

**ENVER HOXHA**

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**THE CRISIS OF ITALIAN  
MODERN REVISIONISM**

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This brochure contains two writings of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The first is an article published in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on November 13, 1964, and is taken from the book «Speeches and Articles», 1963-1964.

The second, «Comments on the Theses of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy», written in November 1962 and published for the first time in Volume 24 of the Selected Works of comrade Enver Hoxha, Albanian edition, contains the theses for an article on the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy.



## **TOGLIATTI'S TESTAMENT, THE CRISIS OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS**

The theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, «Rinascita», in issue No. 35, dated September 5, 1964, has published P. Togliatti's last writings, which the Western press has dubbed his «testament». It consists of a memorandum «about the problems of the international workers' movement and its unity», written by P. Togliatti in Yalta (URSS), in August 1964, which was to have served as a basis in his talks with N. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders about the problems which have arisen in connection with the calling of an international meeting of communist and workers' parties by the Khrushchev group.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party, headed by L. Longo, who was elected as its General Secretary after Togliatti's death, hastened to publish it and to proclaim it as its own platform. «The leadership of our Party,» wrote Longo in a brief foreword to Togliatti's «testament», «learned with great excitement about the document prepared by comrade Togliatti, agreed that 'in the positions of our Party in regard to the present situation of the international communist movement are presented with great clarity', and adopted it

as its own. Therefore we are publishing comrade Togliatti's memorandum as a precise exposition of the position of the Party about the problems of the international communist and workers' movement and its unity».

The publication of this document met with a lively response, both among the revisionist circles and in the bourgeois press. While the Khrushchev group maintained a reserved stand towards this document and was satisfied simply to publish it without comment, the imperialists and the Titoite clique hailed it and welcomed it with glee. And this because of the fact that in this document P. Togliatti not only reaffirmed the hostile anti-Marxist position of the Italian revisionists, especially towards the CP of China and the PLA, but also disclosed the differences which the Italian revisionists have with other revisionists, and with the Khrushchev group in the first place.

Togliatti's whole «testament» is pervaded from end to end by distortion of Marxism-Leninism, by efforts to replace it in theory and practice with modern revisionism. It reflects and crystallizes the line of «Italian socialism» and the theory of «Italian polycentrism.»

As such, Togliatti's «testament» has great importance for us Marxist-Leninists because the revisionists exposed themselves in it. Through this document the genuine revolutionaries can see the results of their resolute struggle up till now, which has not only seriously hindered the realization of the hostile aims of the revisionists, but has also caused them great difficulties and has made the contradictions between them even deeper and more acute. At the same time, through Togliatti's



«testament», the Marxist-Leninists can also see more clearly the plans and methods of struggle which the modern revisionists will try to use now and in the future against Marxist-Leninist parties, against genuine revolutionaries, against communism.

These cunning revisionist plans must be resolutely and unhesitatingly unmasked. The illusions which the various revisionist groups try to create about their positions must be exposed and destroyed. The genuine revolutionaries must be clear about the present and future danger from these enemies of communism. For this reason it is necessary to carefully analyze the «testament» of P. Togliatti.

### **The Main Aim of Revisionists is to Fight Marxist-Leninists**

In reading the «testament» of P. Togliatti it becomes clearly apparent that the main aim of this document is not at all to achieve unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, but it is to show the methods, forms, and means which, in the opinion of Togliatti and the whole revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party, will make possible a more effective struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their positions, against their ever-increasing influence, and especially against the CP of China. Togliatti makes no attempt to conceal this, indeed in his memorandum there is a special chapter entitled precisely, «How the Chinese Positions Can Be Attacked More Effectively». And

this is because the revisionists see that their positions are becoming weaker, that nobody is fooled by their demagogy any longer, that revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, groups, around which the revolutionary masses of the working class and the people are uniting, are being formed everywhere.

In fact, as is expressed in his «testament», P. Togliatti is greatly concerned about the fact that things in the revisionist herd, in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, are not going well, and he sees the main cause of this situation in the «wrong», «dogmatic» and brutal tactics of N. Khrushchev and his group. He writes: «The plan which we proposed for a powerful struggle against the incorrect political positions and disruptive activity of the Chinese communists was different from that which was followed in fact... A different line was followed and I do not consider the results completely satisfactory.»

The Togliatti revisionists are among the most cowardly, but, at the same time, the most consistent revisionists. Therefore they demand, as their dead leader clearly states, that the open polemics against the Chinese and other «dogmatists» (read: against Marxist-Leninists) must be carried on unceasingly.

With this the Italian revisionists show themselves to be, as they are in fact, sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism. They express themselves as firmly opposed to any cessation of the open, public struggle against Marxist-Leninists, even temporarily and for the sake of appearances, because otherwise they cannot carry out their treacherous mission. At the same time, they are telling Khrushchev with this that his demagogic manoeuvres,

that the «polemics must be stopped», are completely in vain and deceive no one, that the polemics cannot be stopped either by the revisionists or the «dogmatists».

On the other hand, however, P. Togliatti demands that the main direction of the polemics must be shifted. Faced with the bitter experience of the unfortunate results of the propaganda of the Khrushchev group, allegedly in defence of principles of «creative Marxism-Leninism», he demands that they refrain from theoretical polemics with Marxist-Leninist parties that touch on the vital problems of principle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the activity of the communist movement, and that the discussion should be orientated completely towards the confused, unprincipled, and uncontrollable petty daily struggle around the current internal problems of the country, in which, according to Togliatti, the propaganda of the Chinese and Albanian «dogmatists» is «completely disarmed and powerless» and has «no effect at all».

With this proposal P. Togliatti is launching a very dangerous idea. In the polemics, with the Marxist-Leninists over major questions of principle, as P. Togliatti himself is forced to admit, the modern revisionists have suffered utter defeat, their demagogy has failed and they are not in a position to denigrate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The polemics of principle is certain disaster for the revisionists, because it is demonstrating openly to the masses of communists and working people the revisionists' flagrant deviation from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, is bringing to light their real features as renegades.

Consequently, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists everywhere are organizing, creating new groups and parties, which are fighting with determination against revisionism in defence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. P. Togliatti is afraid of this situation and perspective. Therefore, to avoid the complete exposure of revisionism, he demands that the polemics must be shifted from questions of principle and concentrated on discussion of second rate matters, on day-to-day problems. What Togliatti means by this is: let everybody stick to his own ideological views and let there be no polemics over these matters of principle; the communists should not concern themselves about the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; the process of the creation of new revolutionary groups and parties should be hindered in every way; the revisionist renegades should be left in peace in their activity so that they will have fewer problems and headaches in putting into practice their opportunist line, the line of giving up revolutionary struggle, the line of the liquidation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, the line of alliances with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

But for all the efforts of Togliatti and Co to divert and quell it, the great polemics which is going on today between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism must never be stopped. This polemics, will cease only when modern revisionism has been totally destroyed. The Marxist-Leninists consider it their lofty internationalist duty to carry this ideological struggle, which has vital importance for the fate of the communist and revolutionary movement, through to the end.

P. Togliatti is dissatisfied, not only with the way in which the Khrushchev group has conduc-

ted the polemics against the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also with the practical steps which it has undertaken to put its treacherous revisionist policy into practice. «The Chinese attack» (read: the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties), he says, «was replied to, in general, with an ideological and propaganda polemics, but not with a development of our policy in connection with the struggle against the Chinese positions.» As «positive» but «inadequate» steps in this direction, Togliatti mentions the signing of the notorious Moscow Treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests and the visit of N. Khrushchev to Egypt. He demands that similar «practical» steps be taken more often, both by the Khrushchevite revisionists and by those of other countries.

Thus, Togliatti and his Italian revisionist comrades, who have capitulated completely to the atomic blackmail of imperialism, are appealing to the Khrushchev group to reject any «senseless hesitation» and to proceed more quickly down the road of rapprochement with, and capitulationist concessions to, the imperialists, as they did on the occasion of the signing of the tripartite pact over nuclear tests. But the policy of capitulation to imperialist blackmail, of unprincipled concessions to the imperialists and deals with them, has not led to the lowering of international tension and has not averted the danger of war as the revisionists, who are scared stiff, think, but, on the contrary, has whetted the appetite of the imperialists and increased their aggressiveness, as is shown by the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in South-East Asia, their ceaseless provocations in West Berlin, the increase in their piratical acts against Cuba, and so on, during these

recent months. Indeed, even Togliatti himself is obliged to admit in his memorandum that the international situation is worse now than it was two or three years ago.

