

internationalist notes

Spring 2017

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Against Exploitation, Crisis and War

Unions Welcome the New Boss

A Memoir of Onorato Damen

On the Dissolution of the GIO



Cover Detail: Petrograd Mayday Demonstration 1917

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Against Exploitation, Crisis and War - No War But the Class War!

Another May Day where imperialist tensions threaten to spread existing wars or stir up new ones. We are faced with a spectre of much wider and more destructive conflicts than in recent decades. The collapse of the USSR was presented by capitalist ideologists of all persuasions as the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity. The reality, now obvious to everyone, is just the opposite. It could not be otherwise. The causes that led to the implosion of the "Eastern Bloc" have certainly not spared "the West" nor have they gone away. In fact, despite the "emergence" of new players on the world economic stage, the foundations of the world capitalist system continue to crumble.

Crisis

The key to this scenario is the structural crisis of the capital accumulation process, which has plagued the system for over forty years. For decades, capital has relied on compensating for its falling profit rate through comprehensive restructuring of the production process and a massive increase in the rate of exploitation. Alongside the de-industrialisation and downsizing in many areas at the centre of capitalism there was a corresponding capital exodus to territories around the world where the workforce is paid very little and where the bosses' dictatorship, and therefore exploitation, is unlimited. The so-called opening of markets has placed the various segments of the global workforce in direct competition with each other, leading to a race to the bottom in terms of general working and living conditions. So far, this decline in living standards has been unstoppable. The working class has lost some degree of organisation and unity. This fragmentation and the spread of precarious working conditions pose great challenges to the development of a collective defence. Meanwhile financial speculation continues apace which only adds to growing instability and an unsustainable growth of the debt mountain. It is only a matter of time before the next financial bubble bursts.

... and War

Wherever we look this crisis is intensifying the conflict between opposing imperialist interests and pushing them towards open warfare. At the centre of these intensified conflicts for power and spheres of influence are the efforts of the USA to defend its hegemony against a growing number of challengers.

Contrary to his election promises, the rise of Trump has revived US imperialist activity, both against its traditional opponents and its "friends". Beyond the "bullying" character of the American President, this shows that, in an imperialist world, there are only conflicting interests which impose their will by force if necessary.

It is civilians, workers, the dispossessed, who pay the price for all this: massacred, impoverished, forced to abandon their homes to seek a precarious refuge in countries where they are not welcome, where they become the target of racist campaigns and are exploited as an convenient supply of cheap labour.

Not surprisingly, the Middle East has been for decades the area where imperialist powers have clashed the most. The game for control of a large portion of the world's energy flows and through that, the maintenance of the dollar's dominance, is played out there. Although no longer the "leading industrial power" as in the Second World War, it is thanks, in large part to this supremacy, coupled with its military might, that the US can continue to play the role of global superpower. On the other side the euro was another significant moment in the bumpy ride to establish a European imperialist pole. It was one of the key instruments for countering US imperial hegemony, based on the primacy of the dollar in trade and global financial movements. It is also a tool to best manage – or so parts of the European bourgeoisie think – a crisis that never goes away. And it is this crisis, not the actual currency, which is forcing governments to impose economic and social policies – including the notorious “structural adjustments” to state budgets – which lower wages, cut the "welfare state", and have deadly effects on jobs (insecurity, unemployment).

The poverty of reformism....

Under present conditions there is no organisation which the working class can recognise as their own. Instead the mishmash of various left reformists, often heirs of Stalinism, confront imperialism with blunt weapons like pathetic appeals to democracy, or to those institutions, like the UN, which, at best, are powerless to stop conflicts, when they do not give them a legal and even "humanitarian" cover. It's a Left which deludes its "natural supporters" (and themselves) with economic and social solutions which might have had some point – in bourgeois terms – in the post-war boom, but which have little credibility today. It's not just the "banks" or "neo-liberalism" that are the problem, but capitalism as a whole: we have to break with the whole system. But this means going down a road that the Left, by its very nature, can't even dream of taking. Instead they continue to point to the shameful, if unsurprising, story of SYRIZA in Greece – which should have been the tombstone of all reformist illusions – as if it had been a success.

