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# FROM THE THESES\* FOR THE 16TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

## THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN CONGRESSES

### The International Situation

The theses deal in detail with the international situation between the two Congresses since August 1965. The theses conclude:

The general crisis of capitalism is becoming ever sharper in consequence of the narrowing of the space of its activity and of the sharpening of its internal contradictions, including the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor. The militarizing of the economy, the exploitation of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and the unprecedented growing intervention of the state in economic life — all these enable the monopolies temporarily to delay the outbreak of crises and even to broaden the scope of production. However, all this cannot prevent, and does not prevent, the cyclical crises.

The growing economic, scientific, political and military power of the Soviet Union, along with the development, consolidation and strengthening of other socialist states, are making an ever more intense impact on the whole of international life.

The general result is that the world socialist system, with the Soviet Union at its center, the international revolutionary workers' movement, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are determining the main direction of historical development to an ever growing degree.

On Vietnam's soil saturated with blood, the strategy of "local" wars, the strategy of subjugating by military force peoples who rise up to fight for their national and social liberation, has suffered defeat.

At the same time it would be the gravest error to think that the danger of a third world war has passed. In the last years imperialist aggression has sharpened (the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the June 1967 war in the Middle East, etc.).

Historical experience proves that inasmuch as imperialism is permitted to realize its policy of exporting counter-revolution and

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to succeed in its acts of aggression in any part of the world, the danger of a world war increases.

The new relation of forces in the world is creating a real possibility for preventing a third world war. But this calls for the mobilization of all peace-loving forces of the world, their solidarity and unity in resolute struggle against any aggression and subversion on the part of the imperialists.

The new relation of forces in the world is most clearly demonstrated in Vietnam on the one hand, and in Czechoslovakia on the other hand. Socialist Vietnam in the sixties will not be the Spain of the thirties. Victory will go to the people of Vietnam and not to imperialism and internal reaction. Aggression will not pay in the Middle East either.

The dogmatic attitude, which sees in imperialism a "paper tiger" leads to an adventurist, fatalistic attitude. The revisionist attitude, which embellishes imperialism, diminishes the vigilance of the people in their struggle against imperialism and the danger to world peace.

A greater danger to world peace stems from the armament race which is growing at a dizzy rate.

The question of stopping the armament race and the question of disarmament are a fateful problem for world peace.

A great danger to peace in Europe and the whole world derives from German imperialism, from the policy of the Bonn rulers.

Hence the vital necessity for a unified policy, a policy of solidarity of all socialist states and Communist parties in relation to German imperialism, just as it is of vital necessity to coordinate policies in regard to the struggle against imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other areas.

The theses, after expounding the threat to peace in Europe, underline the solidarity of the Israeli Communist Party with the action of the Warsaw Pact countries to thwart the danger to socialism and peace in Europe.

The struggle against imperialism, the strengthening of peace in the world, the solidarity of all socialist countries and Communist parties, the unity of the three revolutionary forces of our days, peaceful coexistence between states of different social regimes—these are the decisive principles in every international assessment or activity.

### **The June War and the Development in the Middle East**

The theses analyze in detail the June war in the Middle East of 1967 against the Arab states; its aggressive nature and aims, and state:

Any supposition that in the present international conditions any state in the Middle East is able to start an aggressive war, without political, economic and military backing by a great power, is divorced from Middle East and world reality. Indeed, the war started by the "government of national unity" of Eshkol-Dayan-Begin received full backing from American imperialism and its chief allies in NATO.

As against this, the Soviet Union, which maintains close relations with Egypt and Syria, has never given and will never give its backing to any aggressive war. The Soviet Union's policy in our region is a policy that protects peace and the peoples' independence against imperialist domination and intrigue, and for political means of solving conflicts between states.