In his «testament» Togliatti urges the revisionists, wherever they happen to be, to step up their efforts against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their authority and influence in the world. He is especially worried about the ever-greater influence of Marxist-Leninists, particularly of the CP of China, in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or the «third world», as Togliatti calls these zones. Therefore he recommends that the revisionist groups must intervene more actively in these zones, with the aim of combating the positions of Marxist-Leninist parties there and liquidating their influence. He proposes «...an international meeting called by a number of western communist parties, with a wide-range of representatives of democratic countries of the 'third world' and their progressive movements, for the purpose of working out a concrete line of collaboration with and aid for these movements. This would be one way to combat the Chinese with facts and not just with words».

Why are P. Togliatti and his henchmen so worried about the situation in the so-called «third world»? Is there not a powerful, anti-imperialist national liberation movement developing in these countries? Or perhaps this is just what is worrying them? Now the whole world knows that the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties are the true and most resolute supporters of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, dauntless fighters against imperialism for the peoples' freedom and

independence. Therefore, to rise in opposition to the line which these parties follow, to try to eliminate their influence among the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism, as P. Togliatti demands, means, in fact, to rise in opposition to the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle. And the facts prove that the aim of the line of all modern revisionists, from Tito to Khrushchev and Togliatti, has always been to use various pretexts and manoeuvres to hold back and paralyze the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples against imperialism. It is precisely P. Togliatti who has declared more than once that «the colonial regime has almost completely collapsed», and that «spheres of influence of imperialism no longer exist in the world». It is precisely the Italian revisionists, headed by P. Togliatti, who have preached collaboration between socialist countries and the «leading classes of capitalist countries» for the creation of an order «in which all the aspirations of mankind and the peoples for freedom, well-being, and independence can be satisfied». It is precisely they who have sought «common initiatives» between states with differing systems, especially in Europe, «to carry out joint intervention so that the progress of less developed regions will be assisted». That is how P. Togliatti understands «assistance» for the peoples who are fighting imperialism!

Continuing his idea on how the Marxist-Leninist parties can be combated more successfully, in his «testament», Togliatti expresses reserves about whether a meeting of communist parties, which would have the aim of condemning and excommunicating the CP of China, the PLA, and other fraternal parties and the definitive splitting

of the communist movement, is useful and opportune. The Togliattists consider such a tactic of the renegade group of N. Khrushchev wrong and very harmful to the revisionist cause.

P. Togliatti considers the calling of a meeting to carry through and sanction the splitting of the communist movement very dangerous, because it would enhance the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists throughout the world, would accelerate the process of differentiation in the ranks of the world communist movement and the unification of the Marxist-Leninist forces, and would thus bring the inevitable end of the revisionists closer. «The danger would become especially serious», writes P. Togliatti, «if it came to the point of the splitting of the movement, with the formation of a Chinese international centre which would create its 'sections' in all countries. All the parties, and especially the weakest ones, would tend to devote the greater part of their activity to the polemics and struggle against these so-called sections' of a new 'International' ... It is true that even today, the factional efforts of the Chinese are taking place on a wide-scale and in almost all countries. We should avoid turning the quantity of these efforts into quality, that is, into a true, general, and sanctioned split.»

As a veteran of the Comintern, Palmiro Togliatti well knows the strength of the organization of the Marxist-Leninists of the world and he is very much afraid of it (he calls it the creation of a «new» «Chinese» International with «sections», that is, Marxist-Leninist parties, in all countries). Although he tries to belittle the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that are emerging, moulding themselves, and becoming



stronger everywhere in the world, he is very much afraid of them, foreseeing the grave danger looming for modern revisionism. With this he wants to tell the Khrushchevites, who rely on their arrogance, who are intoxicated and blinded by their «economic and military potential», who rely blindly on the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not to forget the lessons of history, the lessons of the experience of the international communist movement, not to forget the ignominious defeat which the Third International inflicted on the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International. Hence, Togliatti is telling Khrushchev and his supporters: give up this «meeting», refrain from a definitive split, because we are hastening our own catastrophe, and we can avoid this catastrophe by acting differently!

These two different tactics of the revisionists are dictated by the different conditions in which they are acting. N. Khrushchev and his group, who have seized state power in the Soviet Union, think that they can cope with the crisis, which a complete split in the communist movement would cause, by using harsh police methods, persecution and oppression against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who are rising and will rise against the revisionists' treacherous line. While the Togliattists, who perform in a capitalist country and do not have state power in their hands, and consequently cannot prevent the activity of Marxist-Leninists with such methods, oppose the extremist methods of N. Khrushchev for a complete split in the communist movement, hoping thus to avert the catastrophe, and with other, more flexible and «de-

mocratic» methods, to paralyse the organization and struggle of revolutionary communists.

But neither the brutal methods used by N. Khrushchev and his group nor the «refined» tactics which P. Togliatti proposes can stop the inevitable process of the gathering and organization of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, cannot avert the complete and final defeat of modern revisionism.

The Togliattists come out against the aims of N. Khrushchev and his group for a final break and cutting off of all relations with the PR of China and other fraternal socialist countries for another reason, too. They are frightened by the ultra-reactionary tendencies which are becoming more pronounced every day, both in the USA (Goldwater) and in Western Europe. «We think that we ought to bear this situation in mind in our whole attitude to the Chinese communists», writes Togliatti in his «testament». «The unity of all the socialist forces in joint action, overriding the ideological differences, against the most reactionary grouping of imperialism, is an absolute necessity. The exclusion of China and the Chinese communists from this unity is unthinkable».

From what P. Togliatti says, it emerges that what he is concerned about is not in the least the fact that the communist movement and the socialist camp have been disrupted, nor the finding of ways to overcome the profound differences of principle which have emerged in their ranks. No, he demands that the polemics against the Marxist-Leninist parties must be carried on ceaselessly, indeed, as we have shown above, he even recommends more effective ways and means to struggle against them. But he is afraid of the «madmen»,

proposes that a more flexible, more cautious course should be followed, that in view of the difficult days that may come in the future they should not «burn all their bridges» with People's China, 700-million strong. This is a typically opportunist stand à la Italian bourgeoisie, which has a tradition of swapping its alliances and its «shirts» at decisive moments, as readily as a king of old would change his wives.

Togliatti's assertions that he is allegedly concerned about the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism, as well as his proposal of coordinated actions together with the PR of China in this struggle, are demagogy from start to finish, calculated to deceive people. What unity and collaboration on the basis of the struggle against imperialism can there be with the modern revisionists, whether Togliattist, Khrushchevite, or Titoite, who have not only rejected the struggle against imperialism, especially against the main citadel of world reaction — US imperialism, but have even tried, and still try in every way, to prettify imperialism and its chiefs, to spread pacifist illusions about it, to turn the peoples from resolute struggle against it, and indeed, have gone so far as to conclude scandalous agreements with the imperialists and various reactionaries, contrary to the vital interests of the socialist countries and peace? There can be unity and collaboration in the struggle against imperialism only with the Marxist-Leninists and with all the forces that genuinely take an anti-imperialist position, who demonstrate this with deeds and not just with words, but never with the revisionists who are the offspring of imperialism and in its service.

## **P. Togliatti Wants the Further Degeneration of Socialist Countries and Communist Parties**

The final notes of P. Togliatti are a clear expression of the differences which exist between various revisionist groupings in connection with the courses and rates of development of modern revisionism in theory and practice.

Togliatti heaps criticism on the Khrushchev group and its followers because they are proceeding at a very slow pace on the course of the «democratic and liberal transformation» of life in the socialist countries. He demands that they should proceed more rapidly, more openly, with greater determination, on the course of the degeneration of the socialist order.

P. Togliatti again raises the old question which he, together with the renegade Tito, had raised in 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, about the «origin of the cult of the individual of J. Stalin». He writes that, «...generally speaking, the problem of the origin of the cult of Stalin and how it was made possible is considered unsolved.» People in the West, and many communist sympathizers among them, says Togliatti, do not accept that it can all be explained «simply with the grave personal vices of Stalin. Efforts are made to track down which might have been the political mistakes which contributed to the birth of this cult».

It is obvious that in raising the issue of the sources of Stalin's «cult of the individual» in this way, P. Togliatti is demanding fundamental changes in the very foundations of the socialist order, in the main principles of the organization of this order and the policy of the socialist construc-

tion, that was followed in the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin's leadership.

But what does Togliatti want concretely?

This comes out very clearly in an interview which he gave to the correspondent of the American magazine «Time», immediately after the elections of April 28, 1963, in Italy, which was published for the first time after the death of Togliatti\* as a document which includes many of the theses developed later in the Yalta memorandum of P. Togliatti. In the interview Togliatti, in a completely open manner, criticized the policy of the nationalization of capitalist industry, the collectivization of agriculture, and the leadership of a single party, etc., in other words, the fundamental line of socialist organization and construction which was followed during the period of Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union. He demands that such a line must be rejected and that «Stalin's mistakes must not be repeated».