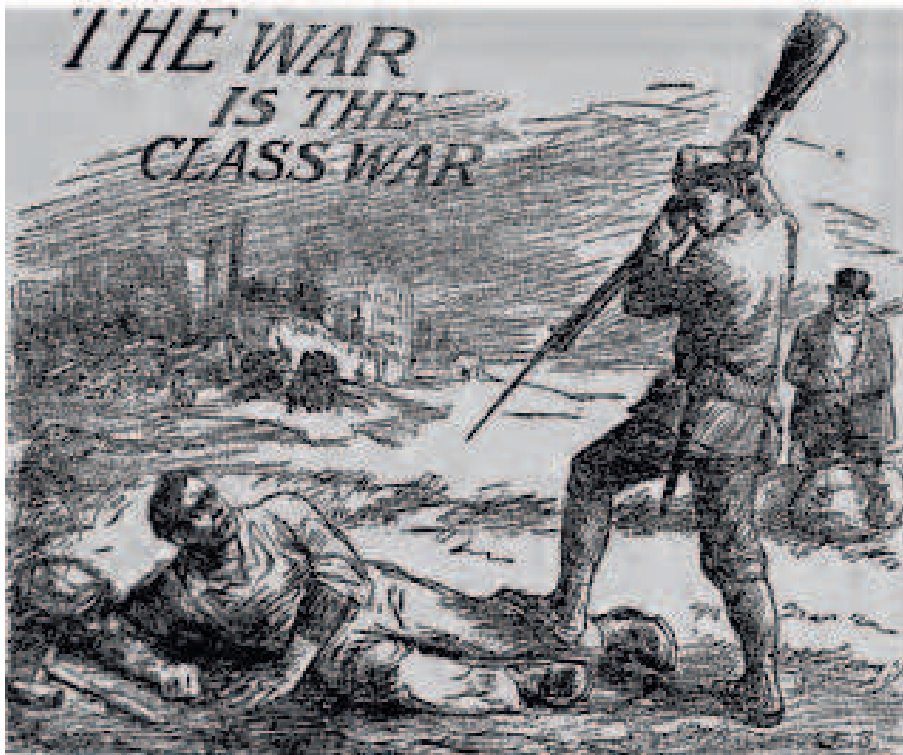
... and the rise of the authoritarian Right

On the other hand, the so-called populism of the extreme Right is growing. Reactionary ideologies always feed on social decomposition, atomisation and growing insecurity. The dangerous propaganda mix of racism and social demagogy is winning over substantial layers of the de-classed petty bourgeoisie and even confused workers who are disillusioned by a self-styled Left which is always ready to go along with the dictates of capital. The "Left" in government have systematically betrayed the campaign promises they made and do the traditional work of the Right, allowing it to demagogically say things that sound "left". However, the parties of the authoritarian Right offer neither protest nor opposition to either the dominant conditions or the Establishment but, on the contrary, their business is to sharpen those divisions amongst workers which the ruling class plays upon daily. By doing this it attracts all those authoritarian characters, who seek to compensate for their own weakness with aggression against those who are weaker. The authoritarian Right might differ from the reformist Left in the extent of its nationalist and racist ideology but their populist recipes to "get out" of the crisis are not, in the end, very different. Both are firmly based on capitalist premises: exit from the euro (or EU), protectionism, state intervention and the defence of the highly praised “national sovereignty”

A Real Response: Class Struggle and Organisation

After decades of attacks the challenge for the international working class is how to give a response that is equal to the attacks of its class enemy. A minority of workers – often belonging to the most oppressed sectors of our class – have started to conduct determined and courageous battles (for example the strikes in the Italian logistics sector). Many of those struggles have flowed outside of and against the control of the traditional trades unions, organisations that are more and more obviously integrated into the mechanism of management and control of the working class on behalf of capitalism. Those struggles often alleviate the most brutal methods of exploitation and oppression, but the political groups leading them remain locked inside a union perspective, albeit a radical unionism, which, never goes beyond the (partial) successes of the first phase of the struggle. Their framework is necessarily limited and holds back that leap to the political level which is needed to confront capital. Meanwhile the crisis only highlights the incompatibility of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It underlines the need to give the class struggle not a union perspective, which accepts the overall framework of capitalism, but a communist one that is radically antagonistic to bourgeois society. Thus it is important and necessary to understand capitalist mechanisms, the logic of bourgeois rule, its criminal imperialist power games and give a clear rebuff to the fraudulent nature of the programmes of both reformist left and “populist” right.

There is an alternative to capitalist misery! It starts by recognising that the ruthless demands of capital are incompatible with our wage-dependent world of work (or lack of it). It moves on to taking up the struggle against capitalism in all its economic and political guises, something that is more difficult than ever today. Finally, an international revolutionary organisation has to be formed which can draw together the anger against an inhuman system which has outlived its usefulness, and which can consistently channel that anger into overthrowing it.



1917: An Inspiration and a Lesson

Exactly a hundred years ago, in the middle of a world war, the revolutionary proletariat of Russia broke part of the chain with which the capitalists oppressed the world's proletariat and dispossessed. Organised politically in the Bolshevik Party, its organs of power were based on the direct democracy of the soviets. The Russian revolutionaries knew that if "their" revolution remained isolated, if the working class of other countries, especially the more advanced, did not break with their own bourgeoisie, their revolution would be defeated. And so, unfortunately, it was. Of course, there was no shortage of serious political mistakes, and of a tragic misunderstanding of the meaning of the word "socialism". There was also, at times, a lack of clarity in dealing with a situation which had never appeared before in history, except for the all too brief, but brilliant, experience of the Paris Commune of 1871.

The Russian revolutionary experience degenerated until it was transformed into an open counter-revolution in the form of state capitalism disguised, to the joy of all reactionaries, as "socialism". This was due to the enormous, even superhuman difficulties, which the Russian proletariat had to face alone. If we remember October 1917 it is not with a kind of pathetic sentimentality, but to point out how that experience has shown that a radical transformation of the society is indeed possible.

The experiences of the Russian revolution show that a proletarian uprising cannot continue to survive isolated in a single country and that we can only fight and overcome capitalism (as a global system) on an international scale. The first attempt to enter a new world was defeated, but no one can say that it will be like this forever. It is an elementary task of a communist organisation to save the experience of proletarian self-emancipation from oblivion whilst at the same time pointing out its limitations. Only by critically reflecting on and developing the revolutionary perspective which a hundred years ago enthused and propelled the class-conscious proletariat of all countries can we put a stop to the lowering of our living standards, the irreversible destruction of the environment, and imperialist wars with their tragic toll of death and suffering.