Throughout all these years our Communist Party of Israel has fought for a political peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestinian question on the basis of reciprocal recognition of the just national rights of the two peoples of Palestine, the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people. We said that the people of Israel had realized its national rights, but these had been denied to the Palestinian Arab people. Therefore we justly considered that the way to peace led through Israel's recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first of all of the right of the Arab refugees to choose between return to their homeland and receipt of compensations in accordance with the UNO decisions.

Our Party correctly assessed the Eshkol Government, which replaced Ben-Gurion's.

Our Party worked hard for the prevention of the June war, and after the outbreak of hostilities, it struggled for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of the Israeli army to the armistice lines. In the hysterical atmosphere of bellicose chauvinism and anti-Communist and anti-Soviet incitement, our Party courageously held up the banner of peace and friendship between the peoples, the banner of struggle against the imperialist intrigues and for the true national interests of Israel, against anti-Soviet incitement and for friendship with the USSR.

Despite the terror, the arrests, attacks by rowdies, dismissals from work and threats, the members and sympathizers of our Party passed the severe test of war with honor and proved that they are loyal sons of the homeland, true to proletarian internationalism and to the cause of Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

As in every other instance, our internationalism and patriotism are complementary, both being sides of the same medal without any contradiction between them.

The political development of the latest period, between Congress

and Congress, has proved again and more strongly that the weak point of official Israeli policy is its pro-imperialism, its joining forces with the imperialist powers.

The anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the Israeli ruling circles is the other side of their pro-imperialist medal.

The extreme chauvinism, the nationalist haughtiness and the aspiration to dominate, with the assistance of imperialism, a maximum of Arab territories and to expel as many Arab inhabitants as possible, these are the characteristic lines of the prevalent policy, a short-sighted Zionist policy pregnant with dangers for the people of Israel.

The Eshkol Government is not only acting in collusion with the main imperialist powers of NATO in the Middle East, but it also serves them to the best of its abilities in all their global battlefronts in the struggle against communism and the independence of peoples.

The poisonous anti-Soviet incitement in connection with the Jewish question was intensified before and after the June war. This has always been a common campaign, designed and planned between the rulers of Israel and the headquarters of anti-communism in the USA, West Germany and other imperialist centers.

The Eshkol Government also renders its services to the NATO states in their activities in the countries of Africa and Asia, where it strengthens its ties mainly with the most corrupt regimes which are renounced by their own peoples. (For example, Malawi.)

The Communist Party of Israel considers as the most important and urgent duty for the near period to bring about the liquidation of the crisis in our region created by the June war.

The latest development has proved that Arab states, and first and foremost Egypt and Jordan, are acting in the international arena for a peaceful political solution of the present crisis. They are ready to put their relations with the State of Israel on a new basis, different from that of the last twenty years. The Arab states have announced their readiness to abolish belligerence with the State of Israel, to recognize the right of existence of Israel within secure and recognized borders, to recognize Israel's right of free shipping in the Tiran Straits and the Suez Canal, if the Israeli Government on its part will agree to withdraw from the occupied areas of Jordan, Egypt and Syria and to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees—this painful human and national problem—in accordance with the UNO decisions.

The main obstacle to the solution of the crisis stems from the absence of consent of the Israeli Government to evacuate the occupied Arab areas within the framework of implementation of the Security Council Resolution. The aspiration to territorial annexations, which guides the Government's policy with regard to

the occupied territories, is the main factor which prevents a peace settlement and a political solution.

The theses envisage the growing consciousness among the Israeli public after the June war and reaffirms:

The June war has brought in its wake many negative results in various fields of the political, social and cultural life in Israel. Chauvinism has unprecedentedly deepened and broadened and has reached most alarming proportions.

The policy of cruel oppression in the occupied areas has added insult to injury.

With regard to the occupied areas the Government conducts a policy intended to create faits accomplis:

1) The annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem, accompanied by the official proclamation that it will never be returned.

2) Establishment of military colonies in all occupied areas, with the intention of preparing the grounds for future official annexations.