It is not in the least fortuitous that in his memorandum Togliatti demands the organization of «public discussions» from time to time in the socialist countries, in which «leading figures who have varying viewpoints» about the problems of socialist construction should take part and express their «original» opinions in regards to the ways and methods of development of the socialist economy. It is not hard to see what P. Togliatti is driving at. It is known that such «discussions» are being held now in the Soviet Union in connection with the ways to introduce the principle of «profit» into the Soviet enterprises, a thing which constitutes a step towards the application

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\* See «Unità», September 18, 1964.

in the Soviet economy of the experience of the Tito clique about the so-called «workers' self-administration». This is the road to the capitalist degeneration of the socialist economy. And P. Togliatti issues the call for more rapid and bolder advance precisely down this road.

But in the first place and above all, for P. Togliatti, for all the Italian revisionists and those who, openly or secretly, tag along after them, the «process of de-Stalinization» in the countries where the revisionists rule is not satisfactory and is not being carried out as rapidly as they would like. «The problem which commands the greatest attention today, in regard to both the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries», he says in his «testament», «is especially that of overcoming the regime of restriction and suppression of democratic and personal rights which was established by Stalin... The general impression is that there is a slowness and resistance to returning to the Leninist norms which ensure extensive freedom of expression and discussion, inside the Party and outside it, in the field of culture and art, as well as in the political field.»

Thus, with the process of «de-Stalinization», Togliatti means the radical transformation at accelerated rates, in theory and practice, of the regime, of the system, of the internal and foreign policies of the USSR and the other socialist countries of Europe, with the aim that these countries should be turned from the right road of the construction of socialism on a scientific Marxist-Leninist basis, to countries with a liberal, social-democratic, state-capitalist order. In other words, Togliatti demands that the road which N. Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the CPSU opened

towards the degeneration of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a bourgeois liberal country, must not be interrupted, the process must not be slowed down, but on the contrary, accelerated.

According to the Italian revisionists, for this process to advance, the Soviet system which allegedly gave birth to «Stalin's cult of the individual» must be completely discredited, both politically and ideologically, Stalin, who allegedly «perverted Marxism-Leninism», «created the most savage dictatorship known to mankind», who caused «great harm» with the «unnecessary» and «barbarous» class struggle, and who «made the Soviet Union a fearsome spectre to the world bourgeoisie, to social-democracy», etc., must be discredited.

In reality, the Khrushchev group and its followers are completely at one in principle with P. Togliatti, and are proceeding precisely on the anti-Soviet road he preaches. The fact is that in the Soviet Union, in the context of «liberalization» and «democratization» of the social order, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party are being liquidated. It is known, also, that in the Soviet Union and in some countries of people's democracy, the doors have been opened wide to the spread of all sorts of anti-socialist and decadent bourgeois trends in the field of culture and art. These things are no longer a secret to anyone. But to advance on this course with rapid steps is something very delicate and accompanied with a number of negative consequences for the revisionists themselves, and this is what forces N. Khrushchev and his group to show more restraint and caution than P. Togliatti would like.

They are obliged to show more caution and restraint because to go at the gallop down the road of liberal-bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order would quickly expose them to the masses as the renegades from socialism who are restoring capitalism, which they are in fact. Apart from this, it seems that the Khrushchev group is afraid to allow the extremist revisionist elements much rope by giving them complete freedom of speech and action, because they will bring troubles upon their own heads, as has occurred in fact with a number of writers in the Soviet Union who began to demand an accounting even from Khrushchev himself over the so-called «crimes» of the Stalin era. In the final analysis, the Khrushchev group and its revisionist followers in other countries cannot be for unrestricted «liberalization», because such a thing would face them with the problem of freedom of speech and action also for the sound revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist elements, who oppose their revisionist line. But it is known that the Khrushchev group and its supporters have established the most severe censorship and the harshest police regime against Marxist-Leninists.

Naturally Togliatti and the Togliattists hail the steps undertaken in the USSR and a number of other socialist countries for the degeneration of the socialist order and the widespread introduction of bourgeois ideological influences as «very positive». However, according to them, this process is being carried out very slowly, with zigzags, and stops and starts, and is encountering the resistance of «the old»; they need matters to go more quickly on the road of the complete liquidation of the «harmful consequences of the dictatorship of



the proletariat», on the road of the capitalist degeneration in the socialist economy, in the field of culture and art, and all other fields. They want the process of degeneration in the CPSU, which has now become a «party of the entire people», to advance more rapidly, and demand that it should become completely a party of the type of the Italian Communist Party, without rules, without discipline, «free», «democratic», with factions and tendencies of every kind included in it. In a word, Togliatti recommends to the Khrushchevite revisionists that the reforms undertaken for the liberalization of the party should be taken further, that the CPSU and the parties of the republics which form it should have great freedom (even the present «dogmatic» forms which the Khrushchevite revisionists use must be rejected) and the best of all possible blessings would be if they went even from the old «dogmatic» system of one party to the multi-party system. According to the Togliattists, this would be the culmination of «socialist democracy» (they don't quite say that «Lenin had long dreamed of this,» but that Stalin had hindered the realization of this «dream of Lenin's» for years on end! But they may get around to saying it one day.).

Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists, who perform in a capitalist country, don't want to take account of the special conditions and difficulties which the Khrushchevites and the other revisionists run into which stop them going full tilt down the road of degeneration. The Togliattists want the process of degeneration in the Soviet Union, and consequently also in the other socialist countries of Europe, to be speeded up, because only in this way will the capitalist world no longer

be afraid of the USSR, of socialism, of communism, because only in this way will the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals be convinced that the «devil is not as ugly as they say», that socialism is not so unacceptable to them (and even if up till now there have been things in the socialist countries unacceptable to the bourgeoisie, these have been the «distortions» of Stalin!!). Hence it is possible to talk about building a «new system of world socialism» with «Marxists», with «Socialists», with Social-democrats, with Christian-democrats, with capitalists, on the «peaceful» road, without class struggle, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without destroying the old state power of the bourgeoisie, but by means of «structural reforms», on the parliamentary road, acting according to the laws of bourgeois constitutions etc., etc.

But, since the principles of transition to «socialism» in such «democratic» and «peaceful» ways were accepted at 20th Congress, the Italian revisionists argue then they should be applied in a consistent manner, not only in words but in deeds, and it devolves on the Khrushchevite and other revisionists to set the example for the whole world, to remove the «democrats'» fears by proving that they are wiping out the «spectre of Stalinism» in deeds and have changed the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries into social-democratic paradises, into countries of «popular socialism», acceptable to all the democrats of the world!

P. Togliatti also expresses dissatisfaction and pretensions regarding the problems of the development of revisionism in the Western countries. «We have always been of the opinion,» he writes, «that it is not correct to present the workers' and

communist movement of the Western countries always in optimistic colours. In this half of the world, even although there has been some progress here and there, our development and our strength, to this very day, are inappropriate to the tasks before us.»

This is a truly interesting admission. It is known that in the overwhelming majority of these countries, the leadership of the communist parties is in the hands of revisionist elements who proceed on the same opportunist and anti-Marxist course advocated by Togliatti, Tito, Khrushchev and Co. Togliatti's admission shows to what a pretty pass the trend of modern revisionism has brought the communist movement.

And what does P. Togliatti want? What does he recommend to pull the communist movement of the western world out of this unpleasant situation? The most elementary logic demands that the first decisive step in this direction should be the rejection of the revisionist anti-revolutionary line which has dragged the prestige and authority of the communist and workers' parties in the West down to ground level and has led to the alienation and isolation of the communists from the masses. However, P. Togliatti recommends precisely the opposite: he demands that they go even further down the revisionist road of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. «In general,» he writes, «in compiling our policy, we set out, and we are convinced that we should set out, from the positions of the 20th Congress. But today, even these positions require deepening and development.»

Concretely, he demands that all the forces and efforts of the communist and workers' parties in the Western countries should be directed towards

the «peaceful» and «legal» forms of struggle, following the example of the so-called «Italian road» to socialism (the demand for the working out and putting into practice of an «overall plan of economic development» in the interests of workers to «be counterposed to the capitalist program» which is in the interests of big monopolies, for the «democratization» of the management of economic life in the capitalist countries, etc., etc.). «For example», writes P. Togliatti, «a more profound judgment on the theme of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism impels us to define more precisely what we mean by democracy in a bourgeois state, how can the limitations of freedom and democratic institutions be expanded, and what will be the most effective forms of the participation of the masses of workers and working people in economic and political life. The question arises of the possibility of the working class winning positions of power within the framework of a state which has not changed its nature as a bourgeois state, and consequently, whether the struggle from within for a progressive transformation of this nature would be possible. In countries where the communist movement has become strong, as in our country (and in France), this is emerging as the fundamental question in political life today».