Communism or barbarism! There is no other choice.

May Day Statement of the Internationalist Communist Tendency, 2017

Friday, April 28, 2017



USA: Unions Welcome the New Boss

As seen above, leaders from the building trades unions posed for pictures with the new President. The operating belief among these union leaders is that they will profit, as petty-capitalists, from hypothetical future national infrastructure projects. The leadership of the AFL-CIO came out in support of the new regime's trade warfare policies. The unions have dug up their own “Buy American” slogan that they coined in the 1970s. As a national chauvinist and patriotic slogan it fits in nicely with the “America First” line of the new lords of Pennsylvania Avenue.

This comes as no surprise. The machinery of the AFL-CIO has always supported a nationalist and pro-war line. The AFL-CIO supported the Iraq War and every war before it. Through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO partnered with the CIA and CIA front organizations to pursue the imperialist aims of the regime in Washington. For the unions this activity outlasted the demise of the USSR. Eventually the AIFLD was rolled into to a new bureaucracy called the “American Center for International Labor Solidarity”.

While the trade warfare policy harms workers who lose their earnings to price inflation and then lose their lives in the wars that often follow, for a bourgeoisie desperate to suck capital into their national hole it might seem worthwhile. Capitalism must “expand or die” (Marx). The nationalist outlook of the unions fits neatly with the nationalist outlook of the political leadership. For union leaderships in the building trades, any policy that keeps the building boom going is a good policy. For the bourgeoisie keeping building boom going makes the economy appear healthier than it actually is, it ties values down into bank debt. For the unions this is a survival adaptation to the new reality in Washington. For the politicians it is an attempt to appeal to nationalist sentiments in the population and to “blue collar” workers in particular. The social base of the ruling parties is evaporating forcing the Republican Party to incorporate fascist elements into the ruling coalition. The ruling party needs allies just as much as the union leaderships do. The nationalist campaign on trade and in support of domestic industry is perfectly in line with all previous US policy. From one President's platitudes of “insourcing” to another President's “America First” and “Buy American” the end result is the same.

During the last Presidential election campaign the most popular candidates made visits to the iron range in Northeastern Minnesota to call for protectionist trade measures against China. The bourgeoisie, across their political spectrum, wants the long term slide in commodity prices worldwide to be viewed as entirely the fault of China. The same political class in Senate Intelligence Committee hearings on March 31, blamed all the social protests of the last decade on the insidious effects of Russian "information warfare". [1] A witch-hunting atmosphere exists that is aiming to use the political crisis of the administration to push it towards an even more aggressively militaristic agenda and not to protect the public against repression and austerity. The regime in D.C. has drawn up a list of political commentary web sites officially regarded as being in the service of a Russian state propaganda machine. The squabbling factions of the bourgeoisie appear as opponents of each other when they are only walking the same path of imperialist war, walking down the same road arguing with each other about who should be on their hit lists. [2]

The old argument that revolutionaries cannot abandon the workers in the unions to their reactionary leaderships isn't appropriate to a situation where the unions choose to abandon the workers. According to a Pew Research poll six in ten adults in the US have a favorable view towards unions. [3] The business union in capitalism responds to their decline in exactly the same way the capitalists in control of any industry would react, to cut out the dead wood and increase costs onto the backs of their member-workers. To argue today about what revolutionaries should do in regard to unions is akin to arguing about where to stand at the bedside of the terminally ill.

As state workers unions lose automatic dues check-offs, and each individual state adopts anti-union measures such as "right to work" legislation, the unionized sector of the workforce hemorrhages a little more. The current rate of unionization is now down to 10.7% of the workforce in the US, this is down from 20% in 1983 and down from 34.8% in 1954. [4] This is what the construction trades, the teamsters and the steel workers union leaderships are facing. What the ruling class is attacking when it attacks the unions is the base of a rival faction of the ruling class and not simply the wages and working conditions of the workers as members of the unions. The only thing about the executives of the unions that differs from the executive of a company is the word "union". The long collapse in members of the unions simply makes them more willing to negotiate the sale of labor power and make concessions to their colleagues.

The state government of Iowa has just ended the automatic dues check-off for their state unions and have stopped bargaining with their state workers unions. The unions in Rockford, Illinois public schools have called out a short strike to get workers to blow off steam and to push an inevitable sellout contract afterwards. Meanwhile the state workers' union, AFSCME in Illinois passed a resolution to carry out a strike vote in the near future if they feel the need to get workers to blow off steam during the bargaining process with the state. The union is currently pursuing a strategy of litigation. In neighboring states around Illinois the state workers unions have been crushed. This is precisely what all the remaining unions are looking at and hoping to avoid, but they seek to do so without having angry workers make things difficult for them. No matter the humiliation union officialdom must keep its seat at the bargaining table regardless of who is sitting at that table with them. The union must bargain a contract or perish.

