

FIDEL CASTRO

SPEECH

68th INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

HAVANA SEPTEMBER 15th OF 1981

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SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMMANDER
IN CHIEF
FIDEL CASTRO RUZ, PRESIDENT OF
THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT THE
OPENING SESSION OF THE
68TH CONFERENCE OF THE
INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

PALACIO DE LAS CONVENCIONES
CIUDAD DE LA HABANA
SEPTEMBER 15, 1981
"YEAR OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY
OF PLAYA GIRON"

Members of the Presidium

Distinguished parliamentarians:

We are meeting in times of uncertainty. I am not forgetting the diversity of criteria and ideologies congregated in this hall. But I assume that we share the common concern for the fate of the world, where each of our respective homelands, and the peoples therein, have a sacred place in our hearts. I extend to all of you the warmest welcome to our country.

Some may not like my words; but they are not intended to hurt anyone. I will merely expound my points of view frankly, based on facts I consider objective, and I cannot suppress the views I hold about certain governments and policies. In doing so, I am not criticizing peoples but governments, and those who disagree will have enough

opportunity to reply to my words from this very rostrum where they will be heard with the greatest respect. After all, in any conference, those who speak at the end always have the advantage of making fresh pronouncements, when many no longer remember the words of those who preceded them.

I shall start by dealing with the economic issues in the world.

On innumerable occasions we have insisted that what underlies the issue of peace — a cardinal concern of all peoples of the world — is the economic and social injustice prevailing in our planet. There will be no solution to the tensions, contradictions and political conflicts that threaten and perturb international relations, until a new economic order is established in the world to promote the peoples' all-round development and reduce inequality among nations.

The current world economic situation is characterized by the notorious inequality existing between developed and underdeveloped countries. Hundreds of millions of human beings, in countries comprising more than three fourths of the world population, live in poverty, go hungry and are the victims of illness and ignorance. As

long as this dramatic situation suffered by the great majority of mankind is not solved through the implementation of new world economic relations based on equity and justice, little progress will be made towards effective and lasting peace.

The accelerated deterioration the world economic situation has experienced in recent years and its dramatic repercussion on Third World countries gave rise to the anxious quest for formulas to first stop and then revert a trend, which was leading the great majority of the countries in the world to an unsolvable economic crisis, with the serious and dangerous consequences such a situation would entail for all the world, both socially and politically.

Thus, in 1974, the idea of a program for a new international economic order emerged, coupled with capitalism's worst post-war economic crisis during 1974 and 1975, a crisis which — after an ephemeral recovery in 1976 — continued on its course, characterized by unstable and weak processes of recovery, a tendency towards new recessive drops, a sharpening of economic-monetary rivalries, rampant inflation and growing unemployment. Due to its peculiarities, persistence and seriousness, this crisis reflected the overall

crisis of the capitalist system, clearly expressed in its inability to overcome its own imbalances, increased inter-imperialist contradictions and the collapse of the postwar neocolonial system. It, in turn, gave rise to the capitalist need to increase its share of the profits, which has now become much more difficult than ever before during the postwar period, since, to a great extent, it depended on increased imperialist exploitation of the underdeveloped world.

There is no solution to this dramatic and increasingly serious situation, and no progress whatsoever has been made in the establishment of a new international economic order, a matter of life and death for Third World countries.

The US Government has aggravated the world crisis by raising interest rates to hitherto unknown levels. On the one hand, it raises the cost of money in the Yankee domestic economy, with the purpose of reducing its rate in the belief that it will succeed in limiting and even eliminating inflation. And, on the other hand, it intends to — and has in fact done so — attract from Europe at more lucrative interest rates, not only Eurodollars, irresponsibly thrown into the European market to finance the Vietnam war, but also monetary resources from the Federal

Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and other countries in the European Economic Community, thus further affecting the economies of its own Western allies.

By doing so, it has weakened its competitors, caused the practical devaluation of their currencies, rendered more expensive the US technology they import, as well as the oil from third countries, while lowering the prices US buyers have to pay for European products. The European Economic Community has been forced to take economic emergency measures. President Mitterrand's clear and energetic protest voices a common feeling among member States. Numerous Third World countries have also felt the drain on their convertible foreign currency attracted by the high interests of Yankee banks, which in turn raise to untenable limits the amounts to be paid for the servicing of the renewed, growing and monstrous debt of underdeveloped countries.

The economic crisis of capitalism with its endemic panorama of stagnation, inflation, unemployment, squandering and malformation is serious, but even more serious and insufferable is the economic situation of the underdeveloped world, which is partly a magnified version of the capitalist crisis itself.

THE ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT HAS LED THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD TO AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE OF INDEBTEDNESS, IMPOVERISHMENT, DEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC ASPHYXIA

Developed capitalist countries have transferred and enlarged to underdeveloped countries the essential elements of their economic crisis. The growing dependence of the so-called Third World countries' economies on industrialized countries deeply stressed the negative effects the present terms of trade have on them. Private banking and international financial and monetary institutions play a major role in this accelerated process of deterioration; this, together with a greater opening of those countries to economic, financial and technological penetration of transnationals, has led them to total economic asphyxia and financial paralysis, for which there is no way out. Thus, the relation of trade prices coupled with the freezing or actual depression of the prices of raw materials and products from underdeveloped countries with regard to the increasing prices of manufactured goods and services from industrialized countries, the high interest rates of the increasingly

limited foreign financing sources and rampant inflation are some of the main elements of the crisis. All this, compounded by the extraordinary increase in oil prices, the accelerated population growth in these countries, the stagnation or regression of agricultural production, the almost total lack of industrial and technological development, has led the underdeveloped world to an unprecedented degree of indebtedness, impoverishment, dependence and economic asphyxia.

According to the International Payments Bank data for 1981, the external debt of the so-called Third World amounted to over \$500 billion, with a tendency to day-to-day aggravation. The external debt of Latin America, for example, that in 1965 amounted to \$10 billion, soared to \$150 billion early in 1980.

To have an idea of the overwhelming burden of increased import values, which is mainly determined by inflation in industrialized countries and the rise of oil prices, suffice it to say that, in 1978, the change in prices meant for that same region as a whole an increase in real import values — with respect to 1970 prices — of \$14.442 billion for fuels and \$25.304 billion for manufacture imports.

Likewise, whereas in 1973 the value of net fuel imports accounted for 8.4% of the total imported goods, in 1979 this ratio rose to 23.8%.

