watchfulness and ideological preparation. The masses must be equipped to fight against brutal aggression but also to unmask neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism implies not only the exportation of capital, economic penetration, intervention in internal affairs, political subversion, but also

cultural corruption and the spread of deceptive and poisonous ideologies, with the intention of destroying national conscience. The independence and sovereignty of the peoples are not only guaranteed by sound governmental measures of internal order, to safeguard the volume of national wealth without foreign interventions, but also through the practise of international aid of the revolutionary governments and with increasing watchfulness over imperialism's intentions to twist the historical truth and separate the peoples from the knowledge of correct ideas which will lead them to clear reasoning of the destiny they must pursue.

Imperialism, headed by the United States in the present historical moment, with its confusing policy, its conspiracies and its lack of scruples has created an atmosphere of violence affecting peace and world security. Yankee imperialism, by maintaining international tensions, by installing aggressive military bases throughout the world and by imposing its will by force, with mockery of all principles of civil rights, is reaping the hatred of the peoples and is being rejected by all for its crimes and pillage. This same offensive conduct is accelerating its decomposition, and worsening the crisis of the system. Coercion and threat, bribery and armed intervention, blockades and the contempt for the sovereignty of the nations resisting its penetration, gradually applied in different forms according to the thesis of escalation, are tactics imperialism resorts to in order to save itself.

We cannot accept the lesser step as an alternative for the following one. We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived or intimidated. The fight is unto death.

The peoples of the three continents must answer imperialist violence with revolutionary violence, not only to safeguard national independence, achieved at a high price, but also to obtain the liberation of the peoples fighting to shake off the colonial yoke. The peoples, subjugated and exploited by imperialism, are already becoming aware that under present historical circumstances, where legal channels are closed by pressure and by the predominance of Yankee monopoly control and where imperialism and its lackeys carry out repressions and persecutions, the effective channel to reach victory is armed insurrection. Therefore, we must back and fully develop the various effective means of struggling, including armed struggle. Vietnam, Algeria, Cuba, give us enlightening examples that will persist in the annals of history as proof that nothing can bar the way of the peoples, no matter how small they are or how close they are to the imperialist and colonialist bastions, if these peoples insist on fighting unswervingly to achieve and defend their rights.

Support of the Cuban Revolution and the patriotic struggles of Latin American peoples is, doubtless, one of the focal points in the world process of the anti-imperialist movement, because it is the area which the United States government has reserved traditionally for its exclusive benefit, from which it extracts numerous resources to feed its interventionist colonial policy; because it has a decisive political significance in our era. Support of Cuba and the Latin American revolutionary movements means the strengthening of the most sensitive areas of the world where the peoples resist the bastion of world imperialism at their front door.

Yankee imperialism's global strategy is a vandalic action which today has its most outstanding manifestations in the aggression against the Vietnamese people and in the military occupation of the

Dominican Republic. In both cases it demonstrates the barefaced ferocity and cynicism of those who threaten world peace and also the despair caused by the agony of the system.

In Vietnam, Yankee imperialism has unmasked itself once more before world opinion as the international gendarme and the number one common enemy of mankind. It has proven that its villainies know no limits by incessantly intensifying its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, trampling on the inalienable national rights of the Vietnamese people and committing all types of crimes including genocide, in flagrant violation both of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam and international law.

The Vietnamese people are suffering the worst manifestations of North American imperialism which invades the Southern part of the country with a veritable Yankee expeditionary force and wages by air a cruel war of destruction against the northern part of the country. In Vietnam the people witness, day by day, the murdering of their best men by Yankee bullets and bombs. Their peaceful villages, their schools, their hospitals, their industrial centres where population is heavily concentrated, their dams and hydraulic constructions are being bombed and destroyed by Yankee airplanes. At the same time that North American imperialism perpetrates its intolerable villainies against the people of Vietnam, it makes itself most repulsive as a result of its hypocritical and shameless propaganda about what it calls "unconditional negotiations."

On the other hand, the heroic and victorious resistance of the South Vietnamese people under the direction of the National Liberation Front against Yankee aggression, and the brilliant victories achieved by the people of North Vietnam, constitute an inexhaustible source of inspiration and encouragement for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, inciting them to intensify, in all three continents and by all possible means, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by Yankee imperialism.

That is why at this moment, the defence of Vietnam's just cause has become an essential matter and criterion for the revolutionary strategy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for the socialist countries and for the progressive sectors and classes of capitalist nations.

Because of this, undoubtedly the present Conference will devote special and preferred attention to the Vietnamese question. It is essential to continue mobilising all revolutionary forces in the world and to continue giving all kinds of moral, political and material support which might be necessary for the people of Vietnam. The present Conference should adopt concrete and efficient measures in relation to the Vietnam problem. It is necessary at the same time, to emphasise the unavoidable duty of all the revolutionary forces in the world to support openly the points stated by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the solution of the Vietnamese problem, i. e. to demand from the United States Government the respect for and the correct application of the Geneva Agreement of 1954; the immediate cessation of the war of aggression of Yankee imperialism in South Vietnam and the bombings against North Vietnam; the immediate withdrawal from South Vietnam of all U.S. troops and war material in order to let the South Vietnamese people solve their internal problems by themselves.

The present Conference considers the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the only and authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people and expresses its firmest conviction that, under the leadership of the NLF, the South Vietnamese people will undoubtedly obtain final victory.

Since the Second World War, the growing tide of the African revolution has wrested political power from the hands of the colonialists in a great part of the continent. However, with cunning, neo-colonialist methods, they can still keep their economic, political and military power.

In the southern part of Africa we find that domination is exercised by the vicious triumvirate of Smith, Salazar and Verwoerd.

In these immense regions, domination still persists by a small white minority with which imperialist forces desperately try to contain the tide of progress.

The most powerful force maintaining the dominion by the white minority is South Africa, where 115 million pounds sterling are spent yearly in weapons; where 8,500 political prisoners languish in dungeons, and where oppression, for reasons of colour alone, is the official policy of the state, supported by the most brutal military and police forces.

Verwoerd, however, depends for his existence on Great Britain, the United States, West Germany, powers which are members of NATO, and on Japan. Experience has shown that to the extent to which the fascist regime of Verwoerd is permitted to maintain its power over Africans and other non-white peoples, the well-armed regime of South Africa constitutes a very real and dangerous threat to the safeguarding of the independence of the African states and to world peace.

This Conference must consider giving all material and moral help to the peoples of southern Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South West Africa and South Africa in their hard and militant revolutionary struggle to overthrow the hated minority of the racist regimes and obtain their national independence.

Africa and the anti-imperialist forces cannot overlook the recent and illegal seizure of power by a racist minority in Southern Rhodesia. This fact, that is being universally condemned at the moment, is of the utmost importance to the struggle the entire African Continent is carrying out.

The rising of a minority regime backed by imperialist powers further strengthens the "apartheid" regime based on hatred and racial discrimination. The destiny of the liberation struggle in southern Africa is linked to Rhodesia's struggle.

The Yankee invasion of the Dominican Republic is criminal and repulsive. In view of world reaction in the face of the aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic, the imperialist aggressors pretend, with extraordinary impudence, to give a legal status to this sordid intervention. The patriotic reaction of the Dominican people, which deserves our most militant solidarity, has unmasked imperialism and has given an excellent example of courage and dignity.

It is the duty of this Conference to denounce the presence of imperialism in South Africa and Zionist colonialism in Palestine, and it should call for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people and for their return to their usurped country.

*This aspect is intimately bound with the fight against discrimination and racism, the ideological pillars of colonialism and all forms of exploitation of man by man. It is because of this that the Conference must strongly condemn racial discrimination, because imperialism tries to turn nations into slaves of the great monopolies.*

*In the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, in the so-called Portuguese Guinea and in the very heart of the United States, racism presents its most violent forms. However, this shows itself in all places where there are men who live at the expense of others.*

*That is how the indigenous masses of Latin America are exploited and discriminated against by the native oligarchies, agents of neo-colonialism; how Latin Americans in general are despised by the settlers from the North regardless of their origins or physical characteristics, how the Negroes from Africa and from America are looked down upon as inferior, barbaric and backward peoples, how the Asians were submitted to systematic humiliation by the colonialists' attempt to destroy their ties with their millennial history.*

*Against that policy of oppression and inequality and of division pursued by colonialism and neo-colonialism, the only possibility is unity and equality between the peoples of the three continents. Against the violent action of the colonialists there is only one alternative: servitude or struggle; and it is under combat fire, in the common fight against the exploiter, where all the barriers, based on differences of colour, customs, habits and languages, will disappear in order that mankind may make history collectively.*

*Today in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the situation has reached a climax, especially after the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist government of the white minority. The British and Portuguese imperialists and the racists from Rhodesia and South Africa, with the help and cooperation of Yankee imperialism, are organising a plot to turn the southern part of Africa into a bastion of neo-colonialism, in order to dominate the rest of Africa from this base. This plot represents a serious danger to the independence of the whole African continent.*

*At this moment, it is important to carry out the battle for unity among Africa, Asia and Latin America and the progressive forces of the world, so as to frustrate the plans of the imperialists, and especially in the Congo, where they are a threat to all the peoples of Africa, to give ample support to the Congolese people in their fight against the mercenary agents of the exploiters, and to offer material and moral support to the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.*

*Hostilities in the African continent represent one of the most sensitive aspects in the general pictures of the fight against imperialism. This is closely related to the fight against discrimination and racial bias which the colonialists express with special virulence there.*

*In the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Southern Rhodesia or the Union of South Africa, the fight against economic servitude goes hand in hand, in importance, with the defence of one of the basic human rights: the equality of all men. Racial discrimination, typical of imperialism, is manifest in the policy of "apartheid", and in the denial of civil rights to Negro citizens in the United States. Because of its inhuman foundations which deeply offend the dignity of all honest men, it is a subject of the highest priority in the agenda of the Conference.*

The first Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America should express its severest condemnation of the Paris kidnapping and almost certain murder of El Mehdi Ben Barka, President of the Preparatory Committee, and one of the most prominent figures in the fight for national liberation in Africa. It is obvious that this abominable and dastardly act was planned and perpetrated by agents of imperialism and international reaction, both equally interested in obstructing the celebration of this great event of anti-imperialist and revolutionary solidarity. It is imperative that this criminal act be thoroughly investigated and solved, and that the material and intellectual authors be made responsible for their crime. Whatever the fate of comrade Ben Barka, it is only fair that the Conference acknowledge his extraordinary contribution to the development and holding of this event.

Recent history corroborates, with utmost clarity, that Yankee imperialism is the greatest enemy of world peace; the fortress of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the bastion of the forces of reaction, the public enemy number one of all the peoples of the world. Therefore, to fight for national liberation, self-determination, independence and peace, fundamentally, means to fight without quarter against North American imperialism, which is responsible for the worsening of the international situation because of its policy of intervention, aggression and subversion all over the world.

The strategy used by the revolutionary movements in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and especially against Yankee imperialism (principal enemy of the peoples), demands a greater binding and tightening of the ties of militant solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; the working classes and the progressive forces of capitalist countries in Europe, the United States and the socialist camp. This solidarity must be expressed in concrete actions of support of the peoples that are victims of imperialist aggressions, as in the case of Vietnam, where the movement of national liberation has the support of all the peoples of the world, while imperialist aggression has its unanimous rejection.

Imperialist strategy in Africa, Asia and Latin America makes it imperative that the peoples of the three continents, together with those of the socialist world, maintain the closest solidarity and the utmost militant action in their fight against the common enemy. The aid of the peoples of the socialist camp is vital for the development of the liberation movements.

It is obvious that the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three continents is a necessity which cannot be postponed, dictated by the identity of problems and common aspirations. This solidarity is imposed by the dialectics of events, since the aggressive actions of imperialism have taken on a global character, threatening the self-determination, independence, sovereignty and security of all the nations of the World.



SPEECH DELIVERED BY DOCTOR OSVALDO DORTICOS  
TORRADO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA  
AND MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF CUBA AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Distinguished  
Delegates to the First Solidarity  
Conference of the Peoples of Asia,  
Africa and Latin America;  
Distinguished members of the Diplo-  
matic Corps;

It is with singular joy that, in the name of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I fulfill the pleasant duty of bringing you the affectionate and joyful greetings with which our people receive the distinguished representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have come together in Havana on this exceptional occasion in a meeting of fighters for liberation. These first words of salutation do not spring from the necessity to fulfill a protocol procedure, nor from a duty of elementary official courtesy. It is, to the contrary, the most sincere interpretation of the unanimous feelings of the Cuban people. It is the testimony of the greetings of a people, whose personality and temperament have been forged in fighting, to the brothers of other countries who are also fighters for the same ideals of progress, liberty and anti-imperialist struggle.

During these brief days, in which the preliminary work of the Conference has demanded your presence amongst us, I know that you have had more than one opportunity to experience the warm welcome of our people and to appreciate the deep sentiments of joy which your presence has caused in our country. The people of Cuba are firmly convinced of the extraordinary importance of this event as another phase in the long and cruel struggle against poverty, ignorance, exploitation and imperialism. Our people take deep satisfaction in greeting you today as the fighters in the front line of distant lands,

but very close to our own ideals and hopes; our people who, after decades of frustration and slavery, won their struggle for liberation, the victory which we celebrated with you, only a few hours ago in the **Plaza de la Revolución**; the same people who won, one after another, the battles against internal counter-revolutionary attempts to destroy the achievements of the Revolution; the same people who defeated the U. S. imperialist mercenaries at Playa Girón; the same people with nerves of steel, unshakeable spirit and fighting decision who carried out their international duty with enthusiasm in the dramatic hours of the October crisis; the same working people who day by day create the spiritual and material riches of the new society they are building; the same happy people with whom you have enjoyed the festivities of the past hours. These heroic people, full of joy and hope for the future of their country and mankind, are the people in whose name, distinguished delegates, I greet and welcome you at this opening session.

It is a great honour for Cuba to have been chosen as the host country for this Conference. We are convinced of the significance of this Conference, of how much it means, and of how useful the tasks it undertakes may be from today on, the conclusions and declarations that will be agreed upon in following days, the solidarity and fighting spirit that will preside here and the encouragement and stimulus that this will mean for all the people of the world. The very fact that this is an opportunity for the most genuine representatives of the progressive and revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America to get together and the fact that this Conference affords the opportunity of conversation and re-

ciprocal knowledge, constitutes sufficient foundation to give this event an importance of historic dimensions.

That is why the eyes of the world are upon this Conference today. The struggling peoples of the three continents—those who have begun the fight for independence; those who have achieved formal independence and are moving along the road to true independence and those who are preparing themselves for the coming fight—all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in these days are watching the development of this Conference and are demanding that you fulfill your responsibilities and the hopes that these peoples have placed in this meeting, confident that this meeting will inevitably provide an opportunity for struggle and a proper occasion to find a common language: the revolutionary, fighting and anti-imperialist language that millions of human beings who suffer, hope and fight in these three continents have learned to speak.

But not only the peoples, the revolutionary and liberation movements are today eagerly watching this conference. It is sufficient to look over the cables of the international news are today eagerly watching this Conference worries the peoples' enemies, the national oligarchies that serve the imperialists, their treacherous rules and especially the imperialist circles. Therefore, it is the inescapable duty of the distinguished delegates to combine their efforts so that this may be a triumphant event. We should not fail to justify the faith that the peoples have placed in your work and decisions; nor should the imperialists, nor the other conspiring enemies of the people, be allowed to forget their alarm, their fear and indignation when they learn the final results of this Conference, its agreements and the vigour which it will lend to international solidarity.

What justifies a meeting of the representatives of the peoples of these three continents? What unites the millions of men and women of Asia, Africa and Latin America? What are the common objectives that produce a meeting such as this? Different languages, diverse national characteristics,

different races, a multiplicity of traditions and various levels of economic and cultural development, are not obstacles for this meeting, nor for the unity of arms for which it was convened. It is simply that, regardless of the strategic and tactical methods which are the concern of each country, all the peoples represented here have their history, their present and their future deeply committed to the struggle for total liberation and sovereignty; for progress, economic and cultural development; for the ending of poverty and illiteracy; for the liquidation of the colonial and neo-colonial forms of exploitation of the people; for the defeat of the imperialist enemy.

These are common objectives of the peoples of the three continents, of those who have succeeded in becoming independent nations and are fighting today to guarantee this independence and progress in the midst of imperialist bribery, aggression and blackmail; and of those people who have achieved a formal independence and whose governments are abjectly submitted to imperialist interests, serving as guardians of exploitation and poverty within their respective countries; as well as those of the peoples who have not won even formal independence and are fighting for their true liberty or are preparing themselves for the struggle.

As an open and ill-disguised euphemism, the "underdevelopment" of the three continents has been spoken about, and even in the diplomatic language of the imperialists, the term has won legitimate usage. The people who meet in this Conference know in a concrete and dramatic manner what "underdevelopment" means: economic backwardness, hunger, technical penury, illiteracy, sickness, political oppressions, the exploitation of national resources, direct or indirect domination by imperialism. The peoples who meet in this Conference know that the problems of underdevelopment (even in the cases of nations that achieve their independence, and even those whose governments represent their ardent desires for liberation and progress) are not solved by the palliative measures, the institutions and technical instruments offered as solu-

tions to the evils of underdevelopment in world forums and in specialised international conferences. We have attended these meetings many times. Very often they serve as platforms for the peoples to proclaim their truths. But we are not so naive as to believe that the problems of economic and cultural underdevelopment of the peoples, can be debated and solved outside the limits of the great world antagonism, the division of oppressors and oppressed, and disregarding the fact that the ultimate cause of all manifestations of underdevelopment is none other than the survival of imperialist domination.

In a peoples' conference such as this, one basic truth becomes imperative: the definitive and complete elimination of underdevelopment can only be achieved by struggling against imperialism and totally defeating it.

The procedure for this fight, the ways to obtain such a victory are, of course, conditioned by the circumstances of each country and those prevailing in the world scene today.

So it is opportune at the inauguration of this Conference, to recount briefly the fundamental characteristics of the world today which will be dealt with at this meeting.

The new correlation of forces in the world permits liberation movements to grow vigorously in the three continents. The fighting vanguards of the people improve their ideological education, their revolutionary consciousness matures and the movements of liberation grow and proliferate.

Temporary defeats suffered on some occasions are no more than the painful lessons learned by the peoples, so that they may enter the struggle once again. The important thing is to be convinced that the final victory belongs to the peoples, that when the will of the people is firm, there are no obstacles that cannot be overcome to achieve victory. In inaugurating this Conference, we can point to the visible increase of the liberation movements: in the midst of hardship and difficult battles against the powerful enemy, some peoples have started the struggle, other peoples have gained victory, and many peoples are preparing to fight.

Nevertheless, it is true that imperialism, especially U. S. imperialism, which has assumed in the history of our times the sad role of international gendarme, increases violence and intensifies the use of all the evil instruments of aggression against the people. From bribery and blackmail to the most brazen forms of violence and armed intervention, U. S. imperialism, the centre of world reaction and the foremost enemy of peace and progress, unscrupulously carries out within the framework of a perfectly defined world strategy, any number of openly criminal actions believing them to be useful to their fight for domination and survival. Therefore, as the peoples, filled with strength and bravery and increasing revolutionary consciousness, take the path of liberation, imperialism replies with all its weapons, employing all its potential and all its power. The armed mercenary intervention in the Congo, the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, the formation of mercenary armies in Latin America, the constant threat against free revolutionary Cuba, the decision of the United States Congress in trying to legalise unilateral imperialist intervention in any American country, the establishment of a racist government in Southern Rhodesia, the brutal intensification of the most criminal forms of racial discrimination in South Africa, and finally the direct aggression by the armed forces of the United States in South Vietnam, and the bombing by United States planes of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, are very definite expressions of the global strategy of imperialism today. In Asia, Africa and in Latin America, the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the peoples is a struggle to death.

Therefore, distinguished delegates, this Conference is taking place in a historic moment when imperialism, all other means for subjugating the peoples having failed, imposes violence upon them, and there is no better place than in this Conference to proclaim, without hesitation, the right of the people to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence.

It is not our purpose, nor our mission upon opening this Conference to define the line it should adopt. The position of Cuba on each of the topics on the approved agenda, will be established during the course of the Conference by the Head of our Delegation. Moreover, the resolutions and decisions of this meeting must be the spontaneous and democratic expression of the results of its deliberations and the fighting spirit that enlivens it. But I think I interpret the general feeling of the distinguished delegates, when I proclaim in this inaugural meeting a principle of universal value for all the liberation movements of the three continents. When imperialism and reaction close the doors to all legal forms of struggle, it is a right and duty of the peoples to respond to the armed violence of imperialism with revolutionary armed violence.

It is the responsibility of the vanguard of those peoples to create the subjective conditions when they are absent. When imperialism offers the peoples no other alternative, this is the only way of pursuing the struggle for liberation. In countries that have achieved their independence and that are trying to keep it, despite the stratagems and aggressions of imperialism, it is the duty of the leaders of those peoples to do more than preserve their own sovereignty and construct a new society promoting their independent, economic and cultural development. The survival of these sovereign states and the guarantee of their future progress are also involved in the struggle taking place in the three Continents against imperialist domination. But, furthermore, their duty of solidarity obliges the peoples that have achieved their independence, and their leaders, to pledge the necessary support, in such ways as may be necessary, to the liberation movement. On this inaugural occasion, Cuba declares that it is a right and a duty of the peoples and governments of the countries that have achieved independence and begun building a new life, to give unrestricted support to the movements of liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Being aware of this duty, the Conference will consider it a fundamental obligation to express its solidarity and give its most determined support to the courageous people of Vietnam who are suffering today the most vandalic, criminal and illegal aggression from U. S. imperialism. That is why, when opening this Conference, and while greeting from this platform the fighters who, in the most widely separated areas of the three Continents, struggle today with weapons in their hands for the liberation of their peoples—in Latin American countries such as Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Colombia; in the African Portuguese colonies or in the Congo (Leopoldville) or wherever there is a fighter or the readiness to fight—we reserve our word of highest honour for the heroic people of Vietnam. We offer our complete support to the positions adopted by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as conditions for peace. And we reiterate on this occasion the firm decision of Cuba to support the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, in any way that may be necessary. As the First Secretary of our Party, comrade Fidel Castro, stated yesterday, we are also prepared to shed our blood for Vietnam.

Distinguished delegates: this Conference is being held in a country that is still an anti-imperialist battlefield. On this soil, generous blood has been shed more than once fighting against U. S. imperialism. The people who live here, creative and peaceful, the confident and happy people that you have met in these days, live in a permanent state of combat readiness. A short distance from the most aggressive imperialist country, the most savage and powerful enemy of the peoples, challenging its insolence and in historic denial of the thesis of geographic fatalism, we achieved our independence by a bloody war. From that revolutionary triumph, the first socialist country of America was born. Despite the blockade, armed aggression and international conspiracy of U. S. imperialism, our people are victoriously advancing

upon the glorious road leading to the construction of a brilliant future. We are aware of our obligations to the peoples of the world, the importance of our humble example. We feel genuine pride at having achieved revolutionary triumph, and of having defeated Yankee imperialism on our own soil. This, however, does not justify vanity. We do not believe that we are the revolutionary centre of the world. Our desire is to contribute modestly in meetings such as this, our experiences and above all our irrevocable determination for international solidarity.

Cuba is a small country, and we have only slightly more than seven million inhabitants. But on opening this Conference, we wish to confirm once more before all of you with absolute clarity, that to the full extent of the means at our disposal, but with the militant and inexhaustible energies of our people, as Fidel Castro stated yesterday: "Any revolutionary movement, in any part of the world, can count on Cuba's unconditional and decided aid."

Today, more than ever, we renew that pledge of honour, giving our word as revolutionaries. All the efforts of the Cuban people today are dedicated to the construction of a new society. All that we have done in these seven years of revolution and all our work in the future, is for us a reason for revolutionary and creative passion. We deeply love our work and wish to protect it against all dangers. Our economic successes, our growing agriculture, our schools and our hospitals, our universities and our cultural centres, the new generation which is being forged today, all this beautiful revolutionary reality which is Cuba, we love deeply. All this constitutes a priceless treasure for our people. But it is opportune, on this exceptional occasion, to firmly express our willingness to fulfill the commitments we have made to other peoples, even though we risk these achievements and these creations. If our duty of solidarity and support to liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin

American peoples demands this sacrifice, our people will make the sacrifice. Cuba will not fail!

Distinguished delegates: I convey to you the expectation of the Cuban people for the success of this Conference; their trust that every one of you, with absolute independence of judgement, will reach unanimous conclusions and militant decisions; their faith in that this first meeting of representatives of the peoples of the three Continents will be an expression of the spirit of solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle. The peoples expect a great deal from this Conference. Consequently, your responsibility is a high one. It is now important to find the forms of a common language and common action against the imperialist foe. We ardently desire that this gathering will genuinely embody the aspirations for liberty of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the fighting spirit of these peoples, the encouraging support of all the progressive forces in the world, and the support of the Socialist countries to the epic that these three Continents are playing out.

On behalf of the Cuban people and the Revolutionary Government, I express our deep gratitude for your stimulating presence in our country, for the exceptional honour of sharing your company, for the distinction that has been given Cuba by selecting this, our country, as the seat of this meeting. And with renewed faith in the future of the peoples, in their invincible capacity for struggle, and in the certainty of the final defeat of imperialism, I declare that the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is hereby inaugurated.

Long live the struggle for the liberation of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long live the heroic people of Vietnam!

Our Country or Death!

We will win!



Mr. President,  
Dear Friends and Brothers;

Allow me, on your behalf and in your name, to address our most sincere thanks and appreciation to Dr. Dorticos, President of the Cuban Republic, for the honour he made us by inaugurating the opening session of the historical First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

I would also like to address our thanks and fraternal greetings to the valiant people of Cuba, to their great party and to the outstanding leader of Cuba, Brother Fidel Castro, for their welcome, hospitality and the praiseworthy effort extended by them for their organisation of this historical Conference, and the opportunity they gave us for a most enjoyable and fruitful stay in their lovely capital.

Eight years ago representatives of the revolutionary forces, the militant liberation movements and the popular mass parties in Africa and Asia met in Cairo for the first time. That was a prominent land mark in the history of our two great continents, when the corner stones of the great Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation were laid down.

Now we meet in this historic Conference, while our ranks are enlarged and strengthened by the revolutionary and mass organisations of our sister continent: Latin America, and where our militant solidarity has reached its natural and necessary apex of development.

Dear Brothers,

We are here to take action; positive, concrete and effective action, against imperialism and colonialism in all their forms and manifestations and for full national independence and peace.

Let us all work, hand in hand, to achieve this action that is our duty.

I am sure we shall undertake action, in solidarity and close cooperation between ourselves, so as to fulfill our task with the greatest success and justify the confidence placed in us to continue the struggle until we attain full liberation, establish economic, social and cultural reconstruction and achieve prosperity and world peace.

Long live the solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!

## STRUCTURE OF THE CONFERENCE

### Chair of the Conference

President:	Raul Roa Garcia	Cuba
Vice President:	John Tettegah	Ghana
Vice President:	Nguyen Van Tien	South Vietnam
Vice President:	Pedro Medina Silva	Venezuela
Secretary:	Youssef El Sebai	U. A. R.

### Commissions and Sub-Commissions

#### Economic Commission

President:	Adda Benguetat	Algeria
Vice President:	Aluizio Palhano Pedreira	Brazil
Secretary:	Moudaf Haffar	Syria

#### Organisation Commission

President:	Abdoulaye Diallo	Guinea
Vice President:	Wal Lyong Kim	Korea
Secretary:	Jose A. Naranjo	Cuba

#### Political Commission

President:	Khaled Mohieldin	U. A. R.
Vice President:	Tuyen Tran Danh	North Vietnam
Secretary:	Rodney Arismendi	Uruguay

#### Sub-Commission for Burning Issues

President:	Euclides Gutierrez Felix	Dominican Rep.
Vice President:	Shizuma Kai	Japan
Secretary:	Edward Ndlovu	Zimbabwe

#### Sub-Commission for Vietnam

President:	Turcios Lima	Guatemala
Vice President:	Edward Marcel Sumbu	Congo (L)
Secretary:	Tran Van Tu	South Vietnam

#### Sub-Commission for Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism

President:	Julian Boukambou	Congo (B)
Vice President:	Roberto Garcia Urrutia	Peru
Secretary:	Ibrahim Abu Sitta	Palestine

#### Social-Cultural Commission

President:	Huat Sambath	Cambodia
Vice President:	Luiz Andrade de Azevedo	Angola
Secretary:	Ines Pinto Escobar	Colombia

ECONOMIC COMMISSION

GENERAL RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE ECONOMIC  
COMMISSION ON JANUARY 11, 1966

The Economic Commission of the Tricontinental Conference, met in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966;

After having studied the draft resolutions submitted by the Cuban Delegation, as well as the documents of the Economic Seminar held in Algiers, in February, 1965,

**Considering** that one of the tasks of the national liberation movements is the elimination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States, and the consequences of their domination in the economic sphere;

**Considering** that in order to attain such a goal it is necessary to adopt principles of common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States, for the achievement and consolidation of economic emancipation for the countries of the three continents;

**Considering** that the economic relations between the movements which lead liberated zones and revolutionary states must be based on solidarity and fraternal aid;

**Considering** that one of the worst consequences of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation is that technical progress has not developed in a great number of countries, many of them remaining in a patent state of educational backwardness;

**Considering** that the economic blockades imposed by imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist states against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America constitute a serious threat to the

national independence and economic development of these peoples, and a standing menace to the countries of these continents;

**Considering** that a high percentage of the population of the countries striving for their economic emancipation are still working with a low productivity in agriculture and other fields of primary production, on account of their technical backwardness, resulting from long years of imperialist domination, the income in most of these countries being extremely low;

**Considering** that in order to obtain adequate economic growth in these countries, a greater supply of skilled labour force is required;

**Considering** that it is necessary to develop a just economic policy between the countries of the three continents and the rest of the world;

**Considering** that the development of the economic, commercial and financial relations between the countries of the three continents and the developed capitalist countries should be carried out upon bases which ensure their economic growth and national independence;

**Considering** that exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has imposed upon the lesser-developed countries an economy of mono-production of non-manufactured goods;

**Considering** that in the development of their international rule, the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist countries have made use of loans as tools for the economic penetration and political subordination of the lesser-developed countries;

**Considering** that this type of foreign indebtedness helps to perpetuate underdevelopment, because, —through amortisation and usurious interests— it withdraws resources essential to the developing countries, it being evident that many colonial countries, upon gaining national independence, have found such foreign debts, incurred by colonialist governments or rulers who are puppets of imperialist powers, a heavy burden on their economies;

**Considering** that the permanent fluctuation in the prices of primary products in international trade, acts to the detriment of developing countries and should be avoided;

**Considering** that these measures adopted by the imperialist countries bring about the depression of the prices of these products and fluctuation of international trade of primary products, and consequently a constant reduction of the share of lesser-developed countries in international trade, and check the expansion of agricultural output in these countries;

**Considering** that the destruction of the old feudal and semi-feudal structures which check the development of agriculture is not only a historic need, but also an act of justice towards those who till the land, and a decisive step in favour of national liberation;

**Considering** that the carrying out of a true agrarian reform brings in its wake the promotion of agricultural development, the expansion of the domestic market, the rise of the standards of living and nutrition of the peoples, and the increase of the export capacity;

**Considering** that the imperialists are now demagogically upholding in the lesser-developed countries the banner of agrarian reform, with a view to appease the demand of it by the peoples;

**Considering** that a true agrarian reform strikes at and eliminates the big landowners, who are allies of imperialism and the support of the most reactionary oligarchies;

**Considering** that the economic development of countries liberated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism implies the full development of their natural resources and their industrialisation;

**Considering** that the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against the domination of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is closely related to the struggle of the workers of capitalist countries against the monopolies, and that close cooperation between these forces is of great importance for the total defeat of imperialism;

#### PROCLAIMS:

1.—Its adherence to the principle of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man through non-capitalist development and its culmination in socialism, according to the concrete conditions in each country;

2.—That the common struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to liquidate imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States, and to obtain and consolidate their economic emancipation, constitutes an absolute necessity;

3.—That the economic relationships between revolutionary states and movements which lead liberated zones must be based on active solidarity, fraternal aid and common interest of the peoples of the three continents;

4.—That a) national control of the basic natural resources,

b) nationalisation of the banks and enterprises vital to the national economy,

c) state control of foreign trade and foreign exchange,

d) the growth of the public sector,

are vital instruments in the anti-imperialist struggle and important factors

in accelerating economic development with the aim of building an independent national economy;

5.—That the aim of the lesser-developed countries is to achieve their economic emancipation through the full development of their natural resources and industrialisation, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in each country;

6.—That the countries liberated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism must develop their national economies based on self-reliance, that is: the maximum and rational utilisation of their own economic, physical and human resources, complemented with the efficient and rational utilisation of the assistance from the socialist camp and the more developed anti-imperialist countries;

7.—That only planning can offer a coherent system to promote and efficiently develop economic relations, to facilitate the mobilisation and channeling of the peoples' energies, depending in the first place on their own resources and making rational use of their material and human potential, as well as of foreign cooperation, in particular the aid of the socialist countries, to accelerate development and consolidate economic liberation, the real control of its natural resources by each country in order to overcome the sad consequences of imperialist exploitation and promote economic and technical transformation for the benefit of our popular masses and, finally achieve a considerable economic growth;

8.—The need of putting an end to the permanent fluctuations of the prices of primary products and the fixing in an equitable way of these prices, in a rational relation to the level of prices of industrial products;

9.—Its determination to defeat the economic blockade imposed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to struggle in every way, joining its forces and coordinating a genuine

economic action, to protect and consolidate their economic independence and free the masses of the people from all oppression;

#### FAVOURS:

Establishing forms of economic cooperation among the liberated countries with revolutionary governments, and between these countries and the socialist countries, which allow the former a maximum development of their natural resources by means of trade based on fair prices and long-term agreements;

#### NOTES THAT:

The imperialist countries have utilised loans as an instrument of economic penetration and political subordination of the lesser-developed countries, and that this type of foreign indebtedness contributes to perpetuate underdevelopment, because, through the amortisations and exorbitant interest rates, it extracts essential resources from the developing countries which, having achieved national independence, find a heritage of foreign debt contracted with the ruling powers by governments on the payroll of imperialism.

The measures adopted by the imperialist countries in flagrant violation of the recommendations and principles agreed upon in international conferences, and which tend to consolidate agricultural protectionism, maintain artificial prices for agricultural products and subsidise directly or indirectly, agricultural production, result in the fall of prices and fluctuation in the international market for primary products, therefore producing a constant diminishing of the share of the lesser developed countries in international trade.

Consequently, the Conference

#### DECLARES:

That the economic, commercial and financial relations between the countries of the three continents and the developed capitalist countries, should

be carried out on a basis that will guarantee their development and national independence, based on the principle of self-determination, non-interference, and the establishment of generalised, non-reciprocal, preferential measures in favour of the lesser-developed countries, without exception;

The right of the lesser-developed countries to reconsider and repudiate the spurious and anti-national debts that may have been imposed on their economies through the complicity of colonial or neo-colonial governments;

#### CONDEMNNS:

The so-called "assistance" and "technical aid", "Alliance for Progress", "Food for Peace Program", etc., which the imperialist countries subordinate to political and military considerations;

#### DENOUNCES:

1.—The activities of international credit and monetary organisations which act as instruments for the control of the economy of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

2.—The activities in the colonial countries of the foreign monopolies, which deplete their natural resources and collaborate actively with the colonialist oppressive forces to impede the liberation of those territories;

3.—The investments of international monopoly capital, which compromise the independence of the countries in which they are made and absorb natural resources and foreign exchange, causing inflation in their economies;

4.—Monopoly control by imperialism of international means of transportation, which allows it to obtain high profits to the detriment of the lesser-developed countries;

5.—The violation of Human Rights by the racist minority governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the African peoples of those territories, and of Portugal against the

peoples of its African colonies, and by Israel against the Arabs of Palestine, and invites the countries of the three continents to impose economic embargoes against those racist governments, which are instruments of international imperialism;

6.—The reduction by the United Nations of the amount of the fund for the assistance of the Arab refugees of Palestine, and supports their demand for the increase of that fund for the assistance of the Arab refugees of Palestine, so that they may live under less inhuman conditions;

#### DEMANDS:

From all revolutionary forces represented in the Tricontinental Conference, the intensification of their efforts so that the authentic representatives of the countries that are fighting, weapons in hand, may receive economic, financial and material aid of all types, including weapons and ammunition; to liberate their countries and consolidate world peace;

#### AFFIRMS:

1.—That the destruction of the old feudal and semi-feudal structure that hinders the development of agriculture is not only a historic necessity, but an act of justice for the peasants and a decisive step in favour of effective liberation of the countries of the three continents as well;

2.—That the carrying out of a genuine agrarian reform giving the land to those who till it, either in the form of cooperatives or individual property for the small peasant, of state control or self-management, promotes agricultural livestock development, the expansion of the domestic market, raising the standard of living and increasing exports;

3.—That a genuine agrarian reform is that which strikes at and liquidates feudal and semi-feudal property, the owners of which are the natural allies

of imperialism and the support of the most reactionary oligarchies;

#### APPEALS:

To the peoples of the three continents to continue and accelerate by all possible means the process of agrarian reform and the building of an independent national economy in their countries, as a means of developing the revolution in the world, and of restoring dignity to Man in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

#### SALUTES:

The revolutionary workers of the different countries, who have undertaken militant action in support of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, including direct action, boycotting the loading and unloading of ships transporting weapons, in protest against the repression of liberation movements, and invites them to increase their vigilance and efforts to jointly defeat imperialism and its lackeys.

#### RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF THE UNITED STATES UPON CUBA

The Conference condemns the imperialist economic blockade imposed by the United States upon militant Cuba, and urges the United States to lift this imperialist blockade immediately.

The Conference also stresses the need of socialist States and countries of the Third World to expand and promote their economic relations with Cuba in view to breaking this aggressive block-

ade and help Cuba to overcome this obstacle and carry on its socialist build-up.

The Conference takes into consideration that putting an end to this imperialist blockade and the success of the Cuban Revolution is the concern not only of militant Cuba but also of the progress of all Afro-Asian-Latin American countries and the future of World Peace.

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANISATION COMMISSION

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

**Considering** the broadness assumed by the Revolutionary Movement in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America;

**Aware** of the urgent need to coordinate and intensify solidarity with the purpose of reenforcing the struggle that has been carried on by the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;

**Decides** as an immediate measure on the establishment of the following objectives and structures:

#### **Name**

Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.

#### **Objectives**

**To unite, coordinate and encourage** the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by U. S. imperialism;

**To give** effective support to the national liberation movements in the three continents, using all the means within its reach;

**To support** the revolutionary struggle, as an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the peoples before imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;

**To give** firm and solidary support to the liberated countries of the three continents, which, as a consequence of the revolutionary process carried out by their peoples, are the victims of all forms of imperialist aggression;

**To defend** the right of the peoples to give themselves the government and the law of their choice as well as the socio-economic system that their sovereign will determines, without any foreign interference;

**To cooperate** with those of our peoples who are liberated in our continents, to secure their independent development and halt the attempts of the imperialist powers directed towards the destruction of their political, economic and cultural development;

**To organise** the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents and serve as permanent link among the different movements which are members of the organisation;

**To give** the firmest and broadest support to the battle against racialism and all forms of racial discrimination in the three continents;

**To take** charge of the implementation of the measures adopted at the First Tricontinental Conference.

#### **Executive secretariat**

1.—It will be composed of a Secretary General and 12 Secretaries, 4 for each Continent. All will be elected from among the members of this First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

2.—It will have its temporary seat in the city of Havana, Cuba.

3.—The functions are the following:

a) To implement the decisions of the Conference.

- b) To prepare the Second Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which will be held in 1968 in the city of Cairo, United Arab Republic. This Second Tricontinental will decide the seat of the Organisation.
  - c) To present before the Second Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America the draft for the final structure of the Tricontinental Organisation.
  - d) To supervise the functioning of the Committee of Assistance and Aid to the National Liberation Movements and of Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism.
- 4.—It is responsible before the Conference and shall submit to it a report on the tasks which have been accomplished.

### THE COMMITTEE OF ASSISTANCE AND AID TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OF STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM

- 1.—It is constituted by twelve members, elected by this Conference.
- 2.—It chooses from among its members one chairman, one vice-chairman and one secretary.
- 3.—Its objectives are:
  - a) To promote, increase and coordinate the effective solidarity with the national liberation movements;
  - b) To apply the measures and to use the necessary means in order to give a real existence and practical efficiency to the fundamental objectives of the Organisation, especially those which encourage armed struggle as lawful defence against imperialist violence;
  - c) To provide all the necessary moral, political and material aid to the national liberation movements, particularly to those that wage armed struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;
  - d) To organise a constant campaign, with all the means within its reach, against the growing policy of imperialist aggression throughout the world and their propaganda directed to conceal, with myths and falsehoods, their vandalic actions in the three continents.

ORGANISATIONS CREATED BY THE FIRST SOLIDARITY  
CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND  
LATIN AMERICA

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOLIDARITY  
WITH THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA**

**O.S.P.A.A.A. (member countries)**

**SECRETARY GENERAL: CUBA**

**Africa**

U. A. R.  
Portuguese Colonies  
Congo (L)  
Guinea

**Asia**

Korea  
South Vietnam  
Syria  
Pakistan

**Latin America**

Venezuela  
Santo Domingo  
Puerto Rico  
Chile

**COMMITTEE OF AID TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

**(member countries)**

**Africa**

Ghana  
Congo (B)  
Algeria  
Tanzania

**Asia**

U. S. S. R.  
China  
Japan  
Cambodia

**Latin America**

Cuba  
Guatemala  
British Guiana  
Brazil

ORGANISATIONS CREATED BY THE FIRST SOLIDARITY  
CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND  
LATIN AMERICA

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOLIDARITY  
WITH THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA**

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SECRETARY GENERAL: CUBA

**Africa**

U. A. R.  
Portuguese Colonies  
Congo (L)  
Guinea

**Asia**

Korea  
South Vietnam  
Syria  
Pakistan

**Latin America**

Venezuela  
Santo Domingo  
Puerto Rico  
Chile

**COMMITTEE OF AID TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

**(member countries)**

**Africa**

Ghana  
Congo (B)  
Algeria  
Tanzania

**Asia**

U. S. S. R.  
China  
Japan  
Cambodia

**Latin America**

Cuba  
Guatemala  
British Guiana  
Brazil

POLITICAL COMMISSION

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, assembled in the capital of Cuba, marks the first occasion on which the representatives of the peoples of the three continents gather in an International Conference to acquaint themselves with common problems and goals, and exchange experiences that will make possible the necessary solidarity, in order to put an end to colonialism and neo-colonialism and to assert the right to self-determination of the peoples.

This Tricontinental solidarity is necessary to face the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism, especially North American imperialism. This confers great relevance to this Conference, the convening of which has been made possible by the successes achieved by the struggle for national liberation in the three continents.

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America meets precisely at a time when the imperialists can no longer contain the emancipating wave of the peoples.

As a result of their struggle for liberation, a vast and powerful group of countries has emerged that opposes imperialist exploitation and its aggressive policy, and endeavours to consolidate their independence and defend their sovereignty.

The successful battles waged by the peoples against imperialist domination are gradually weakening its foundations; in South Vietnam imperialist troops are daily being defeated; in Algeria a powerful colonial army, backed by NATO, was unable to resist the vigorous thrust of the Algerian people; the imperialists have made unsuccessful efforts to crush the revolution in Africa. The Cuban Revolution is stronger every day and advances in the construction of social-

ism, defeating the aggressive policy of the United States.

The Cairo Afro-Asian Conference, held in 1958, was the natural result of the historic 1955 Bandung Conference and the principles it upheld. The Bandung principles acquired a popular and broadly revolutionary meaning in this Cairo Conference, when the peoples of the Afro-Asian continents gathered for the first time under the flag of solidarity in their common fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Before the Cairo Conference of 1958, the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples had already acquired a concrete and positive form, which effectively contributed to defeat the tripartite aggression of Israel, Great Britain and France to Egypt in 1956. During the eight years following the first meeting of the popular forces of Asia and Africa, the militant struggle and the close cooperation and solidarity have favoured the achievement of many victories against imperialism and colonialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the creation of the World Socialist System, the tremendous victories of the peoples against colonial domination in Africa and Asia, and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in the American continent, have created new and more favourable conditions than ever for the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The strengthening of the world socialist system and the overwhelming development of National Liberation Movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America hastened the desintegration of the colonial system. This has been the great triumph of the peoples in their struggle for national liberation. A new stage of the fight has arrived when the countries who have attained political independence are faced with new tasks, which are

the obtaining of economic autonomy on the basis of the development of national resources, raising the standard of living, and multilateral development of culture and education. The completion of these tasks is inseparably joined to the fight against imperialism, which hinders social and economic progress.

If the peoples of the three continents fight unswervingly against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism, they will be able to defeat any enemy, no matter how powerful.

The Conference has stressed the fact that imperialists have stepped up their aggressive activities, unleashing wars against the peoples and desperately trying to save themselves. For imperialism, because of its very nature, opposes the national emancipation of the peoples; its system has been and is based on plundering and the unlimited exploitation of the riches of the countries they have subjected.

The statements of the delegates at the Conference have confirmed that North American imperialism leads the aggressive policy of the imperialists. The most desperate actions against the peoples, as in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, are carried out by Yankee imperialists. North American military bases surround the world. The aggressive pacts in which the United States is the leading power, cover all continents and oceans. The United States is behind each aggressive action carried out by the other imperialists, such as that against the Congo by the Belgian imperialists, against the Zimbabwe people by the racist minority led by Ian Smith with the obvious complicity of the British, French and Portuguese imperialists and the Nazi government of South Africa; by the fascist Government of Portugal against the patriots who struggle in Angola and Mozambique and in the so-called Portuguese Guinea. And it also intervenes in China's territory of Taiwan, maintaining the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique; in South Korea, preventing the unification of the country, and in Latin America, attacking Cuba and promoting reactionary military coups, as in Brazil and other countries.

On the other hand, we know that the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the principal bases of the colonialist policy of the Portuguese Government and of the war being carried on against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. The criminal complicity of the Federal Republic of Germany is particularly through financial aid, the providing of arms to the Portuguese Government, as well as through the treatment given to Portuguese soldiers wounded in Africa. The trend of international events in recent years shows that Yankee imperialism is the main stronghold of reaction, that imperialism is the international gendarme and the first enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as that of all peoples of the world.

Having built up West Germany as an imperialist bastion, with many former Nazi war criminals in high positions, West German imperialism is not only a big threat to world peace but is most active in supporting Yankee imperialism as the gendarme of world reaction. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, West German imperialism is sending money, armaments and mercenaries to suppress the national liberation movements as for example in Vietnam, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Israel, Venezuela, and other countries.

This Conference denounces and condemns West German imperialism as the most important ally of Yankee imperialism.

The rebellion of the peoples who suffer the oppression of imperialism grows with each passing day. Their struggle weakens imperialism, tearing from it every position it has snatched.

But the defeat of imperialism will not be brought about spontaneously. The experience of history confirms this.

Each victory achieved towards ending oppression and exploitation has required the revolutionary struggle of the people.

When an imperialist power has withdrawn, pretending to be magnanimous in the concession of political independence to colonies which it held by force of arms, it has always been because that open and harsh possession had become incompatible with the level

of the struggle and the maturity of the national consciousness of the oppressed people. And in most cases the withdrawal has been more formal than real, inasmuch as they have preserved their hold on the main sources of wealth in the former colony, the monopoly control of its foreign trade and financial resources, with which they hope to substitute the old colonial dependence by neo-colonialism. This demands from the newly-liberated countries the continuation of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to achieve full political independence, self-reliance in economy and national identity in culture, to fulfill their political independence by achieving economic independence, without which the former is to a great extent fictitious. This is well known by the peoples of Africa and Asia who, on breaking their colonial chains, have had to face the vital task of recovering their sources of wealth as an indispensable basis for the development of their economies and the consolidation of their independence.

There are today in the three continents objective conditions for the development of the revolutionary struggle for full national liberation. The dramatic gap between the wealthy imperialist nations and the poverty-stricken nations of the three continents, subjected to colonial and neo-colonial rapacious exploitation, had never before been made more evident. Nor have the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America been more conscious of the fact that the fundamental cause for that growing gap, is the plunder and systematic exploitation to which they have been subjected by imperialist monopolies, with the complicity of native traitors and oligarchies.

Not all peoples have reached the same stage of their struggle for full liberation, but to a greater or lesser extent, there are objective conditions for the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in the three continents, as evidenced by its growing power. Such conditions emerge from the very existence led by the masses of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans, from the dramatic contrast between their standard of living and the wealth of the exploiting classes, and

the fighting spirit grows with the example of people such as that of Vietnam, who with unsurpassed heroism, is defeating the soldiers of the most powerful imperialist power, and the army of its puppet.

The existence of these objective conditions determines the maturity of the liberation process. This Conference is convinced that, in the face of the imperialist violence, the peoples of the three continents must strike back with revolutionary violence, both to safeguard national independence once it has been won, and to achieve the liberation of peoples who are struggling to throw off the yoke of imperialist exploitation. History proves that when the imperialists and their allies seek, through repression, to prevent the changes demanded by the exploited peoples, they must resort to the most energetic forms of struggle, of which armed struggle is one of the higher stages, to achieve final victory.

In order to reach victory it is necessary to open the appropriate channels for the heroism of the people. Revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguards have upon their shoulders the historical responsibility of leading the revolution when the people are already on the march. Not only prestige, but the very reason for the existence of these vanguards is committed in this implacable struggle against the forces which want to stop the progress of mankind.

The Conference clearly establishes that in the face of imperialist limited-warfare tactics, where conditions are already mature, the effective answer is the promotion of liberation wars, in every region where the conditions are ripe, of which the supreme example is Vietnam, where the United States, upon increasing their intervention, create the conditions for a later and more overwhelming defeat. But the struggle should not be limited to Vietnam. Imperialism should be struck wherever it intervenes, and also those who may imitate its aggressions against the peoples. The battle against oppressive imperialism must be total. Imperialists continue to ignore the right of all peoples to self-

determination. With incredible cynicism, imperialists pretend that the increasing struggle of the peoples for their national liberation is the result of external factors. They have used this argument in an attempt to justify their criminal intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, Congo, Cyprus and in other places. The U. S. House of Representatives recently proclaimed the alleged right of the United States to intervene with armed forces in any Latin American country in order to crush the people's rebellion.

The Conference solemnly proclaims that all progressive countries, as well as all revolutionary movements, will extend a consistent and unconditional aid to all peoples engaged in a struggle for national liberation or subjected to an imperialist aggression in any part of the world.

With this obscure policy and its conspiracies, imperialism, headed by the United States, has created a climate of violence that affects world peace and security. Thousands of military bases have been established in all cases against the people's will and are used to suppress the struggle for liberation and self-determination of the countries in the regions in which they are located. We denounce the inter-American forces of intervention and also the mobile units of intervention stationed in France, as well as the military bases that this power, and other imperialist states, maintain in certain African States. Peoples are fighting against these bases, among them the peoples of Thailand, Aden, Puerto Rico, and French Guiana. The active mobilisations carried out in Japan should be especially noted. The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) reaffirms in its resolutions the liquidation of all NATO military bases. Pressures and threats, political and economical aggression of every sort, pirate attacks and blockades, and even armed aggression, are part of the aggressive arsenal, gradually used by imperialists in a distinct manner, according to the thesis of escalation.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling for their national liberation and defending their sover-

eighty, are making a historic contribution to the strengthening of world peace, threatened by the warmongering policy of imperialism.

The vandalic actions carried out against the people of Vietnam are the most outstanding manifestation of the aggressive world strategy of Yankee imperialism.

The invading Yankee forces in Vietnam and their puppet troops have competed with—if not surpassed—the barbaric actions of Hitler's hordes. Mutilations, savage tortures, mass assassinations, destruction of defenceless villages and of crops by fire and napalm, use of poisonous chemical products against men and forests, continuous bombings by all sorts of airplanes, all imaginable atrocities have been tried out by North American aggressors, and the victims have been men and women, old people and children.

The Conference condemns that the United Nations is being frequently used by Yankee imperialism as an instrument of its aggressive policies against the movements for national liberation, as well as the aggression against other countries as Congo, Korea and the Dominican Republic. At the same time, it denounces the UNO, which, manipulated by the United States, has deprived the People's Republic of China of its legitimate seat in the midst of that organisation.

Opposing that challenge of moral principles, universally accepted, in the face of that brutal violation of International Law, the heroic reply of the Vietnamese is making the aggressors pay dear for their barbaric actions. It is necessary to multiply the solidarity of the people of the whole world with the Vietnamese people to support its heroic struggle in all ways—including armed volunteers, if necessary.

In their eagerness to avoid the defeat that awaits them, the imperialists have been spreading their war in South-East Asia.

U. S. imperialism uses Thailand as its military base to bomb the regions of Laos liberated by the patriotic forces, and the threats, pressures, plots and ag-

gressions against the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, are evidence of this policy of expansion of their colonial war.

In recent weeks, North American imperialists have been hypocritically talking about unconditional peace negotiations, and they have talked too much about the fourteen points. This is a smoke-screen to disguise their new plans for aggression and extension of the war in Vietnam.

While this shameless manoeuvre takes place, imperialists continue their criminal aggressions against the Vietnamese people. The Conference supports the four points set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and appeals to all peoples to fight for their implementation as the only acceptable solution to the situation in Vietnam.

The defence of the rightful cause of the Vietnamese people has become a fundamental task for the revolutionary strategy of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, but at the same time, that defence today is totally identified with the interests of all men and women, defenders of national sovereignty, democracy and peace, and is in accordance with the ideals of mankind.

The Far East has been a favourite place for imperialist depredations. Their aggressive manoeuvres against the People's Republic of China, the use of Japan as a gigantic aggressive and nuclear base, the occupation by force of South Korea by Yankee imperialism and the constant hostility against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, are evidence of imperialist action. Above all, Yankee imperialism has been lately trying to manoeuvre the "aggressive military alliance of North-East Asia" (North-East Asia Treaty Organisation-NEATO), joining the puppet clique of South Korea and the militarist forces of Japan through the "South Korea-Japanese Treaty" and illegally manipulating this Treaty in order to use Japanese militarist forces as "storm troops" in their aggressions to Asia, and in this manner create a serious situation in Korea and Asia in general.

On the other hand, British imperialists have created the neo-colonialist product of the so-called "Malayasia" and the fake "independence" of Singapore, through which they hope to perpetuate colonial domination in South-East Asia. The huge military bases in Malaya (including Singapore) are part of the aggressive North-East Asia Treaty Organisation (NEATO).

At the same time, oppression continues with increasing intensity against the people of North Kalimantan, who have been in revolt since December 8, 1962, demanding complete independence.

The Conference strongly supports the struggle of the people of Korea for the sovereign unification of their country and the expulsion of Yankee troops from South Korea, and declares its complete solidarity with the struggle of the people of Korea and Japan in rejection of the "South Korea - Japanese Treaty", and against the manoeuvre to set up the "Military Alliance of North-East Asia". The Conference also supports the struggle of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Thailand for the preservation of their independence and sovereignty.

The Conference also supports the democratic progressive forces of Indonesia in their struggle to consolidate their achieved independence against the Indonesian rightists who, with the reactionary elements within the Army as their backbone, cooperate with and are instigated by the U. S. imperialists, through the CIA.

At the present time, the case of Southern Rhodesia provokes the outrage of Africa and of all the progressive people throughout the world. Therefore, the Conference calls upon the progressive countries and organisations of Africa, Asia and Latin America to render immediate, unlimited material and effective aid to the people of Zimbabwe struggling for the liberation of their country.

In the overall fights against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa, the contradictions of imperialism in general have sharpened in

South Africa, and it seems like a joint political, economic and military strategy of the imperialist exploiters and oppressors to impose their racist tyrannies on the overwhelming African majority, constituted by indigenous people. The existence of a joint colonialism in South Africa facilitates the joint repression of the fighting masses by British and North American imperialism supported by their NATO allies, especially Portugal and West Germany. South Africa was turned into an imperialist force, into a stronghold of colonial and fascist repression, which threatens the security and independence of the African states and of world peace. In this joint colonialist strategy, the fascist Republic of South Africa occupies a foremost role, due to its military and economical power and its fascist ideology of racial hatred and supremacy of the white man. A combined action of all progressive peoples and countries is called for, especially of all African peoples, to halt the continuation in power of this odious regime. We condemn the fascist government of the Republic of South Africa and call for the solidarity of all progressive and revolutionary governments in moral and material support to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and South-West Africa who are victims of the Verwoerd fascism and racism.

We unconditionally declare our militant support to the heroic patriots who are fighting in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, and to the peoples of the islands of Cape Verde, the islands of Sao Tome, Principe, in the so-called French Somaliland and the Island of Reunion under French rule, and all the other struggling people on the African Continent.

We express our most active and concrete support to the armed revolution of the Congolese people, and denounce the armed aggression by the Anglo-American and Belgian coalition. We denounce the logistic support by the United States and its puppets, Israel, Belgium and the German Federal Republic, to the *de facto* rulers in Leopoldville.

In all these cases we denounce the support by the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan to the colonialist powers and the racist governments. We likewise denounce the refusal of the French government to expose these regimes in the international organisations, because the French government, in this way, maintains the possibility of taking from these Organisations the right to condemn the colonialist policy it still practises in the Antilles, French Guiana and Reunion.

The Conference denounces the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (A. M. C. O.), the African version of the Organisation of American States (OAS), raised by French imperialism in complete accord with U. S. imperialism. The recent turbulent events in the member countries of this Organisation, expose their countries and all of the countries of Africa to clearly evident dangers of the instauration of dictatorial regimes similar to those which North American imperialism imposes on Latin America.

Imperialists and colonialists cling to their positions in the Middle East, and it is necessary to aid the peoples of this region in their struggle to eliminate foreign exploitation and consolidate their independence.

To this end, we demand the immediate independence of occupied South Yemen, denounce the fake Federation, and also the dismantling of the British military bases located in Aden and Cyprus and North American bases established in the territory of Saudi Arabia, which constitute a serious threat to the peoples in this area. We also call for solidarity of all peoples with the Arab population of Palestine in their just cause against colonialism and Zionist racism.

The right of the Palestinian people to recover their land is a just right. We express our firm solidarity with the right of the people of Cyprus to attain full and unrestricted independence and for them as a whole, without interference or pressure from imperialist or any other foreign power, to exercise the right to determine their own future.

The development of fighting solidarity with Latin American peoples which struggle with arms in hand against the native oligarchies, servants of the United States, such as those of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Guatemala, or who suffer the brutal repression of military tyrants as Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other countries, is of particular importance, because Latin America constitutes the rear guard of the most powerful and brutal imperialism, the principal supporter of colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world.

Each blow given by the struggle of Latin American peoples against their Yankee and native oppressors, doubly weakens North American imperialism. For this reason, the Conference calls for the development of maximum militant solidarity with Latin American peoples. It especially calls for solidarity with the Dominican Republic, whose territory was violated and bloodied by Yankee marines, who continue to occupy the country under the befouled and bloody label of the OAS, the Ministry of Colonies of the United States. There is scarcely a day on which a patriot does not fall assassinated in the Dominican Republic. Its people, who have given such a heroic example by resisting for weeks on end and with very few weapons the thousands of Yankee marines and airborne troops, need the most energetic support from all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Puerto Rico remains under the colonial domination of North American imperialism, that not only denies it its rights to independence, but has also turned it into a huge military base equipped with atomic weapons and from which the government of the United States organises interventionist actions in Latin American countries. We express our solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, and demand the abolition of colonialism in that and other American territories, such as the Guianas, Martinique and Guadeloupe. We recognise the transfer of full powers to the puppet coalition government of British Guiana as merely nominal independence,

which is meant as a screen for the establishment of an Anglo-American and neo-colonialist state.

Special mention should be made of the solidarity with Cuba, whose people defend and carry on their revolution, building socialism only 90 miles away from the United States. Its selection as site of the First Solidarity Conference of the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America is the highest acknowledgement of its Revolution and of its significance for the peoples of the three continents. Cuba, a small country, located geographically near the United States and surrounded by puppet governments submissive to Yankee imperialists and therefore hostile to her, thousands of miles away from the socialist countries, from whom she receives solid support, has proved, with the victory of its Revolution, despite all the aggressions carried out or encouraged by the United States, that when a people is determined to fight until death for its freedom and independence, with a firm and unyielding leadership, the revolution is both possible and invincible. That is why it is a source of encouragement and stimulus for all the peoples of the three continents who fight for their full national liberation. That is also why the imperialists have tried to check the militant support of the Cuban Revolution, by reverting to the most brutal forms of intervention.

But nothing can stop the development of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. Venezuela proves this. The support of North American imperialists to the Venezuelan oligarchy has been unable to choke the struggle for liberation, just as the high budgets fed by the oil boom, which is a source of fabulous riches for the Yankee monopolies, or the terror unleashed against the heroic brother country, have failed.

The guerrilla fight is consolidating itself and growing, and to the war cry "Free our country or die for Venezuela!", their liberation forces are forging future victory with heroic blows.

The Panama Canal Zone is being used as a springboard for the invasion

of the countries fighting for their liberation, and with the military base at Guantanamo and the bases at Puerto Rico, it forms the Caribbean triangle. This is done against the will of the Panamanian people, who have suffered the aggression of Yankee troops for demanding the return of the Zone and the Canal, and the respect of their sovereign rights in all of their territory.

Throughout all Latin America the fight for liberation, justly called second war of independence, extends together with the countries already taking part in armed action. Other Latin American peoples are fighting at various levels and with very different methods. The very powerful working class strikes, the activities in solidarity with Cuba and the Dominican Republic, the public demonstrations for the defence of liberty, the self-sacrificing underground struggle against tyrannies, and the revolutionary actions of the masses, announce that in all Latin America the hour of liberation has come.

In the United States, principal bastion of imperialism and reaction, the

struggle of the Negro people against the hateful discrimination which it is subjected to, is intensifying every day, as also is the opposition of the North American people to the foul war that the Johnson administration is carrying on against Vietnam. The Conference greets these just struggles and calls upon all progressive and democratic forces of the three continents and of the world to give them their warm support.

The Conference further proclaims the necessity for establishing closer relations of cooperation with socialist countries, the working class and other revolutionary and progressive organisations of the peoples of Europe and of North America.

Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the peoples of the three continents respond with active, dynamic and militant solidarity and with the will to meet every imperialist aggression with revolutionary action, pledging themselves to this fight until they totally liquidate every form of oppression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

## RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America,

**Considering:** The historic significance of the Cuban Revolution for the developments for national liberation in these three continents;

**Considering:** That since the revolutionary victory of the Cuban people an essential turn has taken place in the process of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, and that thus the national liberation of this continent has reached a higher stage;

**Verifying:** That the imperialist government of the United States has not ceased in its purposes of crushing the Cuban Revolution by resorting to every means, such as the brutal economic blockade, implacable political hostility, continuous infiltration of spies, saboteurs and subversive agents, mer-

cenary invasion, provocation from the Yankee military base arbitrarily located in its territory, acts of vandalism, and by maintaining a real permanent threat of direct armed attack;

**Verifying:** That the heroic Cuban people have firmly answered imperialist aggression and have maintained themselves on the alert to face and defeat any attack, as they did in Playa Giron, when in just 72 hours they inflicted on North American imperialism its first military defeat in America, and at the same time that they make efforts and succeed on all fronts, have obtained great victories in the field of education, in the extraordinary campaign against illiteracy, in the culture of the people, in public health, and in the field of economy, whose most important achievement was the 1965 sugar harvest;

## RESOLVES:

To express its full support to the Cuban Revolution, as a significant far-reaching event for the national liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America and all oppressed peoples of the world;

TO STRONGLY CONDEMN the unceasing aggressions that the government of the United States has been carrying on in its vain intentions to destroy the achievements that the Cuban people have won through armed struggle and impelled with their work and efforts;

TO MAKE THEIRS the demands contained in different aspects expressed by Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolution:

1. The ceasing of the economic blockade and all commercial and economic pressures exerted by the United States in all parts of the world against our country.

2. The ceasing of all subversive activities, launchings and landings of arms and explosives by land or air, organisation of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, actions that

are carried out from the territory of the United States and other accomplice countries.

3. The ceasing of all piratical attacks carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.

4. The ceasing of all the violations of our naval and air space by U. S. planes and warships.

5. Dismantlement of the naval base of Guantanamo and restitution of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States;

TO DEVELOP to a larger extent among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, demonstrations of solidarity and support towards the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, which on the very threshold of the North American empire carry on the first socialist revolution of America, destroying the dogma of geographic fatalism and showing the possibilities of revolutionary struggle and victory to the people of this continent;

DECLARES: That any aggression of North American imperialists against the revolutionary people of Cuba will meet the retaliation of the sister countries of the three continents.

## RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE SO-CALLED INTER-AMERICAN PEACE FORCE AND THE GOVERNMENTS THAT SUPPORT IT

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Considering:** That Yankee imperialism landed forty-two thousand men in the Dominican Republic to check the revolutionary advance of the people of that country, at the time it was carrying on an armed struggle for democratic liberties;

**Considering:** That the imperialist forces murdered more than four thousand Dominican men, women, children and elder persons who aspired to make true the rights of the people, and who struggled to achieve a patriotic and revolutionary government that would

raise the banner of the Constitution of 1963;

**Considering:** That with the aim of disguising and masking the hated and brutal Yankee intervention in the Dominican Republic, the Organisation of American States (OAS) transformed North American troops and troops of the puppet governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, into their instrument, the so-called Inter-American Peace Force;

**Considering:** That the so-called Inter-American Peace Force is but a Yankee military force trampling on Dominican sovereignty, which has cost so much blood to these heroic people in the

course of their historic process, while the OAS tries to conceal all the crimes perpetrated by Yankee imperialism with the participation of the Latin-American puppet troops, by labelling as peace its aggression and counter-revolutionary war;

**Considering:** That the Inter-American Peace Force represents the armed counter-revolution of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, and that it is necessary to impose imperialist violence in the strongest and most resolute way, so as to encourage our peoples against the leader and main force of the world imperialist system;

**Considering:** That the abject governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, that submissively have lent themselves to the savage occupation of the Dominican Republic, have humiliated their own peoples with their anti-national and treacherous behaviour, contrary to the

great patriotic and revolutionary tradition of Latin America;

#### RESOLVES:

1. To condemn the so-called Inter-American Peace Force, actually a Yankee repressive army disguised as Latin American and that forcibly occupies today the territory of the brother people of the Dominican Republic, tearing their sovereignty apart;
2. To demand the immediate withdrawal of the Yankee occupation forces, as well as Latin American puppet troops from Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica;
3. To condemn the governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica that have landed their troops on Dominican soil, against the will of their own peoples, carrying out the command of Yankee imperialism.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE INTER-AMERICAN PEACE FORCE

The Inter-American Peace Force, recently created by North American imperialism through the Organisation of American States (OAS), constitutes an instrument of terror and aggression used by the United States.

Its purpose fundamentally consists of intervening in all countries where, according to the opinion of North American government officials, the national liberation movement has made fundamental advances in the struggle towards the conquest of power.

It began to operate in the Dominican Republic in April, as a consequence of the heroic action of the Dominican people, who decided to find a revolutionary solution to the existing social and political situation of the country. From that moment on, the Inter-American Peace Force has been increasing its military strength under the actual command of North American Army officers and under the fictitious or simulated direction of Latin American Army officers.

The Inter-American Peace Force was not legally created as a permanent body by the Organisation of American States, but the O.A.S. is ready to give it the legal existence which facts have already evidenced.

This body constitutes the organised union of the reactionary military officers of Latin America and its creation is in itself, a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of all Latin American states and of the rights of the peoples to self-determination.

The action of this military unit is an expression of the intentions of imperialism towards the movements for national liberation, which should prepare themselves to face this new element added to the complex of circumstances surrounding the actions of liberation.

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the action of the Inter-Amer-

ican Peace Force and agrees to offer militant solidarity to the peoples who are facing and will face it as a neces-

sary corollary of their aspirations of liberty, sovereignty and self-determination.

## RESOLUTION ON THE O. A. S.

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America declares:

1. That since its proclamation, in the past century, the doctrine of the so-called Pan-Americanism came forth to prevent the regional unity of Latin America and to infuse new life to the Monroe Doctrine, which is the base of the imperial hegemony policy of the United States in Latin America.
2. That the Organisation of American States, within the Inter-American System, is the instrument created in post-war years and fitted to the new conditions begotten by it, to carry out the traditional policy of plunder and loot of the United States in the Western Hemisphere.
3. That the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro, signed in 1947, is the first institutional manifestation of the "cold war" in America, and through it the United States has bound the Latin American countries to its strategy of military aggression.
4. That the provisions of the constitution of the OAS, that is, the Charter of Bogota, establish close links between the Organisation and the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, thus binding the Organisation of American States to the political and military obligations of the said Treaty.
5. That since its shameful complicity with the military aggression of the United States against the people of Korea in 1950, the Organisation of American States has followed the same imperialist line of "anti-communism" and "cold war", becoming a mere appendix of the aggressive North American foreign policy.
6. That in 1954 the Organisation of American States impudently violated its own Charter, brutally trampling on the principles of non-intervention, a cornerstone of the Inter-American system, when in connivance with the exploiting monopolist interests of the United Fruit Company plotted the invasion of Guatemala and the overthrow of its popular and democratic regime.
7. That since the victory of the Cuban Revolution in January, 1959 the Organisation of American States, despite the rightful and numerous denunciations of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba—systematically ignored by that organisation—has concealed the cowardly, criminal and illegal activities of the United States when the latter, with the complicity of the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and others, and using the territories of these countries, promoted the subversion and the launching of the mercenary invasion against Cuba that ended in ominous defeat in Playa Giron.
8. That with the complicity of the Organisation of American States, dozens of piratical attacks were launched from military bases located in the United States and in countries of the Caribbean, scores of provocations and armed aggressions have been carried out from the Guantanamo Naval Base—a piece of Cuban territory occupied by the military forces of the United States Government—and countless violations of the sovereign air space of Cuba have been committed by military North American planes.
9. That once more, at the beginning of 1964, the OAS beheld in guilty silence the massacre of hundreds of young Panamanians by the United States military forces stationed in the Canal Zone, ignoring the just Panamanian denunciations.

10. That the Organisation of American States, with unprecedented cynicism, and letting the aggressors play the role of prosecutors of their own victims, illegally and arbitrarily decided the expulsion of Cuba from the Organisation, and imposed all kinds of sanctions against the people and the revolutionary government of Cuba, in open contradiction of the very principles of the Charter of Bogota.
11. That with the creation of the so-called "Inter-American Peace Force" at the time of the armed invasion of the Dominican Republic by military forces of the United States, the Organisation of American States has become the gendarme of the fraternal peoples of the continent and a threat to the peace and security of the world.
12. That in open contradiction with all principles of International Law, including that of non-intervention, formulated in the Charter of Bogota, the Organisation of American States has established a trusteeship in the Dominican Republic, maintaining at the same time the military occupation of that country.
13. That the isolated positions adopted in recent years by several Latin American governments in regard to certain aspects of the pro-imperialist policy of the Organisation of

American States (OAS), have not and could not frustrate or even diminish the anti-democratic nature of this Organisation.

**Consequently**, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in condemning the abject actions of the OAS, servile instrument of the policy of economic, political and military domination of Yankee imperialism in Latin America,

#### PROCLAIM:

That neither the peoples of Latin America nor the governments that may come into power as a result of the victory of the national liberation movements in this continent are bound to any agreements or treaties of the Organisation of American States, particularly the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and those that deny in practise the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, sovereignty, equality and independence;

That the Organisation of American States has no juridical or moral authority whatsoever to represent the Latin American continent;

That the only organisation able to represent Latin America, will be the one created by the democratic and anti-imperialist governments born from the free will of the peoples of Latin America.

### RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from January 3 to 15, 1966,

**Aware:** That the House of Representatives of the United States of America has adopted Resolution 560, dated September 20, 1965, ratifying the continuation of the policy of intervention of the Government of the United States, as previously stated in the cynical Monroe Doctrine, and by which they ar-

rogate the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any country in the continent, with total contempt for the peoples, and ignoring the elementary rules of international relations, in violation of the treaties that express the right of self determination;

**Considering:** That North American imperialists impute to external forces the increasing fight of the Latin American peoples for the liquidation of foreign

domination which they themselves exert;

**Considering:** That the recent armed interventions of the imperialist Government of the United States in the Dominican Republic, Panama and other countries, add up to the long list of aggressions suffered by Latin American countries for almost one century;

**Considering:** That with resolutions of this kind the imperialists pretend to legalise their piratical actions;

#### PROCLAIMS:

The right of all peoples to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence and calls upon all the peoples to offer their moral and material support to those who fight for the liberation of Latin America.

The participants in this Conference express their solidarity to the Latin American peoples whose sovereignty is threatened by the above mentioned

Resolution and they:

1. Reject the pretensions of the House of Representatives of the United States that arbitrarily intends to arrogate the right of intervening in the internal affairs of Latin American countries.
2. Proclaim the right of the peoples of Latin America and of the whole world to carry out the social, economic and political changes they deem necessary.
3. Ratify their support to the principle of total respect for the sovereignty of all States.
4. Proclaim the right of the peoples and governments of Latin America to request the assistance of any other state in the world in case the imperialists intervene in their internal affairs, and the right and duty of all countries to offer moral and material support to the peoples of our continent.