3) Committing grave acts of oppression in the occupied areas: proclamation of curfew, demolition of houses, cruel suppression of strikes, demonstrations (even of girl students), mass arrests, torture in prison, expulsion of public personalities, religious leaders, outstanding intellectuals, from their homeland, etc., and the creation of unbearable economic conditions.

The intensification of acts of oppression has led to the intensification and broadening of a multiform resistance to the occupation.

The Government's policy in the occupied areas has completely failed. All attempts to subjugate the population, to break its national and political spirit, to crush the human dignity of the inhabitants, to cause despair and force them to reconcile themselves to occupation or leave their homeland en masse, have been in vain. The resistance to occupation has assumed mass proportions and receives growing sympathy from world public opinion.

Similarly attempts to entice the population into collaboration with the occupation authorities have failed.

The failure of the plans of enticement and means of oppression, the intensification of multiform resistance to occupation and its turning into a permanent mass movement, and the mounting anger of world public opinion against the occupation and the acts of oppression in the occupied areas, have put the Israeli rulers into a very difficult position.

Two contradictory processes are now taking place in Israel. One is the process of sobering up from the intoxication of war, of growing fear and apprehension lest a new war break out, and of more and more voices being raised against the adventurous policy of the Government. The second process is characterized by nume-

rous appearances of extremist circles, including some government ministers, calling for preparedness for a new war which allegedly is unavoidable, sowing disbelief in the feasibility of a political solution, casting suspicion a priori on any political solution according to the Security Council Resolution, and alleging that this contradicts Israel's security. The same circles are trying openly to prepare Israeli public opinion even for the possibility of war against the Soviet Union, hoping for American backing.

These extremist circles are holding key positions in the Government, the army and numerous state and public institutions. There exists a serious danger that a new outbreak of war will lead to the liquidation of the still remaining democratic freedoms in Israel, to the imposition of a military dictatorship and a regime of concentration camps for all fighters for peace and democracy.

Following the anti-democratic steps and designs, the toilers' rights are assaulted. The rights achieved by the Israeli workers in hard class struggles as far back as the times of foreign British rule, are now being trampled upon by the Eshkol Government in which a "workers' hegemony" is supposed to hold power.

In these conditions we have to act for maximum unity of forces among the workers and the people in the struggle for solving the most vital and urgent problems, which are:

- 1) Prevention of a new war and solution of the crisis in our region by political means;
- 2) Stopping the acts of oppression in the occupied areas;
- 3) Implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967;
- 4) Defense of democratic rights and prevention of anti-democratic changes in the system of Knesset elections;
- 5) Guaranteeing equality of rights for the Arab population of Israel;
- 6) Defense of the workers' rights, including the frustration of designs to limit the freedom of strike.

### **A Turn to the Right in the Political Arena of Israel**

Immediately after its 15th Congress, the Party entered the election battles to the 10th Trade Union (Histadrut) Congress (September 1965), the 6th Knesset and the Local Councils (November 1965).

Already the array of forces during the electoral battles showed signs of certain changes in the political map of Israel, which after the elections broadened and deepened still more.

At the same time that our Communist Party is pointing out the sharp turns to the right that have taken place in the political arena

of Israel, the Party sees a perspective for widening the future unavoidable differentiation among the Israeli working class and the popular strata of the people of Israel.

Our Party will act for the consolidation of a left front in the workers' movement, and at the same time it will be ready to cooperate with MAPAM and other parties in every concrete progressive matter.

### **Economic Development**

The fundamental tendencies in the development of Israeli economy also continued in the period between Congress and Congress (1965-1968):

The dependence on foreign capital is increasing, in particular the dependence on American capital. This is expressed by the incessant and rapid increase of foreign loans made by the state, and by the increasing domination of the Israeli economy by foreign capital. Foreign capital has already penetrated into key enterprises, such as the Dead Sea Works and chemical industry.