We have had occasion previously, especially in the article, «About the Theses for the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party», published in «Zëri i popullit» on 17 and 18 November, 1962, to dwell in detail on the analysis of the so-called «Italian road to socialism», and to prove that it is characterized by flagrant departure from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism

about the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is an utterly opportunist and revisionist «road» identical with the preachings of Bernstein, Kautsky, and other opportunists of the past, of the Right-wing socialists, the Tito clique, and other renegades of the present time. And it is precisely the further deepening of this treacherous line of negation of the revolution, of weaning the communist parties and masses of working people away from revolutionary struggle, that P. Togliatti recommends as the way out of the crisis into which modern revisionism has led the communist movement in the West!

Togliatti also wants them to renounce anything that might hinder the alliances of the revisionists with the liberal bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, the Christian-democrats, the Social-democrats, and all their other «allies» on the «democratic Italian road to socialism». He mentions as an example the absolute need to renounce the «old atheist formula», in other words, the principled struggle against religion and the reactionary policy of the Vatican, as well as the struggle for the principles of Marxism in the fields of culture, art, science, and philosophy.

In fact this is the line of the political and ideological degeneration of the communist and workers' parties in the Western countries, of turning them into parties of the social-democratic type. To complete the picture, we shall add here that at the same time the leadership of the Italian Communist Party headed by P. Togliatti has long been following the policy of the organizational degeneration of the proletarian party, changing it gradually from a militant, organized

and disciplined revolutionary vanguard of the working class, into an amorphous organization, with no clear-cut limits, without a sound party discipline, which anyone can enter or leave as it pleases him, and where the supreme duty of a party member is considered to be that he gives his vote to the Communist Party in the parliamentary or other elections which are held in the capitalist countries.

Thus, willy-nilly, the Italian revisionists regretfully admit that their road of betrayal has brought them no gains. On the contrary, not only are the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries far from taking power through the «parliamentary» road, but they are even losing those seats which they had in the past in the bourgeois parliaments. Not only are they quite unable to consolidate their old alliances and create new ones with the Socialists, the Christian-democrats, the Social-democrats, etc., but those they have had have fallen apart. By means of their «structural» reforms and covering under bourgeois constitutions, they have not only «failed to marry the priest's daughter but they are not even accepted in the village». And above all, they see that the resistance of opponents within the party is increasing from day to day, and that outside the party, Marxist-Leninist groups are being formed which are growing and becoming stronger and will turn into new Marxist-Leninist parties. For the revisionists the outlook is very gloomy because they can see their utter defeat as a not distant prospect.

With this situation in mind, the cry of alarm which Togliatti sends out to the other revisionists, especially to the Soviet revisionists headed by

N. Khrushchev, is quite understandable. He demands that the tactics of the struggle against the «dogmatists» must be changed, and at the same time, demands the speeding up of the degeneration of the socialist countries and further rapprochement with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. According to Togliatti, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries ought to provide the «good example» of the complete liquidation of the «Stalinist anomaly» and the creation of a «democratic» and «liberal» socialism of the type that the Right-wing social-democratic chiefs advocate, which they even claim they have achieved in a number of European capitalist countries!

Thus, for the sake of the triumph of the «Italian road to socialism», for the sake of their alliances with the bourgeoisie, the Social-democrats, the Christian-democrats etc., Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists demand that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries must be sacrificed, that the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the people's revolutions in the other countries, achieved through the struggle and bloodshed of the peoples, must be liquidated. This is a great anti-Soviet and anti-socialist plot, which reveals the real, traitorous features of the Togliatti revisionists.

However, as was inevitable, these demands of Togliatti have run into opposition from the Khrushchev group, which now finds itself in a difficult situation. It has gone a very long way down the road of betrayal and is neither willing nor able to turn back, because such a thing would mean utter defeat and complete liquidation for it. But neither can it advance at the accelerated rates that Togliatti demands, because this would speed up its

complete exposure and defeat. Faced with this difficult situation, the Khrushchev group opposes the line of Togliatti and tries to impose its own line on the Togliattists, by relying on the power of the «ruble» and on the military power and authority of the USSR and the CPSU.

All this shows that, although they are all treading the one path of betrayal, between the revisionists there is not, and cannot be, unity, that the differences among them are incapable of solution, but will become steadily deeper and deeper, disrupting and fragmenting the revisionist front.

### **«Polycentrism» and «Monocentrism» — Two Anti-Marxist Tendencies in the Ranks of Modern Revisionism**

The other important question which Togliatti raises in his «testament» is the so-called theory of **polycentrism**, which is counterposed to the **monocentrist** line of N. Khrushchev and his group.

The line of the Khrushchev group is the line of banging the fist on the table, not only towards the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also towards other revisionists, the line of stern dictate to force all to obey the Khrushchev group unconditionally, and humbly approve its policy of great-state chauvinism and the «mother party». Whereas the polycentrist line of Togliatti is a typical expression of a liberal, opportunist, social-democratic policy, which wants to get rid of any imposition from the Khrushchev group, and not only for the Italian Communist Party, but also for all the other revi-



sionists, both in the capitalist world and in the socialist countries.

As far as Togliatti is concerned, «Moscow» is no longer, and must not be, able to run the international communist movement. The authority of the CPSU should be eliminated, according to Togliatti, because this is a «anachronism», a «dangerous hang-over from the cult of Stalin». The Khrushchev group must give up its leadership and domination of the international communist movement, must give up its monopoly of keeping all the other parties tied to the CPSU, give up the privilege that it, alone, is authorized to maintain links with the small communist and workers' parties, to have meetings and contacts with them, and to give them orders and advice. Indeed, he does not want to allow the CPSU and the Soviet government even the privilege that they alone should have contacts and develop policies with non-communist, nationalist, progressive government elements from the backward countries. Togliatti demands the existence of a number of centres of political and ideological leadership and activity, especially in the capitalist world. And concretely, in his opinion, these centres should be the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties.

These two lines are expressed with special clarity in the differing attitudes towards the meeting of communist and workers' parties proposed by the Khrushchev group. This group has decided to call the international meeting of parties as soon as possible, not only to condemn and expel the CP of China, the PLA and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and thus sanction the complete and open splitting of the communist movement, but also to

establish its hegemony, to lay down the law, and dictate its line to the revisionist parties, to subject all the revisionists to its dictate, and impose its own «charter» on them. Whereas the Italian revisionists oppose the meeting proposed by Khrushchev for the above purposes, and are doing everything they can to have their polycentrist thesis accepted, because they do not want to be subject to any dictate, do not want to tie their own hands with any sort of joint decisions, but have the tendency to proceed without any sort of «common charter», even though it may be completely revisionist.

In his «testament», Togliatti clearly expresses these hesitations and tendencies. He says that «in our party we still have doubts and reservations about whether the international conference is opportune...», that «indeed, we might even fear that the adoption of rigid general formulae may be a hindrance», that «thus we would be opposed to any proposal to create another centralized international organization». Therefore, P. Togliatti suggests that instead of the international meeting «we should proceed with a series of meetings with groups of parties... in the various sectors of our movement (Western Europe, the countries of Latin America, countries of the third world and their contacts with the communist movement of the capitalist countries, the countries of people's democracy, etc.). According to Togliatti, this would be a better way to fight the Marxist-Leninist parties. «Finally,» continues Togliatti, «once our tasks and political line have been thoroughly defined, sector by sector, the international conference might be called off, if this is considered necessary

to avoid a formal split», of which the Togliattists are desperately afraid, as we pointed out above.

But while expressing his opposition to a general meeting, in his «testament» Togliatti stresses: «Unquestionably, we shall take part, and an active part, in the preparatory meeting.» This apparently contradictory stand of the Togliatti revisionists is in complete conformity with their line and aims. The preliminary, preparatory meeting does not tie the leadership of the Italian Communist Party to any sort of pledge or obligation, while on the other hand, it gives it the possibility to put forward its own platform, differing from that of the Khrushchev group, in the hope that it might find support, and even convince the Khrushchev group on a series of questions.

But such a stand by P. Togliatti and the leaders of the Italian Communist Party to take part in the preparatory meeting is also in the interests of the Khrushchev group and suits their purposes. As the Western press commented, such an «original» stand creates a precedent for those communist and workers' parties who, up to now, are wavering about whether or not to take part in the meeting of December 15, by «arguing» that you may quite well take part in a meeting with the mission of which you are not in agreement.

While they express their opposition to the splittist meeting that N. Khrushchev demands should be organized, the Italian revisionists are not in the least concerned about the problem of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp. On the contrary, like the Khrushchev group, they, too, are for the disruption, indeed for the complete break up, of the communist movement. With their completely opportunist and so-

cial-democratic views, the Italian revisionists have long since sown the seeds of disruption and are cultivating them with increasing care. They have waged, and are continuing to wage a stern struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and insist that this struggle must not be relinquished for one moment. The so-called «autonomy» which the Togliattists advocate for the socialist countries and communist parties means, as the writings of P. Togliatti and various documents of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party bring out, that the socialist countries and communist parties should be «independent» of any Marxist-Leninist principle, of any general law, that each of them must be «free» to adopt its own «specific» road to follow «different policies», to enter into alliances and collaborate with whoever they like and as they like. The polycentrist line of the Italian revisionists, the line of the creation of different leading centres in the communist movement, is just as blatantly opposed to the ideas of unity as the Khrushchevite line of the «single command».