### GENERAL RESOLUTION ON WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966,

**Considering:** The trustworthy antecedents on the militarism of West Germany, and its policy directed to make West Germany a North American military base, equipped with atomic weapons, making it the principal focus of war in Europe as well as for its colonialist ambitions,

#### AGREES:

To denounce the close relationship between Yankee imperialism and the imperialism of West Germany in the development of an aggressive policy which endangers world peace.

The imperialism of West Germany, principal ally of North American imperialism, attempts against the peace, liberty and independence of the peoples.

The Conference condemns the imperialism of West Germany and considers that its defeat is an important objective in the struggle of the peoples.

### RESOLUTION ON THE USE OF GURKHAS BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND OTHER COUNTRIES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, considering the use of mercenaries, especially Gurkhas from Nepal, to check the liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and all parts of the world, unanimously condemns such practises and demands that the

Nepalese Government immediately revoke any treaty with British imperialism which allows the use of Gurkhas by British imperialism and other countries as tools of intimidation and aggression in North Kalimantan or elsewhere and under whatever other circumstances.

## RESOLUTION ON MILITARY PACTS AND FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

This Conference takes note of the struggle of the people all over the world against aggressive military pacts, military bases on foreign soil, the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other nations as aggravating cold war tensions and undermining the independence and sovereignty of nations.

The U. S. Government is taking military assistance of NATO powers to escalate the war in Vietnam. The Seventh Fleet is being used in a vain attempt to crush the liberation struggle of the brave people of South Vietnam. It is using the bases and troops of the military pact members against the people of Vietnam.

The hundreds of military bases set up by the U. S. and other imperialist powers

in Asia, Africa and Latin America are being used for espionage, sabotage and provocations and for black-mailing the free countries, and against those peoples who are fighting for national independence.

This Conference, in the interests of independence and sovereignty of nations and in the interest of world peace demands:

1. That all aggressive military pacts and alliances be abrogated;
2. That all foreign military bases be dismantled;
3. That all foreign troops be withdrawn.

## RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Considering:** That the imperialists have created a vast system of military bases, which are in fact police detachments in charge of protecting their economic interests in every part of the world, and that are, at the same time, the instruments for hindering and curbing the advance of the struggle of the peoples for their liberation and self-determination in the countries where they are located;

**Persuaded:** That these military bases are generally established in those territories without the consent of the peoples, who on various occasions have expressed their disapproval of the existence of those installations, so that in many of those countries great mass movements fight for the suppression of the said bases;

**Conscious:** That North American imperialism has established thousands of

bases and military installations and has placed tens of thousands of its troops in foreign countries where the people have expressed their opposition, and where great mass movements in favour of the liquidation of those bases and against imperialism headed by the United States, have taken place;

**Conscious:** That this system of aggressive bases against the interests of our peoples is also a fundamental part of the warlike, violent and tense policy of the imperialists, designed to fulfill their purposes of exploitation, and being a constant danger to the sovereignty of the States;

**Taking notice:** That the presence of troops in several countries of the three continents is another of the three elements of domination at the service of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and that it also represents a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the states, a means of exerting pressure against the nations and a hindrance to their

emancipation and development, and a permanent threat to international peace;

**Condemns:** The existence of military bases and the presence of troops in foreign countries;

**Demands:** The immediate withdrawal of all troops, the dismantling of the military bases and the restitution of the territories encroached;

**Recognises:** The right of the peoples and governments to refuse to accept the maintenance in their territories of such means of pressure, which attempt against their sovereignty and supports the struggle for their definitive liquidation;

**Calls:** On all the peoples to fight with decision against the establishment of

any kind of foreign military installations and the quartering of foreign troops in other countries;

**Denounces:** With the greatest energy the schemes of the imperialist powers, that have forcibly imposed upon the recently-emancipated countries such treaties that legalise the maintenance of bases and the presence of troops for the purpose of perpetuating their domination and of threatening the security of other peoples;

**Supports:** The just claim of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba for the withdrawal of the military base that the Government of the United States of America has installed in the Bay of Guantanamo, against the will of the Cuban people, and from which it has launched, and still launches, provocative and subversive actions.

## RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

The Tricontinental Conference takes note of the preparation for the establishment of new military bases by British and American imperialism in some of the islands in the Indian Ocean.

This is part of Anglo-American strategic plans of strengthening military positions east of Suez and Britain is to provide the island sites while the U.S.A. is to meet the cost of installation and equipment.

This Conference condemns the moves as a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of all countries which are in the Indian Ocean area, such as those of East Africa, Pakistan, India, Burma,

Indonesia and Ceylon and calls upon the peoples of the three continents to launch a huge campaign against the establishment of such military bases in coordination with the solidarity movements in the countries of the Indian Ocean area.

This Conference further notes that these Anglo-American bases in the Indian Ocean are intended as an instrument to suppress the growing national liberation forces in the Seychelles, Chaglos, Mauritius, Reunion, the Cocos, the Comoro and other islands, as well as to convert them into neo-colonialist enclaves of the French, British and U.S. imperialists.

## PARTIAL RESOLUTION ON MILITARY BASES

All foreign military bases are tools in the hands of the imperialists to maintain colonialism and neo-colonialism, to perpetuate the imperialist way of life as is shown adequately by the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, the case

of Cyprus and the Federation of South Arabia and others, to contain and obstruct the national growth of the developing countries, in the pursuit of their respective national identities.

## RESOLUTION CONCERNING PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Peaceful coexistence refers exclusively to the relations among states of different social and political regimes.

It can not refer to coexistence among the exploited social classes and their exploiters within a country; it can neither refer to the struggle of the peoples victimised by imperialism against their oppressors.

Consequently, the arguments of peaceful coexistence can not be wielded the way imperialism and its followers have pretended, to limit the rights of the peoples to make their social revolution.

Peaceful coexistence assumes the unrestricted respect for the principle

of self-determination of the nations and sovereignty of all states, big and small.

The defence of the principle of peaceful coexistence conveys the repulse of imperialistic aggression, of the criminal use of force against the people and of the decisive repulse of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other states, all of which represents the violation of the principle of peaceful coexistence. It entitles the progressive and democratic states of the world to repel the aggressor and help the victims with all their means. When all the democratic and progressive states offer their most decisive help to the victimised peoples, they are keeping alive the principle of peaceful coexistence.

## RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL WEEK OF SOLIDARITY

On the annual celebration of the week of solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism;

**Considering:** The international situation, characterised by the expansion of imperialist aggressions, headed by United States imperialism and directed against the independence, freedom and national rights of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; understanding the extraordinary importance of the efforts of the peoples of all continents to resist imperialist aggression and the strengthening of the solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are carrying out struggle for independence and economic liberation;

**Recognising:** The historical importance of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which began a new stage in the struggle of the peoples against the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, headed by North American imperialism;

### **The Conference resolves:**

To celebrate annually, from January 3 to 10, the International Week of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, in honour of the First Solidarity Conference of the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Conference calls upon all anti-imperialist forces, progressive and democratic organisations to participate actively in the celebration of an international week of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, organising rallies and meetings intended to unite the peoples of the three continents against imperialism and colonialism.

May the imperialists feel in the days of the international week of solidarity all the strength and power of the fraternal ties uniting fighters against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, their strong determination to continue their fight until the complete extermination of all those oppressive and reactionary forces throughout our beautiful planet.

## GENERAL RESOLUTION ON EL MEHDI BEN BARKA

**Considering:** That Comrade El Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of People's Forces of Morocco and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Tricontinental Conference, was kidnapped in Paris on October 29, 1965;

**Considering:** That nearly three months have elapsed since the disappearance of brother Ben Barka with no news about his fate, and that the most alarming possibilities can not be ruled out;

**Considering:** That the results of the investigations made public establish without the slightest doubt the total, direct and indirect responsibility of General Oufkir, Minister of Interior of the Moroccan Government, as well as the complicity of certain French official services;

**Considering:** That the French Head of State has given his own personal formal assurances that investigations will be conducted to the end with diligence and firmness;

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**D e n o u n c e s :** The hideous crime against our comrade Ben Barka, which can only serve the interests of imperialism and reaction;

**P a y s :** A vibrant and fraternal homage to Mehdi Ben Barka, who has done so much for the progress of his people and for the cause of the revolutionary movement in the three continents;

**D e m a n d s :** That this tragic affair be elucidated and that any guilty parties, whether they be in Morocco, France or anywhere else be mercilessly punished;

**N o t e s :** The solemn commitment of President De Gaulle that the investigation be pursued regardless of its implications and consequences;

**D e c l a r e s :** That all the organisations taking part in the Conference and the "Committees of Solidarity" with Ben Barka strive untiringly in order to obtain a full clarification of his disappearance.

## RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF A COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARITY WITH EL MEHDI BEN BARKA

In view of the fact that the kidnapping of El Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco and president of the Organising Committee of the Tricontinental Conference, is an offense to all revolutionary movements of the Third World;

In view of the fact that the fate of our comrade is still unknown and that there are alarming news which make us fear the worst, since three months have already elapsed since his disappearance;

In view of the fact that the search

for him may take longer than is expected;

The Conference decides to create a Committee of Solidarity with Ben Barka, presided by the National Union of Popular Forces with the purpose of trying all means in order to establish the true facts of this affair.

The executive organisation which will be created by this Conference will undertake the implementation of the necessary measures for the establishment of that Committee, in cooperation with the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco.

## MESSAGE TO THE WORKING CLASS AND TO THE POPULAR MOVEMENTS OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

The delegates of the popular movements, gathered at the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa,

Asia and Latin America, representing the nations of three continents that have suffered the secular exploitation

of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, practised by the ruling classes of the United States and the principal capitalist powers of Europe; conscious of the fact that in order to defeat imperialism, headed by the United States, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the peoples of Western Europe and of North America must strengthen their solidarity in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, take this opportunity to address ourselves to the workers, intellectuals, students and the progressive sectors of those countries.

We salute the struggle waged by the working class of the capitalist countries of Europe and North America against the policy of war and aggression of the imperialists and for the liquidation of the exploitation to which they are subjected. The Conference especially acknowledges and welcomes

the increasing popular movements in the United States against the interventionist and aggressive war launched by the North American Government in Vietnam, and urges the peoples of the United States to carry on this struggle.

The Conference calls upon the working class and the popular movements in Europe and North America to increase and tighten the bonds of solidarity and cooperation with the peoples and liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our struggle is the same, and we have a common enemy. The liberation of Africa, Asia and Latin America will accelerate the emancipation of the oppressed classes in capitalist countries. The new world for which we fight today opens great perspectives to all mankind, and we all have a place of honour in the fight to conquer it.

#### MESSAGE OF SALUTATION AND STIMULUS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, sends the following message to the people of the United States:

We, the representatives of the peoples of the three continents, which constitute the immense majority of mankind, meeting in Havana, a few miles from the coast of the United States, wish to send our message of solidarity and stimulus to the North American people for the struggle they carry on against the war and aggressive policy of the government of President Johnson in various parts of the world.

We greet with emotion the great movement of protest and condemnation that is extending throughout the country against the war of aggression waged against the people of Vietnam by the Johnson administration.

We fraternally greet the position taken by the working people, the most distinguished professors and intellectuals of that nation, whose civic and courageous protests are contributing to

enlighten public opinion on the despicable conduct of their Government.

We congratulate the youth of your country who, risking unjust prosecution and punishment, refuse to become accomplices of the crime of genocide perpetrated by Johnson's Government against the Vietnamese people, and who destroy their draft cards in order not to participate in the slaughter.

We strongly wish that the spirit of victory and unity in the struggle against the forces of reaction should reach, as a stimulus, the brave fighters for civil rights of the Negro people of the United States, who for centuries have been submitted to a double form of discrimination and exploitation because of their social condition and the colour of their skin.

The participants in this Conference, when expressing their solidarity, unite their voices with those of all the honest citizens of that country, to protest against the barbarous crimes committed on both black and white citizens by

the savage fanatics grouped in the Ku Klux Klan and in other racist organisations, and in demand of an absolute respect for the lives of the Negro people of the United States.

There is no doubt that the war in Vietnam is contributing to awaken consciences, for it has shown the greed of the North American monopolies, that do not hesitate to commit the most atrocious crimes in order to obtain the maximum profit from war.

At times using the pretext of defending democracy or liberty, and at others the argument of protecting the lives and properties of North Americans living in Latin America, Johnson's Government attacks and continues to attack sovereignty; it attacks the democracy that it claims to represent and defend; it attacks the national liberation movements; it attacks international law and the lives of the peoples.

Nevertheless, it is not only against Johnson or Goldwater that the citizens of the United States fight; they also fight against the monolithic and inflexible imperialist policy, based on the power of the dollar, whose spokesmen talk of liberty and democracy, but at the same time use, against the people of Vietnam, the hideous napalm and white phosphorous toxic gas, cynically called "benevolent incapacitator", and commit every crime in their fruitless efforts to crush an indomitable people who will not stop their heroic fight until they have achieved victory.

The participants in the Conference view with satisfaction how the dif-

ferent actions taken by the North American people against war and towards the strengthening of peace, in favour of civil rights and against the policy of aggression carried on by the agents of the monopolies, converge in a stream each day more powerful.

We rejoice in the active presence of the working people, of the progressive intellectuals and professors, of students and young people who, significantly, march in the front ranks of the courageous actions against the criminal policy of Johnson's Government.

Each action taken by the people of the United States in these difficult and adverse circumstances, has the support of our peoples who also, in the three continents, are facing the same cruel enemy.

The moment has arrived for going beyond the stage of simple declarations and entering into total action. It is necessary that Johnson and his warmongering clique understand that none of their vandalic acts will remain unpunished. It is necessary that North American mothers prevent their sons from being sent to our countries as cannon fodder to defend the selfish interests of a few score of privileged men. It is necessary that the youth of your country refuse to die in order to keep alive those who take advantage of and speculate with the suffering and the blood shed by the great exploited masses; that the North American people cooperate with our peoples through their struggles, in the untiring fight to defeat the common enemy of the peoples of the world, namely North American imperialism.

## RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966;

### Considering:

1. That racial violence and brutal discrimination unleashed in the United States against Afro-American men,

women and children and the white humanitarians who sympathise with them, is another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;

2. That the Afro-Americans have the universal and inalienable right to legitimate defence, just as all other oppressed people who struggle under the most

brutal repression and tyranny, for human rights and full liberation;

3. That the struggle of Afro-Americans against racial oppression in the United States has never been so widespread or so violent, and that the people in the Negro ghettos are increasingly identifying their struggle for liberation with that of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

4. That during the riots in Watts (Los Angeles) and Chicago, Afro-Americans openly proclaimed they were fighting a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers against racism and North American imperialism;

5. That, although, geographically, Afro-Americans do not form part of Latin America, Africa or Asia, the special circumstances of the oppression which they suffer, to which they are

subject, and the struggle they are waging, merits special consideration and demands that the Tricontinental Organisation create the necessary mechanisms so that these brothers in the struggle will in the future, be able to participate in the great battle being fought by the peoples of the three continents;

#### RESOLVES:

1. To strongly support the Afro-Americans in their struggle for human rights and survival, in common with the progressive forces which defend this struggle;

2. To condemn the murder of Malcolm X, the arbitrary imprisonment of William Epton, and likewise of the victims of the violence unleashed by imperialism against the leaders and militants who face it.

### GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION ON COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in the capital of Cuba, verifies that notwithstanding the undeniable struggle of the oppressed peoples for their liberation, there still remain millions who are victims of colonialism and of neo-colonialism. Our time is characterised by great revolutionary progresses. The process of creation of a new world, more perfect, more harmonious and more just is taking place in front of us. We are living in the times of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, in the times of the awakening and of the renaissance of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism, at the breakdown of its colonial system, resorts to new methods in order to maintain, under its control, countries close to independence and to reduce to a mere formal political independence those nations that have already obtained independence by breaking their colonial chains. Thus neo-colonialism has been added to the old colonialist policy, already in agony.

Imperialism is the result of the domination in developed capitalist countries of cartels, trusts and financial corporations, that have as a main and final purpose the obtention of maximum profit, one of its most important sources being the looting and exploitation of colonies and of neo-colonial countries, principally by using the exportation of capital which permits the owner of that capital to lord it over their economies. In the colonies, imperialism adapts traditional societies to the purposes of its exploitation, turning them into simple dependencies of the metropolis, suppliers of cheap raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods of the powers that own them. In the case of the countries that have won their political independence, imperialism does its best to maintain them in similar economic dependence through the possession of their main sources of wealth and by monopolist control of their foreign trade and of their financial resources that together with the investments of capitals on the part of imperialist monopolies, form the principal support of neo-

colonialism. The first victims of this neo-colonialist policy were the Latin American countries, the majority of which, having achieved their political independence in the last century, were submitted to the economic penetration of the rising British imperialism, in the first place, and, on a smaller scale, French imperialism; then, later on, in a predominant way, North American imperialism.

In Africa and Asia, using similar methods, British and French imperialists, when the recognition of national independence became unavoidable for them in numerous countries of those two continents, because of the development of national conscience and the revolutionary struggle of their peoples, made great efforts to deprive this independence of its real contents, to reduce it to a formal independence in a great measure, which has forced the peoples of the already independent countries of Africa and Asia to fight to redeem their sources of wealth, consolidating in this way their political independence.

To guarantee its domination, imperialism tries to destroy the national, cultural and spiritual values of each country, and forms an apparatus of domination which includes national armed forces docile to their policy, the establishment of military bases, the creation of organs of repression, with technical advisers from imperialist countries, the signing of secret military pacts, the formation of regional and international warmongering alliances; it encourages and carries out "coups d'état" and political assassinations to assure puppet governments; at the same time that it resorts, in the economic field, to deceptive formulas, such as the so-called Alliance for Progress, Food for Peace, and others similar, while using international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to re-enforce its economic domination.

Imperialism uses the old ruling classes for its domination, the so-called bourgeois compradores, certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie which it

controls through financial instruments, and it even deceives and subdues sectors of the exploited classes and resorts to various forms of corruption through venal leaders of the so-called "free" trade unions and organisations that are tools of imperialism. Other means used by imperialism are the policy, carefully stimulated, of divide-and-rule, using for this the religious, cultural, racial and political ideology of the oppressed masses, as well as the suppression and prohibition of informative literature from the socialist countries and of the anti-imperialist organisations in other countries, and a calculated policy to control and distort any news about the national liberation struggle, with the purpose of keeping these oppressed peoples in ignorance of these facts.

In its useless efforts to maintain the colonies and perpetuate colonial domination, imperialist countries use the most brutal methods of repression and armed aggression in its most savage forms, just as Portugal does in its African colonies. North American imperialism, hiding behind the flag of the United Nations, after the proclamation of independence in the Congo, brutally intervened and overthrew the legitimate government of Lumumba. Furthermore, the United States and Belgium, with the help of the United Kingdom, have carried out an open repression in the Congo, using mercenaries. Imperialism also uses other more subtle forms, just as French colonialism does in the Antilles.

For the countries that have recently attained their independence, their greatest threat is the subtle methods of neo-colonialism, that even under the excuse of giving economic "aid" to those countries, makes sure of new ways of penetration in their economies for the monopolies. It is very important to denounce vigorously the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, not only in its political aspects but in its economic, military and cultural aspects as well.

A first important characteristic is joint colonialism. Formerly, each imperialist power resolved by itself the

problems of its colonies, opposing the interference of other powers in what was considered its "sphere of influence". This was the case of the European colonial powers in Africa and in Asia. And, in America, the expression of this policy was the "Monroe Doctrine". The only base for the division of the colonies and of the spheres of influence was the correlation of forces of the imperialist powers.

Today this situation has changed. The rising of the socialist world, the growing drive of the national liberation movement, the uncontrollable crumbling of the world of colonial slavery have determined the impotence of the colonialist powers, when acting separately, to suppress the national liberation movements. If in 1888, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy were able to suppress by the most bestial force and terror the popular struggles of East Africa in order to subdue them, these times have gone, as proved by the cases of Suez and Algeria.

At the time of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, British and French imperialists, with the support of Israel, even resorted to armed aggression, and suffered a defeat.

In Algeria, French imperialists engaged all their military resources, but the National Liberation Movement triumphed. This impotence determined the imperialists to resort to collective colonialism, that is to say, to joint participation against the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, as in the Congo and prior to that, in Algeria; joint exploitation by North American, British, French, West German and Japanese monopolies of the natural resources of the Asian and African countries; use of military alliances in the struggle against the national liberation movements, such as the NATO, in the case of Algeria and now of the Portuguese colonies, the SEATO in Laos and against Vietnam, and the proposed NEATO, by the signing of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty. Yankee imperialists have been able to use the United Nations Organisation to cloak their neo-colonialist plans, as in the

well-known cases of the Congo and Korea, and they try to use it for the same ends in other countries.

Never before had imperialists displayed so great a concern for the defence of their common class interests. The collapse of colonialism threatens to liquidate their sources of strategic raw materials, their fulcrums for domination in all the continents to deal a mortal blow to their "hinterlands" on which they depend for their existence. Because of this, the traditional colonialist countries are forced to give up their positions to the United States and to the Federal Republic of Germany, at present the strongest imperialist powers. Six years ago, a Belgian newspaper, "La Nation Belge", clearly explained the situation:

"Only four colonial powers remain in Continental Europe: Belgium, France, Spain, and Portugal, which all together have a population of eighty million. To imagine that they can offer resistance alone, or even together... is an unrealisable dream. Under these circumstances, and with the present development of events, all Europeans run the risk of being expelled from Africa... The action required is evident: the supreme rights of a few and feeble countries should be replaced by the powerful sovereignty of all Europe"... To this could be added: "and of the United States".

Joint colonialism is not an expression of the strength of the colonialist powers, but just the opposite, of their increasing weakness. And it does not eliminate the inter-imperialist contradictions, nor the fierce struggle of the monopolies of each imperialist country to displace their rivals from other countries, because these contradictions are inseparable from imperialism.

An outstanding example of joint colonialism is that of the European Common Market in its relations with the African countries, of which French imperialism is the main beneficiary. By means of the concession of preferences, and even the duty-free entry of goods into African countries associated with the E.C.M., the imperialist countries which form it secure tariff advantages for

their manufactured goods exported to those African countries, as well as advantages for the investment of their capitals.

Thus, the old European colonial powers apply in their former colonies in Africa and Asia the same policy which the United States applied in the independent countries of Latin America where, under the disguise of a policy of trade reciprocity, it secured a privileged, and sometimes even a monopolist position in the foreign trade of these countries, achieving at the same time exceptional advantages for its investments, with which it has controlled the main sources of riches of most of the Latin American countries. The principal beneficiaries of this typical neo-colonialist policy of the E.C.M. are the French and West German imperialists.

Another important feature of neo-colonialism is the increasing participation of imperialist states, as such, in investments in underdeveloped areas, mainly under the form of the so-called "aid". The imperialist "aid" is, above all, an instrument of oppression of the underdeveloped countries. It is a new form of export of capitals, destined to create the precise conditions for the development of the bellicose plans of the imperialists, particularly those of North America, and also for the exploitation of the natural resources of the above-mentioned underdeveloped countries by imperialist monopolies. This so-called "aid" is generally granted in the form of loans, getting the underdeveloped countries into ever-increasing debts, to the extent that presently it takes many of them over one fourth of their net income in foreign exchange to pay the amortisations and interests of their debts, as is the case of all underdeveloped countries.

These loans of capitalist countries are always conditioned. For example, the country that receives the loan pledges itself to use that loan for buying goods, at exorbitant prices, from the lending country; in this way the imperialists not only receive interest on the loan at a high rate, but also obtain large profits from the sale of their goods.

Another outstanding feature of neo-colonialism is the use of international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank and others at the service of the expansion policy of imperialism, and in particular North American imperialism, because the United States controls these institutions. As a matter of fact, the United States alone has 25 per cent of the votes in the IMF, 34 per cent in the IBRD and 41 per cent in the IDB. Having this control, the United States uses these institutions for its imperialist ends, with this double advantage: it has at its disposal, in addition to its own funds, those of the underdeveloped countries who are members of those institutions, and it does not appear as directly imposing burdensome political and economic conditions on these nations.

An example of this utilisation are the loans granted by the World Bank since its foundation in 1946 to 1959 to 11 African countries, for a total of 627,500,000 dollars. How was this apparently impressive total allocated?

One third of the loans went to the Union of South Africa for the construction and modernising of communications, so as to facilitate the export to the United States of uranium and other strategic materials; for payment of the electric power installations, turbogenerators and other equipment for the uranium mines and other mines in that country. And it so happens that North American monopolies have special "interest" in South African mines, not to mention that these loans were a means of strengthening the fascist and bestially racist government which has been imposed on the black people, which form an overwhelming majority of the population.

The Congo also received, while it was still a Belgian colony, I.B.R.D. loans to construct the communications and to develop the transportation necessary for facilitating the exploitation of uranium and other mineral deposits, the uranium mines of the Union Minière du

Haut-Katanga in particular, which undertaking forms part of the international financial group headed by Nelson Rockefeller.

Numerous similar examples can be cited throughout Africa. In contrast, not a single loan has been granted for a project signifying a basic construction for the industrial development of the African countries, such as that of the Aswan Dam, or, if granted, have been subject to burdensome terms.

As to the International Monetary Fund, the examples of Latin America are well known. The peoples of the Argentine, Bolivia, Peru and others know very well the results of the "plans of stabilisation" imposed by the IMF as a condition for "aid": hunger and poverty for the people, a paradise for the imperialist monopolies.

This colonial and neo-colonial exploitation to which underdeveloped countries are submitted has terrible consequences for the peoples. A dramatic example of these consequences is that the annual rate of per capita income in Asia, Africa and Latin America, excepting the socialist countries of Asia, is less than 140 dollars a year. On the other hand, that of the imperialist powers fed by the plundering and exploitation of the natural resources of the underdeveloped countries is much higher, and in the case of the United States, the main imperialist usufructuary, the rate is 2.506 dollars per year.

North American imperialists, through their Central Intelligence Agency, are trying to divide the National Liberation Movements with racial, sectarian and religious lines and they use vacillating and opportunist elements inside the national liberation movements in an effort to deviate the revolutionary people, efforts in which they use bribery, blackmail and corruption.

This has been proved, among other cases, in those of Guatemala, Iran and the so-called British Guiana. Recent events in Indonesia, which led to the anti-democratic and anti-progressive disturbances, were also instigated by the CIA.

After having analysed the different manifestations of neo-colonialism, the Conference points out that this is a new form of colonial domination and exploitation used by the imperialists, especially by North American imperialism, main exploiter and oppressor of the contemporary world.

Colonialism and neo-colonialism are the biggest cancer of contemporary mankind. It is the duty of every country and people to eliminate them from the face of the globe.

With this end in view, the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America resolves:

1.—To appeal for the militant support for the just struggle of the peoples who fight to achieve their liberation from colonial oppression and to salute the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tome, Principe, the Spanish colonies, Aden and Oman, included in the artificially-created Federation of South Arabia, Kalimantan and Malaya, (including Singapore), Puerto Rico and British Guiana, of Guadeloupe and all other colonial countries and territories struggling for their national independence;

To condemn the policy of massive expatriation practised by French imperialism in respect to the population of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Reunion;

2.—The active and dynamic solidarity with the countries suffering the aggression of imperialists and particularly North American imperialism; in the first place, this solidarity must express itself in relation to Vietnam, the centre of the present struggle against North American imperialism, and whose people is heroically facing and inflicting continuous defeats on the Yankee invading troops and their puppets and is bringing down United States planes that devastate its country. This solidarity must be extended to Laos and to Cambodia, victims of constant United States aggressions;

It must also be actively expressed to Cuba, which suffers the economic blockade of the United States and other

various forms of aggression; and to the Democratic Republic of Korea, and to all countries suffering from the hostility of imperialism, as in the cases of Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania in Africa;

To condemn the reactionary governments in their conspiracy against the people as in the case of Nigeria. This is equally valid in some African States such as Senegal, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Niger, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Morocco, Lybia and Tunisia, whose governments are instruments of neo-colonialism;

3.—To support by all means the national liberation struggles in countries which although formally independent, have long suffered the exploitation and oppression of imperialism in many forms, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Armed liberation struggle is turning into a fundamental manner of struggle in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Oman and Congo (Leopoldville), whose peoples and fighters should be effectively supported;

To support and encourage the peoples of the former British colonies in the Caribbean, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the former African colonies, such as Niger, Senegal, Rwanda, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Dahomey and others that are now under neo-colonial domination, in their struggle for real national liberation;

4.—To proclaim that, confronted with the armed violence that imperialism, headed by North American imperialism, uses to smother the increasing liberation struggle, it is a right and a duty of the peoples who are attacked, to employ revolutionary violence. To uphold with solidarity this struggle in the case of each country and urge all countries of the three Continents to give all their moral support as well as their material, political and diplomatic aid to the revolutionary movements in armed or political struggle, which is necessary for guaranteeing victory over imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the three continents, is also a right and a duty of all the peoples;

5.—To reaffirm solemnly the ten principles approved in Bandung in 1955, to govern relations between States. To condemn, consequently, aggression, intervention, subversion and imperialist control in the States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also the use of arms or any other method employed by imperialists;

To denounce the North American occupation of Okinawa and Ogasawara that were robbed from Japan and turned into dangerous North American military bases to launch aggressions against other countries of Asia, and in particular Vietnam;

6.—To demand the withdrawal of all foreign interventionist forces now in the territory of Congo (Leopoldville) and the cessation of Yankee and Belgian imperialist aggressions as well as the withdrawal of the mercenaries at their service;

7.—To condemn the invasion of the Dominican Republic by Yankee marines and the interventionist troops of the Organisation of American States and to demand their immediate withdrawal;

8.—To denounce the strengthening of the North American and European imperialist policy, that favours reactionary "coups d'etat" in Latin America, Africa and Asia to impose governments subdued by Washington, as in the cases of Ecuador, Honduras and Guatemala, or any other imperialist powers as in the case of some countries in Africa, and to proclaim solidarity with the peoples that are victims of this aggressive policy;

In all these "coups d'etat" that are the expression of neo-colonialist policy of the United States and the European powers in Latin America, the organisation of American States or the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (political and military bloc at the service of North American and European imperialism) have acted as accomplices. The conference energetically condemns this policy. It particularly condemns the recent reactionary "coup" perpetrated in the Dominican Republic;

9.—To demand the most rigorous international sanctions, including meas-

ures of force against the colonialist powers which deny independence to the colonial countries and peoples;

10.—To call on all peoples to support the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, military bastion of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, used for aggression against Cuba and the movements of liberation. This solidarity is of particular importance since in the Caribbean area, where imperialist aggression and anti-imperialist struggle are especially accentuated, the existence of a Yankee colony provided with nuclear weapons, threatens, not only the liberation of Latin America, but also world peace;

11.—To condemn all States allied to Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) that continue to give economic and military aid to the Portuguese government, and to demand the immediate suspension of these activities;

12.—To call upon all the revolutionary governments and all the peoples to give their most active support to the struggle being carried on in South Africa against the inhuman policy of apartheid practised by the fascist government of Verwoerd, as well as to lend militant solidarity to the people of Zimbabwe fighting against the terror imposed by the racist government of Ian Smith. This solidarity is important because the imperialists are trying to set up a colonial group with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, to oppose the independent countries of the National Liberation Movement of Africa;

To call upon all the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents to give their firm support to the campaign of international solidarity, for political and economic sanctions and for the imposition of an embargo on oil and arms against the fascist government supporting white supremacy in South Africa;

Condemns British imperialism for its direct responsibility in creating the conflicting situation in Zimbabwe, submitting the Africans to systematic robbery of their lands, and sharing with

the racist minority the product of the exploitation of this people. British and United States imperialists declare they are opposed to the racist government, in an effort to mislead public opinion, as is revealed by the British government's declaration of "replacing" Smith's regime by another, equally racist, which would allow them to continue the exploitation and plundering of Southern Rhodesia. In fact, the British government sold three submarines to South Africa at the beginning of 1965, and it keeps on training South African parachutists in England; the United States maintains deals with South Africa to furnish it with "ground to air" missiles, in spite of a supposed prohibition;

Appeals to progressive governments and peoples throughout the world to support firmly the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, in their struggle against the treacherous plans of British imperialists and of the fascist regime of South Africa, to establish and maintain puppet governments in those countries. This support is essential, because the imperialists are in the process of establishing neo-colonialist regimes in these countries, thus creating "buffer states" to protect their financial interests in South Africa and in South-West Africa;

13. To develop the most firm solidarity with the black population of the United States struggling against the inhuman practice of racial discrimination imposed by imperialists in the United States.

The Conference also resolves to greet and support the growing struggle that the North American people carry on against the colonial war the United States is waging against Vietnam;

To reaffirm solemnly the inalienable right of all peoples to achieve complete sovereignty and to carry on an internal and external independent policy. The Conference condemns decidedly any violation of the boundaries by imperialist states, and the criminal practices of economic and military blockades directed against the movement of national liberation. The Conference declares its support of all measures directed against

the neo-colonialist policy, and especially declares itself to be:

—in favour of the revision and modification of all bilateral and multilateral agreements imposed by imperialist powers, that conflict, directly or indirectly, with the sovereignty or with the economic interests of the countries that have economic liberty;

—in favour of the eradication of the military bases in the liberated countries, as well as the withdrawal of all troops and foreign military personnel from these countries;

—for the cessation of the undercover activities that the imperialist powers carry on, organising anti-government plots and terrorist activities in the liberated countries.

The Conference calls upon all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces to close ranks in the struggle against imperialism, especially against North American imperialism, chief enemy of the peoples, and to achieve complete victory of the national liberty and independence of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Cuba, reaffirms the unshakable solidarity of the peoples of the three continents with and total support for the people of South-West Africa in

their just struggle against the Verwoerd fascist and racist administration, and for complete national liberation and independence.

## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference condemns the fascist regime of apartheid as the most brutal and barbaric system of racist and national oppression existing in the world today.

The African people are subjected to the worst form of colonial exploitation and slavery conditions under a special type of colonialism exercised by the white minority in South Africa.

Verwoerd's apartheid regime maintains its fascist dominion over the African and non-white peoples in South Africa, through the terror and violence exercised by the police and with unrestricted militarism.

The Verwoerd regime, in complicity with the white racist government of Southern Rhodesia, the fascist Portuguese colonialists of Mozambique and Angola, with the support of international imperialism, is a serious threat to world peace and security.

This Conference considers the bitter and hard militant revolutionary struggle carried on by the people of South Africa for the ousting of the Verwoerd

regime and for liberty and human dignity, an important part of the world's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This Conference urges all the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents to occupy their places in the campaign for international solidarity, in order to impose economic, political and cultural sanctions and place an embargo on petroleum and arms, against the white minority government of South Africa.

Furthermore, it urges all anti-imperialist forces to compel the business partners of South Africa, i.e., Great Britain, U. S. A., France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy and Japan to impose these sanctions.

This Conference vigorously and urgently exhorts all anti-imperialist and democratic organisations of the world to give their full material support to the fighters for the liberty of South Africa, thus contributing to the most effective accomplishment of their armed revolutionary struggle.

## RESOLUTION ON ANGOLA

The First Tricontinental Conference greets the armed struggle carried on by the people of Angola for their national liberation under the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (P. M. L. A.);

**Considering:** the difficult situation created in Southern Africa by the unilateral proclamation of independence of the white minority headed by Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia;

**Considering:** that the existence in this part of Africa of a military bloc formed by Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, is a permanent threat for Africa and world peace and that it tends to suppress the just aspirations of the African peoples oppressed by the Portuguese colonial rule, by the racists of South Africa, and by the white minorities of Southern Rhodesia;

**Considering:** that the development of the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies under the leadership of the Nationalist Organisations united in the C. N. O. P. C. is a most valuable contribution for the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, to the strengthening of African Unity and of all anti-imperialist forces;

**Considering:** that the development of the armed struggle is closely related to the possibilities of transit of arms and troops in the African countries, especially those bordering Angola, the First Tricontinental Conference recommends those countries to comply with and implement the decisions taken at the Fourth Conference of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples, as well as those adopted by the heads of states and governments in Accra, requesting all neighbouring states of the Portuguese colonies to allow the transit of men and supplies necessary for the early success of the liberation movement struggle;

**Appeals** to the solidarity committees of the peoples of the three continents to strengthen their support to the popular movement for the liberation of Angola (P. M. L. A.), which is the organisation that leads the armed struggle of the people of Angola, by all possible means, including the supply of arms.

The Tricontinental Conference recommends that the 4th of February of each year, anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle, be observed as a day of international solidarity with the people of Angola.

