





# **The Comintern: Institutions and people**

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## **Palmiro Togliatti: His political career**

During his thirty-eight years as the undisputed head of the Communist Party of Italy (PCI), he was labeled with many diverse terms, but the users of political and social appellations have agreed, for the most part, that Togliatti was a “master of maneuver”. The same Togliatti, who has been charged with being an agent of Moscow, was the “originator” and leading exponent of the polycentrist faction of world communism.

As one of the leaders of the faction that broke away from the Socialist Party of Italy (PSI) in 1921, Togliatti would also be the man who would lead the PCI back to a "Pact of Unity" with the socialists fifteen years later. While criticized by many for his autocratic leadership of the party, he has been hailed by others for initiating a "democratic" road to socialism in Italy.

When Togliatti first became a member of the PCI, few outside of socialist circles had ever heard of him. Yet in a few years he was not only a national figure but well established in Moscow circles as well. By 1924 he had met and conferred with such figures as Lenin, Bukharin, Trotsky and Zinoviev.

**With the arrest of Antonio Gramsci in 1926**, Togliatti became the number one man in the PCI, although not officially elected Secretary-General of the party until 1944. In 1937 Togliatti, who was by then Secretary of the Communist International or Comintern, **headed an international team of communists in the Spanish Civil War.** His personal contacts in Moscow and his availability, since he was one of few to escape Fascist imprisonment, catapulted him to the top position in the PCI so that, upon his return to Italy in 1944, he became one of the chief negotiators in the formation of a new Italian government.

Members of his own party as well as the leaders of the right were shocked when Togliatti failed to insist on the elimination of the monarchy and instead **called for communist cooperation and participation in Parliament. This turn or “svolta” in tactics paved the way for his cabinet positions in the following five administrations.**

There were some dire predictions that "Togliatti's democratic road to socialism" would be suicidal for the party, **but his coalition with the socialists and communist participation in the resistance resulted in great postwar popularity for the party.** Although ousted from the cabinet in 1947, the communists continued to augment their strength in Parliament. **With votes as his new weapon, Togliatti could bargain with the right and center parties offering communist support in return for a left-center government.**

As easily as he had adapted to the Stalinist line, **Togliatti adjusted readily to de-Stalinization and even to criticisms of his party's "revisionism"**. If Moscow ordered toughness, the PCI leader might call for a strike to appease the Soviets but, if such a move threatened his plans for the party in Italy, the strike would be called off in twenty-four hours. In this way, Togliatti was able to hold together both the right and left factions of the PCI.



a. In the wake of Tito's break with Moscow, Togliatti appeared to endorse Tito-autonomism. In a press interview he rejected "the principle of one guiding party for world communism" and noted the necessity for "polycentric" leadership in Europe.

b. When this statement evoked criticism from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), he quickly explained his way out of his original meaning and back into the good graces of Moscow.

c. By calling for "unity through autonomy" in the communist movement, Togliatti attempted to support both sides of an issue at once. A studious man, Togliatti could read Greek, Latin, Russian, German, Spanish, French and English and collected rare books.

## **Palmiro Togliatti: His biography**

Palmiro Togliatti was born in Genoa on March 26, 1893. He was born in the Convitti nazionale, a local orphanage, where his father, Antonio Togliatti, was a middle-class, government bookkeeper. Togliatti later described his father and mother, Teresa Viale, as “both intelligent and capable people, but in the end crushed by the burden of existence”. He had an older brother, Eugenio, who later became a professor of science at the University of Genoa; an older sister, Maria Christina, who became a literature professor in Turin; and a younger brother, Enrico, who became an engineer.

The family moved from Genoa to Turin where Togliatti attended high school. Since he was studious and usually at the head of his class, he was able to obtain gratuities for most of his studies. During this period he found some socialist books hidden behind a closet at home, including “radical” books.



He read them avidly but his favorites were still Voltaire, Dante and Leopardi. In 1908 the family moved to Sassari, Sardinia where Togliatti studied Greek and Latin. When his father died in January, 1911, the family moved back to Turin, back to Sassari and back to Turin again in the fall so that he could take then scholarship examinations for the University of Turin.

The day of the examination he met Antonio Gramsci, who was destined to become the founder of the Italian Communist Party. Togliatti placed second in the competition while Gramsci placed seventh. His scholarship from the Provincial Foundation allowed Togliatti seventy lira per month for each of his years at the university.

At the university, Togliatti became good friends with Gramsci, Angelo Tasca and Umberto Terracini, who eventually formed the hierarchy of the Italian Communist Party. Of Gramsci, Togliatti later wrote, **“He was much more advanced than I, in culture, in intellectual experience and it was his guidance that orientated me”**.

Togliatti did his first research on the backward conditions and criminality in Sardinia and concluded that the Sardinian economy had fallen victim to Italian capitalism which had forced a new customs tariff that ruined the local Sardinian agriculture. In addition to studying economics, he was much impressed by Arturo Farinelli's class in classics and German romanticism and was influenced by Hegelianism and the idealism of Benedetto Croce. With Gramsci he frequented the circles of "young fascists" and in 1914, joined the socialist party.

Togliatti was arrested for the first time during a demonstration when an election candidate, the socialist Gaetano Salvemini, spoke in the Piazza Statute. During these years Turin was one of the points for demonstrations for and against the war, in addition to being one of the most industrialized of Italian cities. During one such protest an anarchist who was leading a march was shot by police and fell dead next to Togliatti.

Such events left a lasting impression on him. After submitting his thesis on colonial tariff systems, in which he maintained the incompatibility of a protective tariff with the Italian economy, Togliatti received his laureate with distinction and went on for a law degree. His studies were interrupted by World War.

At first Togliatti was judged physically unfit for military service and so served voluntarily in the medical corps. Later he became a soldier in the 54<sup>th</sup> Regiment and then the 2nd Alpine Regiment where he became an officer. After being discharged in 1917 because of lung trouble, he returned to Turin for a doctoral degree in philosophy and became familiar with Das Kapital, the Ethics of Spinoza and Giordano Bruno's Dialogues.

Togliatti began to write regularly for the socialist newspaper, "Avanti," but **beginning on May 1, 1919, he edited a separate newspaper, "Ordine Nuovo" [New Order], along with Gramsci, Tasca and Terracini. During the next two years this group, which came to be known as the Ordine Nuovo, began to organize "Soviets" or worker's councils Turin factories, modelled after those set up in Russia, and emphasized revolutionary discipline.**



Along with other left-wing socialists, they demanded that the PSI join the Third International or Comintern that was launched by Lenin. In "Ordine Nuovo," the young writer discussed the recession, labor problems and the role of man in history and revolutions. He also translated some of Lenin's works into Italian and completed a cultural work, Battaglia delle idee. Thus, Togliatti was able to give some support , to the rest of the family with whom he continued to live.