The immense capital import into Israel, reaching proportions which have, relatively, no precedent in any other country, amounted, according to official data, to the gigantic sum of 7.7 thousand million dollars net for the years 1949-1967 (and nine thousand million dollars—gross). Although the import of this capital has brought about an increase of economic scope, it has at the same time caused increased dependence on foreign capital, the encouragement of the armament race and the continuation of distortions in the structure of the economy.

The militarization of the economy is increasing, as is the military expenditure in the state budget. In the present budgetary year, 1968/69, official military expenditure swallows 43 per cent of the entire budget, and in the budget planned for 1969/70 more than 50 per cent. Military expenditure has increased particularly fast since the June war which cost more than 3.5 thousand million Israeli lira.

The process of centralization and concentration of capital, with finance capital, closely tied up with foreign capital, in the center of it, continues.

Since 1949 foreign investments in Israel have reached more than one thousand million dollars. Half of the investments originate from the United States, and a third from Western Europe.

At the end of 1967 Israel's debts in foreign currency amounted to 1.6 thousand million dollars, constituting about one half of Israel's gross national product in the same year. The foreign debt reached 580 dollars per person, whereas at the end of 1957 it was 350 dollars per person.

According to the proposed budget for 1969/70 the gigantic sum

of 1.25 thousand million Israel lira, has been earmarked for amortization and interest on loans, a sum which is 50 per cent higher than the sum set aside for the same purpose in the present budget-year.

Besides the USA, the economic status of West Germany is getting stronger in Israel. In Israeli foreign trade, West Germany now holds second place, and is becoming the main supplier of equipment and metals to Israel. The close economic ties with West Germany are shown by the fact that West German companies received the big order for steel for the Eilat-Askalon oil pipe line.

In addition to the long-range credit for financing this project, the Israeli Government has received other sums from West Germany. Thus, for instance, at the end of 1965, when West German arms supplies to the Israeli Government were revealed and the Bonn Government was compelled to stop this business under pressure from public opinion in the Arab and other countries, the Bonn Government paid Israel 150 million marks as compensation. Further, in May 1966, a long-range credit of 160 million marks was given.

The years 1965-67 were darkened by a profound economic crisis, which was called "moderation." The first signs of the crisis were visible already in 1965, but reached a peak in 1966 and in the first half of 1967.

In the second half of 1967 an economic recovery took place, and in 1968 the Israeli economy passed on to a stage of economic expansion.

The economic crisis in Israel was a link in the chain of crises in a number of capitalist countries. In the period after the Second World War economic crises did not take place at one and the same time in the whole capitalist world, but in 1965 a decline in the rate of production growth in a number of capitalist countries began and this decline turned into a crisis in 1967. In the main capitalist countries—the USA, England and West Germany—the scope of production and investments decreased in 1967, and unemployment rose considerably. In the same years a crisis also occurred in the currency system of the capitalist countries, a crisis which led to the devaluation of the pound sterling, accompanied by a devaluation of currency in 20 additional countries (including Israel), and in the gold rush following the wavering status of the American dollar.

Indeed, during the last years a change in the structure of the Israeli economy did occur, but this is an entirely different change, due to the transfer of capital and manpower, to a considerable extent, from civilian industry to military industry.

Unemployment increased to proportions with no precedent since the foundation of the state. The rise in the real wages of the

workers was stopped and with the crisis continuing, it even decreased. The bourgeoisie succeeded, with the assistance of the government, to exploit the crisis for its class purposes. The general chauvinist atmosphere hit severely at the militancy of the working class.

But the official data also showed the steep rise in unemployment: if in 1965 there was one unemployed person for every 25 employed, in 1966 there was one unemployed person for every 12 employed, and in 1967 one unemployed for every 9 employed.

The economic crisis and unemployment hit especially severely at the Arab toilers. According to official data for 1967 the unemployed constituted 10 per cent of Jewish manpower, but among Arabs the proportion of unemployed was 18 per cent of manpower.