The whole line of the Italian revisionists, who want to get rid of any domination from the Khrushchev group, not only over the Italian Communist Party, but also over all the other revisionists, who want to break up the communist movement into separate «spheres of influence», from the one angle, shows their distrust of the Khrushchev group and their fear of the imminent danger of the utter defeat to which this group is leading them, whereas, from the other angle, it is an effort to avert this total catastrophe by creating groupings of revisionist parties, which, by means of various alliances and under various disguises, will save the face and extend the life

of modern revisionism. To the «clumsy» tactics of N. Khrushchev who is endangering the existence of the whole of modern revisionism tied to the Khrushchevite chariot, the Togliattists counterpose the «refined» tactics of many revisionist centres, so that if one is defeated the others will escape.

The polycentrist position of the Italian revisionists greatly interests the imperialists, who, although they support the revisionist course of N. Khrushchev against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, want to weaken this group even more by assisting the revisionist groupings with the «cavalry of St. George<sup>1</sup> and the dollar», so that they go further in the race to win independence from the «ruble» and become dependent on the «dollar», with the aim of forcing the Khrushchevite leadership, in this way, to make new concessions to the imperialists on the road of the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

It is natural that the Khrushchev revisionist group which stands one hundred per cent on the positions of great-state chauvinism and paternalism in its relations with its revisionist partners, which understands very well that the Togliattists are trying to destroy its «absolute rule» and to strengthen their own positions at the expense of the interests of the Khrushchev group, are fiercely opposed to and reject the polycentrist line of P. Togliatti and his followers. Indeed the polemic between them, with allusions sometimes more open and sometimes disguised, has even raised its head in public. Speaking about the question of calling the international meeting of

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1 The British pound sterling.

communist and workers' parties, B. Ponomaryov<sup>1</sup>, in a speech on September 28, devoted to the centenary of the First International, took a stab at the position of the Togliattists and their supporters and stressed that the independence of communist parties did not mean in the least that they should act according to the proverb, «Each frog croaks in its own pond». «The tendency to interpret the independence of parties as a retreat from the carrying out of common internationalist tasks», continues Ponomaryov, «as a sort of 'neutrality' when it comes to the solution of common problems, can never be considered as a sign of independence or a sign of maturity»\*.

The facts prove that the nearer the time of the meeting proposed by the Khrushchev group approaches, the more tempers and the differences sharpen, so much more the two opposing lines in the revisionist front come to light. But both of them are fatal to revisionism itself. The dogmatic and dictatorial revisionist line of the Khrushchev group contains within itself the seeds of the disruption of the revisionist front because it arouses the protest of the other revisionist groupings and increases their efforts to escape from the brutal dictate of N. Khrushchev and his group. This line has led, and is leading, to the isolation of this group from its revisionist partners. The polycentrist, revisionist and liberal line of Togliatti, which advocates the dispersal of the «single command» of the Khrushchev group in the struggle against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism,

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1 At that time, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

\* See «Pravda», September 29, 1964.

also contains the seeds of the disruption of the revisionist groupings, hence of their inevitable defeat and break-up also.

### **Resolute and Principled Struggle against all Revisionist Trends — A Sacred Duty of Communist Revolutionaries**

Togliatti's «testament» and many other facts testify clearly that the revisionists' front has been split and that this split is becoming deeper and will become deeper still in the future. The contradictions in the ranks of the revisionists are not something unusual, but entirely natural phenomena, because the revisionists are people without principle, because whether Khrushchevite, Togliatist, Titoite, or of any other brand, they are lackeys of the bourgeoisie and their theories are variants of bourgeois ideology, hence they contain the seeds of contradictions, of nationalism, separatism, and splits. There can be genuine unity of thought and action only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism, which the revisionists have betrayed and abandoned. Consequently, amongst the modern revisionists, in their over-all struggle against Marxism-Leninism, which they will always continue obstinately, there will be forms, nuances, alliances, prompted and inspired by all sorts of general factors, temporary and chance, coordinated and disconnected, and there will be various contradictions and differing tactics.

P. Togliatti's «testament» brings out that there are now at least two different tactical lines in

regard to the struggle against Marxism-Leninism crystalizing in the revisionist camp: the «monocentrist» line of the Khrushchev group and the «polycentrist» line of P. Togliatti.

These differences between the Khrushchevites and their associates and the Togliattists and their associates are not new; they came out in the open immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. All the revisionists unanimously endorsed the 20th Congress. But while some of them described it as «complete» and «adequate» for that time, the Togliattists showed that they were the «most radical» revisionists and wanted and demanded that the «analysis» should go «deeper». For propaganda effect and demagogy, and from fear of a deep and immediate split in the international communist movement, the Khrushchevite revisionists acted in a more cautious manner, tried to quieten things down, but without managing to convince the Togliattists, who without making this a matter of «conflict», developed their own Right-wing views, of course, while at the same time supporting and endorsing the 20th Congress and later the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. This relative «silence» of the Italian revisionists, or, so to say, their inclusion in the general «euphoria» among the revisionists, was due to their aim of first consolidating these revisionist positions in the ranks of the international communist movement, to ensure that the «poison pill» was swallowed, and then to take further steps, in theory and practice, on the road of revisionism and degeneration.

It can be said that in the method of starting their work of betrayal the Khrushchevite renegades were more restrained, more cautious, more wily, more demagogic, while the Togliattists, in



their equally treacherous work, were less cautious and more adventuristic. To «quieten down» Togliatti and Co, the Khrushchev group used the French «communists» to put pressure on them, which they did in fact, and several times the «fire» of their polemic reached the ears of the public.

Although the traitor group of N. Khrushchev, which had been working secretly in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was aware that the revisionists' betrayal would not remain for long without being detected, unmasked, and combated, still they showed themselves very naive. The Khrushchevite revisionists believed, especially in the beginning, that everything would go on smoothly, without any great opposition. They had great faith in their demagoguery, thought that the great prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would cover their betrayal and they relied on the great economic potential of the Soviet Union, on the others' dependence on Soviet economic credits, and their military alliances. The Soviet leaders, headed by N. Khrushchev, also believed that their «partners» — the various imperialists, and the US imperialists in the first place, would readily agree to their «peace proposals» to «put the world in order».

But the modern revisionists were quite unable to realize any of these aims and others like them as they wished. The principled struggle of the CP of China and the PLA, in the first place, as well as all the Marxist-Leninists of the world and all progressive people seriously hindered them. And the obstacles are increasing from day to day and will go on doing so.

The modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevite revisionists at the head, have gone far down the road of betrayal: they must and will go further. But now they have been exposed in the eyes of the whole world, in the eyes of the international communist movement. The struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties has become a great and mortal danger to them. Therefore, now they have to take serious account of our struggle which is mounting and becoming very threatening to the revisionists. The great, just, and principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties not only tore the mask from the revisionists and ruined their plans, but it also created insurmountable difficulties for them, and also led to the sharpening of latent contradictions and the birth of new ones amongst them.

Seeing that their cunning tactics have all failed, including their lies, demagogy, blandishments, and threats, their economic blockades, the breaking-off of diplomatic relations and slanderous accusation of being «nationalists», «splitters», «renegades», «agents of imperialism» etc., the Khrushchevite revisionists and their supporters see no other way than to link themselves more closely with imperialism and carry the splitting of the International communist movement to its conclusion.

In these conditions, the Khrushchev group wants to call the meeting of all the revisionist groupings in Moscow and there dictate to them its will as a renegade splitter and to incorporate them afresh in the continuation of a «more organized» struggle against revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, using all their means (including the «new weapon of extermination» which N. Khrushchev mentioned recently against the PR of China

and other fraternal socialist countries). This is the desperate and hopeless struggle of a traitor clique.

The acolytes of Khrushchev are in a great dilemma. They do not want to be eliminated and quickly depart from the scene, do not want to stake everything on a gamble, but want to extend their lives and serve the international bourgeoisie longer. Therefore, differences between the revisionists are raising their head and, at these moments of a great and unavoidable crisis for them, these contradictions are becoming markedly more abrasive. The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the polycentrist Italian revisionists are showing up as the most acute. These two tendencies are confronting and attacking each other over the Khrushchevite plan of calling the international meeting of communist and workers' parties. The revisionists of various countries are grouping themselves around these two main tactical lines. In fact, the line of Togliatti has caused quite a disturbance in the revisionist frog pond. Some are openly supporting this line of Togliatti, some approve it in a low voice since they have rubles sticking in their throats, some others criticize parts of it, while supporting it in other directions. On their part, the Italian revisionists have sent delegations to many countries to explain their position, to win the maximum number of allies for their tactics.