The social outcome of these realities is expressed by the enormous magnitude of extreme poverty, lack of culture and unemployment of the large masses in the continent.

In 1970-1980 the overall public debt of underdeveloped countries grew at an average annual rate of about 21%. In 1979, our countries paid \$44.2 billion for debt servicing alone. The only thing that currently bears comparison with the amount of that debt is the world's military expenditures, which also amount to the incredible figure of \$500 billion.

IN 1970-1978 THE PROCESS OF IMPERIALIST PENETRATION THROUGH ITS INVESTMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD AMOUNTED TO \$42.2 BILLION, WHICH IS NOT ENOUGH EVEN FOR A MEAGER DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

On the other hand, in 1970-78 the process of imperialist penetration through its investments in the Third World amounted

to \$42.2 billion which is not enough even for a meager dependent development. During this period, US investments in the underdeveloped world amounted to \$8.701 billion. In the same period, the investments of capitalist Europe in Africa amounted to \$8 billion, total foreign investments in that continent being of over \$11 billion.

In contrast, the profits obtained by transnationals in underdeveloped countries during that same period amounted to the staggering figure of \$100.218 billion, which means that for every new dollar invested in that period, approximately \$2.4 were extracted as repatriated profits. US profits from the above investments amounted to \$39.685 billion, representing a \$4.5 income per newly invested dollar.

A simple figure supplied by none other than the World Bank, one of the institutions created by neocolonial metropolises in order to ensure their financial hegemony, eloquently illustrates the situation of inequality we have referred to. According to this source, in 1978 the per capita gross national product in a selected group of 18 developed capitalist countries amounted to \$8070, while 38 of the so-called "lowest income

countries" showed a per capita gross national product of \$200, and the "middle income" group, \$1250. In other words, in 1978, developed capitalist countries achieved a per capita gross national product 6.5 times higher than that of the so-called "middle income" countries and 40 times higher than that of the poorest underdeveloped countries.

Today, ten years after launching the program for a New International Economic Order, the huge and growing differences between developed and underdeveloped countries, and the extreme poverty of the latter, have reached extreme seriousness. Never before in the history of mankind has the underdeveloped world been subjected to such a degree of exploitation, economic stranglehold and poverty. Never before have the poor of the earth been so poor and so exploited, their growing mass being prevented from even aspiring to a subsistence economy and the most elementary living conditions. We can sum up these dramatic realities as follows: developed countries, with only 25% of the world population, possess 83% of the world's gross national product; they consume 75% of the energy and 70% of the grains; they own 92% of the world's industries and 95% of technological resources;

and they also use up 89% of world education expenditures.

The present may be tragic, but the future that lies ahead is gloomy.

The world population already amounts to 4.4 billion inhabitants, 75% of which lives in underdeveloped countries.

According to the various forecasts made in recent years by different specialized institutions, by the year 2000 the world population will have reached 6.4 billion. This represents an increase of 55% over the last 25 years of this century. Mankind will grow in those 25 years as much as it did in the first 1950 years of our age.

More than 90% of said growth will take place in the underdeveloped world. This means that in the year 2000, 80% of the world population — some 5.12 billion human beings — will live in underdeveloped countries. By then, 4 out of every 5 of the planet's inhabitants will live in that world.

Recent studies have estimated that by the year 2000 the per capita gross national product will amount to a world average of \$2311 at 1975 constant values. This means a world increase of 53% in relation to 1975. In developed countries, however, the per capita gross

national product will rise to almost \$8500, while in the underdeveloped world it will remain at less than \$590. For every \$1 increase in the per capita gross national product of underdeveloped countries, there is a projected \$20 increase for developed countries as a whole. By the year 2000 the average personal income will be over 14 times higher in developed countries. If as point of reference we take the per capita gross national product of a group of the most powerful capitalist developed countries, the ratio will be almost twentyfold.

That is to say, by the year 2000, the current deep gap between the developed and the underdeveloped world will have doubled. If in 1975 the difference between the per capita gross national product of both groups was about \$4000, by the year 2000 it will amount to approximately \$8000.

If the existing inequality is already flagrant and could even be termed outrageous, we can imagine the magnitude of the abyss that will separate the richest countries from the poorest in the coming 20 years.

The food situation in the Third World is already dramatic. In comparison with developed countries, the average inhabitant of an underdeveloped country gets 33% fewer

calories in his diet than an inhabitant of a developed country. According to conservative FAO estimates, nearly 450 million human beings in the underdeveloped world suffer from a malnutrition that is defined as serious, which means that they are hungry. Several hundred million more are undernourished. The per capita animal protein intake is six times higher in developed than in underdeveloped countries; fats, 4.5 times higher; grains, 2.3 times higher; and milk, 6 times higher.

All these indicators and many more that could be mentioned can be translated into one single word: hunger. At present, hunger is the most distressing human drama of the peoples in the underdeveloped world. Millions of lives are lost every year and many millions more see their hopes of fully developing their capabilities forfeited by hunger.

Thanks to the concentration of the necessary investments and technology in developed countries, in recent years their crops have yielded twice as much as those in underdeveloped countries, and agricultural manpower productivity was nine times higher. Per capita food supply in developed countries increased 3.2 times more than in underdeveloped countries.

In the next twenty years, vast regions of the underdeveloped world will lack the amount of food necessary for children to achieve normal bodily and mental development and for adults to enjoy full potentiality and good health. The forecast for food consumption in the Central African nations, for instance, is of 20% under the minimum levels proposed by FAO. According to the World Bank, the amount of malnourished people in the underdeveloped nations shall, in that short period of time, reach the dramatic figure of 1.3 billion, which triples present estimates. One out of every four inhabitants of the underdeveloped world will go hungry. An amount of people equal to the present total population of developed nations will not be appropriately fed.

On the other hand, various studies made by FAO and other institutions forecast that in the next two decades the man/land ratio in underdeveloped nations will decrease from the 0.9 hectares for the mid 1970's to 0.5 hectares of potentially arable land. If theoretically less than one hectare of land can feed one person in the underdeveloped nations at present, in 20 years time that very same hectare should feed two people.