Many Arab villagers are looking for work in town. More than 30 thousand Arab vagrant workers are employed in Jewish agricultural settlements, in the building industry, in private services and handicrafts. The Arab fellahin were forced to become vagrant laborers because of the policy of land expropriation.

By means of various laws approximately 700 thousand dunams of land have been expropriated from the Arab fellahin since the foundation of the state.

There are no separate surveys made about the living standard of the Arab population. But according to income tax surveys in 1960/61, the average yearly income of the Arab bread-winner came to 55 per cent of that of the Jewish bread-winner.

The increase in military expenditures caused the increase in the deficit of the state budget. The deficit amounted in 1967 to 1,254 million £I, which is more than half the current income of the government. The meaning of this becomes clear from a comparison with previous years: whereas in 1965 the deficit constituted about 2 per cent of the government's income, and in 1966 about 8 per cent, in 1967 the deficit amounted to 58 per cent of the government's income.

The June 1967 war and the holding on to the conquered areas, the preparations for the possibility of a new outbreak of war, have swallowed and are swallowing immense sums and this is expressed by the increase in the military budget and by the putting of an ever heavier burden of taxes and loans on the shoulders of the working people. After the confirmation of the additional budget for military needs in May 1968, the total of the budget has reached a new record. On May 7, 1968 the representative of our Party said in the Knesset in the debate about the additional budget:

"With the addition demanded by the Government to the overt security budget, the total expenditures for defense needs will reach, if we take into account the special budgets and reserves, the amount

of 2.7 thousand million £1, which is more than 43 per cent of the entire budget."

A military budget of such scope has not been known in Israel since its foundation. Only comparing it with that of the previous year, 1967/68, the official military budget has increased by 50 per cent.

The struggle of Israel's working people for increased wages for payment of the cost-of-living allowance and against dismissals and unemployment, has in the last few years assumed various forms. In respect of the number of strikes and strikers, the class struggle reached its peak in the years 1965-1966. In each of those years more than 280 strikes were organized, in which about 90 thousand strikers took part. In 1967, the war year, the trade union struggle continued, though on a smaller scale. In 1967, 142 strikes were registered, and 25 thousand strikers took part in them.

The class struggle encompassed in recent years not only the production workers, but also the office workers, public servants, academic workers, etc.

The last three to four years constituted a new stage in the organization of the Israeli working class in defense of its rights. In these years the activity of the action committees and works committees became intensified and strengthened, and they succeeded in organizing a number of countrywide strikes. On February 15, 1966, 70 thousand industrial and agricultural workers struck for one hour against high prices and for higher wages. In March of the same year a warning strike was held by 15 thousand agricultural workers; thanks to this strike, these workers won a wage increase of 10 to 15 per cent.

Our Communist Party is struggling for the unity and organization of the working class and all strata of working people in their places of work, their branch, their region and on a countrywide scale, in defense of their class interests.

### **THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL**

The aim of the Communist Party of Israel is to establish in Israel a socialist regime, which will uproot class exploitation, exploitation of man by man and oppression of nation by nation.

The program of the Party, at the present stage of development in Israel, is a general-democratic and anti-imperialist program, intended to bring about a fundamental change in Israeli policy: to sever Israel from its dependence on imperialism, to turn it into a state which is independent of foreign monopolies and imperialist powers, to set it on the way of peace with the Arab countries, on the way of democracy and social progress, on the way of friendship

with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, on the way along which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are fighting imperialism, are marching.

The program of the Party expresses the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of Israel, Jews and Arabs alike, the interests of the workers in industry and agriculture, of the working farmers and the fellahin, of the working and creative intelligentsia, of the artisans and the small and middle merchants, of the national bourgeoisie, and of the Arab population—of all the popular strata whose interests clash with and whose future is endangered by the foreign monopoly capitalist domination over Israeli economy, and the political, economic and military dependence on imperialism. Thus the program of the Party is a program that expresses the national interests of the people of Israel and is intended to ensure Israel's existence, security and prosperity, to ensure peace and cooperation with the Arab peoples on the basis of reciprocal respect of rights.