The office of both "Avanti" and "Ordine Nuovo" was located on the corner of via XX Settembre and via Arcivescovado until 1922. **The Ordine Nuovo group started the first factory council in May, 1919 at the Brevetti Fiat plant. Social activities the group sponsored were often interrupted by the police.** Through the initiative of Ordine Nuovo a Wagnerian concert was given for workers at the Teatro Reale.

In the fall of 1920, 1,267,953 workers went on strike after the FIAT workers took over the factory, refusing to leave. The occupation ended on September 26, when the workers accepted the terms of the industrialist, Anelli, against Togliatti's cautioning to beware of the "insidious proposals". **The national editor of "Avanti," Giacinto Serrati, accused the Turin group of lack of discipline and criticized them for openly calling for a struggle in PSI against the "reformists."** This rebuke provoked the group to break the ties with the national edition of "Avanti" and, at the end of the year, Togliatti left his post as Secretary of the Turin section of the Socialist Party.

## Togliatti and the Communist Party of Italy

The Italian Socialist Party had dated from 1892. There had long been factions in the party, but unity had been maintained. In March, 1919, PSI voted to adhere to the Third International, but when Lenin imposed the "Twenty-One Conditions" as a requirement, three opposing factions emerged in the party:

1. those, like the Ordine Nuovo group, who urged unconditional acceptance of the Conditions, which included the “ousting of all reformists or those socialists favoring gradual, peaceful reform”;
2. “those reformists” led by Filippo Turati, who opposed any link with the Comintern;
3. and a center group, led by Pietro Nenni, sympathized with the aims of the Russian Revolution *but hesitated to oust the reformists or change the party name to the Communist Party of Italy.*



By the fall of 1920 it became apparent that the growing divisions in PSI would probably result in the formation of a separate communist party. The split was precipitated by a communication from Lenin published in "Avanti" on September. Lenin charged "events in Italy must open the eyes of even the most obstinate. Turati, Modigliani and Daragona are guilty of sabotage against the revolution in Italy at the moment when it begins to ripen." When the party officials, Antonio Graziadei and Nicola Bombacci, returned from Moscow soon afterwards, **they urged the party to oust the reformists and regard the "Third International as the highest authority accepted by all true Socialists in the world."** A few days later the executive council of the PSI voted seven to five for adherence to the Conditions, but the approval was tentative pending the vote of the national congress.

Later Togliatti characterized the PSI in 1920 as incapable of struggling against the oligarchical regime, which served the privileged at the expense of the workers, **because it lacked the perspective of a revolution and failed to comprehend that the last stage of capitalism had been reached.** Togliatti cited Italy's attempts at colonial conquest in Africa as proof that capitalism had indeed reached the imperialistic stage by 1920.

Hence, according to Togliatti, the PSI had by 1921 missed the opportunity for revolutionary action and, because the party lacked comprehension of the Italian situation and the revolutionary task, **it also lacked interior unity, effective discipline, and the capacity to conduct itself in terms of concrete action. Thus, even before the Leghorn Conference in 1921, Togliatti felt that a new party was needed. Although through other national crises the PSI had maintained an appearance of unity, now in a most dangerous hour, it failed.**

The Seventh Congress of the Italian Socialist Party met at Leghorn on January 15, 1921 **in the midst of post-war confusion, inflation, unemployment, and street brawls between Black Shirts and socialists. A few days prior to the meeting a dispatch arrived from Moscow signed by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin.** It confirmed an earlier demand that the PSI oust the reformists and also the Serrati-wing which wanted to adapt the Twenty-One Conditions to the practical needs of Italy. It read: "Whoso accepts not the Third International without reservation, let him be anathema." The pro-communist faction had already agreed that if they did not emerge victorious from the congress, they would form their own party.

Northern Italian industrialists still saw the Red insurrection as their greatest threat and in early 1920 Confindustria, the organization of industrialists, was formed and recruited representatives from almost all industrial bodies in Italy. **The first major confrontation occurred again in the bastion of worker militancy, Turin, and its outcome had massive importance for Italian Communism.** On March 29, 1920 the management of a Fiat subsidiary plant dismissed its Factory Council. A Massive General Strike was totally to paralyze the city and Turin Provincia for ten days. It was the first political strike in Italian history.

During the summer of 1920, in Milan, the Metallurgist Unions began to present demands for wage increases to the management of this industry which had been particularly depressed after the war. The latter flatly refused and the unions, by prearranged tactics, started a slowdown which reduced output to 60% of the usual level.



On September 1, the Turin workers, rather than isolate Milan, took over their factories and quickly the movement spread to involve every industry in Northern Italy. This time, as contrasted to the Turin strike in April, the militancy of the workers was not contained in one city but covered the entire industrial heartland of the peninsula. And this time the workers were armed and ready to use the factories as fortresses. In Turin, Giovanni Parodi, the young Fiat worker active in the Socialist Youth Federation, and a propagandist for Ordine Nuovo sitting in the office of Agnelli, ran Fiat for a month in the name of the triumphant Factory Councils.

Italian Socialists were confronted with a choice. It soon became clear that the occupation of the factories had to be supported by an attempt to seize political power. The plants were surrounded by troops and the flow of raw materials and transportation of finished goods were being strangled by their presence. Production inevitably slackened. The momentous choice was to begin the revolution now or the opportunity would vanish from Socialist dreams for unforeseeable years.

The Maximalist leadership could not overcome its indecision while the Right was troubled already by the turn of events. The Left, which was not represented in the higher offices of the party and especially in the unions, could not influence the official course of the Socialist party.

In January 1921 the party met in Livorno. On a vote to accept the Twenty-One Conditions, the Maximalists were unable to break with the Right who possessed some of the oldest and most illustrious names in Italian Socialism. Rather than unite with the Communists who were the second largest faction, the Maximalists, who were known during the Congress as “Unitarians”, watched the Communists walk out of the auditorium and out of the party. The latter called for the first Congress of the Communist Party of Italy for the next day. Thus, the revolutionary communist party was officially born.

The founding fathers of the party included Antonio Gramsci, **Palmiro Togliatti**, Umberto Terracini, Nicola Bombacci, Antonio Graziadei and Amadeo Bordiga, most of the “wits and guts” of the socialist movement. At this first meeting of the PCI, Bordiga, an engineer from Naples, was named Secretary-General and a temporary executive committee comprised of Bombacci, Graziadei and Terracini was elected to plan the Second Congress.

As editor of "II Comunista" and later of "Stato Operaio," Togliatti reflected the established Comintern line by continuing to criticize the socialist reformists like Turati as vulgar traitors. Almost two years later, in December of 1922, another split occurred in the PSI, with the reformists forming the Socialist Party of Italian workers (PSLI) while the center left, under Pietro Nenni, became the Maximalist Socialist Party (PSI).