Naturally, from the point of view of production, the only way to impede further deterioration of the present unsatisfactory per capita food availability, is for food supplies to increase faster than the amount of people to be fed. An examination of recent trends, however, shows that the growth rate of food production in the underdeveloped world has decreased to a point that hardly surpasses the demographic growth rate. If to this we add the well-known situations related to unequal income distribution in the vast majority of underdeveloped nations, the scope of the problem being faced by the large masses of the underdeveloped world's population in terms of hunger and undernourishment in the near future can readily be understood. Another highly significant situation, not only from the economic point of view but also with regards to ecologic balance and the preservation of the environment, relates to deforestation. Some 18-20 million hectares of forests disappear annually, mostly in the tropical regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Total forest areas in the world, covering a little over 2.5 billion hectares in 1978, will be reduced by some 450 million — that is, almost one fifth — by the year 2000. Now then, almost 100% of that reduction will

occur in the underdeveloped nations, which will have lost approximately 40% of their forest surface.

This loss will force the large masses of the underdeveloped nations to pay ever more unbearable prices for firewood and coal — their main cooking and heating means —, until the time will come when these basic vital resources will simply be beyond their reach.

IN THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY PERIOD OF MAN'S SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL UPSURGE, THE NUMBER OF ILLITERATES IN THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD WILL TRIPLE THE PRESENT POPULATION OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Like health, education and culture are one of man's most basic rights. This is not, however, a right the large masses of the underdeveloped nations enjoy. These realities are determined by a lack of schools and teachers, a shortage of resources and extreme poverty. In the past 15 years, the number of illiterates in the world has steadily increased. According to official UNESCO figures, in 1965

there were 700 million illiterates in the world. In 1975, this figure rose to 800 million and the 1980 estimate was of 820 million, i.e., approximately 3 out of every 10 adults in the world were illiterate. It is estimated that in 1990 this figure will reach 884 million, and mankind will enter the 21st century with some one billion illiterate adults. That is to say, in the most extraordinary period of man's scientific and technological upsurge, the number of illiterates in the underdeveloped world will triple the present population of Latin America and the Caribbean.

These gloomy figures do not include the huge mass of children of the underdeveloped world fully lacking education, nor those who drop out after elementary school.

In half the nations of the earth, 50% of the children never finish elementary school. In 1980, in the world, there were some 250 million children between 5 and 14 who did not get any education. The fifth richest part of the world, i.e., 20 nations with 21% of the world population, spends 50 times more on education per inhabitant than the poorest fifth (26 countries with 23% of the population), i.e., a ratio bigger than that of their economic inequalities which is 40 to 1.

Instead of spurring on education, developed Western countries have exported sexual exploitation of children to the underdeveloped nations.

At a congress recently held in France, it was reported that children's sexual exploitation — something almost unknown until recently — took the shape of a true surge in many Third World countries and that the expansion of tourism experienced by some of those countries was one of its main causes; it was literally stated that it brought about the "industrialization of sex for tourism."

According to a study by the International Labor Office, in Bangkok alone, some 200 thousand youths practice prostitution, half of whom are under 20 years of age and had been sold to procurers at the age of 12.

Health in the underdeveloped world also reflects huge difference with regards to industrialized nations. According to World Health Organization data, over one billion people — 25% of the planet's population — live in conditions of poverty, lack of living space and danger for their life. Seventy percent of the children in underdeveloped nations suffer from infectious and parasitic diseases.

Infant mortality in developed countries ranges between 20 and 15 children per one thousand live births. In the poorest countries, it varies in different regions. In Africa it is 150-200 dead per one thousand live births. In Asia it ranges between 100-150. In Latin America it fluctuates between 30-170 except in Cuba which is already below 20. When considering the data of high birth rates in Third World countries, this means that of the more than 122 million children born every year, 10% will die before their first year and another 4% before the age of five. Thus, 18 million children under five die in the world every year, 95% of them in the underdeveloped countries. This figure is almost doubled when referring to children who become partially or totally crippled as a result of various diseases. The death risk before adolescence is of 1 out of 40 in developed countries, while in African nations it is of 1 out of 4, and in some countries of 1 out of 2.

In developed countries, life expectancy is of 72-74 years of age. In underdeveloped countries the average is 50, and in some areas of the world it drops to less than 40. The number of available doctors varies greatly between groups of countries;

whereas in the developed countries the average availability is of one doctor per 500-600 inhabitants, in a large group of the lowest-income countries, the figure is of one doctor per more than 60 thousand inhabitants. That is, the average availability for the first group of countries is of 20 doctors per 10 thousand inhabitants, while in the underdeveloped nations as a whole it is of about one doctor per 10 thousand inhabitants.

To sum up, we can say that the present situation of the underdeveloped world is as follows:

Undernourished	Below the necessary calory and protein levels, that is, going hungry:	570 million
Illiterate adults:		800 million
Totally lacking medical care: .		1.5 billion
Having an annual income under 90 dollars:		1.3 billion
Under 60 years-of-age life expectancy:		1.7 billion

Living in unfit housing:	1.03 billion
Children not attending schools:	250 million
Unemployed:	1.103 billion

AT THE UNITED NATIONS, CUBA PUT FORTH FORMULAS TO RESPOND TO THE DESPERATE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

At the United Nations, in the month of October, 1979, on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose 6th Summit had just been held in our homeland, Cuba put forth formulas to respond to the desperate economic and social situation of Third World countries. We proposed, first of all, an additional fund of no less than 300 billion dollars (1977 real values) to be invested in the underdeveloped countries and to be made in yearly installments of at least \$25 billion right from the beginning. This should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits.

There we made a ten-point summary of the additional indispensable measures to be taken to start reverting the crisis.

Since they are now more updated than ever,
I shall repeat them:

"Unequal exchange is impoverishing
our peoples; and it should cease!

"Inflation, which is being exported
to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and
it should cease!

"Protectionism is impoverishing our
peoples; and it should cease!

"The disequilibrium that exists concerning
the exploitation of sea resources is
abusive; and it should be abolished!

"The financial resources received by
the developing countries are insufficient;
and should be increased!

"Arms expenditures are irrational. They
should cease, and the funds thus
released should be used to finance
development!

"The international monetary system that
prevails today is bankrupt; and it
should be replaced!

"The debts of the least developed
countries and those in disadvantageous
position are impossible to bear and
have no solution. They should be
cancelled!

"Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the
developing countries economically;
and it should be relieved!

"The wide economic gap between
developed countries and the countries
that seek development is growing
rather than diminishing; and it
should be closed!"