It is more than clear that, regardless of what tactics are used by the revisionists of all shades, from N. Khrushchev to Togliatti, Tito and the rest of them, they all have one aim in common — to intensify the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution and socialism, to consolidate the positions of revisionism and extend

its life. They are trying to put out the flames of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against them, to bring about the cessation of the great polemic over principle which is going on today, to hinder the creation of genuinely revolutionary groups and parties. In this struggle and for these aims they are united, act on the one front. The differences between them are not over questions of strategy, but over questions of tactics, over how to make their struggle against Marxism-Leninism more effective and how to achieve their objectives more easily.

Having no illusions about the tactical manoeuvres of the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries consider the resolute and consistent struggle against all trends of modern revisionism, the struggle for the unmasking of their counter-revolutionary plans and aims as their sacred duty. In this struggle they are guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which constitute the compass and the tested weapon for every true revolutionary.

In sowing all sorts of illusions about the possibility of resolving the differences, even assuming the pose of enemies of imperialism and opponents of N. Khrushchev, the pose of fighters for unity, the modern revisionists aim to deceive the communists, to hide their real faces and aims. But these deceptive manoeuvres will not succeed.

Only the communist parties and all revolutionaries who stand firmly on the positions of the ideology of the working class are and can be genuine fighters against Khrushchevite revisionism, for genuine Marxist-Leninist unity. Revisionism cannot be fought from revisionist posi-

tions, just as genuine unity cannot be established on a revisionist basis.

In this struggle the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries also have allies, with whom they are united on a number of issues. But while uniting with them in struggle, the Marxist-Leninists do not make concessions over principles, do not hide their revolutionary line, and have the duty of making this line and these principles clear to all.

It is a different matter with those like the Togliattists and their ilk, who, although they have contradictions with N. Khrushchev and his associates, remain consistent revisionists whose main aim is the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Regardless of the contradictions among them, all these revisionists are enemies of the revolution and communism. Undoubtedly, the contradictions amongst the revisionists are in our favour and should be exploited, because they weaken the revisionist front. The continuous, consistent, and principled struggle against modern revisionism will make these contradictions ever deeper and more acute, but the Marxist-Leninists have no illusions about the revisionists, are not deceived by their demagogy and do not fall into the traps they try to set for them.

Modern revisionism is the main enemy in the international communist and workers' movement. The group around N. Khrushchev is the head of modern revisionism, and its most powerful detachment. From this group, which has seized the leadership of the party founded by Lenin and of the first socialist state in the world — the Soviet Union, comes the greatest and most serious danger today. Therefore the struggle against this group, for its exposure and defeat, is the funda-

mental task of all Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary communists throughout the world.

Apart from the Khrushchev group, the other revisionist groups, and especially the Togliattists and Titoites, also represent a great danger. Titoism is an important part of modern revisionism in power, which has behind it an imperialist great power, which directs and assists it — US imperialism. The voice of the Titoites is the voice of US imperialism, which sings in the ranks of international communism through the mouth of Titoism. By means of the direct activities of its agency, which it has bought with dollars — Titoism, US imperialism tries to sabotage and undermine the camp of socialism, to bring about the degeneration of the whole international communist and workers' movement. N. Khrushchev rehabilitated the Tito clique, strengthened it, and somewhat reluctantly, made it a powerful ideological and political partner which is causing headaches, because now it is not only the Khrushchevites but also the Titoites who lay down the law in the revisionists' ranks. The Tito clique tries to incite and deepen the contradictions that have emerged in the revisionists' ranks and to weaken the domination of the Khrushchev group over its partners, in the interests of its own egocentric line. The Tito clique also tries to bring about that the contradictions between the Khrushchev group on the one hand, and the other revisionist groups on the other hand, do not impel these latter to return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, but that the dissatisfied should cry on the bosom of Titoism. Tito urges the revisionists within COMECON to gain the maximum possible economic independence from the Khrushchev group. And since he, himself, is not in

a position to give «aid» and credits, urges them to turn for «aid» to the West, to make approaches to and link up with imperialism and, on the example of Yugoslavia, «to build socialism» with the aid of US dollars!

For the Marxist-Leninists there can be no doubt that the «struggle» of the Titoites, like the «struggle» of the Togliattists, against Khrushchev is a struggle amongst traitors for domination, for leadership, a struggle of different groups of revisionists against the people of the Soviet Union, against Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries, of whom they are afraid.

The revisionists of different groups are all part and parcel and representatives of one retrogressive trend — modern revisionism. Whether they are large or small, powerful or weak, disguised or exposed, those who march in the vanguard or those that tag along behind, they all fight against Marxism-Leninism, some openly and with all their batteries, while others throw the stone and hide their hand, according to the situation and circumstances. Sometimes they act separately, sometimes they stick together, sometimes they divide to regroup themselves in factions, which is linked with the interests of the struggle against socialism or the contradictions between them.

Togliatti's «testament» shows clearly that the modern revisionists are determined to carry through to the end the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary forces of the world. There is no other road for them. The consistent principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists has exposed their revisionist features, now they can no longer act «under the rose» but are obliged to

come out in the open to defend their revisionist positions and fight the Marxist-Leninists actively. This is a great victory achieved, a victory which must be carried deeper by means of the constant strengthening of our struggle against modern revisionism, under whatever disguise or in whatever form it may present itself.

As a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists in the different countries, and as a result of the efforts of the revisionist leaders to preserve their positions at all costs by expelling sound communists from party ranks, the process of differentiation has taken place in the communist movement, new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups have been created. This process is still going on and will go on unceasingly. This is another great victory which has been achieved, which should be carried deeper, by defending, assisting, and supporting these new revolutionary forces unreservedly in their struggle against revisionism, against all the wily manoeuvres and cunning tactics of the revisionists to smother and paralyze the revolutionary current in the communist movement.

The resolute struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, the exposure of the modern revisionists, the defeats they have suffered and are suffering every day, in the fields of their national and international activity, have brought about the outburst and deepening of fierce contradictions in the ranks of modern revisionism. And this is another great victory for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action, which must drive forward, deepening the contradictions in the revisionist camp. For this it is essential that the resolute struggle of all Marx-



ist-Leninists against modern revisionism of all trends must be intensified more and more.

These historic victories of Marxism-Leninism will increase and become more thorough-going from day to day. The decisive condition and guarantee of this is the principled, uncompromising struggle of all Marxist-Leninist parties and forces against the treacherous aims and activities of the modern revisionists, to bring about their complete and total defeat. Victory in this struggle inevitably belongs to Marxism-Leninism.

## COMMENTS ON THE THESES OF THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

Following the Tito-Khrushchev revisionist line on the development of the world, the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party of Italy reach the conclusion that «imperialism has almost entirely lost its colonial base, and the free states and peoples of the old colonial world are trying to find and follow a course of economic development which will no longer be the hard and painful road of capitalist exploitation» (point 1, paragraph 2).

They affirm that, «From the socialist states, and first of all from the Soviet Union (read for more clarity: from the Soviet revisionist leaders and their followers) today comes a challenge to peaceful competition with the bourgeois ruling classes in the building of an economic and social system, which will fulfil all the aspirations of peoples and nations to freedom, wellbeing, independence, to complete development and respect for the human personality, to peaceful collaboration among all the states».

The revisionist course of Khrushchev and Togliatti towards reconciliation with imperialism, towards their political, economic and social «pea-

ceful integration» with imperialism could not be expressed more clearly.

In the further development of their theses concerning the problem of achieving peace, the Italian revisionists reveal their real pacifist features, by saying that they are ready to make any sort of ideological, political and organizational concession. For them this is logical, as it is based on a whole theoretical concept of theirs, which consists of the theory of the taking of power without struggle, merely through structural reforms, in peaceful evolutionary ways. According to them, the Italian and international bourgeoisie will surrender, of course, only with the passage of time and after some «fiery» speeches by Togliatti and Pajeta in parliament.

The theses say: «Even in the leading groups, tendencies towards the recognition of the necessity of avoiding a new world war are slowly making headway. Such a trend exists even in the political group headed by the new president of the USA, who to this end has tried to work out a new strategy, by means of which to guarantee the economic and political predominance of imperialism while accepting some degree of easing of tension in international relations and renunciation of traditional colonial forms» (point 4, paragraph 1, in the middle).