### **THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

#### **1.**

Our Communist Party of Israel is a detachment with equal rights, an integral link in the international Communist movement.

It is our estimate that the present difficulties of our movement are temporary ones, they are difficulties of development and expansion.

Thanks to the international Communist movement the unity of the three main revolutionary forces of our day has become established and is becoming fortified—the world socialist system, the working class in the countries of capital's rule, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation—and they are merging into one revolutionary stream.

As a result of the historical achievements of our Communist movement and of the general revolutionary movement, a fundamental change has taken place in the international relation of forces. As a result of this fundamental change, imperialism has ceased being the decisive power and the world socialist system is more and more becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.

The historical struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie has taken on a new character. The struggle between the two world systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, has become the chief arena of class struggle.

## 2.

We consider proletarian internationalism as the highest principle of the working class. Proletarian internationalism is the lofty expression of working class patriotism. These are two sides of the same medal. There is no contradiction and there cannot be any contradiction between the demands of proletarian internationalism and the true national interests of any working class and of any people. There exists another contradiction, an antagonistic one, and this is the contradiction between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism.

The development in our country, too, proves that Zionist bourgeois nationalism, which rules in our country, has brought and is bringing disasters on the people of Israel and the state of Israel. Its way, the way of alliance with imperialism and of anti-Arab chauvinism, has isolated Israel from the Arab peoples, who are conducting a fateful struggle for their national freedom, against imperialism. Its way, the way of territorial expansion, of national oppression and racialism, is undermining the security of Israel and destroying peace, the highest interest of Israel.

Our Communist Party of Israel is an independent Israeli party, the vanguard of the Israeli working class. Our Party determines its policy and paths of action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the particular conditions of our country. The independence of our Party does not contradict the duty of solidarity with the whole international Communist movement and the necessity of preserving the unity of our movement.

While emphasizing the necessity of respecting the independence of every party in determining its path and its internal affairs on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we oppose the opportunist-nationalist positions of its falsifiers of the concept of every party's independence, those who are measuring this independence with the yardstick of dissociation from the Party of the Soviet Union. This so-called independence in fact contradicts the duty of unity of the international Communist movement, of proletarian internationalism.

Our Communist Party of Israel, a party with equal rights within the world family of Communist parties, has contributed and is contributing to the best of its ability to the strengthening of unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The activities of our Party for exposing the reactionary character of the official relations between Israel and West Germany, the essence of which is the provision of a cover for German revanchism and rendering it international 'Jewish' assistance, constitute a con-

tribution to the struggle of our international Communist movement against the danger of the revival of nazism and to the isolation of German imperialism. This corresponds to the fundamental national interests of the people of Israel.

At the same time we point out the support given by the fraternal parties, in particular by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to our Party, to its patriotic and internationalist policy, and to its struggle, conducted under difficult conditions, for the cessation of the aggressive war in the Middle East, for the liquidation of the consequences of the war and for a just peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

## 3.

Our Communist Party of Israel took and is taking an active part in all steps taken by the international Communist movement for the strengthening of its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party believes that the new consultation should take place in the nearest future. We believe that despite differences of opinion on various questions, there is a broad basis for a new and successful consultation, and this is the general line accepted at the two previous consultations. The appearance of new problems, born out of development and experience, calls for a common evaluation by the movement.

Our Party has stood up, together with the entire movement, against the dogmatic-adventurist nationalist and anti-Soviet positions of the Mao Tse-tung leadership in People's China, positions which caused harm to the unity of the international Communist movement, its action capability, and assisted imperialism to expand its criminal aggressiveness against the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples.

At the same time we fight against revisionist phenomena in our Communist movement.

