

fought and driven out of the Communist movement before one could talk about tactics or understanding a particular condition in the country.

The whole story of Bolshevism, Lenin said, was a struggle against Menshevism, of which Turati was a clear-cut representative in Italy. Menshevism was an opportunist trend in the international labor movement and was characterized by class collaboration.

Practically everything that Lenin said in condemnation of Turati could be said of Togliatti's and Berlinguer's conception of the struggle today—only the latter have a position more crass, more open, even more cynical.

At one point in the discussion of the Italian question, Lenin exclaimed, in answer to Serrati, one of the Italian delegates who had raised the question of trying to understand the national psychology of the Italian people: "I wouldn't claim that I understand the psychology of the **Russian** people. One has to understand the differences in trends, and the difference between a reformist and a communist, the difference between the Italian Mensheviks and the Italian Communists."

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CABINET AND PARLIAMENT

It has become a prevailing tactic in many of the revisionist CPs of the world to confuse the difference between the participation of a working class party in a bourgeois parliament, when that is proper, with participation of a working class party in a bourgeois cabinet.

A working class party can participate in a bourgeois parliament, when appropriate, on a thoroughgoing revolutionary class struggle basis. Working class candidates elected to a bourgeois parliament or Congress are responsible only to the party. A working class representative is only obligated to utilize his or her seat in Congress or Parliament to mobilize the masses on a revolutionary class basis.

He or she is obligated to utilize his or her post for extraparlimentary purposes, and is free to vote for or against measures inasmuch as they advance the interests of the working class and oppressed. He or she is not obligated or beholden to the ruling class to do otherwise.

THE CABINET:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE RULING CLASS

It is altogether different in joining a bourgeois cabinet. A working class representative who does so becomes responsible to the cabinet

first. The position is always an **appointed** one—it's not an elected post. He or she must abide by the general discipline and general policy of the cabinet, which is the executive committee of the ruling class. A cabinet member must carry out executive orders. He or she takes orders either by majority cabinet decisions or more frequently by orders from the Premier or President.

Of course, there is occasionally some limited latitude in carrying out the general policy of the ruling class. Sometimes there are differences. Often these differences are sharp and bitter. But, and this is the important thing, these are differences within the same class camp. Indeed, there may be hard liners, moderates, and liberals within the same cabinet. But it is a bourgeois cabinet, whose function is to carry out a policy which is irreconcilably opposed to the class interests of the workers and the oppressed.

The transition from a parliamentary post, that is, an elective one, to that of an appointive cabinet level in a capitalist government, is deep and profound. For a working class party it means crossing class lines. It means going from the camp of the working class to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It's class betrayal. That's why the Second International more than 75 years ago, clearly recognized the peril to a working class party in Millerand's case. And for that reason he was denounced as a renegade. It was really never a question at all among the solidly revolutionary Marxists of the day. The word Millerandism thereafter became a synonym for class treachery.

HISTORIC EXCEPTIONS:

[1] BAVARIA

The resolution passed by the Paris Congress in 1900 recognized certain exceptions to this. There are two examples which would illustrate the genuine exceptions for which the Congress voted and not the phony ones which were later used as a cover for class collaboration. For instance, on the heels of the great October Socialist Revolution, the Bavarian government in Germany was tottering and the possibility of a revolutionary takeover seemed imminent and practical. The Bavarian Communists thought it an opportune moment to take a cabinet post in the Bavarian government—that of Minister of Internal Affairs.

The purpose was to **facilitate the revolutionary seizure of power by the workers**. The Minister of Internal Affairs could and in fact tried to **distribute arms and ammunition to the workers in the imminent struggle**. Unfortunately, in most of the revolutionary struggles