The sort of unions workers consistently show support for in polls don't exist. Specifically perception of a union as an organization of workers who band together to wage the day-to-day "guerrilla" struggle against the employing class or that at the very least attempts to fight for workers interests at some level. The reality of a union that is nothing more than an organization of a faction of bourgeoisie connected to one ruling clique or another is difficult to understand for those who have not seen it. They gain what credibility they have to workers from the very fact that the state attacks them. The state attacks because the crisis compels the capitalists to make sure there are few seats at the table. During more prosperous times, when workers are inclined to ask for more the capitalists might use a union to ameliorate the exploitation with the help of an union during the upswing in the last cycle of accumulation. With the downwards phase of the cycle the capitalist class must claw back from workers as much as possible and make them bleed. There is little sense in attempts to revive or recreate these institutions when workers must circumvent these institutions and seek to move beyond their inherent sectional and national limitations. All our past experience tells us that today the basic proletarian organizational forms are workers assemblies with mandated and recallable delegates, making decisions and waging our struggles out in the open on our own terrain. [5]

ASm

4 April 2017

Notes

[1] Contrary to the title there was nothing new, only the usual assertions of the spymasters in the Senate.

Posner, S. *Today's Russia hearings actually revealed something new and important*. Washington Post. March 30, 2016.

washingtonpost.com

[2] For an expansion on this see leftcom.org

[3] Maniam, S. Most Americans See Labor Unions and Corporations Favorably. Pew Research Center. 2016

pewresearch.org

[4] Mayer, G. *Union membership trends in the United States*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. 2004

[5] For a fuller outline of our position see leftcom.org

Thursday, April 6, 2017



A Memoir of Onorato Damen

*Remembering comrade Onorato Damen, who left us on October 14, 1979 we found in a drawer an article that appeared in the journal "Pietre" in 1980: **The Leninist Diaspora: *Damen and Bordiga.*** The author, Antonio Valeri, suffered imprisonment alongside Damen in a concentration camp at Istonio Marina, aka Vasto d'Abruzzo; While not a fellow political activist, Valeri – as he himself wrote – wanted to remember Damen with "this essay-form summary of his work, inspired by a long friendship born in 1940 in a concentration camp ... an attempt at _a continuation of a thirty year dialogue in respect of each other's opinions and the mutual recognition of the dramatic prospects for Italy, for Europe and for the world, of the unfortunately betrayed ideals of that October 1917 that both of us, and with us, millions and millions of people, had hailed in our younger years as an immense hope for justice and freedom"._*

We are publishing this article especially for younger comrades who have not had the fortune to directly encounter the strong and lucid character of Onorato: this memoir is a testament to how our unforgettable companion was esteemed – as we read – for his "moral integrity, political inflexibility, educated personality". Besides that, and for us of fundamental importance, was his "clear doctrinal rigour": a resolute example of theoretical and political coherence that, today as yesterday, sustains us through the difficulties of the hard work of building the Revolutionary Party.

... In memory of the consistent figure of Onorato Damen, Communist fighter ejected from the Church of the PCI in 1931, who died on October 14, 1979 in Milan aged 85, after sixty-five years of struggle in the Italian and international labour movement, including twelve years in prison, ten in confinement, as well as fascist ambushes and persecution: events which had earned him the label of "unrepentant Communist" from the regime's police.

But for that Church, even before his death, Onorato Damen was buried among those "who were never alive." In vain we tried to find traces of him in the *Encyclopedia of Antifascism and Resistance*, founded by the staunch Stalinist, Secchia. And if in the *Biographical Dictionary of the Italian Labour Movement*, published by Editori Riuniti, a tiny article refers to his name, there is no mention of the important reasons for his dissent, firstly "par excellence", towards the party, then aimed at Amadeo Bordiga, and finally at the height of his heresy, directed towards the heirs of Bordigism, with his own version of Marxist and Leninist orthodoxy, an absolute version of an absolute doctrine.

Only in semi-clandestine (as regards dissemination) periodicals of the tiny groups of the internationalist diaspora, *Prometeo* and *Battaglia Comunista*, could his writings appear, with a polished doctrinal and polemical rigour, and only in the press of the free left, yesterday in *Social Critique*, today in *Pietre*, is he reinvoked; yes, as a dissenter, but respectful and appreciative, a man of moral integrity, political inflexibility, a cultured personality.

Stalinist Theocracy

Damen's thought is expressed in a consistent understanding of the framework of Marxism and Leninism and the repudiation of its Stalinist degeneration. It differs from Trotskyism and Bordigism in his judgment of the nature of this degeneration and in his prediction of its future developments. (i)

Trotsky, exiled and hounded by GPU agents in countries that granted him asylum, from Constantinople to Oslo to Mexico City, still attributed the rise of Stalin's military and police despotism to a bureaucratic-oligarchical degeneration. He based his desperate battle for the restoration of Leninist dialectics within the Party and the International; while Bordiga and the European Communist left were inspired by the Kronstadt revolt and the original "workers' opposition" in the midst of the October Revolution. They forgot the harsh Leninist analysis of extreme left in "*the infantile disease of communism*" – and substantially shared the Trotskyist platform in rejecting the idea of a capitalist turn in the Soviet economy, seeing the distorted character of the Stalinist regime only in industrialisation and forced accumulation. Onorato Damen lucidly denounced the tragic reality of the revolution that denied its origins, which became a counter-revolution, a dystopian, imperialist State in which capitalism weighed with iron laws on workers and peasants, more than ever, subject to super-exploitation and alienation.