Our Party believes that it is not only the right but also the foremost internationalist duty of the socialist camp to defend collectively the achievements of socialism in every socialist country.

The socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, is the most important historical achievement of the international working class in its many-years' struggle, full of great heroism and much suffering.

The main internationalist duty of our times is to do everything in defense of this historical achievement.

## 4.

In its devotion to proletarian internationalism and to the unity of the international Communist movement, our Party has conduc-

ted in its own ranks, too, a persistent struggle against deviationists and splitters, who afterwards slid down to become a nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet group—the Mikunis-Sneh group.

Our Party's own experience proves how dangerous is the sliding down of Communists into the bog of nationalism.

### 5.

Our Party, just as all fraternal parties, is very much concerned about the internal difficulties encountered by our movement on the part of dogmatic, revisionist and nationalist deviations, which raise obstacles to the strengthening of our movement's unity. Our Party will act, in future too, for the repulsion of these deviations and for the fortifying of the movement's unity.

Our Party points out with concern the appearance of nationalist deviations also in certain socialist countries.

### 6.

The fundamental reason for the difficulties appearing in our Communist movement is inherent in the sharpening of struggle between the two world social-economic systems: the capitalist and the socialist system.

At the same time we reject any underrating of the force of imperialism and of the dangers deriving from its aggressiveness. We have rejected Mao Tse-tung's premise which says that "imperialism is a paper tiger."

The dogmatists underrate the importance of our struggle for maintaining world peace, and the revisionists underrate the subversiveness of imperialism. Hence their readiness to renounce the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the revolutionary working class party and its Leninist organization, based on democratic centralism.

The revisionists and enemies of socialism attempt to falsify the meaning of these matters, to incite the public in the socialist countries against the Soviet Union and against the Communist parties in their own countries.

In view of the invigoration of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, the ideological subversion of imperialism becomes the most dangerous method.

It is the opinion of our Party that there exists a vital and urgent necessity to intensify the ideological work and struggle within our movement. There must be conducted a resolute, principled, public and open struggle against nationalist, revisionist and dogmatic deviations; and the knowledge of the revolutionary doctrine of the working class—Marxism-Leninism—must be deepened.

Experience proves that in view of the weakening in the last years

of the struggle against revisionism, this struggle has today attained particular importance. The weakening of struggle against revisionism and against nationalist deviations during the last years, was to the detriment of our movement's unity.

### 7.

Appreciating the particular role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party bases itself upon the common conclusions of the Moscow Consultation of 1960, which say:

"The Communist and Workers' parties unanimously declare that the recognized vanguard by all the world Communist movement was and remains the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, being the most experienced and tempered detachment of the international Communist movement. The experience of the CPSU, accumulated in the struggle for the triumph of the working class, the construction of socialism and the realization of the expanded construction of communism, is of essential importance for the entire international Communist movement."

The particular responsibility of the CPSU binds the entire Communist movement to particular solidarity with this party. The vanguard role of the CPSU imposes on it particular duties for the benefit of the entire revolutionary movement, duties which in our Party's opinion, and according to the conclusions of the Moscow Consultation of 1960, are loyally carried out by the CPSU.

Our Party considers the repulsion of anti-Soviet incitement as a patriotic and internationalist task of particular importance.

The vanguard role of the CPSU is becoming more complex, for since 1943 there do not exist any organizational forms for the unity of the international Communist movement.

Our Party was and is in favor of the developing of organizational forms for the unity of our movement, adapted to the new epoch of working class struggle, to the variegated tasks of the Communist parties acting under different conditions, forms which will ensure ideological unity and unity of action in common questions.

Experience teaches that it is impossible to conceal differences of opinion, that the benefit of the movement's unity demands a principled, comradely and open discussion with those opposing the general line of the movement, approved in common. Experience proves that the absence of such an open discussion has harmed the movement's unity.

(To be continued in the next issue of the *Information Bulletin*.)