## RESOLUTION ON THE ARAB PENINSULA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Supports** the struggle of the people of the Arab Peninsula, under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Front, for the realisation of the following aims:

1. Liberation of the Arab Peninsula from the imperialist Saudi Arabian regime.
2. Establishment of a democratic socialist regime liberating the people from all types of misery, servitude and providing them with a decent free life;

**Denounces** the existence of American or British military bases in the Arab Peninsula, the so-called Saudi Arabia, and demands their immediate liquidation;

**Vehemently** condemns the absolute dictatorship, the atrocities committed by the Saudi Arabian government to suppress the liberties of the people and deprive them of a democratic system of government; and the prevalence of disease, poverty, ignorance and demands the immediate release of political prisoners and those now under arrest;

**Considers** the appellation "Saudi Ara-

bia", of the Arab Peninsula an act that violates the peoples' rights, and demands its immediate change;

**Demands** the establishment of a democratic rule where the peoples exercise full rights;

**Considers** the arms deals concluded between the United States and Britain and the Saudi Arabian government an act of aggression against all democratic and freedom-loving forces and a violation of world peace.

## RESOLUTION ON BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND AND SWAZILAND

This Conference, noting with deep concern the general developments in Southern Africa, wherein the British government actively promotes the interests of three and a half million whites at the expense of the twenty-one million African people in that part of the African Continent,

And aware of the interference of the fascist regime of South Africa in the affairs of all the neighbouring countries,

**Vehemently condemns** the British government for conniving with the Verwoerd government to place in power puppet governments in Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland;

**Wholly associates** itself with resolution No. AHS/36 of the African Heads

of State and Government meeting in Accra in October 1965, declaring continued support to the liberation movements in these countries;

**Calls** on the British government to accede to the demands of the peoples of these countries for free and democratic elections before independence, and

**Further demands** the immediate withdrawal of the British forces presently stationed in Swaziland, and

**Calls for** the dismantling of the Anglo-South African military base on the borders of Bechuanaland, South-West Africa and Zambia.

## RESOLUTION ON BRAZIL

The question of neo-colonialism takes on new characteristics with the April 1, 1964, military coup in Brazil.

This coup, inspired, financed and prepared by North American imperialism, is clearly aimed at preventing the economic liberation of the country from the neo-colonialist forms of exploitation, and seeks the complete economic and political submission of Brazil by means of an economic and financial policy

which will paralise and set back the industrial development of Brazil, in order to maintain the country as a supplier of raw materials with an agricultural economic base.

We propose to include in the draft resolution the condemnation of this new blow of North American imperialism that not only maintains but aggravates neo-colonialist exploitation in Latin America.

## RESOLUTION ON BURUNDI

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in Havana, (Cuba) from January 3 to 15, 1966, greets the workers and youth of Burundi, organised in

the Workers' Federation of Burundi, (W.F.B.) and the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth (R.N.Y.) who after a year are still deprived of their syndical and democratic rights.

It has noted with indignation the arbitrary arrest and the imprisonment without trial of labour leader Agustin Ntamagara and youth leaders Francois Bangemu and Prime Niyongabo, despite the many protests of different international organisations.

The Delegates to the First Tricontinental Conference, on behalf of the peoples of the three continents that they represent:

**Demand** the immediate rehabilitation of the Workers' Federation of Burundi and of the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth;

**Demand** from the Burundi government the respect for liberties, established in the conventions of the International Labour Organisation, which Burundi has subscribed, and the respect for the democratic liberties established by the constitution;

**Demand** the freedom of Agustin Ntamagara, Secretary General of the Workers' Federation of Burundi, Francois Bangemu and Prime Niyongabo, President and Secretary General, respectively, of the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth.

## RESOLUTION ON CAMEROON

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966,

**Considering** the war of genocide that the repressive troops of French neocolonialism are waging against the people of Cameroon;

**Considering** the diabolic efforts of the reactionary government of Cameroon to increase the imperialist troops, maintain French military bases in the country, enroll mercenaries from the OAS, as well as former Nazis, aimed to repress the people of Cameroon, and to increase every year the number of imperialist technicians who control the State, the administration and the national economy;

**Considering** the fascist policy of the puppet regime of Yaounde, characterised by the lack of freedom of opinion, of association, of press, syndical freedom or other elementary forms of democratic liberties;

**Considering** the arbitrary arrests and imprisonments of the patriots that take place daily in Cameroon, as well as the illegal confinement of more than 40,000 patriots in governmental forced labor camps and prisons of Cameroon;

**Considering** the systematic and joint re-colonisation of the country organised by the imperialist powers belonging to the European Common Market, especially France, West Germany, Great Britain

and the United States of America, particularly characterised by the submission of the government of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the penetration of the monopolies of the imperialist powers in the basic sectors of the national economy;

**Considering** the acute impoverishment of the popular masses, increased unemployment, growing illiteracy, disease and other social disasters:

**Denounces** the aggression carried out by French imperialist forces against the people of Cameroon through the puppet government of Yaounde;

**Condemns** the fascist actions of the reactionary government of Ahidjo that deprives the people of Cameroon of their fundamental liberties and surrenders to imperialism the essence of national sovereignty;

**Demands** the withdrawal of the imperialist troops, the dismantling of the foreign military bases, the immediate freedom of the political prisoners, the suspension of arbitrary arrests and of judicial processes, as well as the unconditional amnesty of the patriots who are victims of arbitrary treatments;

**Demands** from the organisations participating in this Tricontinental Conference that they join the campaign for the deliberation of the political prisoners of Cameroon, according to the appeal made by the International Association of Democratic Jurists;

**Makes a vibrant appeal** to all the anti-

imperialist forces of the world to grant effective aid to the patriots of Cameroon who are engaged in the struggle against

the aggressive imperialist forces and against the fascist dictatorship of Cameroon.

## RESOLUTION ON THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE CONGO (L)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Warns** that mercenary troops of native traitors, incessantly supported by North American imperialism with its Belgian allies, intervene in the internal affairs of the Congolese people and support the **de facto** Leopoldville government hindering the liberation struggle of that fraternal people and favouring activities which impede the liberation process undertaken by the Congolese patriots, who have vowed not to make any kind of compromise with North American imperialism, the sworn enemy of the peoples;

**Considering** the necessity that progressive governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America effectively support the liberation struggles of the Congolese people, and oppose the permanent aggressions of North American imperialism and its Belgian allies,

**Condemns** the permanent intervention of North American imperialism and its Belgian allies against the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Congo;

**Calls on** the governments of progressive states of the three continents to support and offer aid to the liberation struggle that the Congolese patriots maintain against North American imperialism, its Belgian allies, mercenary traitors and the **de facto** Leopoldville government.

## RESOLUTION CONCERNING POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRITISH GUIANA

This Tricontinental Conference condemns the emergency government of British Guiana and the acts of imprisonment without previous trial; and urges Great Britain and the Govern-

ment of British Guiana to put an end to the state of emergency, and to uphold the democratic rights and liberties established in the Constitution of British Guiana.

## RESOLUTION ON GUADELOUPE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Considering** that Guadeloupe is kept in a state of dependency by French imperialism;

**Considering** the existence of a colonial situation characterised by violence and economic, political, social and cultural oppression;

**Considering** the existence of a machinery of oppression and repression, as well as the spoliation suffered by the people of Guadeloupe;

**Considering** the denial of fundamental liberties and the threats constantly imposed on personalities and the principal revolutionaries of Guadeloupe;

**Considering** that the Guadeloupe issue is not an internal affair of France;

**Considering** the process of second co-

lonisation resulting from the French "Law of Departmentalisation" of March 19, 1946;

**Considering:** the risks that the existence of colonialist and neo-colonialist bases in the area means to the countries in the Caribbean and Latin America;

**Condemns:** the colonialist policy of the French government in Guadeloupe, particularly the expatriation of the youth;

**Affirms:** the right of Guadeloupe to national independence;

**Pledges:** its unconditional support to the organisations that struggle for the total liberation of the country in accordance with the objectives of the Conference;

**Strongly recommends:** to all brother countries to state before international organisations the problem of Guadeloupe. Pledges itself to give all necessary aid to the revolutionaries of Guadeloupe for the complete and definitive decolonisation of their country.

## RESOLUTION ON HAITI

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America emphatically condemns the acts of terrorism perpetrated by the government of M. Duvalier against Haitian workers and patriots.

The Conference has heard with horror the revelation of the odious crimes committed by the Duvalier Government against the patriots in Haiti.

It expresses its desire that that practise of detentions, tortures and the massacre of entire families because of the political ideas of any member of a Haitian family cease.

The Conference demands that, from now on, justice be met to Haitian prisoners and denounces the assassinations regularly perpetrated against political prisoners in Haiti.

It demands that the International

Commission of Human Rights take into account the constant violations of civil liberties in Haiti, the absolute rejection of the basic human rights of the Haitian people by the present government of that country, and that the whole world be informed of the results of the investigation.

The Conference shall do everything possible to inform international public opinion of the desperate situation in which the Haitian people find themselves, and promises to denounce, on each occasion, the atrocities committed by the dictatorship of Duvalier, a faithful lackey of Yankee imperialism.

The Conference gives its firm support to the revolutionary anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle of the Haitian patriots fighting to reconquer democracy and economic independence.

## RESOLUTION PROTESTING THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS IN INDONESIA

The historical First Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference taking place in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966, attended by delegates from many countries and observers of international organisations and countries, with profound concern has been following the recent developments in Indonesia.

The developments are such that the rightists and the reactionary elements within the Indonesian military forces as

the backbone, in cooperation with and instigated by the U.S. imperialists through the C.I.A., have attacked the Indonesian people and nation, violating democratic liberties and have split the anti-imperialist national united front which has given important contributions to the struggle of the peoples for the defence and achievement of national independence as well as for the consolidation of Afro-Asian-Latin American peo-

ples' solidarity. They are now stepping up and intensifying an anti-popular and anti-communist campaign.

While splitting and dividing the revolutionary unity of the Indonesian people and paying lip service by claiming to stand behind president Sukarno, they are actually continuing with their crime of persecuting all progressive forces, in particular the communists.

So far, tens of thousands of people within the progressive movements in Indonesia have been cruelly murdered or tortured, exposing the fascist nature of the present reactionary forces in power. More than 100,000 people have been arrested. Among them are outstanding leaders in the workers', peasants', women, youth and student movements, and also prominent scientists, writers and journalists. More than 15 universities, academies and hundreds of schools have been arbitrarily closed, their professors and students expelled or arrested. More than 30 newspapers have been banned and more than 300 journalists arrested and persecuted.

In the name of "revolutionary actions", the Indonesian rightists and the reactionary elements in the Indonesian army as the backbone, are launching every type of counter-revolutionary actions. In the name of "left" they are turning the situation to the right. In the name of suppressing the "September 30 Movement" they are carrying out a step-by-step coup by most traitorous methods. In the name of suppressing the "September 30 Movement" they are suppressing communists, and under the anti-communist banners they suppress every

democrat, no matter whether he is a nationalist, a religious person or a communist.

In facing the barbarous action of the Indonesian reactionaries, the Indonesian people, especially the workers and peasants who were subjected to very long suffering from the ruling anti-people groups and were steeled in long years of struggle, have come out in a more determined resistance through various forms of struggle. Together with the rank and file of the four Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic, they are now marching forward to defend and safeguard the achievements of the Indonesian revolution and the revolutionary thinking of president Sukarno.

Fully relying on the Indonesian progressive forces and the solid unity and solidarity of the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples in their common and persistent struggle against imperialism, the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference strongly protests the anti-democratic action of the Indonesian reactionaries in power and demands the restoration of democratic liberties in Indonesia, as well as the release of all democrats under arrest.

In the interests of our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the subversion practised by the imperialists and their lackeys, and in accordance with our sacred duty to step up solidarity actions in the spirit of Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity, let us express our support to the progressive and patriotic forces in Indonesia.

## RESOLUTION ON JAMAICA

**Aware** of the struggles of the Jamaican people for over 300 years against the oppressive and exploitative domination under British colonial rule, and

**Realising** that the political independence gained by Jamaica in 1962 has merely meant the transfer of power from direct colonial rule to the hands of a small reactionary property-owning class in Jamaica, which continues to serve the interests of British and Amer-

ican imperialism at the expense of the Jamaican people, and

**Conscious** of the fact that the so-called "independence" has meant no change or improvement in the lives and material conditions of the poor and exploited masses of the Jamaican people, and that the Jamaican people are dissatisfied and fed up with the present unequal and unjust system of class exploitation, and

**Aware** that under the present system,

and with the complicity of the ruling clique in Jamaica, the wealth produced by the Jamaican workers is owned by the British and American imperialists through their monopolies in Jamaica whose profits are shipped abroad, with no benefit for the Jamaican workers;

**Be it resolved** that the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the neo-colonial exploitation and oppression of the Jamaican people by British and American imperialists and upholds the right

of the Jamaican people to take whatever steps may be necessary, to swiftly terminate this exploitation and oppression and obtain the ownership and control of the wealth of their country which is produced by their own labour.

The Conference encourages and supports all actions of the Young Socialist League and Unemployed Workers Council in heightening the consciousness of the Jamaican people for the swift and effective overthrow of the present unjust system and neo-colonialist yoke.

### RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Considering** the importance of the struggle of the Japanese people, who are courageously fighting against U. S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces and for the realisation of independence, peace and democracy;

**Fully supports** the Japanese people in their struggle against the U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Japan-South Korea Treaty, for the withdrawal of U. S. military bases and troops in Japan and the return of U. S. occupied Okinawa and Ogasawara to Japan, against the call of U. S. nuclear

submarines at Japanese ports, nuclear armament of the country and the turning of Japan into a base for nuclear attacks, against the revival of Japanese militarism, and for the abrogation of the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty.

The Conference,

**Expressing** solidarity with the Japanese people in their struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the relief of atomic bomb victims,

**Supports** the convocation of the 12th World Conference against A and H Bombs which will be held in Japan, in August of this year.

### RESOLUTION ON "MALAYSIA"

"Malaysia" is a U.S.-British neo-colonialist product. Huge military naval and air bases in "Malaysia" form the backbone of the U.S.-British global strategy "East of Suez" and aim at suppression of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Malaya (including Singapore) and Kalimantan Utara, at intimidation and subversion of the people of Indonesia, and at aggression of other countries in the whole region.

This Conference firmly supports the people of Malaya (including Singapore)

and Kalimantan Utara in their just struggle for national liberation.

The recent proclamation of the phoney "independence" of Singapore following its separation from "Malaysia" was only an imperialist plot to save "Malaysia" from total collapse and an attempt to stabilise the U. S.-British imperialist "rear" in S. E. Asia for expansion and escalation of the U. S. war of aggression in Vietnam to the rest of Indo-China and to China itself.

## RESOLUTION ON MOROCCO

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Denounces** the trend of the rulers of Morocco towards the establishment of an open military and repressive dictatorship. This trend was evidenced by the "conspiracy of July, 1963", confirmed by the repression of the demonstrations of March, 1964 and recently crowned by the kidnapping of El Mehdi Ben Barka;

**Verifies** the deterioration of the economic and social situation which has made more acute the impoverishment of the masses and underdevelopment, and has strengthened the control of the imperialist monopolies over the economy of the country;

**Notes** with satisfaction the development of the consciousness of the popular masses, that have expressed, through demonstrations of workers and students and by the current of discontent in the rural sections, their condemnations of the policy of impoverishment and their rejection of its neo-colonialist domination;

**Proclaims** its full support to the struggle of the popular forces against the feudal and neo-colonialist empire and for the establishment of a true democracy in Morocco;

**Invites** all popular organisations of the three continents to strengthen their support to the struggle of the progressive forces in Morocco.

## RESOLUTION ON MARTINIQUE AND FRENCH GUIANA

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America firmly condemns the colonial regime imposed by the French Government in territories of its ancient empires such as Martinique, Guiana and Reunion, as well as the political repression carried out in those countries.

The Conference denounces the trickery of the French Government which tends to make world public opinion and particularly that of Africa, Asia and Latin America, believe that it has completely finished the decolonisation of the countries that were under its rule, and that Martinique, Guiana and Reunion are French overseas departments.

The Conference affirms that the existing problem today in those so-called overseas departments is essentially a political one, namely that of the colonisation of those countries.

The Conference unconditionally supports the united struggle of the anti-colonialist forces of Martinique, Guiana and Reunion that ask for the substitution of the present status by one of autonomy that recognises the right of the peoples of those countries to conduct their own affairs.

The Tricontinental Conference denounces the grave threat which the installation of a missile base signifies not only for Guiana, but also for the whole Latin American continent.

## RESOLUTION ON NICARAGUA

The participants in the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in the city of Havana:

**Denounce** the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, imposed by the United States on

Nicaragua in 1914, in order to construct a canal in its territory, thus lessening its sovereignty and deserving the strong repulse of the progressive forces of Nicaragua.

## RESOLUTION ON NIGER

**Considering:** That after more than six years the people of Niger still lives under the terror which characterises the present regime imposed by the French forces of repression;

**Considering:** That on March 8, 1960 Niger only nominally became an independent republic, such independence having been granted by France after securing for herself the wealth of the country through illegal agreements;

**Considering:** That a savage oppression daily afflicts the masses who express their hostility towards the unpopular regime of the Diori and Boubou Hama clique;

**Considering:** That there has been an almost total lack of freedom of expression or assembly, of trade union, political or social organisations for more than six years;

**Whereas** the fascist Diori regime has committed mass murders since 1962, and particularly in 1964, when the people of Niger, under the leadership of the Sawaba Party rose in arms in order to make the neo-colonialists of Niger respect the Declaration of Human Rights, which the puppet regime of Niger signed at the United Nations;

**Considering:** That for more than four years several leaders of the Sawaba Party, as Adamon Sekou, former Minister of Public Works and member of the Political Bureau, Hima Dembele, former Deputy, Assana Mayaki, Aboubacar Kao, former Minister, Zhodi, former Minister, Mounkaila Issifi, former Deputy, Alhadji Amadou Gabriel, former Mayor, all members of the Political Bureau, and many other well known militants loved by the people,

have been held in the neo-colonialist gaols of Niger;

**Considering:** That the present regime's clique, panic-stricken by the actions of the Niger militants, employs all the old methods of fascist repression, public executions, hangings, night murders, rapes, etc.;

**Considering:** That the U. S. A. have supplied a significant quantity of modern arms and munition to the Government and have asked Israel to send military and civil instructors in order to train the puppet army and the civil reactionary clique in the use of arms;

**Considering:** That in spite of the imperialist coalition of the U. S. A., Israel France, Federal Germany, the people of Niger, under the leadership of the Sawaba Party, is more determined than ever to wage its just struggle until the final victory;

The Delegation of Niger (Sawaba) to the First Tricontinental Conference

### DEMANDS:

The re-establishment in Niger of freedom of expression, and political and labour organisations;

The immediate and unconditional liberation of thousands of political prisoners who have been held in prison for many years;

The immediate ending of mass and individual murders and a total amnesty for all political prisoners.

The Delegation of the Sawaba Party requests the active solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in their just struggle against neo-colonialism, imperialism and for the true independence of their country.

## RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

This Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America notes with deep concern the recent and continuous events in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which resulted in the loss of many properties and lives.

We condemn unequivocally the rigged elections and the consequent imposition of the regime on the people which has been directly responsible for these events.

We further condemn the role of the

Federal Government under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa and particularly the use of the Army and police to terrorise the common people by the display of naked brutality against the resentment of the people which is mounting.

We condemn their inability to face the ballot box and to contest a fair and free election.

In view of the fact that Nigeria today is passing through a period of acute both political and economic crisis, in order to replace the present reactionary regime, we support the popular front of all the progressive forces of Nigeria called "The peoples' front".

In view of the reactionary nature of the Nigerian government, they handed over our patriotic comrades from the

Niger Republic, Cameroon and Senegal to be imprisoned and murdered.

We condemn the neo-colonialists headed by the U. S. war mongering imperialists in their intensifying efforts to turn Nigeria into the main stronghold of neo-colonialism in Africa.

We condemn the Governments of the Federation of Nigeria as the headquarters of all forces of reaction and subversion against Africa.

We condemn the same for the intensification of British, West German and U.S. economic stronghold on Nigeria.

We call on this Conference, in view of the strategic position of Nigeria, to take note of the great threat imperialism possesses against African, Asian and Latin American peoples.

### RESOLUTION ON OMAN

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America condemns the barbarous action of the British Government against the people of Oman;

Calls for the immediate removal of

British troops and the return of democratic rights to the people of Oman;

Recognises the inalienable right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

### RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

As a military base, Israel was used in 1948 to expel the rightful Arab owners of Palestine. It was used in 1956 against the great revolution of Egypt to protect the interests of the imperialists in the Suez Canal. In 1963, Israel was used to crush the revolutionary force in Congo and to help Moise Tshombe, the imperialist stooge and agent par excellence in Africa. Israel was called upon by its imperialist masters to send regiments of paratroopers to fight against the revolutionary forces. Israel also trained the mercenary armies in Congo, has a military mission there and built a military school for training paratroopers of the Congolese reactionary government. Moreover, General Joseph Mobutu, the Chief of Staff of the Congolese army, has been recently trained in Israel. In 1964, Israel sent continuous shipments of arms to the reactionary government in

Portugal to be used against the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique. In 1965, imperialists called upon Israel to send shipments of arms to the remnants of the reactionary forces in Yemen. Actually Israel is sending medical gifts to U. S. imperialist forces in South Vietnam and Israel has chartered all of its freighters to the U. S. Government for transport of military equipment to South Vietnam.

In addition to all this, Israel has become an arsenal of arms in the Middle East. These arms, which within two years will include atomic weapons, are to be used by the imperialists against liberation movements in Africa and Asia.

Israel is not only a military base, it is also an economic base for imperialists. As such, the Israeli economy has become a pool for world monopolies.

After having been discredited as instruments of capitalism, imperialism and exploitation, these monopolies no longer function directly in the continents of Africa and Asia but rather through affiliated companies in Israel. Almost all financial institutions, business firms and industrial establishments are affiliated with American firms.

In order to protect the interests of these monopolies the U. S. Government shows great concern in strengthening Israel and safeguarding its economy. Up till 1962 U. S. governmental loans and grants in aid to Israel have amounted to about \$1.5 billion. In addition, Israel is allowed to sell bonds in the U. S. and until 1962 Israel sold of these bonds

an amount equal to \$500 million. Israel, through the United Jewish Appeal, has also collected over one billion dollars from the U.S. till 1952. In order to help this drive, the U. S. Government exempts these donations from taxation.

- 1) The Conference warns against what is called Israel technical and financial aid and considers it a new disguised method of U. S. imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- 2) The Conference requests from all progressive parties and committees to multiply their efforts to combat the Zionist infiltration and penetration in their countries and to abrogate the various agreements concluded with Israel.

## RESOLUTION ON PARAGUAY

### Whereas:

1. A tyrannical military-civil and anti-national regime has been imposed upon the Paraguayan people for the benefit of North American imperialism,

2. This tyranny represses by all means of violence the longing for freedom of the Paraguayan people,

3. Murders motivated by politics, tortures inflicted by the police, violations, jailing, subjection to forced labour in concentration camps, maintain all the people of Paraguay in permanent terror,

4. Thousands of patriots have been and continue to be victims of these outrages and crimes of Stroessner's tyranny,

5. The Paraguayan people maintain a firm resistance and struggle to overcome the tyranny, to vanquish Yankee imperialism, and to recuperate in full their sovereignty and self-determination,

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

Appealing to the solidarity of the peoples and the righteous will of more than one thousand million people, represent-

ed by the popular and national delegations of this Tricontinental Conference, condemns the imposed tyranny in Paraguay, and demands the immediate liberty of hundreds of Paraguayan patriots, imprisoned for political and trade union activities. In the name of the following prisoners of the tyranny we send fraternal and solidarity greetings to the combatants of the country of Paraguay:

Gilberta Verdun de Talavera  
Antonio Maidana  
Jose Tomas Nuñez  
Vicente Maidana Arias  
Derliz Villagra  
Julio Rojas  
Salustiano Cabrera  
Aurelio Paul Centurion  
Napoleon Ortigoza  
Emilio Barreto  
Ramon Chamorro Riveros  
Graciela Galeano  
Alfredo Alcorta  
Dr. Livieres Banks Acosta  
Teresita Asilvera de Patiño

## RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF PARAGUAY

### Whereas:

The people of Paraguay are subjected by a tyranny which has suppressed by violence and terror all democratic liberties and the most elemental human rights;

That regime is the utmost expression of the interests of the large landholders, the oligarchy and North American imperialism which impede the progressive development of Paraguay;

The peasants, workers, students and sectors of the middle class, of the national industry and commerce are victims of political persecution and economic and social exploitation of the most degrading form;

The intervention of Yankee imperialism in the financial, economic, social, cultural and military policy of Paraguay, and in its internal and international policies, alienates the popular and national sovereignty of the people of Paraguay;

Paraguay has been occupied by Yankee imperialism, not only to exploit and oppress the people, but also to make use of its territory as a strategic base for counter-revolutionary action on continental dimensions, taking into account its exceptional geographic situation, its great petroleum reserves and its potential sources of hydroelectric energy;

The dictatorship and Yankee imperialism have converted Paraguay into a

great prison of persecuted, tortured or assassinated patriots;

In the prisons, police stations and concentration camps of Paraguay there are to be found hundreds of political and trade union prisoners of all sectors under inhuman conditions;

The Paraguayan people struggle not only to recuperate their political and economic rights, but also to overthrow imperialism and the dictatorship which oppress them, in order to establish a democratic regime with full sovereignty and independence;

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

### R E S O L V E S :

- 1) To forcefully condemn the anti-national military regime which exists today in Paraguay;
- 2) To denounce and condemn the aggressive, interventionist and counter-revolutionary plans of North American imperialism in Paraguay;
- 3) To express the fullest solidarity of the First Tricontinental Conference with the struggles of the Paraguayan people for their liberty, sovereignty and independence and to extend this solidarity to the hundreds of political and trade union prisoners of all sectors, whose immediate liberty it demands.

## RESOLUTION ON PUERTO RICO

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Considering** that Puerto Rico is the only direct colony of North America in Latin America, and as such, the country most intervened by imperialism on the American continent;

**Considering** that the territory of Puerto Rico has been turned into a gigantic base for direct military aggression against the Latin American liberation movements, a fact giving the independ-

ence of Puerto Rico particular urgency among the emancipation struggles of Latin American peoples;

**Considering** that imperialism forces the young people of Puerto Rico to take part in the foul war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, thus exacting a barbarous legalised tribute in blood because of Puerto Rico's colonial situation;

**Considering** that the people of Puerto Rico are fighting an unequal, long and difficult struggle against the most brutal, hypocritical and reckless imperialist

power of all time: the United States of America;

**Considering** that Puerto Rico suffers pitiless economic exploitation by North American monopolies, which have forced a million of its people (a third of its population) to emigrate to the United States, in the greatest exodus known in the history of the American continent, to become victims of social, national and racial discrimination;

**Considering** that numerous Puerto Rican patriots are suffering lengthy terms of prison in the United States and Puerto Rico for their struggle in favour of the independence of Puerto Rico, and that militants of the liberation movement are the object of continued and systematic persecution by the repressive organs of imperialism;

The Conference:

**Denounces** that the title "associated free state" with which North American imperialism has tried to disguise the nature of their direct colonial regime in Puerto Rico, does not in any way correspond to reality, characterised as it is by the direct control that imperialism exercises over the economic life of Puerto Rico, its national territory, the life of its young people, its foreign relations, its banking, its commerce, its press, its means of communication, its educational system, etc.;

**Denounces** the preponderant role that North American imperialism has assigned to its military bases in Puerto Rico, and the fact that Puerto Rico is the imperialist centre in the Caribbean

from which it exports neo-colonialism and counter-revolution;

**Greets** the campaign undertaken by the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico calling on all Puerto Rican young people to resist imperialist intentions to use them as cannon fodder in the foul war being waged by the United States against the heroic people of Vietnam;

**Supports** the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their national independence and recognises the paramount importance of that struggle within the general framework of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America;

**Resolves** to condemn North American imperialism for keeping numerous Puerto Rican patriots imprisoned, and supports the campaign of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement in favour of the immediate release of these fighters;

**Agrees** to proclaim the 23rd of September of each year the **Day of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence**;

**Recommends** that the necessary steps should be taken, so that a delegation of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement may tour the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to inform as many people as possible in those countries, about the case of Puerto Rico, and to call for their moral and material support to the extent that the cause of the people of Puerto Rico deserves.

## RESOLUTION ON RWANDA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, gathered in Havana from January 3 to 15, after having analysed the political situation in Rwanda before and after its independence and aware of the recent events which took place in the political, economic, social and cultural fields in that country,

**Considering** that despite the proclamation of its independence in 1962, Rwanda continues to be ruled by American-

Belgian neo-colonialism; that domination is manifested by:

1. The strengthening of imperialist positions and Belgian and American neo-colonialist monopolies in the political, economic, military and cultural fields;
2. The illegal suppression of the most elementary democratic liberties;

**Considering** that the government of Kayibanda, backed by imperialism and by Belgian neo-colonialism in its anti-

national, anti-democratic, anti-social policy, carries out a bloody repression manifested by:

1. The suppression of freedom of opinion, freedom of association, freedom of the press;
2. The establishment of special courts of puppets of the government helped by Belgian military personnel who are to judge the alleged political offences and crimes;
3. The employment of Belgian troops based in Rwanda for the suppression of the popular meeting as in the massacres of November 1959, May 1960, July 1961 and December 1963 to January 1964;

**Considering** the distressing problem of half a million Rwanda patriots who have been expelled from their country by the Belgian imperialists and their present lackeys in power in Rwanda, which is one of the anguishing problems of this kind in Africa;

**Considering** the resulting struggle carried on by the people of Rwanda in its patriotic organisations (the National Union of Rwanda and the General Union of the Workers of Rwanda) for the true independence of Rwanda, for democracy and social progress;

The Tricontinental Conference greets the courageous struggle of the people of Rwanda for independence and national liberation of their country;

#### DEMANDS:

- the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops, the dismantling of foreign military bases in Rwanda's soil,
- the reinstatement of all democratic organisations,
- the liberation of all the patriots arrested in the prisons of Rwanda and the respect of democratic liberties,
- the return of half a million refugees expelled from their territory by the occupation forces;

#### CALLS FOR:

all democratic forces of the world to express their solidarity and their active support to the people of Rwanda;

#### ASKS:

all states members of the Tricontinental Conference to refrain from having relations of any kind with the neo-colonialist regime installed in the heart of Africa.

### RESOLUTION ON SENEGAL

**Considering** the serious situation created in Senegal by the neo-colonial regime of Senghor, characterised by:

- a) the unconditional submission to the imperialist financial groups, especially the French;
- b) the systematic suppression of all democratic organisations, political parties, trade unions, youth, women and student organisations, of all other associations that refuse to support the anti-national and anti-popular policy;
- c) the arrest, neutralisation or expulsion from the country of the leaders of the patriotic or religious national opposition;

**Considering** on the other hand, that this extremely pro-imperialist policy

reveals itself in international affairs by the systematic alignment of the policy of the government of Senghor, to Western diplomacy, which at present is characterised by:

- a) the total support of Senghor to the puppet and pro-American government of Leopoldville;
- b) the refusal of the Senghor government, closely related to the puppet governments of the AMCO, to render political and diplomatic support, demanded by the people of Senegal to the fraternal people of Zimbabwe;
- c) the refusal to condemn the American aggression and to denounce the imperialist crimes in Vietnam, as well as the equivocal policy follow-

ed with the People's Republic of China, the only representative of the Chinese people;

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America strongly condemns the present dictatorial regime of bureaucratic and parliamentary bourgeoisie, headed by Senghor, upheld by French imperialism in Senegal;

Condemns most firmly the pro-Western policy of the Senghor government and the open complicity of the Senegalese official circles with the hateful campaign carried out by the puppets of AMCO against the policy of independ-

ence and of African rehabilitation of the patriotic and progressive African States;

Proclaims its militant solidarity with the Senegalese patriotic forces, which in the spirit of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America unceasingly struggle against the neo-colonial government of Senegal for the attainment of true independence;

Calls upon all nationalist and patriotic forces to unite in order to frustrate any solution of a neo-colonialist type so as to insure popular solution to the deep crisis in which Senghor and his regime have plunged Senegal.

## RESOLUTION ON FRENCH SOMALILAND

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, condemns the presence of French colonialism in Djibouty, a part of the Somali homeland, and demands the liquidation of French colonialism and freedom and independence for the Somali people in Djibouty, so that they may be able to reunify their homeland.

The Conference denounces the collusion between Ethiopian and United States neo-colonialism to transform Djibouty into a U.S. military base, as well as the French military base there.

The Conference affirms the necessity of total unification of the Somali people.

## RESOLUTION ON SUDAN

The First Tricontinental Conference denounces the conspiracies of the imperialists and their agents to separate the southern provinces and stands against the actions of the reactionary regimes in Sudan in expelling the opposition from the parliament

and prohibiting the democratic organisations.

We, the representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America support the just struggle of the Sudanese people for democracy and for maintaining the unity of their country.

## RESOLUTION ON SUDAN

The First Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America taking place in Havana, fully aware of the political situation in the Sudan, adopts the following:

1) Condemns imperialists' and Zionists' intrigues directed towards the separation of the southern provinces of the

Sudan from the northern part as an act of aggression against the liberation movement in the Congo (L) and other fighting peoples in Africa and the Arab East and against the independence and sovereignty and unity of the Sudan;

2) Fully supports the Sudanese people in their struggle against anti-democratic measures taken by the reaction-

ary government of the Sudan and the expulsion of opposition from parliament.

We consider these measures directed

not only against democratic liberties of the Sudanese people, but also against liberation movements in Africa, especially in the Congo (L) and elsewhere.

## RESOLUTION ON THAILAND

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

- 1.—Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism, which occupies Thailand and turns Thailand into its neo-colony and that, in coordination with the Thanom-Prapas traitorous clique arrests, suppresses and persecutes Thai patriots and democrats by using police and military armed forces;
- 2.—Strongly condemns Thanom-Prapas' clique which has established a fascist dictatorship in Thailand, and strongly condemns its barbarous violation of human rights;
- 3.—Demands from the Thanom-Prapas government the release of patriots and democrats, as well as political prisoners who are unjustly arrested and imprisoned;
- 4.—Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for using Thailand as its military base for launching aggressive war against Vietnam, Laos, threatening Cambodia, as well as other countries in South-East Asia;
- 5.—Demands that U.S. imperialism withdraw all its military bases, all its aggressive troops and aggressive headquarters of SEATO from Thailand;
- 6.—Supports the just and right armed struggle and other various forms of struggle of the Thai people.

## RESOLUTION OF UGANDA

Since the development of the international situation is such that even the reactionary regimes would like to maintain contact with socialist countries in order to conceal their reactionary domestic policies we propose:

1. That facilities should be extended to the freedom fighters in those neo-colonialist countries.
2. That when giving help to countries with reactionary regimes, this help should not constitute an obstacle to the revolutionary movements.

## RESOLUTION ON VENEZUELA

In the main address of the Venezuelan Delegation to the General Assembly of the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, we affirmed that after the practical application of the "Johnson Doctrine", the peoples of Latin America should carry out national liberation struggle on the basis of other realities and with a spirit which permits the solution of all continental problems.

The United States of North America have created a global tactic to counter

the liberation struggles of our peoples with armed violence. Today Yankee imperialism will not allow any of the traditional demonstrations of dignity and sovereignty (as timid as they may be) unless they are completely identified with the interests of finance capital and the oligarchic accomplices that serve them. Bourgeois legality, as the representative democracies of Latin America understand it, is not enough to perpetuate the regime of exploitation and misery, of the "Free Associated State

and of Neo-Colonialism" as the governments that best respond to maintenance of the typical structures of underdevelopment. Yankee imperialism has definitely proclaimed that it understands no other way than that of force. Our own experience is recent, and even more recent is the genocide perpetrated by North American imperialism against the fraternal people of the Dominican Republic. Latin America must turn its eyes on the Dominican Republic, not to be frightened but to discover the global strategy of our enemy, to learn this lesson and plan a strategy that will allow us to defeat it once and for all. This strategy can be none other than a simultaneous war. By simultaneous war we understand, not the application of a general outline, because the Latin American reality is not unique and indivisible. On the contrary, even in areas of one country, realities change and vary. It is necessary that each of the peoples of Latin America face the problem of political power and create the conditions for armed struggle.

Venezuela has chosen the armed struggle as the best means of struggle against imperialism. The enemy has taught us that political power cannot be won without overthrowing the state organisation created by imperialism, without annihilating the repressive army, without annihilating the colonial or semi-colonial ruling superstructure. Without the above we cannot think of annihilating imperialism and its lackeys. The reactionary army must be substituted by a revolutionary army to guarantee the implementation of plans that satisfy the people's aspirations.

That is why we Venezuelans have chosen armed struggle, without discarding other means of struggle. We combined armed and unarmed methods, legal

and illegal, mass and commando methods. We consider that what is important is not the struggle itself, but the annihilation of imperialism and the taking of political power in order to put into practice a revolutionary and mass programme.