At the second meeting of the PCI early in 1922, Togliatti became a member of the Central Committee in reward for backing the "Thesis of Rome," as set forth by Bordiga. This thesis or strategy guide discredited the efforts of all non-communists to join the resistance to fascism. Thesis number thirty-eight rejected any coalition with non-communists in an anti-fascist government. **Togliatti continued to support this strategy and in "Ordine Nuovo", he wrote, ". . . the wicked tyranny against which we must raise all energy has only one aspect and a triple name. It is called together, Turati, Don Sturzo [leader of the popolari,] and Mussolini.**



## **Togliatti and the Comintern: 1921-1927**

Between 1921 and 1927 the Comintern also switched from the strategy of immediate world revolution to one of agitation. The PCI was ordered to carry on mass illegal work promoting propaganda and strikes. In its attempts to comply, the PCI “stuck its neck out and promptly had it chopped off” in the spring of 1922 several communist leaders were arrested in Florence for plotting to recruit a Red army from various youth organizations. During Mussolini's March on Rome in October of 1922 a squad of fascists entered the office of "Il Comunista" with guns and bombs and tore up the printing apparatus.

After being struck several times Togliatti managed to escape. He re-established the publication at Milan but was arrested along with other party officials when discovered at a secret meeting. Togliatti was released for lack of evidence while Bordiga, who was carrying a note from Barclay's Bank of England for 2,500 pounds (deposited by the Comintern) was incarcerated for a time.

Although the PCI lost two-thirds of its members, in the 1924 elections the party increased its seats in Parliament to nineteen with most of the election strength from the northern regions of Emilia and Tuscany. One of the PCI deputies, Nicola Bombacci, who had helped found the party, was asked to resign by the Executive Committee following a speech in Parliament judged to conciliatory to Mussolini.

Bombacci had praised the Italo-Russian commercial treaty and referred to Mussolini's government as a great revolutionary movement. Bombacci, who charged that the move against him was based on personal hatreds, **appealed to Moscow, which backed him with a slight reprimand, but soon after he became a fascist.**

In the beginning the party was preoccupied primarily with gaining influence over the workers in the factories and defending itself from the fascists, who had ordered the communists to suspend publication of their newspapers on the grounds that they constituted a menace to public order. The communists reconstructed their squads and infiltrated the socialist controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGL).

Because of Bordiga's temporary imprisonment and the absence of Gramsci, who was in Moscow in 1923, **Togliatti became temporary head of the party after Gramsci recommended him to Zinoviev and Bukharin.** Togliatti, who was using the name Ercole Ercoli, set up his headquarters at Angera on Lake Maggiore. According to the records of the secret police, there were at this time 9,619 Italian communists in Italy and 9,394 in France.

Togliatti powers as provisional party head did not go completely uncontested. In the July 1923 issue of Avanti, he was personally attacked as "dictator of the party" by Andrea Viglono. Togliatti solved the problem by expelling Viglono from the party. Since, Togliatti was in hiding when Gramsci appointed him provisional head of the party, an article was printed in the socialist paper "Avanti" instructing him to communicate at once with the Executive of the party. However, in these early years, Togliatti's ability to adapt to the clandestine life occasioned by the rise of fascism, was interpreted by many communists as excessive prudence and hesitancy. As the ex-communist, Piero Giobetti, put it : **"Finding himself in a position of high responsibility, Togliatti was dominated by a restlessness that seemed inexorably cynical and tyrannical . . . ."**



In 1924, Togliatti married Rita Montagnana, a former Turin dressmaker who had represented the Communist Women's Organization at the Fourth International Congress in Moscow. **The fact that he attended the Fifth International Congress with Bordiga and became a member of the presidium was evidence of his new importance.** The Russian leaders at the congress were primarily concerned with denouncing the tactics of Heinrich Brandler, head of the German Communist Party (KPD). Brandler had attempted to unite with the socialists in a popular front, but the results were disastrous for his party. (March action 1921, aborted attempt of 1923). Zinoviev, however, did not attack the strategy of a united-popular front but only the way Brandler had applied it and he criticized Bordiga's anti-front position urging him to unite the PCI with the left-wing of the Italian Socialist Party. Although Bordiga defended his position energetically, the congress appointed a new Central Committee for the PCI that included only united front supporters like Togliatti.

Togliatti later justified the shift from isolationism to a popular front with these words: “According to Gramsci, the application of Marxist and Leninist principles must always be adapted to the exigencies of political action and the principal canon of these was never to isolate the party from the masses, never to be content either with dogmatic formula of propaganda, nor to wait passively for events, . . . where possible to unite with the workers front, . . . to reach the proposed objectives. These are the norms of political and tactical strategy that Marx and Lenin had taught the working classes...”

At the same time Togliatti explained his own previous invective against the socialists by maintaining that, when the break with the PSI occurred, the revolutionary movement had passed its high point. **The workers had already occupied the factories and when the socialists failed to act, a feeling of skepticism had already diffused among the masses so that a pretense of unification of the factions of the party would have served no purpose. In this way, Togliatti absolved the communists from charges that their break with the socialists weakened the revolutionary movement at the critical moment.**

In keeping with this new strategy of a united front, the PCI joined the other fascist opposition in seceding from Parliament. **In June of 1924 the liberals and socialists had withdrawn from Parliament as a protest against the murder of Deputy Giacomo Matteotti by fascist bands a few days following his criticisms of Mussolini's illegal methods.**

In 1926 he joined the permanent secretariat of the Comintern and received Soviet backing to oust the PCI Secretary, Bordiga, who was opposed to collaboration with the PSI in any kind of a united front. Bordiga also insisted that opposition in Parliament was futile and recommended communist abstention from it. He urged instead that the labor syndicates seize power by revolutionary violence when, in actuality, the party still lacked sufficient influence over the workers to accomplish such a task.



Recognizing this fact, both Gramsci and Togliatti solicited the backing of Zinoviev and Bukharin in ousting Bordiga. In 1924, Mauro Scoccimarro, one of Gramsci's aids and an Italian representative to the Comintern, prepared an indictment against the Bordigist heresy's which denounced him as "a narrow sectarian". A vote of the Central Committee soon after, however, resulted in a defeat for Gramsci and Togliatti.

Five federations supported them while **thirty-five supported the Bordiga "thesis of Rome."** Togliatti blamed the defeat on Gramsci who should have, he wrote, battled openly against Bordiga prior to the meeting. At a party convention at Lake Como in May 1924, Bordiga's position was upheld again. Togliatti had "methodically" read his speech at Como from a dossier in front of him. "His voice had no special modulations nor rhetorical inflammation to clinch, . . . the political line of a united front that had been formulated by the congresses of the International."

Togliatti insisted on the new line because it was the strategy urged by Moscow but added that: “I also insist, if permitted, because this is my personal conviction and such it would remain even if by chance it ceases to be yours”. At this point Bordiga interrupted Togliatti saying, “At the Second Congress, you didn’t share any such sentiments. You didn’t even think this way. Why have you voted for the thesis of Rome’s that was explicitly against the united front?” **Togliatti replied that times had changed while Bordiga insisted that Togliatti had not accepted the new strategy in good faith but in “acquiescence to the will of the International”**. Bordiga had temporarily won the struggle against unification with the socialists.