Such are the demands of the
underdeveloped countries.

Is this the time for an arms race? Is this
the time for producing neutron bombs?
Is this the time for warmongering policies?
Is this the time for deploying 572
medium-range missiles in Europe; for
building MX missile systems which will
cost tens of billions of dollars, new strategic
bombers, nuclear aircraft carriers, Trident
submarines; for reactivating World War II
battleships; for investing \$1.5 billion
in military expenditures over the next five
years, thus initiating the greatest arms
competition in history, as the United States
intends to do? The peoples, especially
the hungry peoples of the Third World, the
laborers and all the workers of the planet,
manual and intellectual, know that this
is a colossal folly they will have to carry on

their squalid backs, a folly which will further aggravate the world economic crisis, unemployment and what has already become a desperate and unbearable situation for billions of people, just to abut on a final holocaust.

Moreover, the new US Administration has already announced that it will cut its contributions to international credit institutions and promote the suppression of concessionary credits. According to **The Wall Street Journal** the Reagan Administration intends to instill its economic philosophy in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter American Development Bank. This philosophy implies exerting pressure on developing countries to force them to adopt only those policies aimed at strengthening market economies, that is, the action of private capital and of transnationals. It also intends to have international organizations demand that the government of countries seeking credits from them to eliminate price subsidies, abolish import restrictions, and cut public expenditures.

On the basis of these ideas, what can be expected of US economic cooperation and contribution to a new international economic order?

Warmongering policies and economic cooperation cannot coexist in the world.

These realities must be clearly put forth to Mister Reagan in the coming Cancun Conference, where, by the way, he has presumptuously forbidden that Cuba's voice be heard by threatening that the almighty and indispensable gentleman would not attend.

In the aforementioned appearance before the United Nations we sustained that "the sound of weapons, threatening language, and arrogance in the international scene must cease."

Nevertheless, we now witness an altogether different reality. The new US Administration has discarded all theories on the need for military balance which served as a basis for the possibility of peaceful coexistence between States with different economic and social systems mankind is at present divided into.

The Government of the United States demands, as a condition for negotiation, that its military supremacy be admitted. It claims this on the basis of an arrogant economic superiority and of an alleged technological advantage. The strategic arms limitation treaties, SALT II, formerly

considered satisfactory by US specialists as part of a process geared to the gradual eradication of a nuclear threat through new limitation negotiations, are cast aside by the United States as no longer satisfactory to the military requirements of that country, conceived only in terms of military supremacy.

SINCE THE DAYS PRIOR TO THE MUNICH PACT INTERNATIONAL FORA HAVE NOT RUNG SUCH DISTEMPERED AND THREATENING WORDS AS THOSE US LEADERS NOW REPEAT

Thus, the path of negotiations has been interrupted. Since the days prior to the Munich Pact international fora have not rung with such distempered and threatening words as those US leaders now repeat, not just President Reagan but also his Secretary of Defense, Mr. Weinberger, and his Secretary of State, Mr. Haig. They are playing war and with war.

It seems that the new US Administration cannot care less for the opinions of those forming part of the system of military alliances on which US strategy rests. Before

deploying the 572 ballistic missiles in Europe the Pentagon wants to establish in that theater, thus enormously increasing the danger of a nuclear war, which would first and foremost affect Europe, NATO governments demanded that the United States sit at the table of negotiations with the Soviet Union. The peoples of Europe go even further than their rulers and reject with increasing strength the deployment of these new nuclear weapons on their soil. But the United States' disparaging response is far from opening the path to negotiations; instead of a will to negotiate, the Reagan Administration also challenges international consciousness by ordering the production of the neutron bomb.

A more sinister mockery could not be conceived of.

On the other hand, who can forget that the opposition of the United States to the presence of 42 medium-range missiles in Cuba in 1962 gave rise to a crisis which placed the world on the brink of nuclear war? Why not think that the USSR may feel seriously threatened and provoked by the presence of 572 US missiles of this kind so close to its borders?

This attempt at supremacy unrestrained by moral limitations of any kind sets the pace for US international policy throughout the world and shapes its attitude before the most pressing problems of the day.

The United Nations have established the unpostponable need for the return of the territories occupied by Israel as a result of the war waged against the Arab countries and the establishment of a State in the Middle East where the millions of Palestinians, deprived of their homeland, can reunite their disbanded nation.

The Zionist Government not only scorns these decisions but also defies the international community with its increasingly aggressive actions, tolerated and sponsored by Washington, while pretending to seek peace and threatening to discontinue its arms supplies. But this hypocritical gesture is short-lived, and Reagan's Government sends F-15 and F-16 planes and receives Begin at the White House to discuss the terms of a strategic agreement recently concerted between Israel and the United States.

The United States seemed committed to a halfhearted compromise handled by four other countries — France, England, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany — to find

a peaceful settlement to the independence of Namibia. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that after Undersecretary Crocker's visit to South Africa and Reagan and Botha's meeting, South Africa feels assured of being counted upon by the United States as a strategic factor in the aggressive alliance it is trying to impose on all the world.

The littoral countries of the Indian Ocean have strived for years to have that area declared a zone of peace and for a pledge on the part of the various military fleets to withdraw therefrom. The Soviet Union has shown its willingness to do so. However, the Reagan Administration has concentrated there an enormous naval might which dovetails with its military plans in the region in connivance with South Africa, plans it is trying to extend to Latin American countries, forcing them to join a South Atlantic alliance complementary to NATO. Brazil's refusal is indicative of the new times US imperialists are facing.

As part of its aggressive global policy, the new US administration has promoted Sadat to the rank of gendarme of the Middle East and fosters an anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian policy through its growing relations with Israel; it divides and weakens the Arab world by

pitting its most reactionary allies in the region against the progressive countries; it supports and nurtures counterrevolution in Afghanistan and blocks all attempts at negotiations and settlements between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan; it provokes Democratic Korea; it establishes closer and broader links with China in the economic, political and military spheres, as part of a blatant and dangerous strategy aimed against the USSR. It likewise escalates its subversive activities within the socialist community.

The most dangerous and disturbing factor in its policy is its presumptuousness and total lack of interest in negotiating on disarmament, the arms race, détente and peace; its aggressive, offensive and arrogant language unheard of even during the worst times of cold war; the preposterous attempt to exert pressure on, threaten or blackmail the Soviet Union.