What does this mean? It means that the Italian revisionists accept that the leading imperialist groups, even the Kennedy group (hence the arch-exponents of imperialism) are becoming supporters of avoiding war, are becoming peace-lovers; indeed, according to them, this finds its expression in «the fundamental strategy of imperial-

ism» proclaimed by Kennedy, in which there is allegedly something «new», such as the tendency towards «easing tension in international relations and rejection of traditional colonial forms», notwithstanding that this is done in order to guarantee the economic and political predominance of imperialism (of course, «peace-loving» imperialism). Is this not a clear expression of the famous thesis of all the modern revisionists that the nature of imperialism has allegedly changed? In the «Kennedy group» the revisionist leadership of the CP of Italy sees a new progressive, realist element, which is ready to make concessions for the benefit of peace and socialism, which condemns colonialism (notwithstanding that it creates a new form of colonialism). In a word, the Togliatti group is throwing bouquets to Kennedy and his imperialist group. On the other hand, bearing in mind this submission on their part to US imperialism, it is clear how much the polemics of the leaders of the CP of Italy with the Italian bourgeoisie with which they are in agreement today and will be even more so tomorrow on the most fundamental issues, are worth. They will end up as lackeys of US imperialism, just like the leaders of the Italian big bourgeoisie. Thus the Italian workers' aristocracy is taking deliberate steps on the way to becoming lackeys of capital.

In these theses the leadership of the CP of Italy goes so far as to attribute the aggression against Cuba, the stepping up of the arms race, etc., not to the Kennedy group, but to the pressure of «military groups», to a few evil persons who have surrounded and are bringing pressure to bear on this fine «democrat and peaceful man», as Kennedy is presented.

Further on, in the theses they say: «It would be a mistake to deny the fact that elements of differentiation continue to emerge within the leading groups of imperialism. This makes it easier today to isolate the extremist groups, which exist in every country, and which, on one hand, head the supreme military command and organizations of fascist tendencies in the US, and on the other hand, head German and French militarism, which are united in fighting against the prospect of easing international tension and strengthening peace» (point 4, paragraph 1 below). Hence, according to the theses of the 10th Congress of the CP of Italy, with the backing of «these» differentiated «good people», the extremists, militarists, fascists etc., can easily be held in check.

Pinning its hopes on the kind-heartedness of these «good people», the leadership of the CP of Italy arrives at the revisionist conclusion that peaceful co-existence will triumph, the economic and political problems will be solved, the differences will be eliminated and «neither counter-revolution nor revolution will be exported», because, as the theses say: «the struggle for these objectives should be guided on the basis of excluding both the perspective of a new world war and the possibility of foreign intervention from abroad aimed at exporting either counter-revolution or revolution» (point 4, further below). According to them, up to now the revolution has been exported, that is, it has had «the aims and finger of Moscow» in it. As a logical consequence, according to the Italian revisionists, «had the revolution not been exported» we would not have had all this trouble, because after all, only the October Revolution would have been carried out, and that would have

been the end of it! The bourgeoisie and its «democracy» with its blessings, such as its terror, the killings, repressive measures and exploitation of the working people, would bring «progress» — socialism, in an evolutionary way. «Therefore, it results that «co-existence», as preached by the Italian revisionists contains in itself a «guarantee to world imperialism», — that there will be no further extension of the revolution, the struggle of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. This is frankly — integration of socialism into capitalism. This is even more disgraceful than the opportunist theories of Kautsky and Bernstein, because the Italian modern revisionists not only give imperialism assurances about this, but they themselves have undertaken the task of destroying socialism wherever it has triumphed and of putting down and strangling the revolution wherever the conditions have been created and it may break out. Imperialism certainly needs such lackeys as Khrushchev, Togliatti, Tito etc., whom it can put into action to prolong its existence and go on extracting profits. But whatever the imperialists and revisionists do is in vain, because revolutions will break out, the working class and the other exploited masses will organize themselves and revolt. In the final analysis, imperialism cannot escape its doom. Therefore, it will neither disarm itself nor renounce its aim of dominating the world and destroying socialism.

That is why the revisionist theories in the service of imperialist strategy must be ruthlessly exposed and rooted right out. The modern revisionists have become arrogant, they have economic and military power in their hands today, and are exploiting the potential and authority of

the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party for their aims. Therefore to handle them with kid gloves is like pricking an elephant with a pin, whereas, on the contrary, they should be dealt ceaseless crushing blows, one after another, to tear the disguises from them, so that the peoples and communists can see them as they really are, with no possibility of hiding their filthy betrayal.

Thus, through the theses they have proclaimed, the Italian revisionist leaders «are preaching and struggling» for a peaceful world, where all will be brothers «under the sign of the cross». According to them, the communists and the working class should take a calm and tolerant stance, should not raise their voices too loudly and never, never, take up arms and rise against those who have state power and force in their hands, since they will make concessions (and they should make some concessions, give some handouts!) for the sake of peace, for the sake of «progress», in favour of the rich, and, so on, and so forth. Theirs is almost identical with what the Pope preaches from the Vatican: «Pace in terra e in cielo» (in a word, brotherly love and harmoy between rich and poor).

In this way, Togliatti and the other traitors to Marxism-Leninism who follow him will ensure their comfort, their villas, their cars, their seats in Parliament and the Senate, etc., etc., «in the name of communism and thanks to peaceful co-existence», whereas those who disturb this «holy Roman religion» are «traitors», «dogmatic», «sectarian», «Stalinists», «warmongers», and so on, and so forth.

Further on in their theses the Italian revisionists write: «The main blow of political action and

the activity of the masses should be concentrated, first of all, against extremist groups of the imperialist forces, against those who openly support the worsening of the international situation and war, in order to expose, isolate, and defeat them» (point 5, paragraph 1). With this they want to say that even that struggle which the masses of the people allegedly ought to wage should be directed not against groups such as that of «the good Kennedy», but against extremists and militarists. Therefore the revisionists preach that a distinction should be made where, in fact, there can be no distinction, but it is in the interests of imperialism for such a distinction to be made, for the sake of appearances, so that the wolf can sharpen its teeth under cover of its disguise as a lamb. Such is the theory of the revisionists.

In connection with the policy of Italian government leaders, speaking about «peace and the peaceful policy» that they should allegedly follow, the theses agree that the European Common Market should not stop the struggle for peace. They say: «Up till now the so-called 'Europeanization' of our government leaders, too, has been seen in this context (that of backing US imperialism). But adherence to the European Common Market ought not and must not become an obstacle to an action for peace» (point 5, paragraph 5). In other words, the Italian revisionists claim that the European Common Market is a capitalist organization, which does not hinder, but helps peace, and which, therefore, «we can accept». And while accepting the European Common Market, further on, they suggest only the struggle against the «extremists and militarists» who have entered the European



Common Market. Thus, according to the Italian revisionists, the European Common Market is a «step forward» towards socialism.

The theses of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy claim that the economic predominance of US imperialism over the other capitalist countries has declined (the whole of point 6).

The second paragraph of point 7 says: «The tendency to obligatory acceptance and application of a single model for the construction of a socialist economy and society, regardless of different historical conditions, the varying concrete political situation, traditions and needs of each country, has proved to be extremely harmful. This wrong tendency, contrary to the principles of Marxism and Lenin's teachings, could not fail to have harmful economic and political consequences, which at times have become serious because of methods of restriction of democratic life, which were not justified by exceptional circumstances, of the fierce class struggle, the civil war and the foreign intervention for the suppression of the revolution». With this, the Italian revisionists raise the issue that allegedly «the socialist countries establish identical models of a socialist economy and socialist society, regardless of differing historical, and political conditions, traditions», etc., and they condemn this. In other words, according to the Italian revisionists, in building socialism all of us, all the socialist countries, should have followed the course of Togliatti, who, as is known, never did take power, never did build socialism, and never will build it on his revisionist road. According to them, we have copied, and forcefully imposed the

«harmful and dogmatic Soviet methods». Thus the universal Soviet experience of the time of Lenin and Stalin is discarded, or attacked from all quarters by the Italian revisionists. However the revisionists say nothing about the fact, that here in our country where we have applied this experience, the peasantry, for example, is doing well, whereas the Italian peasantry hasn't an inch of land, or bread to eat, despite all the «forms and methods» of Togliatti, that have done nothing for the peasantry, but on the contrary, have made its situation even worse. They «forget» to say that in our country, industry is in the hands of the working class, whereas there where Togliatti is «fighting», it is in the hands of the capitalists, or that there, where Togliatti is preaching, the banks are leeches that suck the blood of the people, whereas here with us they are in the hands of the people and work only for the people, and so on. This means that the Italian revisionist «philosophers» are engaged in idle talk, not work, pretending to pity those doing much better than they.

In defending these theses, the Italian revisionists are pursuing three aims: to discredit the socialist construction in our countries, to encourage the revisionist deviations in the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia, in Poland and make people consider them as normal and correct, and not only to exonerate themselves of having done nothing, but even to show that «they have done well» since «with the line of the new structure» they are preaching, they will «reach socialism». Thus they are posing as the «Popes» of Marxism and the «ideological leaders» of all those «parties» which have not yet built socialism. The Italian

revisionists advise these «parties» to guard against «backward-looking» Stalinist orientations and look to Rome. All roads lead to Rome!... and the «Marxist») Pope of Rome is Togliatti with his disciples.