As a result of the Lake Como Convention the defeated faction decided to intensify the struggle against the Bordigian ideology on the "grounds of principle and to overcome the visual narrowness of Bordighianism" they will recognised the need to work with not only the proletariat but the petit bourgeoisie as well. At the Third Party Congress in Lyons in January, 1926, sixty delegates who had crossed the frontier in disguise, expelled Bordiga from the Central Committee and Gramsci became Secretary-General.

**The Congress issued the “Lyon thesis” that the PCI must not abstain from supporting and joining in united action with other fascist opposition.** Bordiga went to Moscow with Togliatti in February of 1926 for the Sixth Plenum of the International of which he was still a delegate. Bordiga appealed his case but Togliatti, who reaffirmed the necessity for discipline and collaboration with Russia, asked the Comintern to reject Bordiga’s demand to declare the results of the PCI Third Congress invalid.

Bordiga’s plea was denied. He was allowed to keep his party card but in 1930 he was imprisoned by the fascists and then expelled from the PCI for Trotskyite leanings. In 1937, Togliatti said of the first secretary of the PCI, "Bordiga lives tranquilly as a Trotskyian dog, protected by police and hated by the workers and as a traitor is hated."



**In addition to clarifying the party ideology that brought the inner party struggles to an end, the Third Party Congress formed agitation committees to hold illegal factory meetings to work for an eight hour day, protest against war, and organize peasants into an agricultural laborers union. Their program included a united front with left-wing socialists, defense of the trade unions, and distribution of land to the peasants. In the fall of 1926 the party accomplished the fusion with the left-wing or maximalist socialists under Nenni, which brought in 2,550 additional members.**

Further plans were interrupted abruptly when the first of Mussolini's "exceptional degrees" deprived the communists of their seats in Parliament in November of 1926. The same month Gramsci, Terracini, Scoccimarro and others were arrested in spite of their Parliamentary immunities and sentenced to an average of twenty-three years imprisonment.

Togliatti, who was in Moscow for the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI, escaped arrest but was indicted along with thirty-seven others for being an exponent of the PCI and for attempting to establish a revolutionary army of workers and peasants for the purpose of making an armed uprising against the state and violently establishing the Italian Republic of the Soviets. **Since police reports showed that he had organized groups of communists in France**, the Special Tribunal concluded that Togliatti was of particular importance and, hence, greatly responsible for the criminal acts of the party.

After the November arrests, minor officials of the other opposition parties either recanted or went abroad. The socialists Claudio Treves, Giuseppe Saragat and Pietro Nenni went to Switzerland, Turati to Corsica and the Popular Party leader, Don Sturzo, to Paris. **When Togliatti left Italy in 1926, he did not know that he would not return for eighteen years. These first five years in the PCI, however, taught Togliatti two valuable lessons.**

## Togliatti and the PCI after 1926

By the end of 1926 membership in the PCI had declined but its influence had increased. A foreign center had already been established, **first at Zurich and later at Paris**, while the internal center of underground activities in Italy remained at Milan.

**After Gramsci's arrest in 1926, Togliatti was invested by the International with the leadership of the party.** When he returned to Moscow in 1928, the Paris center was left in the hands of Angelo Tasca, known as "Serra" and Ruggiero Grieco or "Garlandi." They in turn gave orders to the Milan center which was located in an apartment of Pietro Tresso.

Alfonso Leonetti was left in charge of the PCI publications, which continued to circulate in northern industrial centers. Beginning in 1927, "L'Unita" appeared once a month and was distributed at night in Turin, Milan and Rome. "Battaglie", "Sindacali" and "Stato Operaio" with over 1,000 subscriptions were circulated among the workers.



Still, in these years of exile, the communists did not have control over the workers movement. Although the party called a strike of rice workers in the Po Valley in June of 1927 to protest the fascist deflation of the Italian lira, the strike failed and there were no more labor incidents until the depression. "Leave the fascist syndicates! Join the CGXL." the communists attempted to seek the favour of the workers into a communist-socialist dominated union, the General Confederation of Labor (CGIL).

The internal center gave orders in turn to the regional secretariats and to Pietro Secchia, head of the Communist Youth Federation. The party made use of false documents, forged passports and other secret apparatus, which had been set up prior to the PCI's expulsion from Italy.

Other fascist-opposition parties also set up centers in France and Switzerland, some collaborating in their anti-fascist activities. For example. Carlo Roselli of the Unitarian Socialist Party (PSU), attempted to create a "revolutionary force which would rival the fascists in its mass appeal . . ." with a democratic-republic as its eventual goal.

In the first years of their exile, the communists remained aloof from such coalitions labeling them "social fascists." Togliatti contemptuously viewed Roselli's plan as "superficial, out-dated . . . fascist-like criticism of Marxism.

When Tasca, who was also on the Executive Committee of the Comintern, criticized the non-collaboration policy along with Stalin's German policy, it was taken as a denial that **an economic crisis was imminent in the capitalist system. Tasca also sided with Bukharin in his dispute with Stalin over the liquidation of the kulaks in Russia.**

For such mistakes, **Tasca, the former school-mate and one of the founders of the "Ordine Nuovo," was expelled from the party in 1929 and imprisoned by the fascists the following year.**

According to Ignazio Silone (pseudonym of Secondino Tranquilli) Togliatti generally accepted all of Stalin's directives, he disliked the arbitrary methods of the International and recognized the duplicity and demoralization among its personnel. In his description of the 10<sup>th</sup> Enlarged Plenum of ECCI (1929) Executive Committee meeting of the Comintern, Silone recounts how he met Togliatti in Berlin and went with him to Moscow. The meeting was actually designed to begin the liquidation of Trotsky and Zinoviev. He wrote :

“Togliatti insisted I accompany him to the restricted meetings of the Senior Convent . . . . Correctly perceiving what complications were about to arise, he preferred to have the support of the representative of the clandestine organisation . . . . I had the impression that we had arrived too late . . . The German Thaelmann was presiding, and immediately began reading out a proposed resolution against Trotsky, to be presented at the full session. This resolution condemned, in the most violent terms, a document which Trotsky had addressed to the Political Office of the Russian Communist Party”.