We ask for militant solidarity which we also give. Today the Venezuelan struggle has reached a point of development which permits us to respond to our revolutionary duties, which have always been defined by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Venezuela today needs the support of the peoples of the world in order to develop its liberation struggle. Imperialism unblushingly aids its lackeys. We consider that the peoples who struggle for their liberation also must unblushingly aid revolutionary movements, such as ours, which guarantee the defeat of imperialism. We ask:

- 1.—That all countries recognise the Venezuelan National Liberation Front as the organisation that leads the armed struggle against North American imperialism and the national oligarchies in our country;
- 2.—To form an Organisation to coordinate the Latin American struggle;
- 3.—Solidarity of all the peoples of the world with the struggle that the Latin American peoples are waging to obtain political power;  
Within the framework of the Tri-continental Organisation to create a special fund to aid the peoples who are carrying out revolutionary struggle in Latin America, especially Venezuela;
- 4.—That all possible means to liquidate the Yankee blockade against Cuba be used.

## RESOLUTION ON AID TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND PERU

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966,

WHEREAS:

1. The military forces of the governments of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador,

Panama and other countries of the Caribbean and the Southern part of the Continent periodically carry out joint military manoeuvres under the direction of the U. S. Army, with the obvious purpose of blackmailing and threatening the national liberation movements and the armed struggle in those countries;

2. The "Gorilla" International, under U. S. command, also intervenes in the training of anti-guerrilla troops, which shows the existence of the complete military strategy of U. S. imperialism in these areas of Latin America;

3. The U. S. military missions, with specialised branches of all kinds (land, sea and air detachments, and police) direct and plan operations intended to repress the armed struggle in Colombia, Venezuela and Peru;

4. The resources of the Alliance for Progress are destined to finance the above mentioned military operations;

U. S. bombers and fighter planes, piloted by Yankees, attack guerrilla zones, and U. S. helicopters transport troops to combat sites;

#### BE IT RESOLVED:

1. To lend the most determined assistance to the revolutionary movements in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Panama, Ecuador and other Caribbean and South American countries, to counteract with the most effective measures the effects of U. S. imperialism's all-out aggressive policy;

2. To denounce before all countries of the three continents, Yankee intervention in the armed struggles of Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, and to promote the militant solidarity of the combatants in those countries among themselves and with the peoples of the three continents, in the great struggle for national liberation.

SUB-COMMISSION OF BURNING ISSUES

## RESOLUTION ON CAMBODIA

**Aware** of the Declaration of December 21, 1965 of a spokesman of the Government of the United States of America, renewing accusations against Cambodia and confirming the authorisation given to the high North American military officers of the region to attack the Cambodian territory by land or by air wherever they deem it necessary;

**Noting** that this open and official threat from the U. S. Government, after numerous violations and attacks to the land, air and maritime borders of Cambodia by the U. S. and South Vietnam armed forces is a prelude to the large scale extension of the aggression war against Vietnam;

**Considering:** First, that these intentions of the United States Government are contrary to international law, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Geneva Agreements of 1954,

Second, the danger of a general conflagration resulting from this declaration of intention from the United States Government, as well as from numerous attacks against the Khmer borders and territory by the United States-South Vietnamese armed forces is real and extremely serious,

Third, the duty of justice and peace-loving powers demands the urgent adoption of measures to stop the crimi-

nal manoeuvres of North American imperialism and its lackeys in South-East Asia against world peace;

**Aware** of the declaration of the Royal Cambodian Government and the notes addressed to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina of December 26, 1965, as well as the resolution of the Twentieth National Congress of Cambodia of December 28, 1965;

The Tricontinental Conference held at Havana condemns the policy of aggression adopted by the Government of the United States of America and its Asian lackeys and others, against peaceful and neutral Cambodia;

**Requests** from all governments of truly anti-imperialist countries to take urgent and concrete measures to put an end to the belligerent policy of the U. S. A. against Cambodia and to the criminal aggression of the United States and their mercenary forces against the peoples of Indochina;

**Requests** that following the example of the O. A. U. countries towards the Rhodesian racists, all justice and peace-loving countries refuse every political, diplomatic, economic and cultural cooperation with the United States Government and all Governments which lend their active support to its policy of aggression in Indochina.

## RESOLUTION ON THE CONGO (L)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966,

By giving its valuable and effective support to the sacred cause of the Con-

golese people, the Conference has found in the armed struggle of the people of the Congo an exalting example in their noble task of giving impulse and developing the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents against

imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the only way in which peace and quiet can exist in the three continents, in particular, and in the whole world in general;

**Considering:** that the Congolese people has been the object of permanent aggression from the imperialist powers since 1960;

**Considering:** that the intervention of North American imperialism in all sectors of national life, and its infiltration of financial oligarchies constitute the most notorious sign of neo-colonialist penetration, of domination and exploitation;

**Considering:** that the presence of the imperialist armed forces in the military bases of Kitona and Kamina constitutes a very serious threat against the sovereignty of the Congolese State, in particular, and against the security of Africa in general;

**Considering:** that this situation, evidenced in the past by the disastrous role played in the Congo by the United Nations Organisation controlled by the United States of America, and more recently by the growth of a racist regime, marks a series of declarations raised in Africa against the United States of America, as was the case in Latin America and Asia, on the Vietnamese question;

**Confirming:** that for more than five years, American imperialism has been trampling on the constitutional rights of the Congolese State, namely: national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, in order to enslave it;

**Considering:** that the armed struggle of the Congolese people constitutes an evident contribution to the struggle for

the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that in this respect it deserves the support of the militant solidarity of the peoples of our three continents;

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened at Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

1.—Affirms its total support to the armed struggle for the liberation of the Congolese people, who have always received the demonstrations of solidarity of the revolutionary peoples;

2.—Decides to create a Tricontinental committee of solidarity for the just struggle of the Congolese people against the cruel and relentless aggression of imperialism;

3.—Vigorously denounces and condemns the military fascist regime installed in the Congo by Yankee imperialists and their accomplices;

4.—Demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the mercenaries now in the Congo, and the dismantling of the military bases at Kamina and Kitona;

5.—Invites all the Governments of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to deny recognition to the puppet regime of traitor Mobutu;

6.—Invites all the progressive governments and organisations of the three continents to support and concretely aid the armed struggle of the Congolese People and to recognise the National Council of Liberation ("C. N. L.") of Congo, as the sole genuine representative of the Congolese people by offering it unreserved moral, political, diplomatic and material support.

## RESOLUTION ON KOREA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America held in Havana, capital of Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966, strongly condemns the occupation of South Korea by U. S. imperialism.

Due to the occupation of South Korea by U. S. imperialists, Korea has been divided into two parts for the past 20 years; Korea's unification has not been achieved; and the Korean people are undergoing unmeasurable national misfortunes and sufferings.

U. S. imperialists are brutally oppressing and massacring the people in South Korea; they badly destroyed and ruined the national economy and the people live in extreme distress.

In flagrant violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the U. S. imperialists brought into South Korea various kinds of new types of weapons, turned it into a nuclear and rocket base, perpetrating incessant war provocations, thus aggravating tensions in Korea.

The Conference demands the immediate withdrawal from South Korea of the U. S. imperialists' aggressive troops which are the fundamental cause of all the misfortunes of the South Korean people and the main obstacle to Korea's unification, and actively supports the Korean people in their struggle for the unification of the country by themselves, without any foreign interference.

Despite the strong opposition of the Korean and Japanese peoples and the denunciation of world public opinion, U. S. imperialists, instigating the Japanese reactionary government and the puppet clique of Pak Jung Hi in South Korea, have of late fabricated the criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty", by all means of fraudulence and intrigue, creating thereby a new dangerous phase in the overall situation in Korea and Asia.

The "South Korea-Japan Treaty" is an aggressive treaty, devised by U. S. imperialists as an integral force to maintain the system of their imperialist rule in order to revive Japanese militarism as "shock brigade" in their aggressions in Asia.

U. S. imperialists, hastening the rearmament of the Japanese militarists, are quickly opening to them the way to invade other countries.

The Conference resolutely condemns the aggressive "South Korea-Japan Treaty", which opens the road of re-invasion and expansion to the Japanese militarists and the vicious scheme of the U. S. imperialists for setting up the "North-East Military Alliance" to oppose the socialist countries and the na-

tional independent states in Asia, to suppress the national liberation struggles in this area, and to make "Asians fight against Asians".

Today, the Japanese militarist forces, availing themselves of the U. S. aggression on Asia, are scheming to reinvade South Korea, and to make their old dream of ruling over Asia come true.

Once the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" is fully put into force, South Korea will become a dual colony of the U. S. and Japan; a new obstacle will be created on the road to Korea's unification; and the peace and security of Korea and Asia will be under serious menace.

Today, the Japanese militarists, under the cover of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty", are infiltrating into South Korea on a large scale and intensifying military collaboration with the South Korean puppet clique.

As evidenced by the plans of "Operation Three Arrows" and "Operation Flying Dragon", recently disclosed, the Japanese militarist forces are already preparing their attack against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in cooperation with the United States.

Considering that it is an urgent task for peace in Asia and in the world to disrupt the scheme of the Japanese militarists who, backed by the U. S. imperialists, are taking the path leading to invasion of Asia, the Conference entirely supports the Korean people in their struggle to reject the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" and to smash the schemes for setting up the "North-East Military Alliance".

The Conference calls on the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to set a "Month of Solidarity with the Korean People" from June 25, the day when the U. S. imperialists launched their aggressive war against Korea, to July 27, the day of the signing of the Armistice agreement, and to organise and display during this period large movements and actions in support of the just struggle of the Korean people.

## RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America greets and supports in every aspect the heroic struggle of the people of Cyprus for the total freedom, unrestricted independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

**Strongly condemns** any intervention from any foreign power in the internal affairs of Cyprus;

**Strongly condemns** any aggression or threat of aggressions by any foreign power against Cyprus;

**Strongly condemns** all imperialist pressures exercised on the Government of Cyprus to abandon its non-aligned policy and be subjugated directly or indirectly by NATO;

**Strongly believes** that the Cyprus

problem is an internal affair of the people of Cyprus and that its solution should be exclusively in the hands of the people, who as a whole should decide their own future;

**Supports** unreservedly the right of the people of Cyprus as a whole to exercise the right of self-determination;

**Condemns** the existence of foreign military bases on the territory of Cyprus and considers these bases as a menace to peace in the Middle East and a threat to the neighbouring Arab countries, and strongly supports the demand for their elimination;

**Expresses** its firm determination to render every assistance to the people of Cyprus for the achievement of their rights.

## RESOLUTION ON THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

**Considering:** That the North American military intervention in the Dominican Republic on April 28, 1965, took place precisely when the Dominican people were in the midst of a successful insurrection against the pro-imperialist military forces — controlled from the North American Embassy by Tapley Bennet and the military attaches — which were fighting the popular movement to enforce the 1963 Constitution and restore Juan Bosch — who had been elected by majority — in the presidency. All this clearly showed the reactionary aggressiveness of imperialism, which was already an enemy even of the so-called representative democracy form of government;

**Considering:** That the military intervention in the Dominican Republic opens a new cycle of counter-revolutionary interventions in Latin America and threatens the only Latin American country freed from the domination and exploitation of imperialism: Cuba;

**Considering:** That the North American military intervention has dragged into complicity the governing oligarchies of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua,

Costa Rica, which have sent troops to coerce the heroic Dominican people who struggle for freedom and independence;

**Considering:** That each day the invading troops of imperialism remain on Dominican soil, more patriots are killed — the total already exceeds 3,000 — and the poverty and suffering of the Dominican people increase;

**Considering:** That the military occupation of the Dominican Republic implies immediate and direct control of the Dominican State by imperialism, that this seriously changes the political status of the Dominican Republic, degrading it from a dependent semi-colonial country to a government by mandate, violating all principles and rules established in the constitutional charters of all international organisations;

**Considering:** That in order to perpetrate this violation to the national sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, imperialism has organised the counter-revolutionary regional army for Latin America cynically called Inter-American Peace Force (IPF);

**Considering:** That in this crime against the Dominican people and

against its desires for independence and freedom, the Organisation of American States has acted the same way as it did in its foul condemnation of the revolutionary people of Cuba, serving as an assistant to the executioner of the peoples of the world: North American imperialism;

**Considering:** That the United Nations Organisation (UNO) witnessed the crimes committed by Yankee troops against the civil population not only on disembarking, but also on the 15th and 16th of June, 1965; witnessed the genocides committed by the puppet government of Antonio Imbert Barreras; those of the trusteeship established by imperialism through the Organisation of American States (OAS), all of which actions are contrary to its declarations of principles, the Charter of the United Nations. And that the latter limited itself to the simple and deplorable role of informing the events and mediating. It did not condemn this brutal aggression, least of all the chief entity responsible, the imperialist Government of the United States;

**Considering:** That at present the military chiefs guilty of genocide, are the principal support imperialism counts on for its plans of unlimited occupation and perpetuation of its neo-colonial domination of the Dominican Republic;

**Considering:** That the Dominican people have heroically resisted aggression, fighting the invaders, arms in hand, that they have not lost courage in the unequal struggle, but on the contrary, day by day have intensified their combativeness, taking advantage of every possible means of winning their national war, to free their country from invaders and fully recover sovereignty and national independence;

**Considering:** That in the struggle of the Dominican people against the imperialist invading troops, men of different nationalities, have died: Jack Vieu (Haitian), Andre Rivier (French), Illio Capossi (Italian), fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the Dominican patriots;

**Considering:** That international solidarity contributes to the struggle of

the Dominican people against imperialist domination;

#### RESOLVES:

**To recognise** the signs of fascism and war, as a means of domination typical of the imperialist system in decadence, in the ferocious military occupation of the Dominican Republic, which violates all principles of self-determination and non-intervention;

**To condemn** the imperialist government of the United States as aggressors and violators of the sovereignty of the Dominican people;

**To alert** the Latin American peoples, and especially Cuba, about possible imperialist aggressions to prevent their independent development;

**To condemn** the oligarchic governments of Brazil, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica as accomplices in the brutal aggression that drenches Dominican soil in blood;

**To condemn** the Organisation of American States as the perfect political instrument of North American imperialism for the neo-colonial domination of Latin America;

**To condemn** the UNO for its incapability and hesitation in defending the rights of self-determination and sovereignty of the peoples of the world, especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and particularly of the Dominican people in the face of U.S. military aggression against said country;

**To condemn** the integration of the Inter-American Peace Force, as detrimental to the sovereignty of the peoples and the incarnation of international counter-revolution in Latin America;

**To demand** the immediate withdrawal from Dominican soil, of all foreign troops: North American, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Nicaraguan, Honduran and Costa Rican troops;

**To condemn** the Dominican military officers who sided with those who trample on Dominican soil, contributing to foreign domination and to the threat against all Latin American peoples; To

call for militant solidarity with the Dominican people, realising that, besides solidarity and material aid, the greatest contribution to the Dominican cause and to that of all peoples who struggle against colonialism and neo-

colonialism is to widen and deepen the struggle against imperialism in every country;

That April 24 to 30 of this year be proclaimed the "Week of Solidarity with the Dominican People".

## RESOLUTION ON GUATEMALA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, after reviewing the prevailing situation in the Republic of Guatemala, confirming the determination of the people of Guatemala to achieve the total liberation of their country from Yankee imperialist domination, and recognising the revolutionary war fought by the Guatemalans under the flags of the rebel armed forces;

**Expresses** its full solidarity with the people of Guatemala and their armed fight and supports their conviction that they can only accomplish their genuine and true aspirations of freedom and independence, when Yankee imperialism and the puppets from the native oligarchies that serve them have been defeated and definitely expelled from the country;

**Condemns** the repression unleashed by the ruling clique against all sectors of the Guatemalan peoples, especially the crimes perpetrated against the peasants, in its useless efforts to curb the revolutionary drive;

**Demands** the freedom of all political prisoners, who are deprived of liberty for no other reason than having fought for the freedom and independence of their country; and also, the ending of

the tortures and abuses applied by the military dictatorship;

**Denounces** the connivance of Yankee imperialism and the ruling oligarchies of the neighbouring Central American countries, that under the so-called Central American Defence Council maintain a joint army, meant to oppress the peoples throughout the entire isthmus, and especially to repress, as it has already done, the people's guerrilla forces which are forming in Guatemala;

**Denounces** the electoral manoeuvres plotted by the ruling clique led, at the moment, by the tyrant Peralta Azurdia, directed at giving a spurious constitutional backing to this unpopular repressive regime, with which it seeks to confuse certain sectors and denaturalise the popular efforts to support the revolutionary war;

**Expresses** the will of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to support the Guatemalan people in their struggle, and calls for the granting of all possible aid which will permit them to accelerate the development of the revolutionary war until the achievement of total victory; defeating the lackeys of imperialism, freeing themselves from oppression and thus contributing to the liberation of Latin America.

## RESOLUTION ON LAOS

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

(1) **Notes** with anxiety that the present tension in Laos becomes more serious each day because of the interventions and aggressions of

North American imperialists and their satellites, which constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos of which they are signatories, thus impeding the reestablishment of peace, of neutrality and of national harmony in Laos;

- (2) **Condemns** formally North American imperialism for having outrageously violated the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, and continuing its policy of intervention and aggression against Laos and particularly, its methods of war by destruction and massacre, by means of air raids against the Laotian people, and its plans for sending North American troops and those of their satellites to occupy Middle and Lower Laos, in order to extend their war of aggression from South Vietnam to Laos;
- (3) **Demands** from North American imperialists the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos; the total withdrawal from the Laotian territory of all their military personnel, of their arms and war material, as well as those of their satellites, that have been illegally introduced and, above all, the immediate suspension of North American air raids over the territory controlled by the patriotic forces of Laos;
- (4) **Supports** actively the people of Laos in their struggle against North American imperialist aggressors and their puppets, for the de-

fence of the Geneva Agreements of 1962 on Laos, the safeguarding of the Tripartite Government of National Union and the neutrality of Laos. Firmly supports the position of the four points and the measures stated in the five points proclaimed for the solution of the question of Laos as expressed in the Manifest of October 13, 1965 of the National Political Conference of Alliance between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces of Laos;

- (5) **Calls upon** the peoples and upon the governments of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as upon the peace-loving peoples and governments, of the world, to unite in a collective manifestation of solidarity with the people and the patriotic armed forces of Laos and to agree to give them effective aid, both material and moral, an indispensable increase in strength that should make them capable of defeating the intervention and aggression of North American imperialists and attaining their legitimate aspirations, which consist of promoting a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

## RESOLUTION ON MOZAMBIQUE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Greets** the armed struggle that the heroic people of Mozambique carry on, under the leadership of FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique);

**Assures** the people of Mozambique and its organisation, the FRELIMO, of its total support to the struggle they are leading against Portuguese colonialism and for their total national independence;

**Denounces** and condemns the coalition of the governments of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, whose aim is to impose white supremacy in the South of Africa;

**Denounces** and condemns the cooperation between the Portuguese and the British police in Swaziland and in Rhodesia, which has already resulted in the kidnapping of several Mozambique nationalists in these two countries;

**Calls** upon world public opinion to demand liberty for all Mozambique nationalists arbitrarily imprisoned by Portuguese colonial authorities;

**Expresses** its gratitude to the peoples, governments and organisations which support the people of Mozambique in their struggle for a real national liberation and, particularly, to the people and the government of TANZANIA;

**Supports** the decision of the IV Conference of the Organisation of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa and

Asia, and declares the 25th of September as the the Day of Solidarity with the people of Mozambique.

## RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966;

—Having heard the report of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the reports of some of the delegates of the three Continents regarding colonialist and Zionist usurpation of Palestine and aggression on its people;

—Having reviewed the resolutions of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Sessions, and Conferences held in Cairo, Conakry, Bandung, Cyprus, Algiers, Moshi and Winneba on this issue;

—Having studied the conditions in which Israel was imposed on Palestine, and analysing the role of the former at the service of colonialism and neo-colonialism in their fight against the liberation forces, and against progress and peace in the region;

—Believing in the right of peoples to freedom, independence and self-determination and, faithful to the revolutionary principles of the Tri-continental Conference; mainly, the unity of aim and the unity of destiny of the peoples in their common anti-imperialist struggle;

(1) **Considers** Zionism as an imperialist movement by its very nature, aggressive and expansionist in its aims, racialist in its structure and fascist in its means and methods;

(2) **Considers** the Zionist settler-State as an imperialist base and as a subservient instrument and obedient tool of imperialism to be used for aggression and imperialist economic, political and cultural penetration and infiltration in the three continents. As such, Israel constitutes a threat to world security and peace and an impediment to the

development and progress in the area;

(3) **Considers** the right of the Palestinians to liberate their country as an extension to their inherent and inalienable right of self-defence;

(4) **Condemns** the Zionist Movement and the existence of Israel in the occupied part of Palestine;

(5) **Asks** for the severance of all political relations with Israel, its economic and cultural boycott and its expulsion from international organisations; and in particular, requests from all progressive parties and committees to double their efforts to combat the Zionist infiltration and penetration in their countries and to abrogate the various agreements concluded with Israel;

(6) **Condemns** the imperialist conspiracy of the U.S., West Germany and Britain to protect Israel, to support it and supply it with destructive armaments;

(7) **Condemns** severely the mass immigration to occupied Palestine organised by imperialism and Zionism in order to consolidate Zionist occupation of Palestine and promote their aggressive designs;

(8) **Warns** against the so-called Israeli technical and financial aid and considers it a new disguised method of U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism. Calls upon all national committees and organisations to give material and financial aid to Palestine in its struggle against the Zionists;

(9) **Fully** supports the Palestine Liberation Organisation in its struggle to liberate Palestine;

(10) **Vigorously condemns and denounces** the strategic aid given by the Zionist State of Israel to some African puppet governments in order to dominate and repress liberation movements in their countries, above all in the Congo (Leopoldville).

## RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION OF PANAMA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,

### Considering:

1. That Yankee imperialism, by imposing the Treaty of 1903 has arrogated a series of rights contrary to the interests of the Republic of Panama;
2. That, based on said Treaty, the United States have declared perpetual ownership of the monopoly over the present Canal, which monopoly they have extended to the construction of any inter-oceanic route in the Republic of Panama;
3. That North American imperialism has under its control, with commanding and jurisdictional functions, part of the Panamanian territory, in which territory there are troops, military bases, courts and repressive bodies, postal stamps, trade, education and population, beyond the control of the Republic of Panama and ruled by the laws of a foreign state;
4. That this state of things injures the territorial integrity of Panama, minimises its sovereignty and threatens the Republic through armed pressure;
5. That the aforementioned military bases are training centres of imperialist and local reactionary armed forces fighting against national liberation movements in Latin America and throughout the world, and are repressive instruments against their respective peoples;
6. That said bases are also centres of attack to the peoples of the world with missile launching sites and nuclear platforms used by North American imperialism for nuclear blackmail, which are a menace to world peace;
7. That from said bases, troops have been sent in the past to occupy the Republic of Panama, and more recently attack a patriotic demonstration of the Panamanian people during the anti-imperialist geste of January 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1964, and on the other hand, air raids have been launched against Guatemala, Cuba and other peoples. They are also the meeting place for Latin American militarist conspiracies, where the overthrow of various Latin American governments has been decided;
8. That Panamanian laws are ignored, and foreign culture and education, contrary to the interests of Panama, are fostered in the Canal Zone;
9. That discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone is exercised against the Panamanian workers and those of other nationalities regarding salaries, social benefits, working conditions and the different means of entertainment and education;
10. That during January 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1964, the Panamanian people suffered a brutal attack from North American troops stationed in the so-called Canal Zone, with the result of 21 dead and more than 500 wounded, in an obvious demonstration of the criminal nature of North American imperialism;
11. That immediately after the events mentioned above, and as the conclusion to more than sixty years of anti-imperialist struggles the Panamanian people demanded, and are still demanding the following:  
  
Substitution of the 1903 Treaty on the basis mentioned below:
  1. Abrogation of the Clause of perpetuity and of Clause V of the Treaty, referring to the monopoly of the United States for the construction of any inter-oceanic route in the Isthmus of Panama.
  2. Restitution to the Republic of Panama of the territory which comprises the so-called Canal Zone, in order to secure the territorial integ-

rity of the Panamanian State, and eliminate the presence in Panamanian soil of the obstacles to the full exercise of its true and effective sovereignty, and in consequence, secure the dismantling of the military bases, and the withdrawal of the Yankee troops.

3. Establishment of a joint Panamanian-North American commission for the administration of the Canal, with the understanding that the Canal will be returned to Panama in a short term;
12. That the special case of Panama, invaded and occupied by foreign troops, deserves special attention because these troops are quartered in military bases that not only violate Panamanian sovereignty, and are a means of oppression of the people of Panama, but also serve as training centres for action against the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and as an instrument of the Yankee policy of nuclear blackmail which threatens world peace;
13. That taking into consideration the occupation of part of its territory by foreign military bases, the situation of Panama is similar to the occupation of Guantanamo, Cuba, by Yankee imperialism, and that of Puerto Rico, subjected by force to a classical colonial status;
14. That it constitutes a basic condition for Panama, from the point of view of the exercise of its sovereignty and its right to self-determination, the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from its territory and the dismantling of the bases in which they are quartered;
15. That, without regard for the aspirations expressed by the Panamanian people, and further pursuing its policy of aggression against the people Yankee imperialism is plotting to increase its rule in Panama and intensify its use as a conspiracy centre against the overwhelming growth of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin

America, by means of the construction of another canal through Panama, and the establishment, in an even larger scale, of military bases throughout the Panamanian territory;

16. That this intention is evident in the so-called Robles-Johnson Declaration and in the threats of violence and repression from the pro-imperialist lackeys of the reactionary and fraudulent regime of Panama, constituting a historical challenge that the people of Panama will be able to face with the solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;

#### DECIDES:

1. To condemn the use of the territory or the utilisation of the land of a brother country for the aggression of other peoples;
2. To express solidarity with the Panamanian people in their aspiration to attain full sovereignty and self-determination by the restitution of the Panamanian territory of the Canal Zone, with the consequent abrogation of Yankee jurisdiction in the Zone; the dismantling of the military bases and the withdrawal of occupation troops, extending this solidarity to the Panamanian aspiration to liquidate the imperialist monopoly of the inter-oceanic route and the return of the Canal to the people of Panama within a short period of time;
3. To declare that this solidarity extends to all the forms of struggle which the Panamanian people may decide to use in order to attain the above mentioned aspirations, and to confront the schemes of the imperialists and the local oligarchy, tending to impose on Panama the construction of another Yankee Canal and the installation of new military bases for the strengthening of its strategy of aggression against the national liberation movements, and nuclear blackmail against the peace-loving peoples of the world.

## RESOLUTION ON PERU

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Considering:** that as a response to the start of the armed struggle in Peru which aims at total liberation of the people in this country, the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry has launched a brutal repression against the popular forces, especially the peasants, including mass executions of peasants in the rural zones where the guerrillas operate, indiscriminately bombing with napalm the inhabitants of the villages in these regions; jailing the leaders and militants of the left-wing political organisations of students and workers, most of whom have been submitted to incredible tortures in the best tradition of the dark ages of nazi-fascism and jailing the wives of the leaders of the guerrillas;

**Considering:** that in order to frighten people so that they will not give support to the guerrillas, the puppet and pro-Yankee government of Belaunde has passed the Death Penalty Law for those who fight in the guerrillas or give their direct or indirect support to them;

## RESOLUTION ON PERU

The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Considering:** that Peru is an economically backward country, as a result of the existing semi-feudal relations of production and the deforming action of its economic structure carried out by Yankee imperialism, which has taken over the main natural resources of the country and controls its foreign trade, and that all this, as it is logical to infer, obstructs the independent economic development of the country;

**Considering:** that the above mentioned semi-feudal conditions and the dependency upon Yankee imperialism which Peru is suffering and which maintain the country as merely a raw material producer, and keep the Peruvian people, especially the peasants, in the worst pos-

**Considering:** that the Peruvian Parliament, integrated by the representatives of the most backward and darkest reactionary forces, has created investigating committees for the "subversive activities", unleashing a most historical "maccarthist" persecution against all progressive organisations and personalities of the country;

### DECIDES:

**To demand** from the dictatorial and pro-Yankee government of Belaunde Terry to put an end to the executions of peasants and guerrilla fighters, the cessation of napalm air raids and of the cruel methods of torturing prisoners, the immediate release of political, labour, and student prisoners and of the wives of the leaders of the guerrillas;

**To demand** the abrogation of the Death Penalty Law and the dissolution of the "Maccarthist" committees created by the Peruvian Parliament;

**To denounce** before world public opinion the brutal trampling of human rights carried out by the unpopular government of Belaunde Terry.

sible conditions of poverty, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and indescribable super-exploitation;

**Considering:** that the poverty and hunger in which the Peruvian people find themselves could only disappear with the change of the unfair economic structures of the country and the ousting of imperialism;

**Considering:** that for decades attempts have been made to bring about this change by peaceful means without any results, due to the strong opposition of the exploiting and imperialist sectors who have always replied with violence to the just aspirations of the Peruvian people;

**Considering:** that the present government of Fernando Belaunde Terry, because of the class interests it represents, has been unable to solve the fundamental problems of the country, despite

his commitment to do so with demagogic electoral promises;

**Considering:** that in view of the violence that the Belaunde government has unleashed to crush the struggle of the different exploited sectors of the country for their legitimate reivindications, the people have come to the conclusion that there is no other way out but to respond in the same form, i.e., with organised revolutionary violence;

**Considering:** that the Peruvian people has begun the guerrilla armed struggle to achieve its total liberation,

DECIDES:

**To support** resolutely and in all forms the armed struggle undertaken in Peru, the way bravely chosen by the Peruvian people to achieve its definite and total economic and political independence.

## RESOLUTION ON THE SO-CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

The Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Greets** the successful development of the armed struggle carried on by the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People, under the leadership of the African Independence Party of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands. (P. A. I. G. C.);

**Encourages** the people of Cape Verde Islands and its national organisation, the PAIGC (African Independence Party) to continue their efforts in order to extend the armed struggle to Cape Verde Islands;

**Gives** assurances to the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands of its total support

to their heroic struggle against Portuguese colonialism and for total and complete independence;

**Proclaims** its unconditional support to all the measures that the PAIGC considers necessary to take on the political level, to consolidate the achievements of the struggle in Guinea and in order to harmonise the international juridical situation of the people of Guinea with the specific situation of that country;

**Expresses** its recognition to all African peoples and in particular to the people of the Republic of Guinea, to its Government and to the Democratic Party of Guinea, for the support that they have never ceased to give to the people of the so-called Portuguese Guinea and of Cape Verde Islands and to its National Party.

## RESOLUTION ON THE COUNTRIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

The First Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966, after having analysed the situation in the Portuguese colonies:

**Denounces** and condemns the backward and criminal policy of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal;

**Denounces** and condemns the allies of the Portuguese government, and in particular the member countries of NATO, who give it aid and assistance in its criminal policy against Angola, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Islands of

Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe;

**Greets** the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their national independence;

**Recognises** that armed struggle is the effective way for the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and the achievement of the just aspirations of the people of the Portuguese colonies for freedom and national independence;

**Calls** upon the people of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and

all the organisations of solidarity of the three continents to give to the struggling organisations of the Portuguese colonies the necessary aid for the development of their struggle of liberation and particularly:

- a) Aid in arms and military equipment, necessary for the development of the armed struggle;
- b) Facilities for transit of military material;

- c) Financial aid;
- d) Aid in sanitary, school and education material and consumer goods for the supply of the fighters and the population in the liberated areas;
- e) Facilities for documentation, entry, sojourn and circulation in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America to the fighters for freedom of the Portuguese colonies.

## RESOLUTION ON THE ISLANDS OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

**Considering:** the policy of obscurantism and of exploitation followed by the government of Portugal in Sao Tome and Principe, which expresses itself in particular by the maintenance of forced labour in those countries;

**Considering:** the policy of repression of the Portuguese government for suppressing the just aspirations of the people of Sao Tome and Principe for self-

determination and for independence, as well as the growing intensification of the means employed by the PIDE and the colonial army;

**Considering:** the tradition of struggle of the people of Sao Tome and Principe and their effective contribution to the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system;

**Decides** to greet and support, by all possible means, the struggle of the people of Sao Tome and Principe for their liberation and independence.

## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Conference notes that South Africa is:

- 1.—The stronghold of colonialism in Southern Africa and is actively supported by the imperialist powers of Britain, U. S. A., West Germany, France, Japan, Italy and Belgium;
- 2.—Fast being transformed into a major industrial and military centre, and a springboard for imperialist domination throughout the African continent, and in particular in Southern Africa;
- 3.—Part of a vicious Fascist Axis comprising Southern Rhodesia, the so-called Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique and itself;
- 4.—Continuing, despite international public opinion, to practise the most

diabolical form of racism in the 20th century. This brutal and barbaric system notoriously known throughout the world as Apartheid, is responsible for the increasing oppression of 4/5 of the South African population merely on the basis of colour.

The Conference further notes that:

- 1.—Over 8,000 leaders, cadres and revolutionary activists including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Bram Fischer of the National Liberation and Trade Union Organisations are languishing in the dreaded South African prison of Robben Island and other prisons;
- 2.—Over 50 political prisoners in South Africa have been sentenced to death, among them, the heroic

A. N. C. and Trade Union Leader, Vuyisile Mini, who went to the gallows shouting the battle cry of "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (Freedom for the Nation) and "Amandla Ngawethu" (Power to the People);

3.—Resistance to white domination in South Africa has now entered the stage of armed struggle.

The Conference, in condemnation of imperialist domination in South Africa, therefore calls upon all members represented here to work for:

1.—The complete economic, diplomatic, cultural and exporting boycott of

South Africa, as well as for an oil and arms embargo on South Africa;

2.—The strengthening of the National Liberation Organisation in South Africa, and its armed units by giving it all possible material and moral support;

3.—The unconditional release of all South African political prisoners;

4.—The defeat of the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, the fascist Salazar regimes in Angola and Mozambique and for the achievement of full national independence by the oppressed African people in these countries.

### RESOLUTION ON OCCUPIED SOUTH YEMEN

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Having** assessed the actual situation in Occupied South Yemen, and well aware of the intentions and conspiracies of British colonialism against the future of the people in the region;

**Having** taken note of the victories scored by the all-out armed revolution under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen, and in confirmation of the principles that inspired this meeting;

(1) **Hails** the heroic struggle waged by the people of the Occupied South Yemen to liberate themselves from British colonialism and the puppet reactionary regime;

(2) **Considers** the armed struggle in the Occupied South Yemen the sole effective means to liquidate British colonialism and its aggressive military bases, to put an end to the rule of the Sultans, feudalists and other agents of colonialism propped up in the region against the wish and interests of the people of the region;

(3) **Considers** the National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen which leads the armed Revolution against colonialism

and neo-colonialism in the Occupied South Yemen as the sole representative of the people of the region;

(4) **Condemns** British colonialist criminal acts, the brutal war of extermination waged against the people of the region, strafing of the villages, burning of the crops and farms, contaminating of the water wells and rendering homeless tens of thousands of men, women, children and the aged, not stopping short of killing hundreds;

(5) **Condemns** all the terrorist barbarous measures perpetrated by the British colonial authorities against the people and demands the immediate release of the political detainees and cessation of the inhuman tortures they are subjected to;

(6) **Denounces** all the colonialist conspiracies and designs Britain hatches against the interests of the people and considers the faked Federation of South Arabia it set up in Occupied South Yemen as nothing short of a tool in the hands of the colonialists and a preliminary step to neo-colonialism;

(7) **Denounces** all British attempts to establish a regime that does not represent the people in the region, with the intent of granting a nom-

- inal independence in 1968; calls on all States not to recognise such an independence;
- (8) **Call** on all revolutionary organisations in the world to back and support the peoples of the Occupied South Yemen in their just struggle against British colonialism;
- (9) **Urges** the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist liberated States to pro-

vide the National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen with funds and arms to enable it to continue the armed struggle till the final realisation of the aims of the people;

- (10) **Calls** on International Relief Organisations to supply foodstuffs, medicine and clothes to the destitute refugees, the victims of the British aggressive military operations.

## RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE (SOUTHERN RHODESIA)

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, convened in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966:

1. **Notes** that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the British settlers in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) on November 11, 1965, is an aggressive conspiracy devised by Britain itself as a means to:

- (a) Entrench white race supremacy and white minority colonial rule in Zimbabwe;
- (b) Establish a permanent white-versus-black iron curtain in Africa along the river Zambezi with white minority-ruled States in the South and African majority-ruled States in the North;
- (c) Consolidate fascist States in Southern Africa to act as bastions for imperialist aggression, subversion and re-colonisation of Africa;
- (d) Enslave the African people of Zimbabwe as source of cheap labour for exploitation and maintenance of British capitalist monopoly;
- (e) Perpetrate a race and colour war in Zimbabwe for the sole purpose of providing a pretext for sabotaging and frustrating the independence of African States and the right of self-determination and national independence of the African people of Zimbabwe;

2. **Considers** that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence constitutes a declaration of war against the African

people of Zimbabwe and an imperialist threat to peace in Africa and the world.