As one more step in its maniac and wild arms race, the US Government declared, four days ago, that it is considering the possibility of transforming the country's electroatomic wastes into plutonium, for its nuclear weapons' plans.

REVOLUTIONS HAVE EXISTED EVER SINCE THE HISTORY OF MAN BEGAN AND ARE AS DIFFICULT TO PREVENT AS THE DELIVERY OF A PREGNANT WHALE

Yankee imperialism openly claims to be a self-appointed world gendarme and proscribes all social changes anywhere in the world, stating its readiness to intervene. For the present US Administration, a revolution taking place anywhere in the world is merely "Soviet expansionism". Nevertheless, the terrifying economic crisis the world is undergoing nowadays will unavoidably trigger off revolutions and deep social changes in one country or another. Revolutions have existed ever since the history of man began and are as difficult to prevent as the delivery of a pregnant whale.

The warmongering policy and the philosophy of the new Yankee administration are already accountable for five bloody war actions, almost all of them dangerous, all hateful:

First, its interventionist and genocidal actions in El Salvador, by supplying arms and advising a terrorist government that has assassinated over 20 thousand sons and daughters of that heroic and noble people.

Second, the bombing by the Israeli Zionist Government of Iraq's Nuclear Research Center, an unprecedented event in peacetime, which could have brought about a catastrophe and sets a nefarious and unpunished example for international life.

Third, the brutal Zionist bombings of Lebanon, which have taken hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian lives, and caused mutilations, wounds and untold suffering to thousands of people.

Fourth, the provocation against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra and the downing of two Libyan planes patrolling their home coasts.

Fifth, South Africa's criminal invasion and bombings of Angola, that have taken hundreds of lives and caused considerable destruction.

These acts have been perpetrated by the United States, or in complicity with the United States, or covered up by the United States, which opposed all appropriate actions and strong condemnation of the aggressors at the United Nations. Thus, the Reagan Administration is already covered with the blood not only of thousands of slaughtered Salvadorians but of hundreds of assassinated Angolans, and hundreds of massacred

Lebanese and Palestinians. Blood of peoples from three different continents.

The aggression against Angola, perpetrated by South Africa's racists and fascists, in full agreement with the US Government, which sponsored and whitewashed the invasion, and prevented, through its hideous veto, the punishment and condemnation of the aggressors, has recently been a source of particular indignation.

What does this close alliance between imperialism and the execrable apartheid regime mean? Common political ideas and common economic interests.

South Africa, with less than 7% of the overall population of Africa, holds 1/3 of the continent's gross national product. Within its territory, including Namibia, there are 55 different minerals. It accounts for 60% of the world gold production, 30% of the chrome production, 25% of the manganese production, 16% of the uranium production, 14% of the diamond production. All in all, it controls 45% of African mining. The most significant economic relations between capitalist Europe and an African country are with South Africa. The big South African racist capitalists share profits with 630 British,

494 American, 132 West German, and 85 French transnationals located in that country. Fifty percent of South African investments belong to foreign capital which controls 87% of the productive capacity in the private sector. These very same transnationals made possible South Africa's access to nuclear technology.

As Chester Crocker, US Undersecretary of State, recently declared, US investments in South Africa amount to \$3 billion, its annual trade to \$6 billion and the bank credits granted, to \$3 billion.

What kind of exploitation underlies the wealth shared by Western transnationals?

In South Africa, the white population amounts to 4 million 500 thousand; the black population, to 19 million.

Land distribution: Whites, 87%; Blacks, 13%.

National income distribution: Whites, 75%; Blacks, less than 20%.

Average income ratio: Whites, 14; Blacks, 1.

Number of doctors per capita: Whites, 1 per 400; Blacks, 1 per 44 000.

Infant mortality rate: Whites, 27 per one thousand; Blacks, 200-400 per one thousand.

Yearly education expenditures per child: Whites, \$696; Blacks, \$5.

WHEN SPEAKING OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, WE CANNOT SILENCE WHAT IS HAPPENING IN NORTHERN IRELAND

When speaking of international politics, we cannot silence what is happening in Northern Ireland; I feel it is my duty to refer to this problem. In my opinion, Irish patriots are writing one of the most heroic chapters in the history of mankind. They have earned worldwide respect and admiration, and likewise deserve the fullest support. Ten of them have already died in the most moving gesture of sacrifice, selflessness and courage one could ever imagine. Mankind should feel ashamed that this terrible crime be committed before its very eyes. These young fighters do not ask for independence nor make impossible demands to put an end to their strike; they ask only for something as simple as the recognition of what they actually are: political prisoners. The men for whom we ask the solidarity of this Conference are neither Marxist-Leninist nor Communist; they are militant Catholics.

How can such a cold and dramatic holocaust be tolerated in the very heart of the Western world?

We can never get used to crime, be it in Ireland, El Salvador, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Lebanon or elsewhere.

The stubbornness, intransigence, cruelty, and insensitivity of the British Government before the international community concerning the problem of the Irish patriots and their hunger strike till death remind us of Torquemada and the atrocities committed by the Inquisition during the apogee of the Middle Ages.

According to the legend, in its early days, Rome was once besieged. Two young Roman soldiers had been made prisoners. When, in an attempt at curbing them, the besiegers threatened to burn them alive they spontaneously put their hands in the flames to show their contempt. It is said that their gesture impressed the enemy so much that the siege of Rome was lifted.

Let tyrants tremble before men capable of dying for their ideals after 60 days of hunger strike! What were Christ's three days in the Calvary, an age-old symbol of human sacrifice, compared to that example?

It is high time for the world community to put an end to this repulsive atrocity through its denunciation and pressure.

The most respected leaders of Latin America, the European Social-Democratic parties and the most sensible analysts of the United States all agree that the origin of the revolutionary political upheaval in Central America — which culminated with the democratic victory in Nicaragua and is turning El Salvador into a seedbed of heroic rebellions — is not to be found in any external influence, but rather in the implacable brutality of the social and political regimes endured by most of Central America.

But the Government in Washington charges Cuba with the responsibility for Central American unrest. Fifty years ago, when the Cuban Revolution could not even be envisaged, the people of El Salvador had already tried to shake its decaying regime to its very roots, in an attempt which culminated in the massacre of almost 30 000 Salvadorian patriots by dictator Maximiliano Martínez. Sandino fought the Yankee Marines to defend his homeland; years later, Somoza's tyranny murdered thousands of Nicaraguans, but those exemplary people did not yield — and

our Revolution had not yet emerged in America.

