

Position of United Communist Party of Germany on the Split in the Italian Socialist Party

STATEMENT OF LEVI, ZETKIN, DAUMIG, HOFFMAN, BRESS ON THEIR RESIGNATION AS MEMBERS of the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the U. C. P. of GERMANY.

To prevent an unwarranted and possibly malicious interpretation by their opponents of their voluntary resignation from the Central Committee of the U. C. P. of Germany, the undersigned declare:

1. Hitherto the Central Committee has been in agreement and united on all the most important fundamental questions of the party's attitude and policy. Until shortly before they were also united—united in the sense of the resolutions for decision by the Central Committee to the Central Council on their conception of the conditions in the Italian Socialist Party.

2. As hitherto, we are still of the view that the complete rupture with all reformism and opportunism is the prerequisite for membership in a Communist Party and in the Communist International.

Accordingly we approve of the stand taken by the E. C. of the C. I. which in accordance with the decisions of the 2nd World Congress has insisted in Italy upon immediate, open, rupture with the reformists and opportunists, and we recognize that the reformists and the communists are not identical but that the reformists were on the side of the fence of Serrati's group. As to the decisions of the 2nd World Congress and the principles thereof which have hitherto been applied in Germany at the split of the I. S. P., in France, Switzerland, in Norway, there are however working masses in Italy that have been excluded from the Communist International who on account of their revolutionary past and revolutionary will can remain good members of a Communist Party.

According to this viewpoint when a party already a member of the Communist International is split, we do not therein see the attempt—as with the I. S. P., the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, the French Socialist Party,—to separate workers from a reformist party so as to win them for communism, but to build purer and more solid Communist Parties through the mechanical process of splits.

An attempt to form a Communist Party in this manner cannot be limited to Italy. The representative of the E. C. in Italy has declared that a precedent has been laid down and has already pointed to the future application in France and Germany.

We declare:

These methods of forming Communist Parties can never lead to the building of communist mass parties, but to the building solely of pure and thoroughly trained parties, to be sure, but because of their numerical weakness, uninfluential in the larger workers' organizations. That which was in the mind of the Communist International, the building of communist mass parties cannot be attained in this way, but only by organic growth and common political experience and struggles of such masses as have found their way in the party on the basis of the conditions laid down by the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International.

We consider this course fatal. We consider it our duty to unite into an ever stronger and more clear fighting host the communists that have come and are coming into the Party through the revolutionary struggles and schools of revolution, a host, not condemned to impotency because of numerical weakness but which on account of its numerical strength is in a position to win such influence on the proletarian masses by reason of its insight and revolutionary determination.

By the acceptance of the resolution of Thelheimer-Stoecker, the Central Committee has approved of the steps taken by the E. C. of the C. I. in Italy. However the vindication of these measures leads, as far as it is conducted in principle, to such propositions that contain serious danger to the future unity of the German Communist Party.

We are firmly convinced that another split in the German Communist Party—apart from splits toward the Right and Left—will not lead to the formation of a Communist Party, full of fighting energy, but will for a long time cause great harm to Communism and the cause of the revolution not alone in Germany, but on that account in Europe as well.

We cannot therefore, as is demanded of a member of the Central Committee, defend this decision. Nor especially can we bear the responsibility for the consequences, which in our opinion will inevitably follow. Accordingly, on these grounds, we resign as members of the Central Committee.

3. The return of the undersigned to the rank and file of the U. C. P. of G. naturally, does not mean that they will withdraw into a quiet and retired spot. On the contrary: as plain soldiers, the undersigned will endeavor to do their

perfect duty and responsibility in the Party, in the struggle of the German proletariat for its emancipation through Communism and within the Third International.

Otto Brass, Ernst Daumig, Adolf Hoffman, Paul Levi, Clara Zetkin.

STATEMENT ADOPTED AGAINST 4 VOTES BY THE CENTRAL COUNCIL UPON THE RESIGNATION OF THE 5.

The Central Council declares as follows on the resignation of the 5 comrades from the Central Committee:

1. The fundamental conception of the Central Council on the formation of Communist Parties in West-European countries is in perfect agreement with that of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International.

This conception is that of creating in all countries parties of the broad masses whose members are thoroughly permeated with the communist spirit of revolutionary readiness and who are under unified communist leadership.

2. By the decision on the Italian question, the Central Council had not agreed to a new principle on the creation of Communist Parties, but has only asserted that these tactics of the 2nd World Congress of the C. I. are to be maintained in Italy as well as in Germany, and only the necessary separation from the reformists and centrists accomplished. If that led to separation from Serrati's group as well it was because the opportunist leaders of this group constantly wavered about executing the orders of the C. I. and rather broke with the communists than with the reformists of Turatti. By the acceptance of this decision the Central Council manifested, as is self-evident the duty of international solidarity, its fraternal support especially for the young Communist Party of Italy, persecuted by all the counter-revolutionists.

3. The Central Council is far from the opinion that with the acceptance of its decision, it has agreed to the theory of a new party-split in Germany. We are as firmly convinced as are the 5 comrades who resigned that another split in the German Communist Party—apart from split towards the Right and Left—will not lead to the formation of a Communist Party, full of fighting energy, but will for a long time cause great harm to Communism and the cause of revolution not