Therefore, this Conference strongly **condemns** Britain for:

- (a) Conspiring against the African people of Zimbabwe by granting minority independence to its fascist kith and kin under the guise of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence;
- (b) Arming and training its kith and kin as a strong military force, long before the seizure of the illegal independence with a view to use this military force against the African people of Zimbabwe in maintaining its minority and the illegal independence.

3. In view of this naked aggression and conspiracy by the British against the African people of Zimbabwe, this Conference:

- (a) **Supports** the firm stand of the people of Zimbabwe as clearly expressed by ZAPU to keep on struggling relentlessly until the British aggression and colonial rule are ended in Zimbabwe;
- (b) **Recognises** the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) as the only Liberation Movement and the only authentic representative of the African people of Zimbabwe;
- (c) **Proclaims** its firm solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, which confront a life or death struggle, expressing its moral support to their struggle;

- (d) **Urges** the socialist and independent countries and all progressive organisations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to offer their determined and unconditional support, material and economic, to Zimbabwe African People's Union, giving all facilities to the intensification of their struggle, in order to obtain the victory on the colonial government and British imperialism;
- (e) Establishes a Special Committee for Zimbabwe, consisting of four Countries.

This Committee of four countries shall consist of Zimbabwe and one country from each of the Three Continents to implement this Resolution.

The Special Committee will be composed by the United Arab Republic, in representation of Africa; Cuba, representing Latin America, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam representing Asia;

- (f) Demands the immediate freedom of all political prisoners and detainees, as well as the abolition of the existing ghettos.

SUB-COMMISSION OF VIETNAM

## GENERAL RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held at Havana, the capital of the Republic of Cuba from January 3 to 15, 1966, with the participation of 512 representatives of 82 national liberation movements of countries of the three continents, as well as numerous observers of international and regional organisations, and guests from all the parts of the world, has given particular attention to the Vietnam problem, the most important question in this Conference.

The Conference has listened to the reports of the delegations of the NLFSV and the DRV and wholly approves them. All delegates that have taken the floor during the Conference have unanimously expressed, on behalf of their respective peoples, their feelings of deep sympathy and admiration and their total and unreserved support to the people of Vietnam who heroically wage a just struggle in defence of their sacred homeland with unswerving determination and growing victories against the criminal war of aggression of North American imperialism, head of world imperialism. By extending its valuable and efficient support to the sacred cause of the Vietnamese people, the Conference has found such a popular war an exalting example in its noble task of promoting and developing the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, for the liberation of the peoples, social progress and world peace. The Conference verifies that for more than 11 years, North American imperialism has been trampling on the sacred national rights of the Vietnamese people: independence, sovereignty, uni-

ty and territorial integrity that were solemnly recognised by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and that the United States were pledged to respect. The United States impudently pursues a neo-colonialist policy of systematic intervention and military aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam.

Lately, faced with the repeated victories won by the people of South Vietnam in the legitimate defensive struggle to safeguard national independence and peace and in order to avoid defeat, the United States of America daily intensifies the war of aggression against South Vietnam, with the increasingly massive participation of its own armed forces and those of its satellite countries, of its strategic air force and the Seventh Fleet, and "escalates" the war with ever increasing air raids and attacks against the DRV, a sovereign and independent country.

Faced with their continued defeats, North American imperialists are feverishly preparing new aggressive plans to increase United States forces to 250,000 by the middle of the year, and later to 300,000 more; to further increase weapons and war material, multiplying their military operations and air raids with B-52 bombers at a growing rhythm in South Vietnam, and spreading them to Laos and Cambodia. To serve their criminal designs, North American aggressors deliberately use scientific discoveries and technical achievements, napalm and white phosphorous bombs, chemical products and toxic gases and a strategic air force, aiming at the systematic and total destruction and extermination of the population of Vietnam: massacring the defenceless civil population, destroying whole villages; bombing

hospitals, schools, cultural institutions, markets, hydroelectric dams, heavily populated industrial and economic centres. The repeated attacks of the U.S. air and naval forces are intensified day and night, in an effort to hinder all activities, peaceful work, causing systematic destruction and extermination on Vietnamese territory.

Expressing the common feelings of millions of people in the three continents, the Conference denounces in the strongest possible way the North American imperialists as war criminals condemned by all the peoples of the world, by all mankind, for their brazen and rapacious war against Vietnam. The Conference particularly denounces their present manoeuvres to intensify, widen and make more dangerous than ever the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Conference condemns their crimes of aggression against Vietnam as a blatant violation of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and of international law. Human conscience is deeply disgusted and indignant at the barbaric genocide of the North American aggressor who shows total contempt for the most elementary human rights.

The Conference strongly condemns the brutal and deliberate aggression against the DRV, a sovereign and independent country, as a clear act of international piracy that constitutes a very dangerous precedent and a threat to the sovereignty of independent states in the three continents.

The Conference considers that no reason whatever could be invoked to justify such unspeakable crimes against the Vietnamese people who are separated from the U.S.A. by an ocean and who love independence and peace. The Conference denounces and strongly condemns the piratical policy of the United States of America that tends to enslave the people of South Vietnam, transforming South Vietnam into a new type of colony and an American military base to test their strategy, tactics, weapons and war material in order to stop the national movements of liberation and subjects the peoples of the three continents,

to prepare for war against socialist countries and to undermine the peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Conference ascertains that every time President Johnson intensifies and extends the war of aggression, he comes forth with his fallacious manoeuvres of the so-called "will of peace" and "unconditional negotiations".

Recently, together with the intensification, to the highest degree ever, of military operations in South Vietnam, their extension to Laos and Cambodia and the accelerated preparation of new plans of aggression with massive introduction of new troops, arms and war equipment in South Vietnam, the Johnson Administration has undertaken a new peace "offensive", presenting 14 points which advanced the questions of provisional cessation of bombardments against North Vietnam, and of taking the Geneva Agreements of 1954 as a "basis for peace" and "unconditional negotiations".

The Conference strongly denounces and condemns the new manoeuvres of intensification and extension of the war carried out by North American aggressors. It also fully condemns and rejects the new misleading propositions of "unconditional negotiations" of the Johnson Administration, as well as the treacherous manoeuvres leading to disguise the recent ever-increasing measures of intensification and extension of the war of aggression, to appease and deceive the North American and world public opinion, to force the Vietnamese people to accept the conditions of North American aggressors, in order to enslave South Vietnam with impunity, to divide Vietnam definitively and to sabotage the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

It denounces and strongly condemns the new "offensive of peace" of President Johnson as a manoeuvre leading to extremely dangerous new steps of military recklessness in Vietnam, in Indochina and in South-East Asia. It gives its total support to the declaration of the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of January 5, 1966 and to that of January

6, 1966 of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam on this question.

The Conference strongly condemns the extension of the war of aggression against Laos and Cambodia and supports the just struggle of the people of Laos for independence, neutrality and peace. It also supports the people and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia in their struggle against North American aggressors to defend the territorial integrity, independence and neutrality of Cambodia. The Conference warmly acclaims the solidarity of the struggle that closely unites the peoples of Indochina, in their common struggle against North American imperialists.

The aggressive war against Vietnam as well as that of the Dominican Republic and other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the crimes committed by the North American aggressors clearly reveal that they are the number one enemy of the peoples of the three Continents and of all mankind.

The Conference reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Vietnam as well as of all the peoples of the three continents, to use all available means, especially just war, to defend the homeland from foreign aggression.

The Conference warmly greets the resounding victories of the Vietnamese people in their determined struggle against the ferocious aggressive war of North American imperialists. The Conference expresses the deep appreciation of the peoples of the three continents for the great sacrifices made by the Vietnamese people whose heroism is universally respected.

Nowadays, when the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rise up with an irresistible impulse against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the struggle of the people of Vietnam against North American imperialism is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples all over the world for the achievement of their fundamental objectives at the present stage of history, that is to say, national liberation, so-

cialism and the safeguarding of world peace.

The Conference considers that the struggle of the people of Vietnam is in itself a direct support, and a powerful contribution especially through the rich experiences accumulated, to the national liberation movements of the peoples of the three continents, above all to the peoples who are at present carrying on a struggle, such as the peoples of the Dominican Republic, of the Congo (Leopoldville), of Laos, etc., and at the same time, it constitutes a brilliant and encouraging example and a stimulus to all the progressive peoples of the world. The peoples of the three continents and of the whole world have the duty to support and help the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and to provide them with profound and fraternal solidarity in their struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism. This is why the struggle of the Vietnamese people is justly considered the most important problem of today's struggles of the peoples in the world and has the unanimous support of all peoples of the world. Actively backed and with the aid of the socialist camp, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the international working class and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, the Vietnamese people score more and more victories each day. The United States aggressors are weaker and more isolated than ever. Nothing can save them from the inevitable defeat.

The Vietnamese people will win.

The Vietnamese people love peace, but genuine peace cannot be separated from independence. The Conference declares its full support to the five-point declaration of March 22, 1965 of the N.L.F. of South Vietnam and to the four point stand of April 8, 1965, of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Conference considers that these are the only just bases for the solution of the Vietnam problem, respect for the sacred fundamental rights of the people of Vietnam to inde-

pendence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity which have been solemnly recognised by the Geneva Agreements. It is on this basis that a stable and lasting peace could be reestablished in Vietnam, thus contributing to the sovereignty of peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Tricontinental Conference, joining its voice to that of the Vietnamese people and of all the peoples of the world demands:

Immediate ceasing of the American aggression against South Vietnam, immediate withdrawal of all American troops and those of the satellite countries from South Vietnam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Vietnam;

Immediate, final and unconditional ceasing of air raids and other acts of aggression against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

Compliance with and implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by the Government of the United States of America;

Recognition of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam, as the only true and legal representative of the people of Vietnam, and the right of the Vietnamese people to decide its own affairs, without foreign intervention and on the basis of the political programme of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam.

Peaceful re-unification of Vietnam should be achieved without foreign intervention; it is an internal affair of the people of the two zones.

The United States Government must solemnly express its recognition of the 4 points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of April 8, 1965, and prove this by concrete actions. It is only thus that a political solution to the Vietnam problem could be envisaged.

The Conference denounces and rejects all manoeuvres leading to United Nations intervention, any attempt of intervention of foreign armed forces in the Vietnamese question and any solution contrary to the declaration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam dated April 8, 1965.

The Conference expresses its admiration for the firm determination of the Vietnamese people —deeply grateful for the support and the aid of the peoples of the three continents and of the world — to continue the struggle until the liberation of the country from all U.S. aggressors, and the final achievement of its fundamental objectives: national independence, unity and peace.

The Conference warmly welcomes the support of the peoples of the three continents and of the world to the people of Vietnam, and makes an urgent appeal to the peoples of the three continents, to progressive forces, to all democratic organisations and personalities in all the world for the unceasing intensification of mass movements at all social levels to:

Unite all efforts in order to defeat the new adventurous steps of U.S. militarists, the new plans of war intensification and expansion including the bombings of Hanoi and Haifong in North Vietnam, to denounce the present peace manoeuvres of the North American authorities, to demand the immediate cessation of the war of aggression in South Vietnam, the immediate, final and unconditional cessation of air raids against North Vietnam, the withdrawal of all North American troops as well as the troops of satellite countries from South Vietnam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Vietnam, observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, to let the Vietnamese people decide their own affairs;

To develop in every way and in every aspect an active solidarity with the people of Vietnam; demonstrations, rallies of protest, boycotts against the loading and transportation of arms and war material and of North American troops, collection of funds, medicines, food; shipment of weapons and war equipment, celebration of days and weeks of solidarity, as well as commitments such as the enlistment of volunteers to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people, whenever they call for help; all this in accordance with the specific conditions existing in each country, to intensify the struggle against impe-

rialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the countries of the three continents and in the world, constitutes a direct support to combine that struggle closely with the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference calls on the Governments of all peace-loving countries to recognise **de facto** and **de jure** the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The Conference appeals to the peoples of the three continents and the peoples of the world to organise from March 12 to 19, 1966 a week of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

In order to coordinate and unceasingly intensify the solidarity movement towards the Vietnamese people, multiply the forms and increase the efficiency of that movement, the Conference decides to establish a tricontinental committee of solidarity with the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against the aggression of the North American imperialists.

The Conference warmly greets the ever-increasing movement of struggle of the people of the United States, comprising a great number of justice-loving people, thousands of young people, women, students, professors, scientists, writers, artists, and religious personalities, who protest, in many different and increasingly energetic ways, against the war of aggression and who support the just struggle of the people of Vietnam.

The Conference makes an urgent appeal to the people of the United States

to develop further and more intensively the mass movement with a view of denouncing the deceiving manoeuvres of peace of the North American officials, especially to respond to the December 16, 1965 appeal of the Vietnam Day Committee in the U.S. to demand the immediate, definite and unconditional cessation of the bombings and of the war of aggression against Vietnam, which are contrary to the essential principles proclaimed by the Constitution of the United States and harmful to the national interests of the North American people themselves, and to support the just cause of the people of Vietnam.

Aware of the serious threat that endangers the common destinies of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as a result of the war waged by North American imperialists against the Vietnamese people, the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America expresses its deep conviction that the struggle of the Vietnamese people, supported by the countries of the socialist camp, by the peoples of the three continents, by the working class and the working people of the capitalist countries, including the people of the United States, by all the progressive forces of the world, will finally succeed, South Vietnam will be free, Vietnam will be peacefully reunified, and the independent Vietnamese people will be able to work for the happiness and progress of mankind peacefully and in close cooperation with the great family of fraternal peoples of the three continents and of the peoples of the world.

RESOLUTION ON THE CREATION OF "THE TRICONTINENTAL  
COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE  
PEOPLE" IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE  
AGGRESSION OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966:

**Whereas:** The aggression of North American imperialism against the Vietnamese people is part of a world-wide plan of war and aggression on the part

of imperialism all over the world. The war of aggression carried out by North American imperialism against the people of South Vietnam is a "war of experimentation" waged by imperialism to enslave the South Vietnamese people, both to test its strategical and tactical weapons, and train officers and soldiers with a view to using them to repress the liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The U. S. air force and navy bombings and attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country, constitute an insolent challenge to world public opinion, in order to set a precedent so that Yankee imperialists may intervene and attack our countries and the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America at will;

**Whereas:** The heroic and victorious struggle of the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the heroic resistance of the North Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, are an integral part of the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the common enemy, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by North American imperialism to achieve freedom, independence, peace and social progress. The outstanding victories of the people of Vietnam constitute common victories for our peoples on the three continents and an endless source of inspiration and encouragement to the movement of national liberation;

**Whereas:** Now, more than ever, it is the main task of all peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of our three continents, to defend and energetically support the just and patriotic struggle of the people of Vietnam against Yankee aggression, until final victory;

**Whereas:** It is the duty of our Conference to especially emphasise its militant support to the heroic people of Vietnam,

## AGREES

**First:** To establish the Tricontinental Committee of support to the people of Vietnam, fighting against the aggression of North American imperialism, with the following basic purposes:

To inform our peoples in a more extensive and profound way about the criminal war of aggression of North American imperialism against the people of Vietnam, in order to intensify the struggle against this unjust war of aggression. To inform in a more extensive and profound way and fully support the just and heroic patriotic struggle of the people of Vietnam against Yankee aggression, as well as the just and legitimate position of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on the solution of the Vietnamese problem;

To mobilise, organise, coordinate and intensify the movements of solidarity, support and aid to the Vietnamese people, in every aspect, moral, political, material and economic, including the aid of volunteers and arms, within the framework of each country, each continent and tricontinental;

**Second:** The Committee will meet at least twice a year or more if necessary and will report its activities to all countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference;

**Third:** The composition of the Tricontinental Committee for support to the people of Vietnam in its struggle against the aggression of Yankee imperialism is as follows:

—President: National Liberation Front of Venezuela;

—3 Delegates representing 3 continents:

Asia: People's Democratic Republic of Korea;

Africa: National Liberation Front of the Congo (Leopoldville);

Latin America: Republic of Cuba,

—2 Delegates representing the 2 zones of Vietnam:

Democratic Republic of Vietnam,

National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The site of the Committee is Havana.

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL  
AID FUND FOR VIETNAM

The Political Commission of the Conference decides to transfer the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the creation of an "Inter-

national Fund of Aid to Vietnam" to the Tricontinental Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Vietnam, for its study.

COUNTRIES THAT FORM THE TRICONTINENTAL COMMITTEE  
FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

AFRICA

Congo (L)

ASIA

Korea  
North Vietnam  
South Vietnam

LATIN AMERICA

Cuba  
Venezuela

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL COMMISSION

## GENERAL RESOLUTION

### Introduction

One of the gravest consequences of the colonisation of Africa, Asia and Latin America has been the systematic destruction of the cultures and historical value systems of each people.

The colonial system did not stop at the dismembering of the social structures, the displacement of entire populations, the imposition of artificial territorial and linguistic boundaries, the wiping out of large number of our peoples due to forced labor in mines and plantations, but has attacked with equal violence the cultural heritage of our countries.

Before colonisation, great civilisations had developed on our three continents. The natural conditions of our tropical and subtropical regions were no obstacle for the blossoming of brilliant cultures.

Pre-Columbian America had known the flourishing civilisations of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas. This was also true of Black Africa, with its civilisations of Zimbabwe, Benin and the Congo, and the high intellectual level attained by the Mali and Ghana Empires. In North Africa, within the historical framework of Islam, the Arab world not only gathered the cultural heritage of ancient Egypt, India, China and Greece, but itself made great advances in the arts and sciences of the time. In Asia, the peoples of India, China, Japan, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia were able to develop high civilisations. The mercantile brutality of colonialism deprived these cultures of all possibility of upsurge and renaissance. Imperialism, for its part, uses its powerful technical media to introduce into all countries

of our three continents a great body of literature based on an ethnocentric view of the world and on hatred and prejudice against non-white peoples.

At best, those cultures which escaped total destruction were consistently persecuted, denigrated and denied. Each people's cultural dynamism rapidly degenerated into a body of fragmented folkloric traditions, of dress and culinary habits and of local arts and crafts which could not replace the historical continuity of the creative originality and achievement of our peoples.

Ferocious exploitation, misery, famine, racial discrimination, inferiority complexes and the loss of personality and self-respect are so many aspects of colonialism which induced a deep inhibition of culture and knowledge. For decades, hundreds of peoples were condemned to an endless repetition of the same legends, stories, popular songs and oral literature, so as not to die spiritually frozen.

Only the national liberation struggles can put an end to this state of cultural stagnation, of general alienation, and restore to our cultures in Africa, Asia and Latin America, their rightful place in history, their dynamism, their capacity for rejuvenation and perpetual creation. Only the national liberation struggles can restore our sense of adequacy and competence and the will and purpose to forge our own destiny in total freedom. This is why, now, in our three continents, culture is the medium through which our peoples can, within the very framework of their own national liberation process, become aware of their capacity to transform the life of society, write their own history, gather the best of their cultural

heritage and unify these factors which intervene in the historical formation of the nation, on a democratic and popular basis.

The national liberation struggle not only sets culture free, wresting it from its century-long stagnation, but gives it new fields for expression and creation. This struggle provides culture with new elements for its own authenticity, vigor, inner rhythm and growth. There exist, then, close and inseparable links between the liberation struggle and the shaping of national culture. The armed struggle itself is a cultural fact which mobilises, through an heroic process, the psychological resources, the emotional strength, the impatience and the aspirations of each people of Africa, Asia and Latin America and gives them wide access to their lost cultural fecundity.

The liberation struggle, which is at present the highest form of self-awareness, unifies those factors which define a nation and elevates to universal dimensions the special vocation of each one of our peoples. National culture, in the present stage, can only recover its legitimacy through the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle.

In this era, this struggle demands that the revolutionary forces of the three continents oppose the policy of the imperialist aggression, directed by the United States, which may be seen equally in the domain of the cultural activity of the peoples of Africa, Asia as well as of Latin America.

**The Social and Cultural Commission** took up, in the course of its work, different topics of interest to the Revolution in the sphere of culture.

**The Commission** adopted detailed resolutions, of whose contents we offer the following resume:

**1) On imperialist cultural and ideological penetration**

Imperialist cultural and ideological penetration is carried out in nations still subject to colonial and imperialist domination, as well as in those coun-

tries which have achieved state sovereignty. This penetration is a permanent threat to countries which are carrying out social revolutions.

Imperialism tries to paralise the national consciousness of the peoples by introducing its own decadent culture through mass communications media such as the cinema, magazines, newspapers and the establishment of so-called "cultural centres". Under the pretext of "cultural exchange and cooperation", United States imperialism tries to bribe many intellectuals through the so-called foundations, for example, the Ford, Kellogg, Rockefeller and Kennedy foundations; just as it tries to place universities of Africa, Asia and Latin America under the control of United States universities. It also carries out seditious campaigns through the so-called "Peace Corps".

**The Commission** recommends to this Conference that:

It is necessary to wage an immediate active struggle to stop and to oust once and for all, from the cultural lives of the peoples, the manifestations for the colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist influence led by the United States.

**2) On the cultural revolution in those countries freed from the imperialist yoke**

The cultural revolution is an inseparable part of the social revolution.

The countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America that have been freed from colonial and imperialist domination present a picture of acute educational and cultural backwardness. Without a deep cultural revolution it is impossible to overcome underdevelopment and eliminate the colonialist and imperialist legacy.

**The Commission** recommends to this Conference that:

The fundamental aspects of the cultural revolution be studied using the following points as a basis:

a) The elimination of illiteracy and the elevation of the general educational level of the population.

b) The fostering of technical and scientific education on the secondary and higher levels.

c) The encouraging of literature and the arts.

d) The stimulation of curricular and extra-curricular sports and physical education activities.

e) The organisation of the revolutionary political education of the peoples of the new free society and especially of the workers and peasants.

### 3) On the technical and scientific revolution

The countries who free themselves from colonialism and imperialism find themselves in a situation of economic deformation and underdevelopment and in an obvious technical and scientific underdevelopment.

Each liberated country must undertake a technical and scientific revolution which is a very important part of the cultural revolution.

The social revolution cannot consolidate itself unless the technical revolution is carried out, and a higher stage of economic development is achieved.

The educational aspect of this revolution, i.e. the formation of technical cadres, should be carried out following the policy of the economic planning of the state.

**The Commission** recommends to this Conference:

The careful study of the principles of the scientific and technical revolution and the greatest exchange of experiences regarding this between countries, as well as the mutual exchange of fraternal aid.

### 4) On the cultural and scientific heritage

The scientific and technological wealth of the countries whose monopolies have filched out the natural resources of three continents and have exploited their peoples, has fed on the misery, sweat and blood of millions of human beings.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have contributed far more than their share to the scientific and technological achievements of the imperialist countries. They claim their right to the free use of these advances in thought and in science as a necessity for development.

**The Commission** recommends to the Conference:

The abolition of all copyrights providing profits to monopolistic commercial entities, as well as the copyrights of authors who refuse, for political reasons, to have their work reprinted in developing countries. This recommendation does not mean ignoring the legitimate rights of authors who are willing to offer their scientific contributions to the entire human race.

### 5) On the formation of national cadres

The formation of national cadres is a most urgent task. It should be undertaken with priority in the recently liberated countries.

The spheres of this formation take in cadres of the following types: scientific and technical for agriculture and industry; high-level scientific researchers, teaching personnel, cultural and political.

The formation of national cadres must be carried out with the best of the revolutionary youth of each country. This formation must be done in the spirit of the nation and in the best internationalist tradition.

**The Commission** recommends to this Conference that:

In the countries of the three continents, great attention should be given to this gigantic task. All revolutionary countries are urged to provide high-level professors and technicians to the developing countries so that the latter may form their own technicians and scientists.

### 6) On Social Security

Hundreds of millions of men throughout the world exist in sub-human liv-

ing conditions because of colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation imposed by imperialism, especially by United States imperialism.

Through revolution, the peoples must win the right to a better life.

**The Commission** recommends to this Conference that:

The following basic principles of a programme of social security and assistance be adopted:

- a) Protection for all urban and rural workers and their families.
- b) No discrimination in this protection because of race, nationality, sex, age, religion or ideology.
- c) Organisation of the social security system on the basis of the degree of economic, social, cultural and administrative development of each country.

#### 7) **On Public Health**

The greatest achievements in public health can only be attained in the countries that make their social revolution.

Malnutrition, tuberculosis, endemic diseases and all such ills, consequences of rapacious imperialist exploitation, persist in many countries.

**The Commission** recommends to the Conference that:

To establish the basic principles of a serious public health structure:

- a) Public Health must be the responsibility of the State.
- b) Public Health must answer to the interest of the people emphasising not only the medical care aspect but also that of preventive medicine.
- c) Public Health must be planned and directed by a single organism.
- d) Public Health should focus its greatest attention on the problems that affect the great masses, such as vaccination, general sanitary attention, the prevention of epidemics, hospital attention, etc.
- e) Public Health should rest on the massive participation of the people in the health tasks.

#### 8) **On Physical Education, Sports and Recreation**

Physical education, sports and recreation play an important part in the integral formation of man; in preventive medicine; in bettering the productive forces of the country; in the struggle for national liberation and national defence; in the better understanding among peoples.

To attain these goals it is necessary to make use of the resources of the peoples who make the revolution; to have a sole and centralised orientation; to eliminate commercialism in sports; to form technical cadres in this field; to have the massive participation of the people.

**The Commission** recommends to the Conference:

- a) The establishment in each liberated country of organs that will direct and carry out plans on the aforementioned and unify the orientation and resources of the state.
- b) The establishment of a co-ordination that will facilitate bilateral and multilateral exchange between the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

#### **On the tricontinental cultural cooperation**

**The Commission** recommends:

- 1) To promote and organise the translation, printing and distribution of classical and modern literary and scientific works that by virtue of their quality and content may break the cultural monopoly of the so-called "Western and Christian civilisation".
- 2) To promote and organise the exchange of pictorial, photographic, folkloric and scientific exhibitions to facilitate a better knowledge of the traditional and contemporary culture of our peoples.
- 3) To promote and organise the exchange of theatrical, ballet, circus, puppet and other types of shows.

- 4) To increase the exchange of teachers and students on the secondary and university levels.
- 5) To promote a campaign of repudiation of the press, radio, television and the writers and artists who have been bribed by imperialism and who try to move against the course of history and the full intellectual development of the peoples.
- 6) To create on a tricontinental scale a cadres training school for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the political, economic and cultural fields.
- 7) For the partial or complete realisation of this programme in each of the countries participating in the First Tricontinental Conference, to institute a campaign to create a common fund for the defence and expansion of the national cultures of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In order to build up this fund, writers could make contributions of their books; painters could contribute their paintings; sculptors, ceramists, decorators, etc., their works. Simultaneous campaigns could be carried out for the collection of funds in work centres by women's organisations, colleges and universities.
- 8) To organise a **Cultural Affairs Commission** within the body created to maintain tricontinental solidarity and the common struggle against imperialism.
- 9) In order that the Cultural Affairs Committee of the Tricontinental Organisation may have a permanent organ of information, contact and exchange, the publication of a monthly or a bi-monthly magazine with special editions for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America should be promoted.
- 10) To organise a Social Research Bureau. This bureau should work to co-ordinate such activities, in close cooperation with pertinent research activities being carried out by socialist countries; should collect, analyse and make available

social and economic information to the liberation movements and, whenever necessary, carry out specific studies at the request of the liberation movements.

- 11) To establish a cinematographic section which would deal mainly with the collection of documentation on liberation struggles. Such a cinematographic section should have documentary film archives, groups of cinema experts and camera men at the service of the organ, with laboratories and mobile filming equipment; it should use all possible channels established by the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents for the effective distribution of full length and documentary films that may be produced in the spirit of this resolution. The receipts obtained from the distribution of these films would be used to increase diffusion and to improve technical and artistic quality.

#### **Regarding National Liberation Movements and Tricontinental Cultural Cooperation**

Recommends:

- 12) Those who fight against social and racial discrimination to involve themselves in the anti-imperialist struggle and help the Negroes of the United States and the people of the Union of South Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, in the preservation and development of their cultures.
- 13) A total cultural boycott of South Africa and to work unceasingly for the total isolation of the fascist white regime of South Africa by banning all co-operation in academic, cultural and sporting activities.
- 14) **Considering** that the Indian population of various Latin American countries lives in a situation of discrimination similar to that under which the Afro-American population of the U.S.A. suffers; that the situation of extreme exploitation

and oppression under which millions of Latin American Indians live, is the immediate result of the colonial heritage and feudal remnants existing in countries like Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay maintained by imperialism; the Tricontinental Conference denounces the discriminatory treatment of the Indian population and reaffirms that only national liberation struggles can eliminate these ills.

- 15) **Recognising** the special situation in Panama, where imperialism develops a profound cultural penetration which affects cultural values and traditions;

**Resolves** to unite the efforts of all participating organisations in support of the Panamanian peoples;

- 16) **Considering** that the countries waging an armed struggle of national liberation carry on at the same time duties of reconstruction in the social and cultural domain; confirming that in the vast regions of Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique that have been liberated from colonial domination, the political and mass movements of the Portuguese colonies carry out a cultural and social task in benefit of the population; considering the necessity that the independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America express their active solidarity to this struggle by encouraging all measures already taken in the liberated zones by FRELIMO, the PMLA and the PAIGC in the fields of literacy and sanitation;

**Recommends** that revolutionary cadres of the three continents assist in the accomplishment of social and cultural development in the countries which are fighting for their national liberation.

#### **On Coordination of the Activities of the Social Organisations of the Three Continents**

The peoples' forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America are great and their

enthusiasm in the struggle to find the appropriate ways and means to solve their common problems is extraordinary. Since the imperialists have tried to keep us divided so as to perpetuate their domination over our peoples, it is the duty of all revolutionaries to carry out the correct revolutionary strategy: to unite all truly anti-imperialist forces to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, led by the U.S.

This is why we are bound by the necessity of strengthening the ties of cooperation among the different mass social organisations of the three continents.

#### **On the Role of Youth**

The Conference underlines the great revolutionary role played by youth in the struggle for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In many countries, the youth, especially the students, have played an important role in the struggle for liberation;

Considers that the youth of today is the hope of tomorrow and will play an important role in the cultural, economic and social development of the respective countries. If the revolutionary movement ignores these young people, the reactionary forces led by world imperialism will organise them to use them for counter-revolutionary and fascist activities;

Recommends to all of its participants that they work together in order to:

- 1) Increase their participation in the national liberation movement.
- 2) Increase the number of solidarity festivals, to encourage meetings and cultural exchanges among the young people of the three continents.
- 3) Encourage youth organisations, to establish contacts with all of the organisations working on a world-wide scale for solidarity with the anti-imperialist movement, for world peace and friendship.
- 4) Grant support to the ninth World Festival of Youth and Students for

Solidarity, Peace and Friendship.  
And work for its celebration in a  
country of Africa, Asia or Latin  
America.

### **On the Role of Women**

**Considering** that the women of Africa, Asia and Latin America are an indispensable force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism; and for national reconstruction;

**Considering** the great contribution given by the women of the three continents in the liberation struggles of their respective countries;

**Considering** that women must free themselves from the social bondage imposed on them by feudal and bourgeois tradition;

The improving of the social status of women, their increasing role in society and their political education will exert a great influence on the stability of the family, the ideological and moral level of all of society and will make substantial contributions to the revolutionary upsurge and the national construction of developing nations;

Recommends that the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

— help women to foster their movements;

— encourage women's organisations to establish contacts and to consider the means of cooperating with the International Democratic Women Federation so as to unify their efforts in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

### **On the Role of Workers**

**The First Tricontinental Conference** notes with great satisfaction that the workers in Africa, Asia and Latin America are making significant contributions to the struggle against imperialism and for national reconstruction. In many countries the workers have played a leading part in the liberation struggles.

**Considering** that the future of all the developing countries will depend largely upon the extent to which the

working class is organised, united and educated to shoulder the tasks of national resurgence and industrial reconstruction, the Conference recommends to all its participants:

- 1) To promote Trade Union rights and liberties through progressive legislation and to develop appropriate struggles to get them implemented.
- 2) To organise, on official and unofficial levels, the workers' education programmes in correspondence with the social and cultural economic needs of the nations.
- 3) To link the trade union struggles with all the liberation and anti-imperialist struggles going on in the three continents.
- 4) In view of the redoubled efforts by world imperialism through ICFTU to disrupt, demoralise and divide the trade unions, it has become imperative to intensify efforts for trade union unity and to establish and increase contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions which has been consistently fighting for support and solidarity with national liberation struggles and trade union struggles in developing countries.
- 5) To combat the global strategy and tactics of imperialism and ICFTU, it is necessary to educate the workers in the spirit of internationalism and encourage trade unions to co-operate with such international organisations as are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- 6) Neo-colonialists and feudal forces go on generating reactionary ideas among the workers through their organisations and through discriminatory labour practices so as to foment racial, communal and cast prejudices and differences. Trade Unions must relentlessly fight against such tactics of these exploiting classes and cement class and national unity on the basis of revolutionary ideas and struggles.
- 7) The Tricontinental solidarity movement must organise exchange of visits between the cadres and

leaders of trade union Organisations of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries so as to develop mutual solidarity and understanding on the role of trade unions in these struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the U. S.

- 8) Recognises February 7 as a Day of Solidarity with the exploited and oppressed workers of South Africa who live under the iron heel of fascist domination.
- 9) Urges all organisations represented in this First Tricontinental Solidarity Conference to:

- a) Condemn the crimes of the fascist and illegal government of Verwoerd and demand the release of political prisoners, i.e. workers, students, youth and revolutionaries;
- b) Organise annually meetings and demonstrations on June 26 as an act of solidarity with the imprisoned patriots languishing in the dungeons and concentration camps of the Verwoerd fascist regime, and
- c) Demand the suppression of concentration camps.

## RESOLUTION ON THE CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PENETRATION OF IMPERIALISM

**Considering** that cultural and ideological penetration of imperialism takes place among nations still subjected to colonial and imperialist domination, as well as among those that have achieved national sovereignty, constituting a permanent threat to those countries carrying out their social revolution;

**Considering** that cultural and ideological penetration of imperialism is one of the fundamental weapons of neo-colonialism;

**Considering** that in the face of the ideological and cultural invasion of imperialism, it is necessary to defend the peoples' national culture and vigorously promote their growth and development;

**Considering** that it is essential to strengthen the peoples' national pride in their traditions of struggle and culture, and thus stimulate the strengthening of national feelings. This task must be carried out in a spirit of respect for the cultures of other peoples so that it may serve to deepen the feelings of genuine international solidarity;

**Considering** that the culture and ideology of imperialism must be opposed by revolutionary ideas;

**Considering** that it is necessary for many peoples to defend their national languages, their literature and cultural

development. The official use of foreign languages cannot but weaken national feelings. The languages inherited from imperialist powers should be considered within a rational framework of relations among peoples and can be useful for cultural exchange, but should never substitute national language. To some peoples, the defence of their national language against deformations and debasement is their specific task. For others, the task is one of linguistic development or reconstruction, to enable an integral expression for nations speaking these languages for centuries;

**Considering** that in order to achieve their objective of economic, political and military domination, the imperialists, especially those of the United States supported by the reactionary forces of the three continents in the role of subordinate allies, take steps to wipe out the peoples' culture and traditions; attempt to paralyse the peoples' national consciousness by the introduction of their own decadent culture and by using the means of mass communication such as the cinema, magazines and newspapers designed for children, youth and the general public, establish so-called cultural centres in the principal cities, and, in addition, try to "yankeeise" the intellectuals;

**Considering** that the imperialists, especially those of the United States, try to strengthen their influence in the fields of education, the arts and the working class movement, and that their attempts are progressively more aggressive in that they are directed not only at the reactionary elements but are also designed to influence the workers, by the employment of enormous financial and technical resources, and likewise through the use of sinecure posts;

**Considering** that the United States imperialists, after concluding military pacts with the reactionary governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the pretext of "cultural exchange and cooperation", created a committee for relations between intellectuals, subsidised by large sums of money via the so-called Ford, Kellogg, Rockefeller and Kennedy "foundations". Thus the imperialists permit many intellectual workers and research scientists to take part, to a certain extent, in the military programmes of war and aggression, and since these intellectuals benefit themselves in an opportunistic manner and use as a pretext the difficult conditions they find themselves in to carry out research work, these research and cultural workers are used directly or indirectly

to serve the aims of the imperialists, and are set to work against their respective nations;

**Considering** that the United States imperialists are carrying out an extensive undermining operation by means of the so-called "Peace Corps" which functions in the cities and the countryside;

**Considering** that the United States imperialists are trying to subordinate the university teaching of each country to the universities of the metropolis; and that they are availing themselves of invidious sociological research projects in order to carry out political, economic and intellectual espionage;

**Considering** that a veritable invasion of pornographic publications, distorting and defaming the peoples' struggle for their liberation, is pouring over many countries of the three continents;

The Tricontinental Conference believes that it is urgent to wage an active struggle to rid all manifestations of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism led by the U.S. and assimilate in the same manner the best of the world's culture and create and develop national culture based on its own people.

## RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL SECURITY

**Considering** that hundreds of millions of men all over the world live under subhuman conditions imposed by imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation. Its policy of domination destroys the sovereignty and free determination of the subjugated peoples and at the same time employs the riches extracted from them, not for their development and well-being, but for distribution, on the one hand, as benefits for the minorities that monopolise capital, and on the other, for nourishing the high budgets for armaments which guarantee precisely the continuity of the regime of exploitation;

**Considering** that it is urgent to immediately obtain better standards of living for all peoples of the world who

now suffer from ignorance, starvation, disease, and the defects caused by malnutrition, overcrowding, unemployment, premature mortality, and poverty, to which they are reduced by imperialist exploitation as a system of maintaining its hegemony;

**Considering** that it is imperative that the peoples submitted to the imperialist yoke should intensify their struggle for liberation, relying also on their ardent desires for a better social and economic security to strengthen their positions and, at the same time, to conquer at all costs the right to a better life, organising the reiterated and systematic demand for those benefits to be derived from a programme of social security and welfare;

The Conference formulates as basic principles of a Social Security and Welfare Programme the following:

- a) Protection for all workers both urban and rural and their families.  
Preservation of the indispensable means of life in cases of sickness or accidents, either general or occupational, maternity, temporal or permanent disability for work, old age, loss of income caused by the death of the head of the family, excess number of dependents and work stoppage.
- b) So as to facilitate and increase the services established to render such protection, there will be no discrimination because of race, nationality,

sex, age, religion, ideology, or nature of the occupation, except some cases of work of women and work in dangerous or noxious conditions.

- c) Organisation of the regime of social security on a basis that facilitates the assignment of rights, taking into account the degree of economic, social, cultural and administrative development of the country in such a way as to insure the complete enjoyment of the allocations.

The Conference recommends:

The elaboration of structures and plans of social security corresponding to the situation created by the colonialist regime and the necessity to solve and eliminate its consequences.

## RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC HEALTH

**Considering** that Public Health has as its objective the attainment for the masses of a healthy life in a physical, mental and social environment in accord with the principles of Medical Sciences. Public Health so defined, cannot be only an end of the liberated peoples, but also a means of social transformation intrinsically linked to the historic development of the peoples;

**Considering** that the greatest accomplishments in public health can only be obtained in a social system firmly established on a scientific basis, with a deep preoccupation for its historic transformation, with an active and conscious participation of its components, and having as final orientation the well-being of man;

**Considering** that in our three continents, as a legacy from the imperialist domination, the situation of public health presents alarming characteristics. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, endemic illnesses and all diseases persist in many countries, as a consequence of the rapacious, ravenous and bloody exploitation imposed on our peoples by imperialism;

The Conference considers as principles on which a serious public health structure must rest, the following:

- a) Public Health must be a responsibility of the State and it must be the State which assumes the concrete forms of its realisation.
- b) Public Health has to be total in its structure and organisation, and in accord with the interests of the people. It must be integral in character, emphasising not only the assistant aspect but also the preventive.
- c) Public Health must be planned and directed by a central organisation, capable of assuming all functions.
- d) Public Health must take a preferential interest in those problems affecting the great masses, such as vaccination and general health services; especially in the prevention of epidemics; problems of infancy; guarantee of sufficient beds for hospitals; rapid increase in the number of professional and technical personnel trained with the full understanding that their activities will have the highest social and common goal, far distant from any commercial or lucrative interest.  
Public Health plans for rural areas should be stressed.
- e) Public Health must be based on a correct and massive participation of the people in all campaigns for health.

## RESOLUTION ON THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE OF MANKIND

**Considering** that the oppressed nations and those in process of development are in a state of great scientific and technical backwardness, due to centuries of foreign oppression; and that the technical and scientific wealth of the countries whose monopolies have plundered the natural resources and men and women of the economically underdeveloped world has fed throughout the years on the poverty, sweat and blood of millions of human beings from these three continents;

**Considering** that the impoverished people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, together with the working class and all exploited peoples of these same metropolises have provided the capital and the conditions for the enormous growth of monopolies, and, with it, the flourishing of huge scientific and technical cultures that have in turn served to increase colonial and imperialist exploitation;

**Considering** that peoples from the three continents have more than paid their contribution to the technical and scientific progress of the imperialist countries, and as a necessity for this development, claim the right to the free

use of these achievements of thought and science;

**Considering** that in a world which is becoming free both on a national and a social level, culture, in all its manifestations, is to an ever greater extent the heritage of all humanity, it is the duty of all revolutionaries to contribute to its liberation from the commercial bonds imposed by the old order;

The Tricontinental Conference therefore, stands for the abolition of all copyrights which benefit commercial monopoly organisations and of those authors who refuse, for political reasons, to allow the reproduction of their works, which could contribute to the benefit of mankind, in the developing countries. This statement does not entail any disregard of the genuine rights of authors favourably disposed to the circulation of their contributions to science to all mankind.

The Conference hopes that the revolutionary countries will find the ways to satisfy this legitimate desire, in such degree as their economies permit. In order to promote this policy, the Conference appeals to authors and research scientists to generously support this resolution.

## RESOLUTION ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN COUNTRIES LIBERATED FROM THE IMPERIALIST YOKE

**Considering** that the cultural revolution in the countries liberated from the imperialist yoke is an integral part of the social revolution, and that it is necessary to defeat the colonialist and imperialist inheritance by maintaining a vigorous vigilance against the ulterior ideological penetration of imperialism;

**Considering** that the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, liberated from colonial and imperialist rule, are in a state of acute educational and cultural backwardness;

**Considering** that the liberation of these countries is but the first step on

the road to national reconstruction and the creation of truly free states;

**Considering** that the popular forces assume leadership in public affairs;

**Considering** that the education of the people must go hand in hand with measures for the transformation of the agrarian situation and the economy as a whole;

**Considering** that the cultural revolution in the liberated nations must be carried out according to the stage of national development, and that the emphasis of the revolution must be placed on various aspects of this level;

The Tricontinental Conference states that without a profound cultural revolution, it is impossible to overcome underdevelopment and eliminate the colonialist and imperialist heritage.

The Tricontinental Conference points out these essential aspects of the cultural revolution:

- 1) Increase the standard of general instruction of the population:
  - a) Carry out a general campaign against adult illiteracy in the first stage of the revolution.
  - b) Create institutions to educate the workers and farmers, and organise courses following the illiteracy campaign courses to raise the education level to that of elementary school.
  - c) Create primary schools so that every child may have a school and teacher.
  - d) Develop secondary schools of a general character.
- 2) Increase secondary and higher technical-scientific education.

It is necessary to create technical schools and technological institutes related to the perspectives of national economic development, and tied closely to the country's production sphere.

On the other hand, special attention should be given to university education. Universities should be transformed into centres for the development of national cadres of all kinds and should respond mainly to the urgent need of training high-level technical and scientific personnel, in order to face the country's economic and technical underdevelopment.

The priority given to the Natural Sciences and Technological Education in

the universities should not lead to the neglect of the Social Sciences.

The universities and higher education centres should contribute to scientific research related to the great schemes of national development.

- 3) The development of the arts and literature is a question that deeply affects the most valuable traditions of the people. Special institutions should be created for these matters and support be given to artists and writers, in the firm conviction that their work will contribute to the strengthening of the peoples' national and social consciousness.

- 4) Educational and non-educational activities related to physical education are formative elements, especially of children and young people.

The spirit of friendly competition and healthy exercise in sports should be increased, working towards the elimination of the professional spirit in sporting events, giving back to them their original content as a cultural expression and as friendly relationship between the peoples.

- 5) Organise political revolutionary instruction among the citizens of a newly liberated society, especially of the working class and the peasants. This political revolutionary instruction should be based entirely on revolutionary ideas.

Ideas inspired by respect for the workers, by love for free labor, by revolutionary traditions of the people, by universal brotherhood of all the workers and peoples, by hatred of colonialist and imperialist oppression, by revolutionary democracy and love of the country, should form part, among other scientific appreciations of social development, of the contents of political instruction.

## RESOLUTION ON THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

**Considering** that the countries liberated from colonialism and imperialism are in a status of economic deformation

and underdevelopment, as well as in evident technical and scientific backwardness;

**Considering** that the present needs of production, on the other hand, demand the use of complex means, whose application and functioning require a degree of skill based upon the knowledge of scientific principles and technical experience;

**Considering** that without modern means of production and without skilled scientific and technical personnel it is impossible to raise productivity in industry and agriculture and therefore increase production in such a way as to satisfy the growing needs of the population, and thus make highly profitable the different branches of production which should guarantee the essential material and financial accumulation, to carry out the economic and social development programmes;

**Considering** that the Scientific and Technical Revolution is a process which comprises the introduction of modern means of production and the training of skilled personnel. It is necessary to take it into serious consideration among social and cultural matters;

**Considering** that in those countries with a high economic development, new technical means are built up as a result of the needs of the economy and the subsequent scientific progress;

**Considering** that each liberated country has to make its own scientific and technical revolution, has therefore to train its own middle and high level technical cadres, a very important part of the Cultural Revolution;

**Considering** that no revolution can achieve social success if there is no scientific and technical revolution, and if a higher level of economic development is not reached that will provide the means for progress of the new free society;

**Considering** that in the educational field, the scientific and technical revolution should contemplate the State's policy of economic planning, emphasising the training of technicians;

#### THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDS:

That countries liberated from the yoke of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, should pay special attention to the implementation of the principles of the Scientific and Technical Revolution and to the rigorous study and exchange of experience on the subject, in order to provide extensive and fraternal mutual aid to achieve these far-reaching objectives.

### RESOLUTION ON PHYSICAL EDUCATION, ATHLETICS AND RECREATION

**Considering** that various forms of colonialist, neo-colonialist or imperialist exploitation, have hindered the mass participation of the peoples of the three continents in athletic activities, and have detracted from the true nature and object of athletics, physical education and recreation;

**Considering** that physical education, athletics and recreation have great importance:

- a) In the integral formation of man; that is, in its physical and spiritual development.
- b) For the better knowledge and understanding of peoples.

- c) In preventive medicine and the corresponding individual health.
- d) As a means of improving the productive force of the country.
- e) In maintaining the people in perfect physical condition for fighting for liberation and for the defence of the country.
- f) As a powerful factor for the integration of all components of society;

**Considering** that to bring physical education, athletics and recreation to the whole population it is necessary:

- a) to use the resources of peoples who make their revolution; popular or-

ganisations; public enthusiasm; the multiple facilities for using installations and means to those ends.

- b) to adopt the measures tending to eliminate anything that may be harmful in some sports.
- c) to propitiate, with the support of popular organisation, a sole and centralised orientation, that will be at the same time the driving force of the physical education activity.
- d) to eliminate commercialism in athletics.
- e) to propagate intensely, with ideological content, the high principles that must guide physical and athletic education.
- f) that physical and athletic education should progressively develop fully qualified technical cadres.
- g) that in the general formation of teachers and professors, and in their constant betterment, the integral development of the teaching profession should be considered as a fundamental factor in order to bring to the school, actively and by example, physical and athletic education.
- h) that the quality of athletics should be the result of the mass participation of the people.
- i) to promote a high organisation, discipline, systematisation and scientific development with a view to participating in international events.
- j) that athletics should be made available to all sectors of the population, which implies the implementation of special plans in remote regions wherever they exist, especially in rural areas.

**Considering** that for the implementation of the aforementioned principles,

and for a better use of indispensable resources, each country requires the creation of a suitable body for directing, orienting, channelling, and controlling the entire programme for athletics, physical education and recreation, in accordance with the needs of the masses; and in order to unite the efforts of all peoples, and develop exchanges among them, it is necessary to establish those bonds that facilitate the implementation and execution of the programme adopted, taking into consideration the characteristics and conditions of each country;

#### THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDS:

- a) The establishment in each country of an organisation for directing and carrying out plans for physical education, athletics and recreation that will unite the guidance, the resources and their application.
- b) The establishment of coordination to facilitate bilateral and multilateral exchanges among the African, Asiatic and Latin American countries, which at the same time would permit the strengthening of a line of action capable of unifying opinions, evaluating experiences and determining the forms of aid and struggle for the aforementioned revolutionary principles.
- c) The organisation of sporting institutions in the independent countries or the proper use of those already existing, to give assistance to the peoples who are still under imperialist domination, ensuring in this manner the development of sportsmen in these countries.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL CADRES

**Considering** that the formation of national cadres is a most urgent task which should be given high priority in newly-liberated countries. This vast effort in the field of education should be considered within the planning of the revolutionary state;

**Considering** that the creative fields of national cadres include the formation of economic and administrative cadres; technical and scientific cadres in agriculture and industry; high-level scientific cadres; research, teaching, cultural and political cadres;

**Considering** that the planned promotion of national cadres is a consequence of the development of the Cultural Revolution;

**Considering** that this purpose requires the creation of institutions of specialised learning aimed at the achievement of these social objectives. In a parallel manner, this purpose requires the reorganisation of institutions existing before the Revolution, in such a way that they should be re-directed in accordance with the new goals;

**Considering** that the formation of national cadres should be based on the best elements of the revolutionary youth of each country. In this sense, a wide system of scholarships should be established, in order to ensure the access of youths from the working class, sons of workers and peasants, to the new institutions, created or reorganised. This system of scholarships may cover studies abroad, especially of technical and scientific matters;

**Considering** that the young scholarship students must be made aware that it is only through the effort and sacrifices of the working class of their country that they can be adequately educated and can gain access to higher education. Therefore, they should, in their field of specialisation, fulfill the duties that the Revolution may determine, in accordance with its needs, and be loyal to the political ideals and achievement of the Revolution;

**Considering** that national cadres should, as far as possible, be formed within their own countries. They should be educated in the national spirit and in the best internationalist traditions;

**The Conference declares that:** it is the unavoidable duty of all revolutionary countries to provide on a free basis high-level professors and technicians to developing countries, to foster the formation of their scientists and technicians.

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE FIRST SOLIDARITY  
CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA  
AND LATIN AMERICA

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America was held in Havana, capital of the Republic of Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966. A highly significant task has been carried out. For the first time in history, a very broad representation of the revolutionary forces in 82 countries of the three continents has exchanged experiences and initiatives, strengthened the ties of revolutionary and anti-imperialist solidarity, and adopted basic agreements in the fight against the system of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, against which they have declared a war to death. The deliberations of the Conference have evidenced the fact that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, led by Yankee imperialism, are following a policy of systematic intervention and military aggression against the countries of the three continents.

The Conference was held at a time in which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as in other parts of the world, wage a violent struggle against all forms of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination led by Yankee imperialism. The world situation favours the development of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples. The increasing wave of the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America is an outstanding event of enormous significance.

Imperialism will never renounce voluntarily to its policy of exploitation, oppression, plunder, aggression and intervention. The peoples of Asia, Africa and

Latin America know by their own experience that the main bulwark of colonial oppression and international reaction is Yankee imperialism, implacable enemy of all the peoples of the world. To destroy the domination of Yankee imperialism is an imperative issue for the complete and definitive victory of the anti-imperialist struggle in the three continents and all efforts of the peoples should converge towards that aim.

The true nature of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has been dramatically revealed in the debates of the Conference. On comparing the benefits, profits and riches drawn out by imperialist monopolies from the miserable living conditions of the peoples of the three continents, the acute character of one of the major contradictions of our days is observed: the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples. Yankee imperialism is the main pillar of oppression; it leads, provides and supports the world system of exploitation.

The monopolies from imperialist powers draw out for their benefit enormous riches from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This spoliation has been secularly carried out under different forms. They seize the natural resources of the soil, sub-soil and maritime platform, control through investments the most important sectors of industry and services, as well as foreign trade, and impose their harmful conditions on the relations of international exchange, fully controlling banks and national finances.

This situation as a whole determines that the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist powers exercise economic domination over the subject countries and carry out systematic plunder which our peoples suffer, being compelled to pay tributes to fill the coffers of the monopolies.

The rate of annual **per capita** income of exploited nations of the three continents is incredibly lower than that of the exploiting powers. The astronomical figures which reveal the profits obtained by the monopolies are in sharp contrast with the extremely high index of infant mortality, the percentage of illiteracy, the almost total lack of schools, of medical and hospital assistance services, and in short, the conditions of hardship, unemployment, hunger and poverty in which our peoples live.

This injustice is more starkly revealed considering the tremendous contrast between the promising future that the present development of science, technology and culture offers to mankind, and the shocking fact that the exploited masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are deprived of every possibility of access to the enormous material and intellectual wealth that knowledge and human work have accumulated for centuries. Our peoples cannot profit from the achievements of science and technology because the system of exploitation allows them no opportunity, and, consequently, they find themselves in a disadvantageous position which increasingly widens the gap between victims and henchmen as far as standards of living are concerned. The impossibility for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to reach this higher level of material and intellectual living standard under the present social and economic structures to which they are subjected today, is quite evident. The desperate conditions of poverty, hunger and ignorance in which the exploited masses of the three continents live are also obvious. These are reasons enough to definitely condemn the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation.

In its eagerness to prop up this system led by Yankee imperialism, in order to face the powerful drive of the peoples, it fosters and maintains international tensions, threatening peace and security; encircles the globe with aggressive military bases; concludes military pacts in open violation of the principles of national sovereignty; proclaims, with incredible cynicism, the alleged right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to occupy by force all or part of their territories, arrogating the shameful role of international gendarme; finances and supplies arms to decadent colonial nations so that they may keep their preys and to share profits with them; insolently and arrogantly insists on imposing its ideology, using for this end a world-wide propaganda network; tries to influence all peoples with the decadent expressions of its culture; distorts history, twists facts, and uses slander as a fighting weapon; imposes economic blockade in the vain attempt to wield the people through a siege of hunger and being impotent to do so, insists in extending that turbid and criminal conduct to the commercial policy of its allies; schemes the promotion and support, on a world scale, of anti-popular and anti-national regimes which sustain the system of exploitation; covers the map with its capital, annually drawing out millions of dollars for its monopolies; it commits all sorts of abominable crimes against the peoples, and busily prepares the attack against the socialist countries and against world peace.

By the very nature of their system of exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism strongly resist independence, sovereignty, and national and social liberation of the peoples. Opposing them, the oppressed peoples of the world fight for the principles of self-determination, sovereignty and independence of the nations. The movement of liberation of the peoples of the three continents has developed into one of the most important forces of the world struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and together with the peoples of the socialist countries and international prole-

tariat, plays a decisive role in the history of mankind. The imperialists isolate themselves and become weaker. The crisis in their system is more acute every day.

The interests of national liberation are closely bound to the needs of the social revolution. The movement for national liberation, the demands of the peasants for land, the struggle of the working class for its great social and political gains, the determined action of the youth and students, the demands of intellectual workers and other sectors of the population for their trampled and scorned rights, the fight against oligarchies and military dictatorships at the service of the ruling classes, the battles against racial discrimination and other social inequalities are a powerful current and form part of a movement destined to play a transcendent role in the progress of mankind.

The peoples that have succeeded in abolishing the exploitation of man by man by the establishment of socialism, give with their example and aid a valuable impulse to the struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

To the extent in which the movement of liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America advances, the working class and the progressive sectors of capitalist nations will be able to help this movement in a more direct and effective manner. The increasing movement of civic protest of the North American people because of the war waged by the government of the United States against the Vietnamese people, is an unequivocal evidence.

The effective revolutionary actions of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the heroic resistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, are contributing to raise the fighting spirit and the political awareness of the people of the United States, who with ever-growing vigour, express their opposition to war. This is evidence that the liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America will hasten the struggle of the working class and other oppressed sectors of the population in the United States and the developed capitalist countries in Europe against

the rule of monopolist capital, and against exploitation and for social progress. In its turn, the development of this proletarian class struggle and that of all workers in capitalist countries, will contribute to the advance of the struggle for national liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America and, thus, the common efforts will defeat the common enemy of all peoples: imperialism and, particularly, Yankee imperialism, the most ferocious and oppressing of them all.

A group of countries in the three continents has achieved political independence; many others are fighting to attain it. Those who have attained their independence and those who are struggling for it, close today their ranks in the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and study the means to face their international duties with regard to the common cause of all peoples: the liquidation of the colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

There are still territories which suffer under the most backward forms of the colonial system. The representatives of those peoples are present in this Conference. In order to face the serious problems involved in economic and social development and the complete liberation of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is imperative to uphold the principles of self-determination of states, national sovereignty and political independence.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the inalienable right of all peoples to full political independence and to resort to all forms of struggle that may be necessary, including armed struggle, to conquer that right. There is no more important task for the subjugated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.**

The nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have achieved their political independence are becoming aware that the juridical status of a formal sovereignty does not suffice to insure full liberation. In order to achieve total liberation it is necessary to eliminate all means of imperialist exploitation, to carry out deep changes

in the social and economic structures and to set the material and technological foundation on which a society of free men can be built. Political emancipation must be followed by economic liberation. Only thus can social equality of all men and true independence of all states be insured.

The peoples of the independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America must oppose every type of infiltration, subversion, oppression, exploitation and plunder by imperialism and develop to the utmost their initiatives and resources, strengthen reciprocal aid and cooperation with friendly countries, destroy imperialist and colonialist forces, oppose neo-colonialist aggression and infiltration, and build and advance their national economy and culture.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS, as common principles of the struggle of the peoples that in Asia, Africa and Latin America are determined to eradicate every remnant of imperialist economic domination and to build their own economies, and as a programme for those who are still striving to attain their liberation, the right to national control of the basic resources, to the nationalisation of the banks and vital enterprises, to the state control of foreign trade and exchange, to the increase of the public sector, to the re-consideration and rejection of the spurious and anti-national debts which were imposed upon their economy, to the achievement of a true agrarian reform, which would eliminate the feudal and semi-feudal ownership, advance the agricultural development, raise the standard of living of the farmers and other agricultural workers and contribute to the increment of national economy and export.**

The implementation of these principles will permit the full development of their natural resources and its industrialisation according to the prevailing conditions in each country, thus achieving their economic emancipation.

The imperialists make every effort to strangle the countries who have conquered their independence by imposing obstacles on their trade, using

the monopolist control of transportation, resorting to criminal blockade, ruining their economies through the forced lowering of prices of primary products and the constant fluctuation of those prices.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of all liberated peoples to trade with all other countries of the world on an equal basis, the need to put an end to the constant fluctuation of prices of the basic products and to fix these prices on a fair basis so that they be rationally related to those of the industrial products and the urgency of breaking the imperialist blockade of trade and transportation of the liberated countries through the common struggle of the peoples of the three continents, with the cooperation of the progressive forces of the rest of the world.**

The imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist rule leaves a dramatic balance of technological backwardness to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which prevents the city and country workers, whose effort is the foundation of national development, from increasing their productivity through the application of more advanced techniques in agriculture and in industry.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to have access to technique and the need of the liberated countries for the massive formation of technical cadres selected from amongst the people, which implies an educational revolution starting from the eradication of illiteracy, and leading to technical revolution.**

The countries which free themselves of imperialism inherit the most terrifying lack of public health services; no hospital nor auxiliary centres of medical services, and no professionals to increase them.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples of the three continents to enjoy a healthy life and to adequate medical assistance and preventive medical services, and the need of the liberated countries to re-**

ceive all possible aid from the more developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to establish a system of medical and hospital services, with special emphasis on the training of medical and auxiliary cadres that must carry out this massive task under the planned direction of the State and with the broadest popular participation.

Racial discrimination is practiced by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in important areas of the world, and reveals itself in its most repulsive, brutal and diabolic form in the policy of apartheid, which oppresses and offends the people of South Africa and threatens the people of Zimbabwe, subjecting them to a permanent state of servitude. It is an instrument of exploitation and is one of the most unfair and barbaric forms of inequality.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the full equality of all men and the duty of the peoples to fight against all expressions of racism and discrimination, and therefore, its full support to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the racist government of Ian Smith and to the international movement of solidarity against the South African regime, and calls on all countries represented at the Conference to impose a political and commercial blockade on South Africa, as well as a boycott on the shipment of arms and petroleum.**

Military pacts, the existence of military bases and the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops in foreign territories are a violation of national sovereignty and a danger to peaceful relations among States. Imperialism maintains this situation to strangle national liberation movements, intimidating their neighbour countries and committing aggressions against the newly-liberated countries.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to free themselves of foreign military bases and makes an appeal to step up the fight for the achievement of this aim and against military pacts and the presence of imperialist or mercenary troops.**

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America struggle to defeat the local reactionary classes, which, servile to foreign interests, help to maintain the system of neo-colonial exploitation. In this struggle the reactionary classes offer a fierce resistance and it will not be an easy task to take away from them the power with which they exploit and oppress the peoples. The revolutionary and patriotic struggle of each people is a contribution to the liberation of the other countries.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to their political, economic and social liberation by the means they deem necessary, including armed struggle, so as to achieve this goal.**

Imperialism and the reactionary classes in every country face the liberation movement of the peoples by using all the military, political and pseudo-judicial resources within their reach. They ignore their international commitments. They try to mask their crimes inventing all kinds of fallacious arguments to violate the principle of self-determination and national sovereignty and the right of the peoples to bring about revolutionary changes in their economic and social structures. They do not hesitate to resort to all kinds of crimes and abuses; subversion, infiltration of spies, saboteurs and criminal agents; direct aggression to thwart the legitimate aspirations of our peoples; they resort to violence and the use of their armed forces to carry out their objectives.

**The Conference PROCLAIMS the right of the peoples to meet imperialist violence with revolutionary violence, to safeguard in those circumstances the national sovereignty and independence.**

The struggle that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America wage to this effect, is a decisive contribution to the anti-imperialist fight in the three continents, as well as an effective one for the liberation of their own peoples and the ensurance of world peace. Each popular victory inspires new victories.

The Conference **PROCLAIMS** the right and the duty of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the progressive states and governments of the world, to give material and moral support to the peoples who are fighting for their liberation or suffering direct or indirect aggression from the imperialist powers.

North American armed forces now occupy the territory of the Dominican Republic. Imperialism, against the will of the Dominican people, intervened in the popular revolution to uphold its puppets, violated national sovereignty, trampled on the principle of non-intervention and murdered not only those involved in the fighting, but also their women and children.

The Conference **PROCLAIMS**, therefore, the right of the Dominican people to fight the North American occupation forces by all the means within their reach, mainly through popular revolutionary war, and the right to request the support of all the peoples and governments of the world.

The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist aggressors, not only conforms with the righteous defence of the independence of that country, but also safeguards the right to self-determination and sovereignty of all the people of the world.

The Conference strongly **CONDEMNS** the war of aggression of Yankee imperialists in South Vietnam, and their bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and condemns them as war criminals for their barbaric actions against the Vietnamese people. The Conference **DENOUNCES** the deceiving peace statements of Johnson's government and totally **SUPPORTS** the points set forth by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam for the solution of the Vietnamese problem. The Conference **PROCLAIMS** that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is the only and true representative of the people of South Vietnam and **EXPRESSES** its firm conviction that under

its leadership, the Vietnamese people will undoubtedly achieve its final victory.

The Conference **PROCLAIMS** its solidarity with the armed struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, Congo, (Leopoldville) and with the decision of the peoples of the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, to put an end to colonial domination; **SUPPORTS** the peoples of French Somaliland, of the Spanish possessions of Africa and the people of Zimbabwe, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in their right to self-determination and independence; the colonial peoples of Latin America, Puerto Rico, the Guianas, Martinique, Guadeloupe and others in their struggle for national independence and self-determination; the right of the people of Cyprus to an unrestricted independence and complete self-determination, supports the peoples of Malaya (including Singapore) and North Kalimantan in their struggle for national liberation and for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops; and also the demand for immediate independence for South Yemen (occupied) and the dismantling of the British military base in Aden and the North American bases established in Saudi Arabian territory; **CALLS UPON** the solidarity of all peoples with the Arab people of Palestine in their just struggle for the liberation of their homeland from imperialism and Zionist aggression; **CONDEMNS** the policy of aggression of the government of the United States against peaceful and neutral Cambodia, and advocates the rejection of any political, economic, diplomatic and cultural cooperation with Yankee imperialists and with all the puppet governments that help the North American government in its policy of aggression against the Indo-Chinese peoples; **SUPPORTS** the heroic struggle of the people of Laos against North American imperialists and their puppets; **DENOUNCES** the aggressive manoeuvre of Yankee imperialists, who in alliance with the Japanese militarists and in connivance with their puppets of South Korea, in-

tend to establish the North-East Asia Military Alliance as storm troops against the Korean people and the peoples of Asia, in order to provoke a grave situation in that part of the world; and also **SUPPORTS** the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their homeland and the expulsion of Yankee troops from South Korea, and expresses its solidarity with the fight of the Korean and Japanese peoples for the abrogation of the South Korean-Japanese Treaty; and **CONDEMNS** as an act of aggression against the Cuban people, the blockade of Cuba by North American imperialists, who have prohibited the sale of foodstuffs and medicines, and calls upon the peoples of the three continents to increase their trade with this aggrieved fraternal country, so as to definitely break the blockade that the imperialists have tried to impose.

In the face of the attacks of the reactionary forces directed by Yankee imperialists, the Conference **CALLS FOR** the militant, active and dynamic solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and exhorts them to intensify under the anti-imperialist banners, the national liberation movement, to develop it even more and unite all progressive mankind in that struggle.

Imperialism tries to dull the national consciousness of the peoples through the penetration of its decadent culture, employing means of mass communication for these purposes, destroying the scientific, technical and cultural heritage of the countries it exploits.

The Conference **PROCLAIMS** the right of all peoples to maintain and develop their cultural heritage, nourishing it with the contributions which arise from the exchange of genuine cultures of other peoples and the need that the peoples of the three continents wage an active fight to expel from their cultural life the expressions of imperialist influence, thus enriching the lives of their peoples with their true art and culture.

The Conference extends a warm greeting to the working class and progressive movements of the capitalist countries in Western Europe and the Unit-

ed States, and invites them to strengthen even more the fraternal ties of solidarity with the peoples of the three continents to jointly fight against the imperialist monopolies and the policy of intervention and aggression, since they also are victims of the exploitation and oppression system.

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the organisation that has emerged from it proclaim themselves genuine representatives of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist, patriotic and nationalist will and fighting spirit of the peoples of the three continents.

The Conference **PROCLAIMS** that the main task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is to intensify the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism so as to conquer and consolidate national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

The peoples of the three continents, determined to sweep all obstacles in their way and to struggle unyieldingly for a new Asia, a new Africa and a new Latin America, definitely emancipated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will be united in a tight sheaf until final and total victory is achieved. They have full confidence in their future.

The coordination of the efforts of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America accomplished at this Conference, and the future tasks and fundamental perspectives that have been established, will turn the active solidarity of our continents into a historic instrument of tremendous drive that will destroy the strongholds of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the foundations of which have already been shaken by the victorious liberation movements in recent years, and by the inexorable course of history.

**THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID: "ENOUGH" AND HAS STARTED TO MOVE FORWARD, AND ITS GIGANTIC MARCH WILL NEVER STOP UNTIL IT CONQUERS FINAL LIBERATION.**



SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAJOR FIDEL CASTRO RUZ,  
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
GOVERNMENT AND FIRST SECRETARY OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA,  
IN THE CLOSING SESSION

Distinguished Delegates,

Cuban Comrades:

The significance of this event which culminates tonight does not escape us. Despite the auguries and predictions of imperialism, revealing the imperialists' great hopes that this Conference would bear no fruit, that this Conference, in treating problems of the international communist movement, was bound to be divided and doomed to failure, the results of the Conference have been a success; this Conference has created a Tricontinental Organisation; it has arrived at agreements which represent the most heartfelt aspirations of the people struggling for their liberation; it has created a Committee of Aid to Liberation Movements. And not only that; there is yet another agreement which unquestionably pains the imperialists very much: that is, that Cuba has been chosen as the headquarters of the Executive Secretariat of the Organisation until the next Tricontinental Conference is held.

It is not a question of expressing here a feeling of national pride. Because of the particular circumstances of our country, its geographical position, the efforts of imperialists to isolate it from the world, and the measures adopted to prevent practically anyone from visiting us, the fact that this Conference has taken place so successfully in our homeland, in addition to the fact that despite all obstacles and difficulties, our country has been considered the appropriate place for its temporary headquarters, undoubtedly pains the Yankee imperialists extraordinarily.

Therefore, this has been a great victory for the revolutionary movement. Never before has a meeting of such

wide scope and magnitude taken place, in which the revolutionary representatives of 82 countries have gathered to discuss problems of common interest.

Never before has there been so broad a meeting. The people of three continents are represented here, the revolutionary movements of the peoples of three continents, having a common anti-imperialist position, representing the struggles of their peoples, representing different philosophical ideas or positions and different religious beliefs, representatives in many cases of different ideologies, but having in common the most important factor which today unites the peoples of these three continents and the whole world: the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racism and, finally, against all those phenomena which are the contemporary expression of what we must call imperialism, having its centre, principal axis and principal support in Yankee imperialism.

And that which the peoples of our epoch have in common, was what made possible the meeting, the agreements and the conclusions of this Conference. Obviously it was not an easy task. It might seem to be, but it was not nor could it be an easy task, because at a meeting of representatives of peoples so diverse, of movements so different, with particular problems which involve practically all the contemporary problems of the world, it was not easy. Without arduous labour, the development of criteria and agreements acceptable to all could not have been achieved.

In these past few days, as we have been discussing different questions and as we discussed the Final Declaration, we remembered how Karl Mark and Friedrich Engels worked for many months developing and writing the

Communist Manifesto and how they published it only after having rewritten, retouched and perfected it a great number of times.

And naturally, in our Conference, lasting only two weeks—less than two weeks—in only a few days, we had to draw up a document incorporating all the different criteria, drafted in such a way as to satisfy all delegations as fully as possible. In spite of these limitations, the final document is, without doubt, the profoundest, most complete, the most radical of any that has been drafted and agreed upon in any Conference of this kind.

For the first time, the representatives of the peoples of Latin America took part in a meeting together with the peoples of Africa and Asia. Naturally, in the case of Latin America, the majority or almost all of the representatives belong to liberation movements and represent peoples who are fighting or will fight for liberation. And our delegation represented the only people totally liberated from Yankee domination, and wielding revolutionary power.

We understand that this Conference will undoubtedly occupy a place in the history of the struggle of the peoples for their liberation, in the history of the revolutionary movement. Likewise, we understand that the bonds established, the ties created among all the movements, the increase of the strength of the revolution and the organisations established, will play an unquestionable role in the aid, solidarity and growth of revolutionary struggle.

We have had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves more profoundly, in greater detail, with the thinking and concrete situation of each of the movements fighting for liberation at present. We have had the opportunity of learning about the concrete situation of each of the peoples who are fighting and, above all, we have had the opportunity of witnessing the growth of solidarity among the peoples, the increase of the strength of the revolutionary movement on a world scale, and how the aid of the peoples to each other, the aid of all the peoples to each

people engaged in the struggle—aid on a scale and at a level never before known to mankind—grows and will be able to grow in the future.

And how, in spite of the military and technological power of the imperialists, the united strength of revolutionary peoples will be unquestionably more powerful.

Imperialism will be inevitably defeated. Who have taught us this lesson? The peoples have taught it to us. Who among the peoples have in our times taught us the most extraordinary lesson? The people of Vietnam. Vietnam is a small country. The imperialists have divided it into two parts: North and South Vietnam. For us, for revolutionaries, there is only one Vietnam.

The Yankee imperialists have unleashed a large part of their power against the people of South Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of regular soldiers of the imperialist armed forces, as well as hundreds of thousands of soldiers drafted by the puppet government, hundreds of planes, thousands of helicopters; and yet Yankee imperialists have not been able to crush this part of the people of Vietnam.

Trying to intimidate their brothers of the other part of Vietnam, they started daily bombings with hundreds of planes, to force their surrender, to try to make the Vietnamese kneel down. And yet, according to what the imperialists themselves confess, instead of gaining ground, they have lost ground. And in the face of this ever more firm and heroic resistance, more and more airplanes, more and more bombs! And, to the astonishment of the world, the people of Vietnam, showing the most extraordinary example of heroism known in the history of any liberation movement—because a revolutionary movement never had to face more powerful forces—are frustrating and defeating Yankee imperialist might.

But they bomb not only Vietnam. They also continuously bomb the patriots of Laos and threaten to bomb and attack the people of Cambodia. This attitude, these threats of the Yankee imperialists, reveal their impotence and

their despair. They are the consequence of a situation which becomes ever more critical for them in that part of the world, the consequence of the defeats they have been suffering in that region of Asia where undoubtedly, a decisive battle is being waged between the peoples and imperialism, not Yankee imperialism alone, but also Yankee imperialism and its allies, Yankee imperialism and its partners in adventure in Asia. This situation is manifested by mobilisation of South Korean, Australian and Thai soldiers and by the attempts to obtain the complicity, either in the form of military forces or auxiliary troops, from the largest possible number of governments in the world.