He (Damen) did not see himself as part of the Trotskyist diaspora and in the countless groups and Trotskyist factions that branched off in Europe and America, giving rise to a long succession of wounds and divisions, everywhere infiltrated, pursued and murdered — as in the case of Leon Trotsky, his son Lyova and many others – by the long reach of the tyrant's vendetta: Damen saw the facts clearly, without making any concessions on principles. The Russian Revolution had undergone its Thermidor. The Church, which became the State, had established its Theocracy, its theological truths. Following in the footsteps of all churches, with power over the flesh as well as spirits, it was impenetrable, steeped in its own dogma, counting on the prop of a formidable, increasingly powerful, secular, armed apparatus, ready to extirpate heresy and dissent.

Somewhat like what took place during the early centuries of Christianity, when the free apostolate was succeeded by the Church triumphant in its dogmas and its hierarchies

Working class internationalism was finished: the Stalinist theory of "*communism in one country*" and the leading role of the "State" was its obvious opposite. The only truth heard was that of the despot, to whom was owed due obedience in the "*cult of personality*", just as in the third century AD the omnipotent Constantine, through the Edict of Milan, was the subject of the cult of the Genius of the Emperor "*the spontaneous creation of subjects of the eastern provinces. Accustomed to see sovereigns as a divine manifestation*". (2)

Opponents retained intact only the consciousness of their own thinking, but were powerless...

In Soviet Russia, the terrifying "great purges" of the 1930s, bring us back to the darkest centuries of the Middle Ages, to the bloody repression of the Gnostic, Marcionite, Nicolaite and Arian heresies*: grim, atrocious pages of superstitious fury; subtle and sophisticated disputes on substance and on form, on principles and objectives, on good and evil, which still demanded the eclipse of reason, the blood tribute, fratricidal feud, slavery of thought and works, banishment, hunger and death.

The total rejection of Stalinism, and its Togliatti derivatives, which in the 1930s link Damen to Bordiga, was followed in subsequent decades by insights and clarifications of a wider horizon, not just on the essence and consequences of the Soviet trajectory, but on the fundamental principles of doctrine: the interpretation of Marxist dialectic, the famous *diamat*. It was the rupture between the two, historically documented by correspondence in 1951 between Alfa (Bordiga) and Onorio (Damen): five letters in which the Bordigist "*mathematical*", conception of revolution which comes about by itself so one can wait for it with arms folded, is opposed by Damen's vision of motion and contradiction, demanding action and struggle, a fighting party, a conscious proletariat.

AGNO ONORATO DAMEN E' MORTO
 a vive nella continuità del partito rivoluzionario

... un collasso cardiaco ci ha tolto Damen. Il 4 dicembre avrebbe del compagno stesso. I funerali, martedì 16: una sola o della Internazionale Comunista.



Una lezione di coerenza con la concezione materialista della storia

Quando si tratta di evidenziare i contenuti dell'opera di un militante rivoluzionario della sinistra, è facile ritrovarsi nell'apologia e quindi nel buio. Onorato Damen, come che Damen stesso avrebbe risposto senza un gramo di disagio. Se richiamiamo alcuni problemi alla cui ricerca è stato Onorato ha dato il suo fondamentale contributo: non lo facciamo nell'intento di citare la parola « post mortem », ma per servire al fine di cogliere il filo conduttore della sua opera che è a nostro avviso da rivedere nel modo di sentire la dialettica materialistica in intima connessione con gli insegnamenti di Marx e Lenin che promulgò tanto quando Damen è impegnato a puntualizzare la natura della nuova sinistra, quanto nella sua difesa della concezione leninista del Partito contro

tutti i tentativi di ridurlo ora a pura appendice ai margini della lotta di classe, ora a metafisico organismo, compiuto, in ogni sua parte fino a « non in qualche modo, ma in modo » conclusi. Quest'ultima questione come è noto si pose praticamente sin dalla nascita della frazione all'estero e più esattamente con il mutare del dissenso nei confronti della degenerazione stalinista che dalla Russia, tramite l'Internazionale si estese a tutti i partiti ad essa aderenti. Frazione e Partito e frazione che punto ha senso la prima: Non si esce dall'Internazionale senza la capacità di porci concretamente sul terreno della lotta di classe per separare dialetticamente gli interessi dei due contendenti sul partito che al di là di sempre possibili sbandamenti, è portatore di una piattaforma che

... valorosa compagna, e a Fabio, zioni del Partito. Erano presenze che nel campo. Di più, rappresentative e presta internazionale. Il compagno ha pronunciato parole di tutti i presenti e pugni chiudendo la lotta della sinistra. I ebbe la certezza di poter difendere la manifestazione politica Milanese hanno preparato, sanfesta, ecco il testo: « Partito (battaglia comunista) il partito comunista internazionale hanno prestato figure, il compagno (16 ottobre 1970) segretario saracino ricordate in alla Sala del Grechetto martedì la sala era uno striscione: « Forte nella continuità del Partito riplo striscione del Partito, le bandiere rivolte e destinate ad essere il partito rivoluzionario » O.