What destabilizes Central America is not Cuba's alleged subversive action. It is Yankee imperialism, the one which imposed in the past atrocious governments and merciless exploitation systems in the region and the one that currently rejects all possibilities of political agreement in El Salvador; the one that daily supplies the repressive forces of that country with new armaments; the one that seeks to hypocritically cover up the genocidal barbarity of its accomplices; the one that threatens with direct or interposed military intervention through similarly reactionary, homicidal regimes at its service in the area, and is to be held responsible for the absence of peace in Central America.

WE HAVE DEFIED THE US GOVERNMENT TO PRESENT EVEN THE SLIGHTEST EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM ITS STATEMENTS, BUT IT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO UTTER A SINGLE WORD!

Imperialism constantly seeks to justify each of the recent steps in El Salvador through

a number of lies and charges against Cuba, systematically reiterated by its unscrupulous spokesmen, whose cynicism would make Goebbels himself envious. It is a lie — as we have already stated, and I repeat this here with full moral authority — that there are Cuban military advisers in El Salvador. It is a lie that part of the weapons supplied to us by the Soviet Union for our defense is being redistributed in Central America. It is a lie that Cuba is supplying weapons and ammunition to Salvadorian patriots; the channels for it do not exist, and the Salvadorian patriots have been fighting for months with their own resources and with the weapons they wrest from the enemy. Lies, lies, and nothing but lies! We have defied the US Government to present even the slightest evidence to confirm its statements, but it has been unable to utter a single word!

To refute these falsehoods does not imply a commitment on our part. Neither does it entail passing moral judgement on the charges against us, nor renouncing the sacred duty to assist, in any way possible, a brother people being massacred and exterminated! It would not be immoral or censurable to provide weapons to help a people whose sons and

daughters — including old people, women and children — are being brutally annihilated, if it were within our possibilities. This question is put forth in terms of the actual inexistence of said possibilities. Why, then, does the genocidal Government of the United States tell all these lies? To deceive US public opinion; to deceive the US Congress and the Senate, where not few show scruples regarding their country's policy in El Salvador; to cynically deceive world opinion and send enormous amounts of sophisticated weapons and military advisers to the murderers.

The governments of Mexico and France took a courageous and humanitarian initiative: they recognized the representativity of the patriots struggling for the physical survival of their people and their homeland to seek a negotiated and political settlement to this bloody drama. That is not interventionism; it is a cry for justice, congruent with the purest principles of international law and with the interests of nations and peoples of the world in the quest for peaceful solutions to the hotbeds of tension that poison the international arena. Interventionism is arming to the teeth and sending military advisers to a bloody gang that has committed more

than 20 000 crimes in only 18 months in order to crush a rebellion that is the exclusive result of decades of ruthless exploitation, excess and crimes.

Weapons may well kill the hungry and exploited people of El Salvador; but they will not kill hunger, illiteracy, squalor and injustice rampant in that country. Nor will they be able to kill the just and millenary right of the peoples to rebel against tyranny.

The noble initiative taken by Mexico and France provoked the wrath of the imperialist interventionists. In a grotesque hullabaloo orchestrated under US orders to charge these two prestigious countries with interventionism, a handful of governments in this hemisphere posing as democrats shamelessly joined bloody repressive and fascist tyrannies whose most recent credentials are an endless list of coups d'etat, tortures, assassinations and disappearances. This attitude reveals from head to toe some of those Pharisees — veritable whitewashed sepulchres — who, invoking "democracy" and even Christ's very name, support one of the most monstrous crimes being committed in our continent during this century.

The quest being sponsored by Mexico and France for a negotiated and political settlement to the bloody drama of El Salvador is the same as the one promoted by such prestigious governments as those of Canada, Nicaragua, Panama, the Scandinavian countries, a great many States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Socialist International, and all the progressive forces of the world. And let no one harbor illusions that the Salvadorian revolution is weak. The patriotic movement of that country is and will be increasingly stronger and invincible, and it cannot be crushed with weapons. This Parliamentary Conference should gain awareness regarding this problem and take a stand. Let the sovereignty of El Salvador and the right of its heroic people to life and justice be respected!

Similar Yankee threats and dangers of aggression loom before the heroic brother peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada. They need maximum support and international solidarity.

Our sympathy, our support and our encouragement are also needed by the brother people of Panama in their struggle for the enforcement of the Canal treaties; the people of Puerto Rico, subjected to the

infamous Yankee colonialism, and the people of Guatemala, struggling against the cruel tyranny imposed by US intervention against Arbenz in 1954, whose bitter fruits have since then been 70 000 assassinated patriots.

I have left for the end those matters concerning our homeland.

YANKEE IMPERIALISTS HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR CRIMINAL ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AGAINST OUR COUNTRY; THEY HAVE INTENSIFIED THEIR ACTIVITIES OF ESPIONAGE AND SUBVERSION

Yankee imperialists have stepped up their criminal economic blockade against our country; they have intensified their activities of espionage and subversion; they brazenly speak of broadcasting official US Government radio programs to promote destabilization and counterrevolution in Cuba. The CIA has been relieved of all restrictions. And the Government of that country has answered none of our numerous public challenges to clarify whether that somber institution will once again have a free hand to organize attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Revolution and use plagues against our plants,

our animals and our population. We are being threatened with naval blockades and direct aggression.

Recently, we expressed our conviction that imperialism was using biological weapons against our homeland. It is not a groundless accusation. In less than three years five serious plagues and epidemics have scourged our animals, our plants and — what is even worse — our population: swine fever, tobacco blue mold, sugar cane rust, hemorrhagic dengue and, lastly, hemorrhagic conjunctivitis, which have caused considerable material and human damage. And in each case they have appeared without any logical or natural explanation.

The United States — as everyone knows — has developed a whole arsenal of sophisticated weapons of this kind, and methods for their use. According to imperialist conceptions, these weapons can be used in times of peace.

Hemorrhagic dengue has cost us 156 lives, including those of 99 children. The epidemic appeared abruptly in our country, at a time when no other outbreaks had been reported elsewhere. It is the dengue type 2 virus.

A serious and well-documented study conducted by a group of Cuban technicians and scientists supervised by highly trained foreign specialists, reached the conclusion that this virus was deliberately introduced in Cuba.