This resolution condemned, in the most violent terms, a document which Trotsky had addressed to the Political Office of the Russian Communist Party. The Russian delegation at that day's session of the Senior Convent was an exceptional one. Stalin, Rykov, Bucharin and Manuilsky. At the end of the reading Thaelmann asked if we were in agreement with the proposed resolution. The Finn Otto Kuusinen found that it was not strong enough . . . . As no one else asked to speak, after consulting Togliatti, I made my apologies for having arrived late and so, not having been able to see the document which was to be condemned. "To tell the truth," Thaelmann declared candidly, "we haven't seen the document either . . . ." "The Political Office of the party," said Stalin, "has considered it would not be expedient to translate and distribute Trotsky's document . . . because there are various allusions in it to the policy of the Soviet State." . . . After consulting Togliatti, I declared: "Before taking the resolution into consideration, we must see the document" . . . "The proposed resolution is withdrawn" said Stalin . . . . As a reprisal for our impertinent conduct, those fanatical censors discovered that the fundamental guiding lines of our activity . . . were seriously contaminated by a petty-bourgeois spirit. (Ignazio Silone, *The God that Failed*, ed. by Richard Crossman, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 105-110.

Soon after Togliatti explained to Silone his reasons for condemning the unseen document at the Presidium. The present state of the International, he said, was "certainly neither satisfactory nor agreeable. But all our good intentions were powerless to change it; **objective historical conditions were involved and must be taken into account. The forms of the Proletarian Revolution were not arbitrary**" and if "**they did not accord with our preference, so much the worse for us.**" Besides, added Togliatti, "What alternative remained? Other communists who had broken with the party, how had they ended up? (Ibid.. p. 112.).

According to Giorgio Galli in *La Sinistra italiana nel dopoguerra*, only from this meeting did the leader of the PCI accept in open form all the directions of Moscow in connection with the defeat of Bukharin, establishing a procedure which the leading group of the PCI would follow scrupulously. The small nucleus of the PCI realized full well that it carried on its political activity thanks only to the aid of Moscow, a situation which would not change until after World War II.

We see that Togliatti's way of thinking was reflecting a fundamental antithesis: the objective of socialism and the means to reach this goal were dissociated. This is due to Togliatti's following perception which goes beyond any political theory and grasps the "foundation" of human existence, philosophically and psychologically speaking: Togliatti tried to describe the problem of faith as follows :

*“Among the masses. **Socialist ideology took on an elementary, messianic character, but it was precisely this quality which allowed it to reach hundreds of thousands of workers who were being awakened for the first time to a political consciousness and thus it profoundly convinced them that, even under the most wretched conditions, they would win respect by their daily struggles and sacrifices to reaffirm their solidarity and strengthen their economic and political organizations**”.* (Palmiro Togliatti, *Il partito comunista italiano*. (Rome, 1961) p. 20.



Togliatti's alliance with the Comintern was made under many internal contradictions. Yet, recently, an Austrian Communist who knew Togliatti in Moscow in 1935 recalled how the latter, upon learning that he like many knew next to nothing about either Gramsci the man or his ideas, stated:

“Unfortunately you are not the only one who knows little or nothing about Gramsci. Gramsci is one of the major Marxist thinkers of our time. I do not exaggerate in placing him, for the originality of his thought, next to Lenin. We Italians are reproached for a tendency toward vainness. Yet we have been less effective than other nations in making known what we have achieved in the elaboration of theory. When the historical-philosophical works of Gramsci are translated, the fullness and profundity of his thought will be a surprise, Social-democracy has flattened out Marxism reducing it to a mere economism,,.Gramsci knew how to avoid this defect. He arrived at it through the study of philosophy: Giordano Bruno, Spinoza, Hegel, Marx. From Marxism he was able to cull its philosophical substance”.

No one before Gramsci underlined with as much conviction the importance of intellectuals in the formation of a nation. Certainly he did not idealize the intellectual, but he refused every form of anti-intellectualism. Discussions were not lacking between him and me. But what a great man what a precursor, what a teacher Antonio Gramsci was” (Ernst Fisher, *MUn debito di gratitudine*” XI *Contemporaneo-Rinascita*. (Rome) No. 34, Anno 22, (28 August, 1965), p.10).

## **Togliatti and the leadership of the party**

Believing that the advent of the world wide depression was an omen signifying a capitalist collapse, Togliatti proposed that the majority of the party in exile return to Italy to prepare for a take over. **From 1927 until 1934 the leadership of the CC of the PCI was based in France.** Although the top three in Milan opposed the proposal, Togliatti was supported by Longo, Ravera and Secchia, who broke the tie vote. The Milan trio was, therefore, replaced by Luigi Frausin, Luigi Amadesi and Giuseppe Di Vittorio. According to Secchia 'the crisis of the directing center of the party was the gravest that the PCI had ever passed through and was overcome and liquidated rapidly thanks especially to the work of Palmiro Togliatti and to the aid of the Communist International'.

New cells were also established at Naples under Giorgio Amendola and Dr. Eugenio Reale, **By October 1930, however, the police had caught all but Reale. When several leaders, including Camilla Ravera and Vincenzo Moscatelli were caught in Milan, Togliatti sent Secchia to reorganize the Milan center until he too was arrested in March 1931.**



Тов. Шевлягину Д.П.

110

*М. Павлов*  
*М. С. присоединить этот материал к архиву ЦК ИКП, франц. документы, учас в орг. ?*  
*28. II*

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КОНТРОЛЬ  
ПОДЛЕЖИТ ВОЗВРАТУ  
В ОБЩИЙ ОТДЕЛ ЦК КПСС

Ц К К П С С

Среди трофейных документальных материалов Управления национальной безопасности Франции, хранящихся в Центральном государственном особом архиве СССР, выявлено дело за 1937-1939 г.г., заведенное французской полицией на генерального секретаря Коммунистической партии Италии Пальмиро Тольятти (Паоло Эрколи).

В деле имеются: сведения, полученные службой Префектуры полиции о деятельности "Центральной организации различных итальянских коммунистических групп во Франции"; справка Префектуры полиции о "Бюро Коминтерна по делам Западной Европы", содержащая сведения о руководящих деятелях коммунистических партий ряда стран Европы и Америки: П.Тольятти, Г.Поллита, К.Готвальда, П.Браудера, Б.Тима, В.Пика и других. В деле имеется также машинописный текст статьи, опубликованной 14 марта 1937 года в итальянской газете "Гридо дель Пополо", освещающей деятельность П.Тольятти на посту генерального секретаря Коммунистической партии Италии.

Переводы и аннотации документов прилагаются.  
Докладывая об изложенном, прошу решения по данному вопросу.  
ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ: по тексту на 23 листах.

*Зам.* МИНИСТР ВНУТРЕННИХ ДЕЛ СССР *М. Суслов*  
ДУДОРОВ

*Материал присоединить к архиву ЦК ИКП.*

By the Fourth Congress of the PCI, which met near Düsseldorf, Germany, in April 1931, Togliatti recognized that they had overestimated the chances for a revolution. The theses of the Congress, nevertheless, called for a workers' insurrection for the destruction of fascism and a dictatorship of the proletariat. **They continued to denounce the socialist leaders Nenni and Giuseppe Saragat and the anti-fascist coalitions.** A new Central Committee was also elected with Togliatti at its head. He successively appointed Battista Santhia, Frausin and Carlo Pajetta to the Milan center.