... membro del Comitato Esecutivo, la della Presidenza, ha aperto la le organizzazioni che avevano un telegrammi o lettere: la nazione C.O. Fomento Operaio Rivoluzione, Spagna, il Comitato Provinciale sardo, il Nucleo C. Int. e il Lenini provinciali del Partito. Successivamente la parola alle delle quali ha ricordato il grande Damen, al di là delle divergenze, alla difesa dei principi rivoluzionario per tutto il periodo zione e il suo contributo al risorgimento rivoluzionario nell'ambito della elato: il Comandante, Rivoluzione il Nucleo e il Leninista, Lotta nella C.C.I. il presidente ha quindi incaricato di ricordare la figura in sullo sfondo dei sereni storici

Una vita al servizio della lotta di classe

Onorato Damen nacque a Monte S. Pietrangeli (Ascoli Piceno) il 4 dicembre 1919. Militante rivoluzionario da sempre, visse in prima persona come vittima e protagonista più di mezzo secolo di lotta di classe senza mai venir meno, neanche per un giorno, al suo dovere di militante. Cresciuto politicamente alla scuola del socialismo rivoluzionario, militò giovanilmente nel PSI conducendo le sue prime battaglie contro

le istituzioni. La vaga formula giuridica della senzia non rende appieno l'opera di disfattismo rivoluzionario compulsa in quel frattono. Infatti condanna o arresto furono motivati da « incitamento alla diserzione » e dalla denuncia di « carattere imperialistico della guerra ». Rimesso in libertà nel '19 riprese il suo posto nel Partito collaborando al periodico socialista e Fermo « La Lotta ». Nel biennio 20-21, ricicò

Disagreement extended to different conceptions of the nature and duties of the Revolutionary Party and of the Trade Unions, and in the 1950s became irreversible, creating a new split in the Internationalist Communist Party: the split in the split, with Damen "solus sed non solus", on the one hand, Bordiga on the other.

Damen's three disagreements

The three points of disagreement separating them date from the Second World War, when the Communist left revived to reweave the cloth ripped apart by fascist persecution, and become clear in 1952. They were: the concept of dialectics and the supersession of praxis; the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the political surrogate of the dictatorship of the party; The attitude of the class party as regards Russia, a great military power, and in its own way colonialist and imperialist.

Basically, Onorato's criticism targets Alfa's desire for isolation, his fatalistic positivism, which leads him to await for events with folded arms, like a philosopher rather than a militant, and reproaches him for his "ability to adapt and his theoretical instability, constantly ranging between his natural deterministic appreciation of the facts and a complacent dialectical evaluation taken from Marxism which he perceived and expressed in a deterministic manner, following the canons of positivist scientism, which he illegitimately employed." (3)

For Damen, Bordiga seems to be "the fighter who chose to remain for almost three decades under the crushing defeat of the collapse of the Third International, which was accompanied historically by the consolidation of Stalinism in Russia and around the world". (4)

And Giorgio Galli rightly points out that "the methodology based on mathematical science is not always consistent with the methodology based on dialectic, which is movement and contradiction." (5)

Damen's political activity and ideological criticism is founded on the inflexible basis of the Marxist and Leninist logic of the October revolution, later betrayed and overthrown by its epigones, firstly by Stalin, vainly disavowed by a prescient Lenin in his will. One has to admire the deep doctrinal coherence of Damen, in that context, refusing to surrender to moralising and opportunism. He had "*in pectore*" a study of Gramsci, that would certainly lead to further deepening of Leninism itself, which is, for this writer, the source behind the failure of socialism in the Soviet East, glimpsed ahead of the rest with acute foresight from 1919 by Kautsky and Martov and in Italy by Rodolfo Mondolfo. (6) (bear in mind; this is personal opinion of the author of the article, – ed.)

And as regards contemporary events, Damen's critique did not miss the target "*of democratic parliamentary revisionism*" already glimpsed in Gramsci's "*historic bloc*", translated and then carried out in terms of facile, empirical pragmatism in Berlinguer's "*historic compromise*" which "*aims to achieve economic and political restoration within the capitalist system to ensure safety and continuity*". (7)

The Man Damen

So, a consistent fighter; a clear writer and speaker, well researched, without demagogic and rhetorical smoke; a serene and deeply honest man, exemplary in his profession – teaching in middle school – and in life; with the intelligent collaboration of his wife, who had suffered with him the harsh events of the fascist period and all those who shared his ideas, he created periodicals of their diaspora, and he was at the same time manager, proof-reader, distributor, as is the fate of poor and small parties (as was the case with all the contributors), following in the footsteps of the rest; of Gambo, Turati, Prampolini, the pre-fascist Bordiga himself.

The man conceded nothing to the opponents but freely engaged in dialogue with them, without contempt for the opinions of others, which is only for fanatics of all churches. His irony was not corrosive, but simply human. And this essay summary of his work, inspired by a long friendship born in 1940 in a concentration camp (of Marine Istonio, alias Vast d'Abruzzo) (8), is meant to be a continuation of a thirty year dialogue in respect of our mutual opinions and the mutual recognition of the dramatic prospects for Italy, for Europe and for the world, unfortunately arising from the betrayal of the ideals of that October 1917 which both we, and millions and millions of people, had hailed in our younger years as offering immense hope of justice and freedom.

Notes

(1) For those who wish to learn more on the topic we recommend: Onorato Damen, Bordiga: Beyond the Myth, now in English and available from our website.