This battle against the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, together with the threats against Cambodia, shows the need for increasing, to the utmost, the help and solidarity to those peoples.

Yankee imperialists enjoy there the help of one State, Thailand, where they have numerous bases and a considerable number of troops, and from where they threaten Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

This does not mean that such a situation will last indefinitely; we are sure that, as in the case of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the time will come when the people of Thailand will demand a settling of accounts from the Yankee imperialists. The time will come when that country, also oppressed and exploited, inspired by the example of neighbouring brother peoples, will also join the struggle against the imperialists. But in the meantime, the imperialists have not only carried the war to Vietnam, to the whole of Vietnam, as well as to Laos, but they are also threatening Cambodia. And Cambodia is a small country, not yet attacked, but seriously threatened by Yankee imperialists. And therefore the need arises for us, the revolutionary states, to help strengthen the defences of the small country of Cambodia.

While talking with the representative of Cambodia, during his participation in the Tricontinental Conference, when we heard from his own lips the situation of his country and the dangers which threaten it, we told him our

opinion. And we also told him that although we are a small State a long way from Cambodia, we Cubans are ready to contribute to the extent of our strength, to help strengthen their defences, and that all we need is for them to tell us, all we need is for them to ask, in any circumstance, whenever they consider it necessary, and we are ready to give our contribution.

And we are ready to do the same with respect to Laos and with respect to North Vietnam and to South Vietnam!

We are a small State, quite close to the coast of the imperialist metropolis; our arms are eminently defensive, but our men, our revolutionary militants, our combatants are ready to fight wholeheartedly against the imperialists in any part of the world. Our country is small, and even though our territory may be partially occupied by the enemy, that would never mean that we would stop fighting.

The world is big and the imperialists are fighting everywhere. And for Cuban revolutionaries, the battlefield against imperialism covers the whole globe!

Without boasting and without immodesty, that is the way we Cuban revolutionaries understand our international duty; that is the way our people understand their duty, because they realise that the enemy is one and the same: the same who attacks our coasts and our land, the same who attacks others. And because of that, we state and proclaim that revolutionary movements in any corner of the globe can count on Cuban combatants.

Thousands upon thousands of Cubans have expressed their desire and their willingness to go to any part of the world, wherever they may be needed, to aid the revolutionary movements.

And this is logical.

If Yankee imperialists take the liberty of bombing wherever they wish and of sending their mercenary troops to suppress the revolutionary movements in any part of the world, revolutionary peoples feel they have the right to help, even with their physical presence, the peoples who fight against the Yankee imperialists.

And thus, if each one helps according to his capacity, if each one helps according to his possibilities, the Yankee imperialists will be defeated. And if there is any place where they are doomed to suffer a crushing defeat, that place is South-East Asia.

Because there it is possible to establish a correlation of forces incomparably superior to those of the Yankee imperialists.

That is why we have not the slightest doubt that they will be defeated, that they will be crushed by the peoples of that area themselves, and if they increase their forces and those of their reactionary allies, they will be defeated not only by the forces of the peoples of that area, but by the forces of the socialist camp and of the other peoples. That is why the Yankee imperialists launch their hypocritical peace offensive in order to create confusion and deception. And that is why the peoples of Vietnam have correctly stated that peace, true peace, can only be achieved when the Yankee imperialists cease attacking, when the Yankee imperialists no longer occupy the territory or part of the territory of Vietnam and when the Yankee imperialists withdraw their mercenary troops and dismantle their military bases in the territory of Vietnam.

That is to say, they have told the imperialists the only thing that under these circumstances they could tell them: that true peace—since they are the only disturbers of the peace—will be achieved when they withdraw from Vietnam.

And it is evident that the imperialists are waging a hopeless fight there, that the imperialists are waging a fight which will inevitably lead them to defeat. And consequently, they want to turn defeat into a false peace.

And it is logical for the people of Vietnam to refuse this; it is logical for the people of Vietnam to be unwilling to trade their victory for this sort of false peace.

And if we were in a similar situation, I am completely sure that we would say exactly the same. We would refuse to negotiate while under bombardment,

we would refuse to negotiate in the midst of aggression, we would refuse to negotiate while under occupation.

And that is why our people and the Conference unanimously supported the positions and the points set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Liberation Movement of South Vietnam.

On this question, on this theme, the most burning issue of the present moment, there was practically unanimous agreement. And it is very good for the Yankee imperialists to know the degree of solidarity of the peoples of the world with South Vietnam. It is good for the Yankee imperialists to understand the degree of support that the peoples of Vietnam have throughout the world.

For that reason we consider that this Conference of Solidarity of the peoples of the three continents has expressed itself and has acted in such a way that the support and the feelings of solidarity towards Vietnam have been made evident, and that this, furthermore, will grow. And what is felt for Vietnam, is also felt for Laos and Cambodia, the other peoples in that area who have been attacked, or run the risk of being attacked. In all the problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the position of the Conference was similar.

The peoples and the liberation movements of Africa, and in order not to leave out any, I also want to mention that, in that zone of Asia, a small country is struggling to win its liberation. That people, though not very well known, is a people that is struggling bravely; the people of North Kalimantan received the warm support of the Conference, as also did the people of Yemen and the people of Palestine.

Those from Africa—as I was saying before—the liberation movements which were so worthily represented at this Conference; the people of Portuguese-occupied Guinea and those of the Cape Verde Islands, represented here by one of the most serious revolutionary movements of Africa, and by one of the most talented and brilliant leaders of Africa, comrade Amilcar Cabral, who

made us feel tremendous confidence in the future and in the success of their fight for liberation; the liberation movement of Angola and Mozambique, two other Portuguese colonies which fight arms in hand for their liberation; the people of Zimbabwe, oppressed by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia; the people of the Congo (Leopoldville); the oppressed people of South Africa; the Protectorates of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, the names of which reveal in their grammatical roots the imperial profile of the country that colonised them.

And thus, all the liberation movements of Africa were represented with dignity and had the warm support and solidarity of all the delegates.

In Africa, the imperialist attempts to penetrate, divide and subdue are more evident each day. During the last weeks, coups d'état have become fashionable: coup d'état in the Congo; coup d'état in the Central African Republic; coup d'état in Nigeria, as the cables report, demonstrating the desperate efforts of imperialism to fortify its domination of that part of the world.

In Africa, a decisive struggle is also being waged, and the role of revolutionary movements, the role of the new states which have not been contaminated by the evils of neo-colonialism, will be of extraordinary importance in resisting this pressure and this penetration on the part of the imperialists. Because there, the help given the revolutionary movements, the determined aid given the majorities oppressed by racists, will be a decisive factor. The sense of responsibility, the seriousness and the unity of African revolutionary leaders will be equally decisive.

Some movements have suffered certain setbacks. But these setbacks must not cause discouragement; they must serve as an experience, they must serve as a lesson, so that measures may be adopted and the necessary steps taken to overcome the faults and weaknesses of the revolutionary movement.

The movement of solidarity, which started in Africa and Asia, and which has already extended to the third con-

continent of the world oppressed and exploited by imperialism, will celebrate its next meeting —by agreement of the Conference— in the city of Cairo, accepting the invitation of President Nasser, who offered the capital of the United Arab Republic as the site of the next Tricontinental Conference in 1968; and we are certain —and we must dedicate our best efforts to that end— that, by that date, among the peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialism and colonialism we will greet several more brother peoples of Africa.

The problems of Latin America —starting with the most burning, the most critical issue: the problem of the military occupation of the Dominican Republic by the regular troops of Yankee imperialism— have merited the attention of this Conference and the full support of the delegates representing their respective peoples.

Latin America faces in the years to come, on the Dominican scene, one of its most serious struggles. The Dominican Republic, a small country occupied by tens of thousands of Yankee soldiers, faces a long and hard struggle. The Dominican Republic, the Dominican people must not confront Yankee imperialism alone.

In many other nations of America there are ample conditions for armed revolutionary struggle. This struggle has been under way for some time now, in Venezuela, in Peru, in Colombia and in Guatemala.

In Latin America, there should not be just one, or two, or three peoples struggling alone against imperialism. The correlation of forces of the imperialists on this continent, the proximity of its metropolitan territory, the zeal with which they will try to defend their dominions in this part of the world, require a common strategy on this continent, more than anywhere else: a common and simultaneous struggle. If the imperialists have to face not just the Dominican people alone, or the Guatemalan people alone, or the Venezuelan people alone, or the Colombian

people alone, or the Peruvian people alone; if they must also fight --at the same time as in each of these countries-- against other oppressed peoples, such as those of Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Argentina and other peoples of Central America; if the struggle is carried out on a broad scale, if each one of these peoples, if each one of the revolutionaries of this continent fulfills his duty, --and the duty of every revolutionary, as stated in the Declaration of Havana, is to carry out the revolution, but to carry it out not with words but with deeds, to be a revolutionary, not only in theory, but in practice-- if revolutionaries devote less of their energy and time to theorising and more to practical work, and if they don't emit so many agreements, alternatives and dilemmas, and finally understand that sooner or later all, or nearly all, of the peoples will have to fight, arms in hand, for their liberation; then the hour of liberation of this continent will be nearer.

And among the people who theorise, and those who criticise the ones who theorise while also theorising themselves, quite a lot of energy and time is unfortunately lost.

We believe that on this continent, in all or almost all countries, the struggle will assume more violent forms. And when one is aware of this, the only correct thing to do is to prepare for the time when that struggle arrives: prepare!

Naturally, this struggle will first explode where --as stated in the Declaration of Havana-- the conditions of imperialist oppression are more inhuman, where all doors are absolutely closed, such as in the majority of the countries on this continent. And even in the countries where the bourgeoisie and imperialism impose their class domination through constitutional means, as in the case of Uruguay, increasingly clear evidence can be found of the force of the mass movements and the revolutionary spirit of the people.

And we must express the great sympathy of our country towards Uruguay, because it is a very, very small country, with no mountains, surrounded by two giant reactionary countries, but where invariably, without exception, under all circumstances, Uruguay's solidarity and support of the Cuban Revolution has always been similar to that given by the people of Venezuela.

We still remember how, immediately after the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba, because of the OAS decision imposed by the United States as a sanction against Cuba, the people of Uruguay, guided by their revolutionary organisations, went into the streets to protest with incomparable energy against that servile and traitorous act towards a people of this continent.

So, with reference to this problem of Latin America, distinguished delegates, allow me to speak at length on some questions, since we are situated on this continent.

The Yankee imperialists have not only used the economic blockade against us, they have not only used armed aggressions, they have not only mortally threatened us under certain circumstances, they have not only carried out against this country all kinds of sabotage, infiltration of spies and pirate raids; but Yankee imperialism has employed more subtle weapons against our country, such as the weapons of propaganda and slander. In addition to this, Yankee imperialism and its agents have tried to destroy the prestige of the Cuban Revolution; they have tried to picture the Cuban Revolution as alien to the revolutionary struggles of this continent, and have tried to discredit the Revolution in a most vile and slanderous manner. They have availed themselves of all means, of all events, of all weapons.

Of course, the imperialists would like a detailed discussion of these problems; an irresponsible person, a charlatan, a puppet of any sort, does not mind making any kind of irresponsible charge or uttering any sort of calumny.

It is well known that only the enemy is interested in the way this word "solidarity" is carried out in practice, not only among the revolutionary peoples of this continent, but those of all the world.

But what has happened? There is a fact I am going to mention, as an example showing how imperialism and its agents work, and it is extremely interesting. I refer to the campaign carried out by imperialism and its agents with regard to the departure of our comrade, Ernesto Guevara.

I think this is a matter which has to be taken by the "horns", in order to make some things clearer.

A few revolutionaries in this country, and some outside this country, know when comrade Ernesto Guevara left, what he has been doing all this time; and of course the imperialists would be most eager to learn, in every detail, where he is, what he has done, how he is doing it.

Of course, apparently they do not know it and if they do, they conceal it. But naturally, these are matters which in time, when circumstances allow it, will be clarified. However, for us, revolutionaries, these clarifications are not necessary; it is the enemy who tries to use these circumstances in order to scheme, to create confusion and to slander.

Comrade Guevara joined us during our exile in Mexico, and always, from the very first day, he clearly expressed the idea that when the struggle was completed in Cuba, he would have other duties to fulfill in another place, and we always gave him our word that no state interest, no national interest, no circumstances would lead us to ask him to remain in our country, or hinder him from carrying out that wish, that desire. And we fully and faithfully kept that promise made to comrade Guevara.

Naturally, if comrade Guevara was going to leave the country, it was logical for him to do it secretly, it was logical for him to move secretly, it was logical for him not to be in contact with

journalists, it was logical for him not to give any press conferences. It was logical for him to act as he did, because of the task he proposed to undertake.

And yet, how the imperialists have tried to derive profit from this circumstance and how they have used it!

That is why I have brought some papers with me. Don't be alarmed, thinking that I am going to read all of them. I am merely going to read several things, for here is what all imperialist and bourgeois papers have written with regard to the case of Major Guevara, what newspapers in the United States have written, their magazines, their news agencies, the bourgeois newspapers of Latin America and those of the entire world. And let us see who, precisely, have been the main spokesmen in the imperialist campaign of intrigue and slander against Cuba in regard to the case of comrade Guevara. To begin with, certain elements have been used constantly during the last decades against the revolutionary movement.

And so, if you will concede me a little time, I will look for a very interesting item among a great many.

Ah, I found it. This is a UPI cable dated December 6, 1955, which reads: "Ernesto Guevara was murdered by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro following orders from the USSR", "declared Felipe Alaguante, leader of the Mexican Trotskyites, in a statement made to *El Universal*. He adds that Che was liquidated because he insisted on aligning Cuba with the Chinese line."

This, naturally, was in tone with a campaign that Trotskyite elements began to launch everywhere simultaneously.

And on October 22, the weekly *Marcha* published an article in which a well-known Trotskyite theorist, Adolfo Gilly, stated that Che had left Cuba because of differences with Fidel arising from the Sino-Soviet conflict, and that Che could not impose his opinions on the leadership. He said that Che, in a confused manner, advocated extending the Revolution to the rest of Latin America, in opposition to the

Soviet line; that the Cuban leadership is divided between a conservative wing, including old leaders of the Popular Socialist Party, and the followers of Che and Fidel, with his team in a central oscillating and conciliatory position. He added that Che had left Cuba because he lacked means to express himself, and that Fidel was afraid to face the masses and explain Che's case.

This same Trotskyite theorist on October 31, 1965, writing in the Italian publication *Nuovo Mondo* in an article branding the Cuban leadership as pro-Soviet and accusing Fidel of not having explained politically to the people what had happened to Che, says that Major Guevara was defeated by the Popular Socialist Party and the Castro team; he criticises Che for not having taken his struggle to impose his own political theory to the masses, and finishes by saying that the Cuban state, paralysed by its policy, did not openly support the Dominican Revolution.

And I am going to refer to this a bit more fully a little further on.

In the issue of October 1965, of the newspaper *Batalla*, organ of the Spanish Trotskyites, it was stated that the mystery surrounding the case of Che Guevara ought to be cleared up. It said that friends of Che supposed that the letter read by Castro was false and asked themselves whether the Cuban leadership tends towards submission to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

On approximately the same date, the official Trotskyite organ in Argentina published an article affirming that Che is dead, or in prison in Cuba. It said "...he entered into conflict with Fidel Castro because of the operation of the Trade Unions and the organisation of the militia."

It added that: "Che was opposed to the Central Committee being composed of the favourites of Castro, especially the army officers, followers of the Moscow right wing."

But one of the dirtiest, most insulting and most indecent writings was that by the leader of the Latin American Political Bureau of the Fourth International

in the Italian publication *Lotta Operaia*. From this article, extremely long, I shall read only three paragraphs.

It begins by saying:

"An aspect of the deepening of the worldwide crisis of bureaucracy is the expulsion of Guevara. Guevara was thrown out now, and not eight months ago. The discussion with Guevara lasted eight months, which were not spent drinking coffee; they have fought rigorously and perhaps there have been deaths; perhaps they discussed at gun point. We cannot say if Guevara has been killed or not, but the right to suppose that they have killed him exists. Why does Guevara not appear? They have not shown him in Havana, fearing the consequences, and the reaction of the population. But, after all, hiding him produces the same effect: the population asks why Guevara does not come out, does not appear. There is no political accusation; he is politically praised.

"Why have they not shown Guevara? Why has he not spoken? How is it possible that one of the founders of the Cuban workers' state, who a short time ago travelled throughout the world on behalf of that workers' state, should suddenly say: I have grown weary of the Cuban Revolution; I will make revolution elsewhere?"

"On the other hand, they do not say where he has gone, and he does not show up. If there is no divergence, why does he not appear? The entire Cuban people understand that there is a tremendous struggle, and that this struggle is not over.

"Guevara was and is not alone. If they take such measures against Guevara, it is because he has great support. And besides this great support, there is enormous concern among the people.

"Not long ago, the Cuban Government published a rather severe decree: all arms must be returned to the State. At that moment, the issue was a bit confused. Now the objective of that resolution is clear: it was against the Guevara faction. They are afraid of an uprising."

Another paragraph: "Why have they silenced Guevara? The Fourth International must carry on a public campaign in this respect, demanding the appearance of Guevara, the right of Guevara to defend himself and discuss, appeal to the masses, not to trust the measures adopted by the Cuban Government, because these are methods of bureaucrats and maybe murderers. They have eliminated Guevara to silence his struggle; they have silenced Guevara, despite the fact that his position was not consequent from the view point of a revolutionary, because it tried to harmonise his positions within the revolutionary trend."

And further on it says: "This demonstrates, not the power of Guevara or of a pro-Guevara group in Cuba, but the maturity of the conditions in the rest of the workers' states so that in a short time these positions will bear fruit. Bureaucracy is not deceived by procedures and methods of this kind. To bureaucracy, the elimination of Guevara means an attempt to eliminate a base for possible regrouping of revolutionary tendencies which continue to develop World Revolution. This is the basis for Guevara's elimination; and not only for the danger this represents to Cuba, but because it includes the rest of the Latin American Revolution.

"Guatemala is on Cuba's side, with the programme of the Socialist Revolution. And notwithstanding its strength and the speeches of its leader, Fidel Castro, Cuba has not been able to prevent the transformation of the '13th of November' Movement into a socialist revolutionary movement which fights directly for socialism."

It is by no means a coincidence that this gentleman, leader of the Fourth International, mentions here very proudly the case of Guatemala and the "13th of November" Movement, because precisely in regard to this Movement Yankee imperialism has used one of the most subtle tactics to liquidate a revolutionary movement, that is, the infiltration of agents of the Fourth International in it, who brought it to adopt —on account of the lack of political

knowledge of the principal leader of this Movement— this discredited thing, this anti-historic thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from individuals known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, as is the programme of the Fourth International.

How did this happen? Yon Sosa was, undoubtedly, a patriotic officer. Yon Sosa heads the movement of a group of Army officers —as a matter of fact, the mercenary troops who later invaded Giron took part in the crushing of this movement— and through an individual who was a merchant, who took charge of the political part of the movement, the Fourth International arranged matters so that this leader, lacking knowledge of the profound political and historical problems of revolutionary thought, allowed that agent of Trotskyism —who we have not the slightest doubt is an agent of imperialism— to take charge of editing a newspaper in which the programme of the Fourth International was copied from head to tail.

What the Fourth International thus committed was a true crime against the revolutionary movement, to isolate it from the rest of the people, to isolate it from the masses, by corrupting it with the stupidities, the discredit and the repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics. For, if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction.

These gentlemen reason in such a way that, for instance, with regard to South Vietnam, where a vast revolutionary front has united the immense majority of the people and has closely grouped different sectors of the population around the liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, to Trotskyites this is absurd, it is counter-revolutionary. And these gentlemen have the incredible effrontery to express themselves in this way when faced with the facts and the realities of history and of the revolutionary movements.

Fortunately, the revolutionary movement in Guatemala was saved. And it was saved because of the clear vision of one of the officers who, together with Sosa, had started the revolutionary movement, and who, on understanding that folly, that stupidity, broke away from the "13th of November" Movement and organised, with other progressive and revolutionary sectors, the Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala.

And this young officer, who had such a clear vision of the situation, is the representative of the revolutionary movement of Guatemala in this Conference, Major Turcios. Major Turcios has to his credit not only having been one of the first in the armed struggle for the liberation of his oppressed people, but also the merit of having saved the Guatemalan revolutionary movement from one of the most subtle and perfidious stratagems of Yankee imperialism. He raised the revolutionary flag of Guatemala and its anti-imperialist movement, rescuing it from the dirty hands of mercenaries in the service of Yankee imperialism.

And we hope that Yon Sosa, whose patriotic intentions at the beginning of the struggle are not in doubt, and whose condition as an honest man is not in doubt —although we do have very serious reservations about his attitude as a revolutionary leader— will not take too long to separate himself from those elements and rejoin the revolutionary movement in Guatemala, but this time under another leadership, under another leader who demonstrated, in moments such as those, clarity of vision and the attitude of a revolutionary leader.

This position adopted by the Trotskyites is the same as that adopted by all the newspapers and news agencies of Yankee imperialism; the same as that adopted in the case of comrade Ernesto Guevara by all the imperialist press in the United States, by its news agencies, by the Cuban counter-revolutionary press, by the bourgeois press in all the continent and in the rest of the world. That is to say, this campaign of slander and intrigue against Revolutionary Cuba in the case of comrade

Guevara made all the reactionary and bourgeois sectors of the imperialists, all the slanderers and all the intriguers against the Cuban Revolution, coincide exactly.

Because it is unquestionable that only reaction and only imperialism can be interested in discrediting the Cuban Revolution, in destroying the faith which the revolutionary movements have placed in the Cuban Revolution, in destroying the confidence the peoples of Latin America have placed in the Cuban Revolution, in destroying their faith. And that is the reason why they have not hesitated to use the filthiest and most indecent weapons.

This same Gilly, who once in a while poses among other U. S. intellectuals in the *Monthly Review*, a magazine of the United States, was villainous enough to write the following paragraph, which is well worth analysing, on the crisis of the Dominican Republic. This is what he said:

"The culminating point of this crisis must have been the Dominican Revolution, where the State of the Cuban workers was paralysed by its own policy, without openly supporting the Revolution, although in Cuba there was tremendous internal pressure for a policy of active support. If this crisis was previous to that of the Dominican Republic, undoubtedly the Dominican Republic hastened the revolution."

This person had the vileness to accuse the Cuban Revolution of not having given active aid to the Revolution in the Dominican Republic. And while the imperialists were accusing Cuba, while they were trying to justify their intervention with the pretext that leftists and communists, trained in Cuba, were heading the uprising there; while imperialism was accusing Cuba and presenting the Dominican Revolution, not as an internal question, but as an external problem, this person accused the Revolution of not having given active aid.

And what does active aid mean? Did they expect that Cuba, whose weapons and resources are well known, could stop and should stop the landing of U.S.

troops in the Dominican Republic? Cuba has weapons to defend itself and has these defence weapons in an infinitely inferior number with relation to the imperialists. And these gentlemen are so despicable, so shameless, that they blame Cuba for not having prevented... Because what else does active support mean? Because all that Cuba could do under those circumstances, all that it could have done, and should have done, it did. To ask Cuba to prevent the landing is like asking Cambodia in South-East Asia to prevent bombings of North Vietnam and to prevent occupation of South Vietnam by Yankee marines.

Unfortunately, the forces of Cuba are limited. But to the extent of these forces, in the best way possible, and in the most decided manner, as well as the most adequate under the circumstances, Cuba lends and will lend its maximum support to the Revolution.

To those who believe that this country is afraid of the imperialists, to those who believe — with a spirit of superiority or with insolent deliriums of superiority over everybody — that this country is afraid of the imperialists — it would have been worth their while to have lived a few hours, here, in this country, during the October Crisis, when, for the first time, a small people like ours saw itself threatened with a massive attack of nuclear weapons on its territory, and to have seen the attitude taken by this people and the attitude taken by the Revolutionary Government.

A lot of nonsense, a lot of nonsense, a lot of foolishness is written, above all by irresponsible people, when certain documents cannot be published.

But some day mankind will know, and some day mankind will learn all the facts. That will be the day when the villains will see that comrade Guevara was not murdered; each of his steps will be fully known. They will also know then the position taken by Cuba in those difficult days, and how serene this people was. When that day comes,

there will be nobody, no matter how insolent, no matter how provocative, who will dare to doubt the feeling of solidarity of this people and the valour of this people — that valour demonstrated by its conduct. Despite the fact that this is a country ninety miles from the imperialist metropolis, over whose head tremendous danger will hover during the coming years, to the same extent that the revolutionary movement grows — the revolutionary movement that grows following, above all, the example of the Cuban Revolution — the growing revolutionary movement, that increases because of the example of Cuba, because of the victories of Cuba, because of Cuba's stand before the enemy.

And we must keep in mind that when this country defies this danger, it is not a country having millions of men under arms, it is not a country having nuclear weapons because here our missiles are moral; and the number of millions is not infinite, the number of men is not infinite, but the dignity and decorum of this people is infinite.

And the coming years will speak for us, and the coming years will be responsible for destroying the slanderers, not those who are known agents of the imperialists, but those who are confused, the intriguers, those who let themselves be misled and are used as tools to spread lies against our Revolution.

Highly rewarding is the fact that has been demonstrated in this Conference. Because in this Conference many things were proved. In the first place, it was proved how discussions can revolve, above all, around really interesting matters and around what is really important for the peoples who are struggling. It was proved how the peoples — regardless of their strength, their resources and their size — raise their voices and express their opinions, and how the peoples are capable of having their own criteria and their own independent voices. All this was demonstrated by this Conference. But, in addition, we Cubans feel satisfaction in knowing

that the Cubans and the revolutionary movements, no matter from which continent, were always united in the same positions; and that the united force, the revolutionary criteria, and the most honest positions prevailed; that in this Conference — as an answer to intriguers and slanderers — the peoples, the revolutionary liberation movements, at all times, demonstrated a great confidence, an immeasurable confidence in Cuba and its revolutionary Party; and that for this reason our country was honoured by having been granted the General Secretaryship and chosen as the temporary headquarters of the Organisation.

And considering the task which has been performed by the Cuban delegation, by the Cuban Committee for Solidarity, working on behalf of the Conference; tirelessly struggling in order to overcome all difficulties; maintaining at every moment an objective and just position of principles; even to the point of risking the relations of Cuba with some countries, as in the case of Indonesia, when it was left in the hands of the Cuban Delegation to make a decision, it rejected the official delegation of Indonesia, risking our relations with an important State in that part of the world.

And although for us, all States are equally important, and all peoples are entitled to equal rights, in any event this fact should be an example of how fair the Cuban Delegation was, or how it tried to be just; tried to be objective and tried to maintain a position of principles.

We know how hard all the delegations worked, because in the opinion of many who have attended various international conferences, this is one of the conferences where the most serious and tireless work has been done. Therefore, since the headquarters will be in Cuba, and Cuba will hold the position of Secretary General of the Organisation; the Political Bureau of our Party has agreed to appoint Comrade Osmany Cienfuegos, Secretary General of the Organisation.

All the delegations have had the opportunity of knowing the efforts, and the honesty with which these efforts were made by Comrade Osmany, both in the preparatory work and in the course of the Conference. It must be acknowledged that everybody cooperated, that all contributed, in one way or another, to unify viewpoints and to the success of this Conference.

For, as I said before, these viewpoints did not always coincide, but everyone, in the end, contributed to its success with a really disinterested effort.

I do not want to finish without referring to two matters: the deep concern that fills us all about the events in Indonesia, about the news from Indonesia that over a hundred thousand revolutionary activists have been savagely murdered; about the news that Aidit and some other leaders of the Communist Party in Indonesia have been murdered. I want to state our repugnance, our protest and our solidarity with the Indonesian revolutionaries persecuted today by the militarist reaction instigated by Yankee imperialism. And, at the same time, as a homage to someone who had much to do with the success of this Conference, I want to state that Ben Barka was a decisive factor with his firmness, with his personal work, in the organisation of this First Tricontinental Conference. His effort and his work were the cause of the later events.

It is the general opinion that Ben Barka has been murdered in a cruel and cowardly manner. And if this Conference of Solidarity has the duty to take a step precisely in loyalty and as an elementary duty towards one who so devotedly worked for its success, it must demand that the murder of Ben Barka be made clear and that the murderers of Ben Barka be punished.

Everything indicates that the direct responsibility falls upon the Minister of the Interior of Morocco, General Oufkir, to whom all indications point and upon whom all suspicions fall.

This Conference must not rest until the facts are clearly known: who were

the actual perpetrators, and who were the intellectual authors of the assassination of Ben Barka, the murder of he who was President of the Preparatory Committee of this Tricontinental Conference. And this monstrous and repulsive action showed from the very beginning the interest of imperialism in jeopardising the Conference to make it fail. Yet the results of this Conference show that the blood of Ben Barka was not shed in vain, and that the crime committed against Ben Barka, his assassination, as that of Lumumba, Aidit and Sandino, that with none of these horrible crimes, that with none of these barbarous actions, will imperialism be able to check the victorious march and the final liberation of the peoples.

It is only fair that we devote our thoughts to those who have sacrificed themselves for the victory of their peoples; to those who have fallen victims of imperialism in all continents, and that we propose to be always faithful to this cause, to be always faithful, in Asia, Africa and in Latin America, to the cause of those who have given their lives and their blood for the liberation of the peoples. The people of our country, as you have been able to see, are of diverse ethnic origin, as a result of

the mixing of peoples of different continents, and therefore fraternally bound to Latin America, fraternally bound to Africa, fraternally bound to all the peoples of all continents. The people of Cuba have done the utmost to make the stay of the delegations here pleasant, have shown all their enthusiasm, hospitality and warmth.

Thousands of Cubans have incessantly worked for the success of this Conference regardless of rest or vacations; they have worked to care for the representatives of brother peoples. Our entire people has lived through a great festival of international solidarity during these days.

Our people have felt as their own each and every one of the problems of all the peoples. Our people, as I said on January 2, welcomed you with open arms, and bid you farewell embracing you, as a symbol of a bond which will never be broken, a symbol of their fraternal feelings of solidarity towards all peoples who struggle, for whom they are willing to shed their blood.

Our country or death!

We will win!

PRIMERA CONFERENCIA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE LOS PUEBLOS DE  
ASIA AFRICA Y AMERICA LATINA



## NUMERICAL LIST

**FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF  
AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, JANUARY 1966**

<b>Delegates</b>	<b>Countries</b>	<b>Organisations</b>	<b>Accredited</b>
Africa	28	29	150
Asia	27	27	197
Latin America	27	27	165
<b>Total:</b>	<u>82</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>512</u>
<b>Observers</b>			
International Organisations		5	24
Afro-Asian Organisations		3	7
African Organisations		3	8
Asian Organisations		3	5
Socialist Countries		7	20
<b>Total:</b>		<u>21</u>	<u>64</u>
<b>Guests</b>			
Foreign	23		50
Cuban	1		27
<b>Total:</b>	<u>24</u>		<u>77</u>
<b>Foreign Press</b>	<u>38</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>129</u>
<b>Total of Accredited Participants:</b>			<u>782</u>

PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS IN THE FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF  
THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

HAVANA, JANUARY 3 TO 15, 1966

Nº	COUNTRY	ORGANISATION
2.	SOUTH-WEST AFRICA	African National Congress of South Africa. South-West Africa National Union (SWANU).
3.	ANGOLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).
4.	ALGERIA	Algerian Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity (FLN).
5.	ARGENTINA	National Committee for the Conference of The People of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
6.	BASUTOLAND	Basutoland Congress Party.
7.	BECHUANALAND	Bechuanaland People's Party.
8.	BOLIVIA	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
9.	BRAZIL	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
10.	BURUNDI	Federation of Workers of Burundi.
11.	CAMBODIA	Cambodian Afro-Asian Solidarity.
12.	COLOMBIA	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
13.	CONGO (B)	National Revolutionary Committee of the Congo.
14.	CONGO (L)	National Council for the Liberation of the Congo.
15.	KOREA	Korean Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
16.	COSTA RICA	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
17.	CUBA	Cuban Communist Party (PCC).
18.	CHILE	Front of Popular Action (FRAP).
19.	CHINA	Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
20.	CYPRUS	Solidarity Committee of Cyprus.
21.	ECUADOR	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
22.	EL SALVADOR	National Committee for Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
23.	GHANA	Convention People's Party.
24.	GUADELOUPE	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
25.	GUATEMALA	Rebel Armed Forces (FAR).
26.	GUIANA	Progressive Popular Party (PPP).
27.	GUIANA-CAYENNE	Guianese Solidarity Committee for the First Tricontinental Conference.
28.	GUINEA	Guinea Democratic Party.
29.	GUINEA (so-called Portuguese)	African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea.
30.	HAITI	Unified Democratic Front of National Liberation.
31.	HONDURAS	National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
32.	INDIA	Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
33.	INDONESIA	Association of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity.

34. IRAN Iranian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
35. IRAQ Iraqi Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity.
36. MAURITIUS  
ISLAND Progressive Party of the Mauritius People.
37. ST. THOMAS &  
PRINCE ISLAND Committee for the Liberation of St. Thomas and Prince.
38. JAMAICA National Solidarity Committee for the Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
39. JAPAN Japanese Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity.
40. JORDANIA Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Jordania.
41. NORTH  
KALIMANTAN North Kalimantan Organisation for Afro-Asian People's Soli-  
darity, Indonesia.
42. KENYA Kenya African National Union (KANU).
43. LAOS Neo-Lao Haksat.
44. LEBANON Progressive Socialist Party.
45. MALAYA Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the Malayan People.
46. MARTINIQUE National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
47. MOROCCO National Union of Popular Forces.
48. MEXICO National Liberation Movement (MLN).
49. MONGOLIA Mongolian Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity.
50. MOZAMBIQUE Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO).
51. NEPAL Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.
52. NICARAGUA National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
53. NIGER Sawaba Party.
54. NIGERIA Nigeria Youth Congress. Peasant and Workers' Socialist Party.
55. OMAN Oman Office.
56. PAKISTAN Pakistani Committee of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity.
57. PALESTINE Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine.
58. PANAMA National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
59. PARAGUAY National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
60. ARABIAN  
PENINSULA Socialist Front for the Liberation of the Arabian Peninsula.
61. PERU National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
62. PUERTO RICO Pro-Independence Movement.
63. UNITED ARAB  
REPUBLIC Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (Arab Socialist Union).
64. DOMINICAN  
REPUBLIC National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples  
of Africa, Asia and Latin America.
65. DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF  
VIETNAM Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee D. R. V.
66. RWANDA Rwandese Burundi National Union.
67. SENEGAL African Independence Party.
68. SYRIA Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.
69. SOMALILAND Popular Movement Party.
70. SWAZILAND Swaziland Progressive Party.
71. SUDAN Peoples' Democratic Party.
72. THAILAND Thailand Patriotic Front.
73. TANZANIA Tanganyika African National Union.

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 74. TRINIDAD-<br>TOBAGO            | National Committee for the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples<br>of Africa, Asia and Latin America. |
| 75. UGANDA                         | Uganda People's Congress.   |
| 76. U. S. S. R.                    | Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.   |
| 77. URUGUAY                        | Left Front of Liberation (FIDEL).   |
| 78. VENEZUELA                      | Front of National Liberation (FLN).   |
| 79. SOUTH VIETNAM                  | Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.  |
| 80. YEMEN                          | Yemen Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.  |
| 81. SOUTH YEMEN<br>(Occupied zone) | National Liberation Front of Occupied South Yemen.  |
| 82. ZIMBABWE                       | Zimbabwe African People's Union.  |

OBSERVERS  
ORGANISATIONS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

1. World Peace Council.
2. International Democratic Federation of Women.
3. World Federation of Democratic Youth F. M. J. D.
4. International Union of Students.
5. World Federation of Trade Unions F. S. M.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

ALBANIA

6. Albanian Solidarity Committee with the Peoples of Africa and Asia.

BULGARIA

7. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

8. Czechoslovakian Solidarity Committee with the Peoples of Africa and Asia.

HUNGARY

9. Hungarian Solidarity Committee with all the People who Fight for their Independence.

POLAND

10. Solidarity Committee with the Peoples of Africa and Asia.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

11. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the D. R. G.

RUMANIA

12. Rumanian League of Friendship with the People of Asia and Africa.

AFRO-ASIAN ORGANISATIONS

13. Conference of Afro-Asian Jurists.
14. Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers.
15. Afro-Asian Conference of Journalists.

AFRICAN ORGANISATIONS

16. South-West Africa Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO).
17. Zimbabwe National African Union (ZANU).
18. African Federation of Trade Unions.

ASIATIC ORGANISATIONS

19. Council Against the Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb.
20. Economic Bureau of Asia.
21. Peace Committee of Asia and the Pacific.

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