All were arrested by the OVRA so that 1934 "marked the definite liquidation of every organized communist activity in the peninsula . .

. . Realizing that their "previous tactics of hostility: toward not only bourgeois but socialist parties . . . had simply hastened Hitler's victory" Togliatti became one of the strongest advocates of a popular front policy.

## Togliatti and the foundation of the Popular Front

In the spring of 1934 he conducted talks with Nenni, leader of the center-left socialists and Saragat, the leader of the right-wing socialists. Three months later, on August 17, 1934, **they concluded the first of many "unity of action" pacts that created the united front.**

Thus, Togliatti removed the PCI from its isolation. The preamble to the pact recognized fundamental differences in the doctrine, methods and tactics of the two parties. Together they published in Paris the "Grido del popolo" which was edited by Teresa Noce, the wife of Luigi Longo. **The new coalition conducted demonstrations in Paris and called for abolition of Mussolini's Special Tribunal and amnesties for political prisoners like Antonio Gramsci.**



In 1934 and in particular after the Seventh Comintern Congress (1935) **Togliatti became a permanent member of the Political Secretariat of the Comintern along with Manuilsky, Gottwald and Pieck with Dimitrov as Secretary-General.** Along with Stalin, Bukharin, Rykov, Molotov and Thorez, the PCI leader outline the program for the Seventh Congress. In a diplomatic move, Togliatti proposed that the congress address Stalin as “Comrade Stalin, the leader, teacher of the proletariat and of the oppressed of the whole world”.

This motion was applauded and followed by a speech delivered by Dimitrov who approved the new communist-socialist pact and emphasized that Social Democrats must no longer be smeared as “Social Fascists”.

To Dimitrov's speech, Togliatti added, “From the theoretical point of view, there is no doubt about the possibility of the Bolsheviks collaborating with capitalist states, even on the level of military cooperation”.

Then, explaining the need for the popular front and even identification with bourgeois institutions, Togliatti said:

“Why do we defend bourgeois-democratic liberties? Primarily because we . . . have no other interests than those of the whole proletariat. We are quite well aware that, however reactionary the real essence of the bourgeois-democratic regime, **it is still better for the working class than open fascist dictatorship.**”

Then in a foreshadowing of what, in later years, would be announced as an "Italian road" to socialism, he denied the necessity for a similarity in tactics between the PCI and those of the Russian party:

“But this identity of aim by no means signified that at every given moment there must be complete coincidence in all acts and in all questions between the tactics of the proletariat and communist parties that are still struggling for power and the concrete tactical measures of the Soviet proletariat and the CPSU, which already have the power in their hands in the Soviet Union”.

Thus, within a year after Hitler came to power the strategy of the Comintern had changed from one of revolutionary extremism to the popular front. The popular front sponsored anti-fascist demonstrations in Brussels to protest Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and called for support in the League of Nations for economic, but not military, sanctions against Italy. **Togliatti opposed military sanctions on the basis that they would drag the proletariat of Great Britain into war against Italy.** At the same time, however, he maintained that in cases of attack by another nation, that is, in wars of national defense among capitalist states, **the proletarian must identify himself with the cause of freedom and defend his country.**

The following year, however, it was necessary for Togliatti to make an about face. In accordance with Soviet foreign policy, which in that year was attempting to isolate Germany by strengthening relations with Italy and France, Togliatti offered reconciliation with the fascists in order to mollify Italian relations with Russia. As Togliatti put it, **"We desire that Italy conclude mutual assistance pacts with all our neighbors especially with France" and with "the Soviet Union."** (Fulvio Bellini, "The Italian CP: The Transformation of a party, 1921-1945," Problems of Communism, I (January-February, 1956), p. 41.



Please pay attention to this source:

In September of 1936 a communique was sent to Mussolini titled, "For the Salvation of Italy and the Reconciliation of the Italian people" which stated:

“We communists are adapting the Fascist program of 1919, a program of peace, freedom and defense of the worker's interests. Blackshirts and veterans of Africa, we call on you to unite in fighting for this program . . . . We proclaim that we are ready to fight beside you. Fascists of the Old Guard and Fascists Youth, to carry out the Fascist program of 1919.” (Ibid).

The message was ignored by Mussolini but it illustrates the extent to which the Italian communist found it necessary to follow Moscow's directives, for in 1923, Togliatti had written, "Some believe it is possible for fascism to become democratic or in the possibility of collaboration. This would mean the death of fascism so it is impossible to believe that fascism would change.“(Maurizio Milan and Fausto Vighi, La resistenza al fascismo (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962),p. 34.).

Later, Togliatti would never admit to any attempt at reconciliation, but rather always insisted that the PCI had never abandoned the struggle against fascism, but worked concretely to prepare its fall. **It is evident that with Togliatti's assent to the leadership of the PCI, any nationalistic or ideological goals of the Italian party were subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union.** No one was more aware of this than Togliatti himself who, although an intellectual, **was above all a political realist**, and his adaptation to the Stalinist line, which Tasca condemned as a betrayal of Gramscian liberalism and idealism, was fundamentally consistent with his primary aim of securing his own position in these years.

## **The Popular Front and the Spanish civil war**

The popular front undertook the task of aiding the republican government in Spain against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Writing under the pseudonym of "M. Ercoli," Togliatti explained in 1934 the need for such a front, not only with socialists, but with the petty bourgeoisie as well, by differentiating the Spanish Revolution from the Russian Revolution of 1917. He described the Spanish Revolution as a bourgeois-democratic revolution against the aristocracy, the privileged and other feudal remnants. Conditions peculiar to Spain necessitated tactics diverged from those of the Russian Revolutionaries. Three facts distinguished the Spanish situation:

“In the first place the working class of Spain overthrew the monarchy in 1931, before there was a real mass Communist Party...

**In the second place, while in the process of the Revolution, a mass Communist Party was taking shape but the Spanish proletariat remained under the powerful influence of the Socialist Party...**



In the third place - and this distinguishes Spain from all other countries of Europe - **the Spanish proletariat has also mass Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations in addition to the Communist and Socialist Parties**". (M. Ercoli [Palmiro Togliatti], *The Spanish Revolution* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1936), p .10).

Although these other parties hindered the People's Front with hasty projects like "compulsory collectivization", "abolition of money" and "organized indiscipline", these organizations and even the bourgeoisie had fought against fascism, so that to gain influence the communist party must, said Togliatti, identify with this struggle and transform itself into a mass party that would include the Socialist Party of Workers, the Union of Syndicalists, the Anarchist National Confederation of Labor, the Republican Party of Azana and the Catalonian Party.

The communist-socialist front movement was joined in March of 1937 by the Italian Republican Party and the LIDU (Italian League of the Rights of Man) in what became known as the United Party of Italy (UPI), in which the communists held control with their 45,000 members. The new UPI launched "La Voce degli Italiani" that circulated among immigrants in Western Europe and signed a pact with the Spanish loyalists to aid them militarily with the Garibaldi Brigade that was organized in 1935 under the leadership of Randolfo Pacciardi of the Italian Republican Party. After Pacciardi resigned, the leadership of the Brigade passed to the communist, Luigi Longo.