According to the analyses made and the examination of all available information, when the epidemic broke out in Cuba, in no African or South-East Asian country with which we have relations had there been any epidemic outbreak of dengue type 2 virus. It has been proven that no incoming Cuban or foreigner from that or any other region had been affected by the disease caused by this virus.

The epidemiological situation in Central America and the Caribbean at that time was the following:

In Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Colombia, as well as in the islands of the Caribbean Basin (Haití, Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Anguilla) there was an outbreak of dengue type 1 virus.

In the islands of Dominique, Curaçao, Saint Barthelemy in the Lesser Antilles, as well as in El Salvador, Honduras and Puerto Rico there was an outbreak of dengue type 4 virus.

It became clear, therefore, that after 1978, no case of dengue type 2 virus had been reported in any Latin-American country or in any island of the Caribbean Basin. The dengue fever which appeared in the islands neighboring Cuba about the same time in which the epidemic started in our country was provoked by viruses types 1 and 4. And dengue type 2 virus was precisely one of the viruses most assiduously studied by the US Centers devoted to the development of biological weapons.

This aggression could seem absurd, but it is not, if we consider the background of criminal activities against Cuba, by US governments, many of which are now known and no longer questioned, since they have been investigated and revealed by the US Senate itself.

I am forced to mention here some of the ones I already pointed out during our denunciation last July 26th.

On November 18 and 20 and on December 2, 9, 18 and 19, 1969, the 91st Congress of the United States held hearings to analyze supposed plans concerning the use of biological weapons against Cuba.

The following — eloquent — dialogue took place during that session:

"Mr. Fraser. It has been said the United States was prepared to use biological agents with regard to the invasion of Cuba. Can you tell us whether that is true?

"Mr. Pickering. I just have no knowledge of that.

"Mr. Fraser. Has anyone here any information on that question? (No response)

"Mr. Pickering. I have seen the discussions of this subject in the press.

"Mr. MacCarthy. I would say the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is familiar with the incidents alluded to and there are people in the Government who know what the record is, present and past. I know the information is available in your records."

The 1975 report by the Senate Select Committee investigating the activities of the CIA reads as follows:

"In November 1961 the proposal for a major new covert action program to overthrow Castro was developed. The President's Assistant, Richard Goodwin, and General Edward Lansdale, who was experienced in counter-insurgency operations, played major

staff roles in creating this program, which was named Operation MONGOOSE....

"In late 1961 or early 1962, William Harvey was put in charge of the CIA's Task Force W, the CIA unit for MONGOOSE Operations. Task Force W operated under guidance from the Special Group (Augmented) and employed a total of approximately 400 people at CIA headquarters and its Miami Station. McCone and Harvey were the principal CIA participants in Operation MONGOOSE....

"On January 19, 1962, a meeting of principal MONGOOSE participants was held in Attorney General Kennedy's office.... Notes taken at the meeting by George McManus, Helms' Executive Assistant, contain the following passages:

"Conclusion Overthrow of Castro is Possible. ...a solution to the Cuban problem today carried top priority in US Government. No time, money, effort — or manpower is to be spared."

"On January 18, 1962," the report goes on to say, "Lansdale assigned 32 planning tasks to the agencies participating in MONGOOSE. In a memorandum to the working group members, Lansdale emphasized that 'it is our job to put the American genius to work

on this project, quickly and effectively. This demands a change from the business as usual and a hard facing of the fact that we are in a combat situation — where we have been given full command'

"The 32 tasks comprised a variety of activities, ranging from intelligence collection to planning for 'use of US military force to support the Cuban popular movement' and developing an 'operational schedule for sabotage actions inside Cuba'....

"On January 19, 1962, Lansdale added an additional task to those assigned on January 18. 'Task 33' involved a plan to 'incapacitate' Cuban sugar workers during the harvest by the use of chemical warfare means. Lansdale testified that the plan involved using nonlethal chemicals to sicken Cubans temporarily and keep them away from the fields for a 24-48 hour period 'without ill effects.' The task was initially approved for planning purposes with the notation that it would require 'policy determination' before final approval...

"The SGA approved Lansdale's 33 tasks for planning purposes on January 30, 1962....

"General Lansdale's Program Review for the Cuba Project of February 20, 1962, included

his 'Basic Action Plan.' Phase IV of that plan had as one of its components:

'Attack on the cadres of the regime, including key leaders... This should be a 'Special Target' operation. CIA defector operations are vital here. Gangster elements might provide the best recruitment potential for actions against police G-2 officials. Block technicians should be added to the list of targets. CW (Chemical Warfare) agents should be fully considered.'

The report states further on that:

"Nevertheless, under the program, agent teams were dispatched into Cuba.

A Lansdale memorandum of March 13, 1962, to the Special Group Augmented advised that:

(1) Two teams of agents dispatched April 1 through 15, 1962; (2) Two teams of agents dispatched April 16 through 30, 1962; (3) Two teams dispatched to Cuba May 1 through 15, 1962; (4) Four teams of agents dispatched to Cuba May 16 through 31; (5) Ten to fifteen teams of agents dispatched to Cuba June 1 through 30, 1962.'

"In addition to the agent infiltrations, the MONGOOSE program also continued to include stepped up sabotage proposals. The unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Matahambre Mine was approved on August 30, 1962, and an August 31, 1962 memorandum from Lansdale at the SGA selected sabotage targets as the Matahambre Mine and various refineries, nickel plants.

The same memorandum suggested:

'encouraging destruction of crops by fire, chemicals, and weeds, hampering of harvest by work slowdown, destruction of bags, cartons, and other shipping containers.'"

The hair-raising facts I have just mentioned are no invention of mine; these are disclosures made by illustrious members of the US Senate.

On the first day of this month of September, 1981, the **Miami Herald**, a US paper, published an article stating among other things, the following and I quote:

WASHINGTON. The pompous statement by Fidel Castro that the 'harmful plagues' that are destroying crops and animals in Cuba and the dengue fever epidemic that has

brought about the death of over 100 people in the island are the doings of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) does not seem inconceivable for the authors of a new book that shall be put out this autumn.

William W. Turner, former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigations, and journalist Warren Hinckle state that the United States used biological warfare against Cuba during the Nixon Administration.

According to them, Nixon's 'tricks' included the introduction of swine fever to destroy Cuba's swine population, and atmospheric modifications to bring about instant floodings to destroy crops.

