

Togliatti Rejects Khrushchev Theory On Stalin Misrule

Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist leader, made a sharp criticism of the present Soviet Communist leaders for failing to probe the real reasons for the departure from democracy under Stalin, it became known yesterday.

Further details of Togliatti's Sunday article in *l'Unita* show he made a searching review of fundamental questions such as the peaceful transition to socialism even without Communist parties becoming the ruling party.

In the 11,000-word article, the full text of which has not yet arrived here, Togliatti wrote:

"We must recognize openly and without hesitation that, while the Twentieth Congress has made an enormous contribution to the exposure and solution of many serious and new problems of the democratic and socialist movement, and while it marks a most important stage in the development of the Soviet society, we cannot consider satisfactory the position adopted by the Congress, which is now being amply developed by the Soviet press, in regard to the errors of Stalin and the cause and conditions which made them possible."

Togliatti took issue with Khrushchev's argument that the present Soviet leaders couldn't do anything about the violations of democracy because of police terror.

"It seems to me," Togliatti wrote, "far more accurate to acknowledge that, despite the errors that he committed, Stalin had the support of a very great part of the country and, particularly, of his ruling cadres and of the masses."

Togliatti urged instead that the Soviet leaders see whether there were "errors of a general order against which the whole world of socialism should be put on guard."

Criticizing the attempts of Khrushchev to put all the blame for crimes and errors on Stalin, Togliatti wrote:



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"We can only think to ourselves that, seeing how things stood . . . they could at least have been more prudent in the public and solemn exaltation of the qualities of this man." (Referring to the hero worship of Stalin during his lifetime by the present Soviet leaders.)

"It is true," Togliatti continued, "that today they criticize themselves, and it is their great merit, but in this criticism there is no
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doubt that some of their prestige has fallen."

He suggested that the Soviet leaders investigate the "method by which and the reason why Soviet society could and did stray so far from the democratic path. . . ."

Reaffirming the solidarity of workers and communists in various parts of the world, Togliatti added:

"But there is no doubt that it leads not only to the need but to the desire for ever greater independence of judgment, and that cannot but do good to our movement.

"The international political structure of the world Communist movement is changed today.

"What the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done remains as the first great model for the building of a Socialist society, to which the way was opened by a profound, decisive, revolutionary fracture.

"Today, the front of socialist construction in the countries where the Communists form the ruling party is so vast, comprising a third of humanity, that for them the Soviet model cannot and must not any longer be obligatory.

"In the rest of the world, there are countries where it is hoped to achieve socialism without the Communists necessarily being the ruling party.

"In other countries again the march towards socialism is an objective which draws various movements together, movements which have not yet reached any mutual agreement or even understanding.

"One cannot talk of a single guide but rather of a method of progress achieved by following different paths."

Togliatti heads the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world. It numbers over 2,000,000 members and received 6,000,000 votes in the last elections. The Socialist Party, headed by Nenni, which is allied with the Communists, received 4,000,000 votes.