After the Seventh Comintern Congress, **Togliatti remained in Moscow as secretary of the Comintern and the head of the Central European Communist Parties including Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia.** He was sent to Spain as the Comintern Chief Emissary to the Loyalists. While in Moscow, Togliatti had already met other agents working with the loyalists including Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Dr. Marteaux and Jesus Hernandez. **He arrived in Spain in August of 1937 under the name "Alfredo" with the task of unifying the leadership of the International Brigades which up to this time tended to follow their own separate disciplines.**

Besides Togliatti, the Comintern team included the French communist Jacques Duclos and the Italian Vittorio Vadali ("Cardos Contreras") and the Hungarian Erno Gero. The Comintern had set aside a thousand-million francs to aid the Spanish government with nine-tenths contributed by the Soviet Union. The money was administered by a committee including Thorez, Caballero and Togliatti.

When the Spanish communists complained of the lack of military aid from the Soviet Union, Togliatti explained that "Russia regards her security as the apple of her eye. A false move on her part could upset the balance of power and unleash a war in East Europe.

On Togliatti's recommendation it was agreed that the campaign to remove Largo Caballer from the premiership of the Republican government would begin at a meeting in Valencia and that Juan Negrin would be the new choice for premier.



Togliatti occupied a house in Madrid with a communist known as La Pasionaria and her lover. After March 8, 1938, Jesus Hernandez assumed the virtual leadership of the party outside of Madrid while Luigi Longo remained the military leader of the Garibaldi Brigade. Later in 1938 Togliatti moved from Madrid to Cartagena, but after the collapse of the Loyalist resistance in Barcelona in January 1939 he flew back to Madrid.

When the Loyalist Colonel Segismundo Casado ousted Premier Negrin in a move that left the communists without any influence on the Republican government, which was rapidly losing ground to Franco, Togliatti was arrested near Alicante by Casado's men, but released through the intervention of General Sarabia. During this civil war within a civil war, Togliatti caught the last plane out of the Pyrenees on March 25, 1939.

After arriving back in Paris in August, Togliatti concentrated on re-establishing party cells in Italy and publishing a number of propagandist materials. Since over 600 Italian communists had died in Spain, the first task was to recruit new party members among the Italian expatriots.

In Italy the PCI concentrated on infiltration of the unions and the Fascist Institute for National Culture as Dimitrov had outlined at the Comintern Congresses. **This less violent strategy had come as a result of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression, which had taken the popular front by surprise.** In accordance with this new turn in Russian foreign policy, the front was not to stir the axis powers against the USSR.

Togliatti's work in France ended with his arrest and six months imprisonment for using a false passport. He was released in February, 1940. In the face of such obstacles, the Central Committee and the Secretariat were transferred to Moscow. Togliatti arrived in Moscow in April, 1940, where he joined once again his wife and secretary, Giovanni Germanetto.

From Moscow with Manuilsky and Dimitrov, Togliatti continued to issue orders to the foreign center that was left in France. He ordered Umberto Massola to return to Mila and begin publication of "L'Unita" and "L'Avvenire" once again.

With Hitler's invasion of Russia, the popular front, which was renewed in the fall of 1941, concentrated on intensifying agitation against the government in Italy and called for Italy to make a separate peace with the Allies, dispose of Mussolini, and restore civil liberties. From Moscow Togliatti began radio broadcasts to Italy under the name "Mario Correnti." Beginning in June, 1941, until the armistice, he asked:

“From the moment that Hitler made his way along a road that carries him to ruin why must we Italians contribute to save him? Why starve to give Germany our products, why sacrifice for Hitler the lives of Italy?”

In these broadcasts titled “Discorsi agli italiani”, Togliatti also urged Italians to join the popular front in resistance to the government. He recognized that the front must include the middle classes as well. As he stated in 1942:



“ The salvation of Italy rests with the Italian people, with the Italian working class, peasantry, petty and middle bourgeoisie of the cities, the intelligentsia, and even those elements of the bourgeoisie who are still capable of regarding the interests of the nation above the egoistic calculations of caste”.

He added that such a front would only be created when strikes broke out in the cities and army. In the northern cities of Italy the communist agents promoted strikes in the Fiat plant and other important industries. The popular front re-established the old General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) to lure workers away from the fascist unions. They called strikes on an average of two per month throughout 1942.

**In 1943, on the Communist International Women's Day, the front staged huge demonstrations in Turin, calling for the King, Victor Emanuele III, to depose Mussolini. In order to create a broad popular front they omitted attacks against the King's position and demands for separation of Church and State.**

## Conclusion

After the invasion of Salerno in September of 1943, Mussolini was deposed by the King and the Armistice with the Allies was signed on September 8, 1943. The following day the communists, socialists, Christian Democrats, liberals and Party of Action established the Central Committee for National Liberation (CCLN) with the socialist Ivanoe Bonomi presiding. The PCI was represented in the new front by Giorgio Amendola and Mauro Scoccimarro, while Luigi Longo became the Supreme Commander of the CCLN in Milan under the name "Gallo". From Longo's command post in Milan, the CCLN transported partisan fighters to the Northern centers. PCI's Garibaldi Battalion made up two-fifths of the partisan ranks. **Of the 4,671 anti-fascists condemned during the fascist period, 4,030 were communists.**

It was amid the PCI's new glory from its identification with Italian patriotism that Togliatti arrived back in Italy after the dissolution of the Comintern and liquidation of its agencies in September, 1943. After eighteen years underground the PCI could now demand a voice in the direction of the country. **The popular front tactics, which failed in Spain, proved their utility in Italy and would, therefore, remain the policy of the PCI in the first years after the war.**

One of Togliatti's last important acts in Moscow before his return to Italy in early 1944 was to help prepare the dissolution of the Third International of which he himself was Vice-Secretary. On May 15s 1943 the Executive Committee passed a resolution:

**“The development of events in the last quarter century has shown that the original form of uniting the workers chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International (in 1919) answered the conditions of the first stages of the working class movement, but *has been outdated* by the growth of the movement and **by the complications of its problems in individual countries**, and has become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working class parties.”**



The Praesidium of the ECCI submits for the acceptance of the sections of the Communist International:

- 1. The Communist International, as directing centre of the international working-class movement is to be dissolved.**
- 2. The sections of the Communist International are to be freed from the obligations of the rules and regulations and from decisions of the Congress of the Communist International...”**

(David Floyd Mao Against Khrushchev. A Short History of the Sino-Soviet Conflict (New York, 1964), Part Two (Documents), pp. 209-210)

After WWII Togliatti proposed the adoption of a "polycentric" communist movement.