(2) See Panfilo Gentile. History of Christianity Ed. Rizzoli, Milan, 1975.

(3) Damen. op. cit. p. 76

(4) Damen, op. cit., p. 74.

(5) See Giorgio Galli, Alternative Histories of the P.C.I. in Social Criticism. #3. 1972. Galli is also quoted on p. 85 of Damen op.cit.

(6) There are those who go further and invoke the same Marxism in condemning principles and especially the method. Like Luciano Pellicani and Domenico Settembrini ...

(7) See Damen, op. cit. From the flap of the inside back cover of the Second Edition in Italian.

(8) In the wave of Mussolini's rediscovery of all things Roman, an extensive ancient Roman municipality was renamed Histonium. Originally from the Frentani, the Italian population subjugated and colonised by the Romans at the time of the "social war" (between 130 BC and the beginning of the common era).

... In the concentration camp, opened in May 1940, the divide between Stalinists and heretics of communism seemed obvious: separate canteens, no contact, not even greetings. The rest was the regime used in prisons, and Gramsci and Terracini had endured the unnatural and punitive environment ...

- The four heresies were all condemned by the early Church in the Fourth Century AD but various theologians continued to be condemned by the Church as exhibiting these and many other obscure heresies right through to modern times.

"Alone but not alone" [Translators]

Thursday, November 24, 2016

Friday, December 9, 2016

ICT Statement on the Dissolution of the GIO (Canada)

Yesterday, January 4 2017, the comrades of the ICT received the following brief communication from the Canadian comrades of the GIO.

“As a result of the problems the GIO has created within the ICT, the members of the GIO have decided to discontinue the activities of the group for the ICT's sake. A report will be sent to you in the coming months. We are considering the creation of a new study group to reorganise internationalist forces on Canadian soil.”

It is with mixed feelings that we received this. We would have preferred at the beginning that the original error by the GIO of admitting a comrade with a violent past towards women had never been taken. Equally we regret the several efforts that were then made to hide this decision from the ICT as a whole. However we are thankful that after months of trying to get the GIO to recognise the enormity of the mistake and that it could no longer go on, either as an affiliate of the ICT or as a credible representative of the communist left in Canada, that this has now born fruit. This has been recognised not just by the remaining former GIO comrades (who were not party to the original mistake) but also by the new elements who have approached it as genuine sympathisers of the ICT. The termination of the GIO opens the way for all those Canadian comrades of the communist left who have been in touch with, or following, the ICT to make a new start.

We now await the promised fuller statement of the ex-GIO and the new comrades about their next steps. They are already beginning to outline a programme of work (which they mentioned in a subsequent email) to confront not just a single error but all the problems of the GIO in the past. Now that the GIO have made their announcement we are at liberty to publish the final stages of the discussion between us. The first is an Open Letter of the CWO circulated to the ICT and its sympathisers. After reading it Comrade A resigned. However by this time the issue was more than about one comrade. This whole affair and our discussion with various comrades in Canada has revealed that the GIO for most of its history (it affiliated to our tendency in 2001) has never been a coordinated organisation but a group of individuals each with their own take on our platform. Although they have produced some good documents on the lines of the ICT platform their intervention in the class struggle has largely been as individual militants. Our concerns over their activism (particularly in 2012) where they seemed to be participating in the student movement in Quebec without taking any distinctive revolutionary message into that movement forced us to send a delegate to monitor the situation in 2014. However, when the delegate arrived new members who adhered to ICT positions had appeared and it was hoped that they would lead the GIO towards a more coherent theoretical basis. This soon turned out to be a false hope since one left disgusted at the incoherence of the organisation on the ground, another was expelled for violence towards his partner and another was A. None of this was reported to the ICT by the GIO. Moreover the question of political coherence broadened. It now appears that other comrades who agreed with the ICT had left the GIO because of the “activist” and “leftist” behaviour of its leading member. The final confirmation of the latter's irresponsibility, and lack of sense of what an organisation means, was when he abandoned any attempt to deal with the problem of A (again never informing the ICT) and resigned on that home base of all egomaniacs, Facebook, without any discussion with any of his comrades or with the rest of the ICT.

We as a tendency have however also to draw the lessons of this experience. The ICT has never set out to create clones of itself. The ICT is the coordinating body of groups which are centralised around a common platform but which have considerable freedom to work in their own areas with whomever they think are contributing to building a revolutionary proletarian organisation. [By this we mean one which is autonomous of social democratic/state capitalist and trades union elements which seek to integrate the working class into capitalist society by posing as “socialist” but who are actually intent only on reforming a system which is long ceased to be useful to humanity.] Our aim is for constituent groups to contribute to the development of revolutionary theory and practice as they participate in the class struggle wherever they live, obviously starting from the perspective of the communist left. This the GIO did sporadically but, as our recent discussions have revealed, tended to go with the movement too often in a sort of left populist way and did not always make their own distinctive and revolutionary contribution. This is a typical danger of any new political nucleus and can only be overcome by a consistent effort to collectively clarify what the political basis of left communist politics means. So we wish the comrades in Canada well as we await their fuller statement on this experience. We shall, of course, try to support them as much as possible in these difficult and reactionary times so that they can become a strong nucleus in the fight back against capitalism on the North American continent.
ICT IB 5 January 2016

Open Letter to the GIO from the CWO

Comrades

We are writing this as an appeal. It comes earlier and more brusquely than we would have liked but our hand has been forced by the irresponsible behaviour of an ex-comrade who mendaciously implied in his resignation that we were ignoring the issue of Comrade A.

