

The Italian Party Congress

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The recently concluded Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, which is claimed to be the largest communist party in Western Europe, has attracted a lot of attention in the bourgeois press. The Ceylon *Daily News*, which is generally considered to be the watch-dog of reaction in this country has editorially lauded the Communist Party of Italy.

This is a strange phenomenon and it behoves us, Marxist-Leninists, to find out the reasons that have earned for the Communist Party of Italy the plaudits of the *Daily News*. We can learn from negative examples.

The Congress of the Communist Party of Italy did two main things. It condemned the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia although this was done in different keys by different leaders of the party. The Party Congress also gave vociferous support to the condemnation of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia by the delegates from Yugoslavia and Rumania. But it never heard a speech analysing the Czech events from a Marxist-Leninist angle.

At the same time, it reiterated the notorious thesis of the later leader of the Communist Party of Italy – Palmiro Togliatti – about the separate road to socialism and all his anti-Marxist prattle about structural reforms. This Congress went on this road a little further and affirmed the Party's willingness to work with the Roman Catholics in the Christian Democratic Party.

Such is the lust of the modern revisionists for parliamentary power that they will compromise with the Devil himself. It has, of course, been known for some time that the general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy and successor to Togliatti, Signor Longo, attends mass every Sunday morning in order to attract Catholic voters. This reminds us of the volte-face of our own ex-left leaders like Drs. N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and S. A. Wickremasinghe who have not turned pious Buddhists and offer flowers at the statue of Lord Buddha on all important political functions in an attempt to cheat both man and God.

But what really commends the Communist Party of Italy to the *Daily News*—and it makes no bones about this—is the fact that it has forsaken the revolutionary path and opted to play the parliamentary game and deceive the masses with the opium of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. All the talk of independence, of poly-centralism and a separate Italian road to socialism is nothing but a camouflage to bury the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and to practice out and out social democracy and modern revisionism—both of which are nothing

but the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement, as Lenin pointed out in his day.

If you tell a Buddhist that the Buddhist doctrine must be suitably amended or changed to suit the local conditions in each country, he will be aghast! How can you do such a thing! Buddhism, like all other religions, is a universal religion. Its tenets are applicable as much in Burma as in America or as much in Thailand as in Africa.

But tell him the same thing about Marxism-Leninism which is an exact science and whose adherents are as anxious about spreading it to other countries as are the Buddhists, he will not readily agree.

The truth is that there are certain universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, which are fundamental and cannot be revised to suit local conditions. Such things are the laws of class struggle, of revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of the State. These are unalterable scientific truths. But these universal truths must be applied to the concrete conditions in each country, which might vary from country to country. This is a matter of tactics to be followed by each communist party as to how to apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, to the concrete realities existing in its own country. This is not a separate road to socialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, once said that Marxist-Leninist theory is like an arrow. But it must be aimed at the concrete conditions i.e. reality in one's own country, which is the target. If we do not aim at the target, the arrow will go astray. Nor can you hit the target without the arrow. Therefore, applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in one's own country is quite different from abandoning the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought – denying even the necessity for revolution – and calling it independence or a separate road to socialism.

There are no separate roads to socialism. There is only one road and that is the road of revolution. Togliatti and his successor Longo have become such darlings of the bourgeoisie because they did their damndest to steer the Italian working class away from the path of revolution.

Today, the Communist Party of Italy, even from the time of Togliatti, is more to the right of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its demands for poly-centralism is in reality a refusal to accept the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and a claim to revise them as they wish in pursuit for parliamentary power, which, however, has always eluded them.

It was Togliatti who put forward the theory of structural reforms in Italian society. In other words, he declared that, without destroying the bourgeois repressive state machinery and replacing it with the state machinery of the working class which Marx and Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat, structural reforms could be introduced into the existing state

machinery so as to bring about changes favourable to the working class. Needless to say, the Italian working class is still waiting to see the realisation of these reforms!

This is nothing but a complete perversion of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought. The repressive bourgeois state machinery is the weapon by which the capitalists and landlords exploit the workers and peasants and keep them suppressed. The main forms of this state machinery are the armed forces, the jails, the judiciary, the highly paid bureaucracy etc. In other words, the State is the weapon or machinery by which one class exploits the other. Without the guns in the hands of the armed forces and the police, which are the watch-dogs of imperialist-feudal-bourgeois exploitation, exploitation cannot continue for one moment. That is why every government maintains, at such great cost, trained armed forces to protect its class interests.

That is why Marx and Lenin and Stalin and Mao Tse-tung have taught us that if the toiling masses are to be free, they must smash the existing repressive bourgeois state machinery and replace it by their own state machinery. This cannot be done through Parliament and the Public Services Commission.

At the end of the last war, the prestige of the Communist Party of Italy was very high as a result of their brave underground fight against Mussolini-fascism. It had a sizeable army under its command. It captured Mussolini and shot him like a dog – very deservedly – and hung him feet up.

But at the end of the war, Togliatti arrived from a long sojourn abroad and ordered the arms to be surrendered and opted to play the parliamentary game which resulted in his becoming the Leader of the Opposition for life. This was the same sad story of betrayal that was carried out in France by Thorez. The brave French Communists who had liberated Paris from the Nazis on their own before the Anglo-American armies could reach them were made to surrender arms in return for a Vice-Premiership to Thorez. But the American imperialists saw to it that it lasted only a short time.

The seeds of modern revisionism were already there inside the Communist Party of Italy even before Khrushchov formulated them into a theory. But, since then, the Italian Party has travelled very much to the right and has become an example of everything that a genuinely revolutionary party should not be.

The very fact that it holds its Congresses openly in full glare of bourgeois publicity and announces its plans openly demonstrates that it has become part of the established system and has been accepted as such. The purpose and aim of a genuinely revolutionary communist party is to capture power by force through a revolution. Such a party, if it is serious, cannot conduct its activities openly under the nose of the police. The reactionaries permit bourgeois democracy only to keep the revolutionary under surveillance and decimate them at one stroke – as they did in Indonesia – when the need arises. **Therefore, revolutionaries must not be fooled into exposing all their cadres, revealing all their plans publicly and carrying on their activities openly.**

That would only invite disaster. In any capitalist country, irrespective of whether the party has been banned or not, it must always organise itself as a secret party which carries out certain activities openly.

But this is what the Communist Party of Italy and all other revisionist parties are not doing. Revisionist theory is supplemented by revisionist organisational practice. Today, the Italian Communist Party has become a “respectable” party like the Social Democrats. At one time, the social democrats performed the functions of acting as a prop to Italian monopoly capitalism. Today they can no longer perform that function by themselves. They stand too much exposed. That function of acting as a prop to the tottering regime of Italian monopoly capitalism is today being performed by the modern revisionists of the Italian Communist Party.

But all is not lost. During the recent strikes and demonstrations called by the revisionist-led trade union federation, we heard the voice of the new generation of Italian revolutionaries shouting “Long Live Mao Tse-tung! Long Live Stalin!” That way lies the future. The Italian Communist Party is only a putrefying corpse. The newly founded Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) will carry forward the torch of revolution.