In Easter 1956, the two main leaders of the Western Communist parties, Togliatti and Thorez, met in Italy. During his stay in Italy, and on the sidelines of his meeting with Togliatti, Thorez spoke to the Italian Communist Giulio Ceretti, stating :

“Pierre? (it was the "French" and illegal pseudonym of Ceretti in France). What mud has Khrushchev given to us all! He dirtied a brilliant, bright and heroic past. What a shame! Stalin has committed mistakes, violated legitimacy, and has plagued good comrades. Criticize him and if necessary very hard, but to get him covered with mud ... The worst of the wars was won with him and if the Soviet Union is what it is, it is thanks to the Bolshevik party directed by Stalin”.

During the talks, Togliatti suggested the implementation of a “polycentric” communist movement. Thorez replied as follows:

“The comprehension within diversity”, as Togliatti requests, is an art known to the Church. It is 2000 years old. Whilst we, we just grew up. That is the issue”.

# **Archives: Video, documents and photo**





С П Р А В К А.

/Пальмиро <sup>Т</sup>ТОЛЬЯТИ/.

Родился 26 марта 1893 г. в Генуе /Италия/, из семьи учителя. Образование высшее /окончил в 1915 г. университет в Турине, факультет права/.

Член соц. партии Италии с 1914 г.

Член КП Италии с 21.1.1921 г.

Член ЦК КП Италии с 1922 г., член ИККИ с У Конгресса Коминтерна /1924 г./

Работа:

- В 1919-1922 гг. - редактор парт. печати "Аванти", затем "Ордине Нуово" в Турине, "Иль Коммуниста" в Риме. Участвовал в руководстве генеральной забастовкой в Турине и в руководстве движением за захват заводов в 1920 г.
- 1923 г. - кооптирован в Исполком партии, перешел на работу в Секретариате ЦК. *Копи* *Италия*
- В 1924-1925 гг. - назначен ИККИ в новый состав ЦК и ПБ, докладчик по вопросу о положении и задачах партии на II конференции партии, зав. АПО в Секретариате ЦК партии. *Италия*
- 1926 г. - докладчик на III съезде партии по вопросу о профсоюзной работе, затем представитель партии при ИККИ.
- 1927-1934 г. - руководитель КП Италии.
- С 1934 г. - в ИККИ, с 1935 г. член Секретариата ИККИ. Докладчик ИККИ на VI и VIII Конгрессах Коминтерна.

В соцпартии принадлежал к группе "Ордине Нуово" /Турин/, при организации КП Италии подпал под влияние Бордига и голосовал за "тезисы Рима", которые были отвергнуты Коминтерном, начал отходить от Бордига с конца 1922 г. /после заседания ЦК до 1У съезда партии/, вел активную борьбу против бордигизма в 1924 г. - 1926 г.



В 1923-24 г. в борьбе против Таска вместе с Террачини, Скоцимара и др. создали фракцию внутри руководства партии, которая была ликвидирована на V Конгрессе Коминтерна, оправдавшем их в их борьбе против Таска.

В 1929 г. на X Пленуме ИККИ его критиковали вместе с другими членами руководства партии за слабую борьбу против правого уклона Таска.

В 1930 г. активно боролся и руководил борьбой против "З" оппортунистов.

Арестовывался:

В 1923 г. - на нелегальном заседании Секретариата партии по обвинению в заговоре против государства. Сидел три месяца, освобожден; в 1925 г. - за революционную пропаганду сидел пять месяцев, освобожден по амнистии.

Находился на нелегальном положении в Италии в 1924 г. Находится в эмиграции с 1926 г.

В Италии имеет двух братьев /один - профессор математики, другой - инженер/, сестра - учительница, не имеет связи с ними с 1925 г. *Эрнесто Марини проф. срз*

Его жена - Рита Монтаньяна, еврейка из Италии, мелкобуржуазного происхождения, по профессии портниха, член КП Италии с 1921 г., ныне партработник. *с 1925 г. в ВРК*

/Основание: автобиография 1933 г./

В 1920 г. проявлял нерешительность в борьбе, которую вела группа "Ордине Нуово" за III Интернационал, в 1923-24 г. был нерешителен в отношении мер против Бордига и согласился удалить Маджи из страны, так как он был пятым решающим в руководстве партии, и лишь решительное вмешательство Граммши,



бывшего в Вене, сохранило КП Италии для Коминтерна. В 1926 году вместе с остальными из Итальянской делегации в ИККИ просил товарища Сталина обяснить им внутривнутрипартийное положение в связи с решениями против обединенной оппозиции. В 1929 г. в руководстве КП Италии снова была нерешительность и тов. Мануильский приезжал для разяснения. /Сообщение т. Маджи/.

Т. сообщил, что он в 1926 г., будучи представителем партии в ИККИ, задержал письмо Грамши в ПБ ВКП/б/, так как оно содержало элементы колебания и он не был согласен с ним.

В 1939 г. поступило в ИККИ обвинение вдовы покойного вождя КП Италии Грамши против Т. Оно состоит в том, что Грамши считал Т. двурушником, не заслуживающим доверия. Основанием для этого являлось то, что Т. никогда не высказывал своего мнения до решения вопроса и проявлял в прошлом нерешительность в острые моменты внутривнутрипартийной борьбы, а также срывы попыток путем обмена освободить Грамши и ряд других фактов в отношении Грамши, находившегося в заключении, которые Грамши расценивал, как провокации со стороны руководства КП Италии с целью помешать его освобождению. Другим основанием этого обвинения является отсутствие работы по исполнению литературного наследия Грамши и популяризации его имени /письмо вдовы Грамши, письма от имени Грамши его жене, сообщения вдовы Грамши и ее сестер в Отдел Кадров ИККИ/.

В 1939 г. Т. был задержан французскими властями два раза. По вьезде из Испании в конце марта и начале апреля в Оране, затем под наблюдением полиции в Марселе. В то время он располагал советским паспортом и был вместе с группой советских товарищей, что помогло его отправке в СССР.

В 1939 г. был арестован в Париже и сидел в тюрьме до марта 1940 г. В обстоятельствах его ареста и освобождения было много неясностей, ввиду того, что Т. критиковал до этого много раз руководство партии за нарушение правил конспирации, а сам провалился в таких же условиях, было захвачено много партийных документов, у него был найден фальшивый паспорт при следствии сообщил, что он итальянец, выехавший из СССР, ему заявляли, что он похож на одного из руководителей КП Италии. Однако, сообщение Аллара в июле 1940 г. в день его приезда, у т. Димитрова, а затем в Отделе Кадров ИККИ, о том, что он выдал одному дипломатическому лицу 200.000 фр. франков для подкупа соответствующих лиц на предмет освобождения Т., разъяснило обстоятельства освобождения.

Замечание: следует еще раз не до конца выясненным вопросом его отношении к делу Грашин, уредовать дальнейшее изучение.

Стриганов

21 сентября 1940 г.





*F. Baue*