In the section of the second paragraph of point 7 of the theses quoted above, the Italian revisionists openly express their opinion that the so-called «distortions of Marxism-Leninism» in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and our countries were quite unnecessary, because allegedly, there was no pressure from the enemy, no class struggle (why should it have existed?!), and the revolution was not threatened from abroad! These traitors have gone so far as to falsify history, to cover up the aggressive policy of the imperialists, their threats to, and attacks on, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. With this they show once again that they are nothing but capitalist lackeys.

Further on in their theses, at the end of the 6th paragraph and in the 7th paragraph, of point 7, the Italian revisionists write: «The primary value of the experience gained in the Soviet Union should not exclude a correct assessment of the experience gained in other conditions in People's China, Poland, the other people's democracies, as well as in Cuba, and Yugoslavia. Disagreement over certain standpoints of the Yugoslav communists, for example, ought and must not lead us to neglect thorough study or to deny the value of what they have done and are doing in following their course».

«The resolution adopted by the leading organs of the Communist Party of Italy in November 1961, following the discussions of the results of

the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, conforms to this line and is completely correct. It indicates a course of research, debate and thorough study, on which it is necessary to proceed, even seeking the aid of the leaders of the other parties, that have direct experience of the seizure of state power and the construction of socialism».

From this it is clear that the mistakes and deviations of the Yugoslav revisionists (not to mention their open betrayal and their putting Yugoslavia completely in the service of the United States of America, a thing which makes no impression on the minds of the Italian revisionists) are so greatly underrated by the leaders of the Communist Party of Italy, are minimized to such an extent, that they raise, allegedly in a «critical» form, the Yugoslav experience of «the construction of socialism» in that country to the highest plane (because they give it special heavy emphasis). And in this direction they now re-affirm the «correctness» of the theses of their 1961 Congress, presenting themselves as the centre, around which the other parties should gather to define the ways which should be followed for the construction of socialism in the world.

According to the theses of the Italian revisionists from now on, the peoples who fight to seize power and build socialism must follow «new roads», «new forms», «new methods», while as for the experience gained by the socialist countries, this will exert only a spontaneous influence; it should be shut up in a «cage» where it can be admired from afar. According to these revisionists, everything will be won without having to fire a single shot!

First, the theses establish the premises, which are entirely revisionist, and then they are podded out and wrapped up a bit to disguise the betrayal. They say that «the ever greater extension of the system of state monopoly capitalism objectively shows the ripening of conditions for the transition to socialism» (point 8, paragraph 3 at the beginning).

And of course, just like all the revisionists, after prattling about the claims of the masses, about «the mass democratic struggle», the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, too, come to the conclusion that transformations and seizure of power by the working class will come about through parliament. «A primary function in this field», say the theses, «can devolve on parliamentary institutions when there is a strong democratic and socialist trend, with roots deep among the people and always linked with a movement of the masses, active in them.» (Point 8, paragraph 2, at the end). Parliamentary struggle is the «pivot», the primary thing in all the «struggles» of the revisionists.

For the Italian revisionists, there are two kinds of struggle: «struggle for democracy» and «struggle for socialism»; one must influence the other. Who represents democracy?! And socialism, what does it represent for the Italian revisionists? They are fabricating all these false anti-Marxist theories to back up their dangerous revisionist theses on the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elimination of the leading role of the working class. The theses say: «In these conditions the term dictatorship of the proletariat may assume a content different from what it had during the years of the fierce civil war and the construction of socialism for the first time in a

country encircled by capitalism» (point 8, paragraph 3, at the beginning). In a word, the Italian revisionists say that the dictatorship of the proletariat has become outdated because at that time, in the time of «Noah», the countries were surrounded by capitalist states. However, Togliatti and his comrades, who pretend that they want to build socialism, are not only surrounded by capitalism but have it firmly established in their own homes. However it seems that these revisionist «heroes» will be able to tame and melt the heart of this enemy armed to the teeth and stretched at its ease in their homes, and will do this painlessly, with gentle methods and sweet smiles! All these theses support the Khrushchevite theses that imperialism has lost its teeth, that it has been tamed, that it is not preparing for war, that there is no danger from imperialism, that the capitalist encirclement does not exist, etc. etc.

The only obstacles hindering us on this «so direct and reliable course», claim the Italian revisionists, are «reformist revisionism» on the one hand (and they dismiss this with a mere mention in one line, of course with the purpose of putting themselves in the ranks of the genuine Marxist-Leninists), and especially the dogmatists, «sectarian extremism», on the other hand (here they extend themselves not to one line, but to tens of lines, and the reason for this is easily understood). However, towards the former (the reformist revisionists), the theses preach rapprochement, not only with the mass of the members of the social-democratic parties, not only with their trade unions, but even with the leaders of these parties; no mention is made of ideological struggle against them, let alone any other form of struggle. On the

other hand, towards the dogmatists and sectarians they advocate fierce ideo-political struggle, their exposure and destruction. And why they do this is readily understandable, too.

It is admitted in the theses (the entire last paragraph of point 8) that the struggle of the working class of Italy and the other Western capitalist countries has declined. However the revisionist leaders of the communist parties of these countries do not take the blame for such a thing themselves, they do not attribute it to their incorrect line, to their revisionist betrayal and their submission to capital in general. Of course it is «the poor» who are to blame for this. Thus as the saying goes the fault has been made into a fur coat and nobody wishes to wear it, not even in winter, let alone in summer!

In the historic documents which defined the «objectives» of international communism and the «course it should follow», the Italian revisionists have shamelessly included even the Resolution of the Rome conference of 17 European communist parties, at which, naturally, there were also great contradictions (point 10, paragraph 2 at the beginning).

Immediately following this the theses continue: «Within the framework of the line laid down by these documents, every party should act autonomously, adapting its political attitudes, its activity, its organizational forms and the norms of its internal life to the particular economic and political conditions of its own country, its traditions, the forms of its democratic life, and immediate objectives which exist in that country...

(point 10, paragraph 2). From this and other statements it is clear that the theses of the 10th Congress of the CP of Italy have torn to shreds the unified line, and especially the documents of the two Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, which should be implemented by all the communist and workers' parties by putting up so many specific conditions that they end up on the same road as Khrushchev, who described the 1960 Moscow declaration as a «short-lived compromise». In fact the Italian theses throw this Declaration into the waste paper basket.

In order to back up their blatant deviation, the Italian revisionists «quote Marxism-Leninism». However they forget that the Declaration reflects not the experience of one party, but that of the whole world communist movement. The 81 communist and workers' parties brought the experience they had gathered to the Moscow Meeting and in that Declaration stated the essence of that experience and the orientations that should be followed in the future. These are basic orientations and not minute details, characteristic of a few parties, which Togliatti is bound to implement according to the situation, social, religious conditions, etc., etc.

And to give this «very sound» thesis of theirs added strength, the Italian revisionists in their theses attack our Party of Labour, just as the traitors might attack, simply because it rigorously defends Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration of the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties. In their theses their attack against us reaches the record figure of 28 lines: «Profound disagreements emerged with the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania. They concern the



problem of the connection between the construction of socialism and upholding the principles of democracy, between the strengthening and development of the tasks of the communist party and the existence in its ranks of an internal regime of democratic centralism. They have to do also, with the solidarity and unity in the international communist movement and among socialist countries, in the struggle to defend themselves, against imperialism. The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania abandoned internationalism, have rejected the common course of the communist movement, have followed the course of bitter and false polemics, of open factionalism, and splitting our ranks. Their attitudes must be unhesitatingly rejected and condemned while hoping that they will soon find the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.» (point 10, paragraph 4). No other party is attacked in their theses. This shows how afraid they are of the correct stand of the PLA, of its correct line, which exposes them, and shows, too, that the overwhelming majority of the communists in the world support the correct line of our Party. That is why the Italian revisionists are calling for condemnation of us. However what has happened and what will happen is quite the contrary.

In their theses the Italian revisionists also propose their disguised variant of the economic integration of capitalist and socialist countries. They even specify that with this they mean the countries of Europe. The theses say: «Meanwhile, we must fight within the framework of the world struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, for a policy of international economic collaboration,

which will enable the elimination of the contrasts which are at present impeding rapid economic development, and that will find its expression in social progress. It is necessary to develop a united initiative, especially in Europe, to lay the foundations of European economic collaboration, even among states of differing social systems, which will make possible, in the framework of the economic and political organs of the UNO, to increase exchanges, to abolish or reduce customs borders, to intervene jointly to assist the progress of undeveloped regions» (point 10, paragraph 10). Thus, with their theses, the Italian revisionists are approaching Tito's theses, Khrushchev's theses and finally, Kennedy's fundamental thesis: «First the integration of Europe and then its integration with America...».

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