The authors argue that the CIA has committed the United States to a secret, undeclared and illegal war against Cuba for more than twenty years. The so-called Cuba project is the largest and least known operated by the CIA outside the legal limits of its statutes, they say.

Biological warfare, murders and forgeries were elements tried by the CIA with varying degree of success, according to Turner and Hinckle.

The history of the Cuba project is the history of an important US war not declared by Congress, not acknowledged by Washington, and not reported in the press.

With respect to this same subject of how swine fever was first introduced in Cuba in 1971, a very revealing UPI cable dated in Washington, on January 9, 1977, reads as follows:

"The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) refused to comment today on the information that it might have been implied in a premeditated outbreak of African swine fever in Cuba in 1971, which provoked the sacrifice of 500 000 pigs.

"**Newsday**, a Long Island (New York) newspaper, said that 'at least with the tacit support of the CIA, agents related to anti-Castro terrorists introduced the African swine fever virus in Cuba in 1971.'

"Six weeks later, an outbreak of the disease forced Cuban sanitary authorities to sacrifice 500 000 pigs in order to avoid an animal epidemic of national proportions.

"As opposed to swine influenza, African swine fever does not affect human beings, but it is highly contagious and mortal in the case of pigs.

"An unidentified source of the CIA revealed to **Newsday** that at the beginning of 1971 he was given a container with virus at Fort Gulick, a US Army base situated in the Panama Canal Zone also used by the CIA, and that the container was then taken by a fishingboat to underground agents in Cuba.

"It was the first time the disease appeared in the Western Hemisphere.

"A CIA spokesman said no comments would be made on the information published by **Newsday**.

"It is known, through their own admission, that when the African swine fever broke out in Cuba, the CIA and the US Army were experimenting with poisons, deadly toxins, products to destroy crops and other techniques of bacteriological warfare."

The epidemic this cable refers to struck our country precisely in the date mentioned, and during Richard Nixon's Administration.

Now, when our struggle against the dangerous dengue epidemic had not yet ended, another epidemic, hemorrhagic conjunctivitis, was mysteriously and unaccountably introduced, appearing explosively in the capital of the Republic. We hope none of those here present becomes infected by the disease.

We have solid reasons, distinguished Parliamentarians, to think the worst of imperialism and its institutions of terror and crime. Twenty years of bitter experiences have not elapsed in vain.

We do not fear imperialist threats. It will perhaps be possible to know when to start a conflict against us; what no one can tell is when or how it will end.

FASCISM MUST BE SHOWN THAT TODAY'S WORLD CANNOT BE INTIMIDATED BY THREATS OR TERROR, THAT SUCH A POLICY CANNOT BE IMPOSED ON IT

The US system is not fascist, but I am deeply convinced that the group which constitutes the main core of the current US Administration is fascist; its thinking is fascist; its arrogant rejection of every human rights policy is fascist; its foreign policy is fascist; its contempt for world peace is fascist; its intransigent refusal to seek and find formulas for honorable coexistence among States is fascist; its haughtiness, its conceit, its arms race, its quest for military superiority at all costs, its attachment to violence and domination, its methods of blackmail and terror, its alliance with Pinochet and the

most brutal regimes of this hemisphere whose methods of repression, terror, torture and disappearances have taken the lives of tens of thousands of people, without their relatives even knowing where their bodies lie; its shameless alliance with South Africa and apartheid are clearly fascist. Its threatening language and its lies are fascist.

Never will I say that the people of the United States are fascist, nor would I ever say so of their legislative institutions, their press, their many creative social organizations, nor of so much that is left of their noble democratic traditions and their attachment to freedom. Our hopes are founded on the certainty that fascism can succeed neither in the United States nor in the world, although it is true that, at present, a fascist leadership has established itself in the United States on the basis of a structure of an imperialist bourgeois democracy. And this is extremely dangerous.

But, in the past, fascism was not defeated through laments, honeyed words, or concessions. It was defeated through struggle. To become aware of realities, to timely detect them, to resolutely denounce and fight that insane policy is one of the ways to prevent the holocaust. Fascism must be shown that

today's world cannot be intimidated by threats or terror, that such a policy cannot be imposed on it, that there will be no Munichs or dishonorable concessions; that opposition will be resolute and that the peoples will resist — if need be till death — their criminal presumptions.

World opinion is already reacting, and the people of the United States themselves will soon react, as the drastic measures against the poorest strata of US society begin to take effect; the budgetary deficit increases; inflation, recession and unemployment worsen; and international repulse and the people's resistance grow in the face of an irresponsible and adventurist policy which can only lead the empire to ruin and doom.

We, men, leaders, no matter what honors and merits we believe ourselves worthy of, are transient. Only one thing has lasted to this day: mankind, and the values it has created in the course of millennia. We do not exaggerate when we say that everything we hold dear, everything we have struggled for, everything those who preceded us dreamed of and which we dream of now, the past, the present and the future are in danger. We are spectators and actors of a unique

moment in history. Many may ask themselves if we are living the end of a stage or a final stage. Will mankind survive?, we could all ask ourselves.

For the first time in human society, man is confronted by these dramatic concerns. We must face these real dangers serenely and courageously. We cannot afford to be pessimistic, for then the battle for peace would be lost beforehand. We cannot be cowardly, for then dignity as well as peace would be lost beforehand. We can and should preserve peace without yielding an inch, backed by the mobilization of the peoples, including the United States' and by the immense power of opinion and of universal consciousness, as shown during Vietnam's heroic struggle; by the current correlation of forces between socialism and imperialism, which the latter vainly seeks to tilt in its favor; by the peoples' capacity and decision to struggle so as to resist any imperialist aggression; by international solidarity which can be expressed in a thousand different ways.

We trust even imperialism's spirit of self-preservation, that knows that if nuclear war breaks out, they too will unavoidably be turned to ashes.

We will save peace if its enemies know that we are prepared to die for it rather than yield to blackmail and fear!

Adventurers, maniacs and lunatics cannot decide the fate of mankind!

We entertain the hope that the world will survive, that conscious men, just criteria, well-thought, intelligent and courageous decisions will prevail, so that all nations and peoples, present and future generations, may live in peace, security and justice!

Mankind should last, and if we are determined, conscious and brave, it will last.

TESTIMONIO GRÁFICO
DE LA SESIÓN INAUGURAL

PHOTOGRAPHIES
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GRAPHIC MEMORY
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