

Togliatti Proposes Easing Soviet Link

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

Special to The New York Times.

ROME, June 16—Palmiro Togliatti, secretary of the Italian Communist party, came out today for greater autonomy from Moscow for his party.

Proofs of a thirty-four-page article he has written for a magazine called *Nuovi Argomenti* were made available today. The article is in the form of a response to questions based on the anti-Stalin campaign in the Soviet Union.

Signor Togliatti is the head of the largest European Communist party outside the Soviet Union. For many years he was a leader of the Communist International.

In his article Signor Togliatti defends what Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist party chief, and others have done in unmasking Stalin and professes the unity and solidarity of the Communist

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The New York Times

Published: June 17, 1956

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movement with Moscow and in the world.

Yet he also goes to great lengths to explain how and why Stalin made his "errors." He also praises Stalin for many important accomplishments.

Signor Togliatti has always been considered one of the most brilliant and subtle theoreticians in the world Communist movement.

In this article he faced the task of defending his own long pro-Stalin record and preparing the way for reforms in the Italian Communist party. Therefore he avoids in general any clear commitments until the end.

At that point, he tells how hard-hit he and other Communist leaders were by Mr. Khrushchev's revelations at the Soviet party's Twentieth Congress in February.

"However," he goes on, "I do not think it follows that there will be a diminution in mutual trust and solidarity among various parties of the Communist movement."

"However, there is no doubt not only of the necessity but of the desire for an always greater autonomy of judgment, and this can only do our movement good. The internal political structure of the world Communist movement is changing today."

Soviet Cited as Model

Signor Togliatti then adds that the Soviet Union will always remain the "first great model of the construction of a Socialist society." But, he says, "the Soviet model cannot and should not continue to be obligatory."

"In every country governed by Communists, different objective and subjective conditions and traditions and organizational forms of the movement can and ought to have their influence," he declares.

The Italian party chief says one cannot speak of "a unique guide within the Communist movement but rather of progress accomplished by following different roads."

Out of criticisms of Stalin, he continues, a general problem arises to face all Communist movements. This is to avoid "the perils of bureaucratic degeneration, of the smothering of the democratic movement, of confusion between the constructive revolutionary force and the destruction of revolutionary legality, of the detachment of economic and political direction from life, initiative, criticism and the creative activity of the masses," he declares.

"And it is up to us," he says of the Italian party at the end of the article, "to work out our own method and way of life so that we become clear guarantees against the perils of stagnation and bureaucratization."

This is a strikingly different theory from the one Signor Togliatti was enunciating and following until recently.

For instance, although he was one of the leaders in denouncing Yugoslavia's President Tito in 1948 and afterward, he now denounces the Cominform, as the organization of Communist parties was known, for its "unfortunate" intervention. A few weeks ago he went to Belgrade to make his peace with Marshal Tito.

At the beginning of his article he says that, while Stalin was justly attacked, this campaign is not destructive and not merely evidence of a struggle for power.

Moreover, he asserts, neither Mr. Khrushchev's campaign nor Stalin's errors have "destroyed the fundamental lineaments of Soviet society. He concedes, however, that if Stalin's mistakes had continued there might have been grave consequences.

As things stand, Signor Togliatti sees no reason for any "institutional changes" in the Soviet Union.

"This does not mean that there ought not to be rather profound modifications, some of which, as a matter of fact, are already taking place," he continues.

Signor Togliatti describes democracy of the Western type as "limited, imperfect and in many ways false, requiring to be developed and perfected by a series of economic and political reforms." He says the Soviet Union will not turn to such a democracy.

The Italian party leader asks his readers to remember that, while Stalin "committed many errors," he also "did many good things." Signor Togliatti criticizes Moscow for not making that clear.

He also asks his readers to remember the extraordinary difficulties Stalin faced and to compare the Soviet Union in 1953 when Stalin died with what it was when he came to power.

But Signor Togliatti says Stalin's errors must be corrected by "profoundly different methods" than those followed by Stalin in completely different circumstances.

There must be a "new drive of the Socialist society in every direction" on a wide, healthy, democratic base, Signor Togliatti declares.

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