In April when the CWO met and were given the details of what had been happening the first response was that the decision to admit A was “toxic”. There is no way the CWO would have knowingly admitted someone with such a past into the group. We explain why below.

CWO members feel betrayed at every step in this process. The GIO not only did not inform any of the ICT affiliates or the IB at the time (March 2013) but neither the GIO nor A told us when there were so many opportunities to do so, such as when A came to the UK and suggested we organise a speaking tour for him in November-December 2013, or when the IB sent a CWO comrade as delegate to Montreal in June 2014. Our delegate spent many hours alone with A discussing the political problems of the GIO, and how they could be resolved, but not once did he even hint at his past.

As it is, we only learned from A himself about this when he was due to arrive in Rome in November 2015 and even then we received a very brief, sanitised version of what had happened. We suspect he only told us then because comrade V, who had admitted him, had now decided to make the issue public. We knew the comrade had problems with alcohol and anti-depressants but we did not know that he was not even using email anymore hence did not reply to our enquiries. He lives his life on Facebook and it was there that in an act of irresponsibility and, according to his own confession, under the influence of anti-depressants, that he resigned from the GIO without telling anyone. He did however promise to bring forward a more coherent accusation but as we all know has failed to do so.

However we did not wait for his promised “dossier” but have been in contact with others in Montreal and from them we learned that A was told in a demonstration in Montreal around the time of his entry into the GIO that his presence was not welcome. Add to this the fact that he absented himself from the only public meeting our delegate held in Montreal, that he ran to the UK in late 2013 and that he then went on a course in New Brunswick for 2 years and we have a picture of a comrade who is continually running away. This has led us to question his account of what happened in the original incident.

“Hurting” a woman means forcing himself on her and the subsequent tale of a blackout (which in one version he fails to mention) is hardly credible.

We think we (at first) and the GIO (still) have been incredibly naïve to not put all the evidence together to see that this is a comrade who is manipulating us all. He has not ever publicly put up a defence of himself, except when politically necessary, and what he has said shows remorse only for the damage it is doing to his reputation and not for the actual deed itself. He is ashamed but not sorry. This is not the picture of the repentant that the GIO statement is trying to convey.

The GIO statement itself is, to say the least, weak. In its first version it does not even mention that there were two accusations of rape by different women against A. Nor does it mention that he was also accused whilst in the NEFAC splinter of being a rapist (when asked by email he did not deny it but dismissed this as an accusation of a crazy feminist who accused all men of this). In the statement the GIO also correctly criticises itself for not issuing a statement about the expulsion of N for his brutal drunken attack on his partner but this was also an incident which we were not told about until just before the November 2015 IB meeting and yet it had occurred some months earlier. Whose idea was it to not issue a statement?

We do think repentance and rehabilitation of individuals is possible and desirable especially for crimes committed as minors. But it is the responsibility of the individual to take on this task not a communist organisation. This is particularly significant in issues which are about violence towards women. As we have already said in earlier mails the working class is over 50% female (but not represented in anything like that in left communist groups around the world). As a comrade stated earlier in our debates “We can't build an organisation for the future if there's any doubt about the safety of women in that organisation and we can't start any building blocks for a communist society without the active participation of half the population.”

Communist organisations don't mirror capitalist society (as the GIO tried to argue in one reply). On the contrary they present a model of the behaviour in the communist society of the future and cannot afford the slightest whiff of behaviour (sexist, racist etc etc) which damages that model. Individuals coming to communism are perhaps different because they inevitably carry some of the reactionary mores of the old society but it is the task of the collective to banish these and maintain the principles of communism. When the GIO said that every communist organisation will be faced with taking on a person with a violent sexual past it did not face up to the central question. We don't do so knowingly and when we do discover such things, what do we do? We are clear about what we would do but the GIO does not seem to have understood what it is to be responsible for the defence of communist ideas and communist organisation.

Our conclusion is that the A's presence in the GIO is incompatible with its stated purpose as a communist group and that he should be expelled. Some comrades think that even this might not be enough to restore the GIO's reputation and have suggested that the GIO dissolve itself and reform without those responsible for this mess. A new group might be formed which could then seek affiliation to the ICT.

If our appeal is rejected and the situation continues as it is the CWO will ask the IB to announce the disaffiliation of the GIO from the ICT. This has already gone on long enough and we can only maintain the trust of our sympathisers and supporters (who have been incredibly supportive so far) if we bring the whole business to a speedy and principled conclusion.

Internationalist greetings

Communist Workers' Organisation

October 16 2016

GIO Proposal to the IB to resolve the crisis in the GIO

We cannot say that we are very happy with the position of the CWO. Their letter sounds like an ultimatum.

But we decided to play our part. After all, it is us, the GIO that triggered this wave that overwhelms the ICT.

The letter of the CWO advanced the following arguments:

- "There is no way the CWO would knowingly admit someone with such a past in the group"
- The CWO feels betrayed by GIO for the non-disclosure of the aggressive past
- A witness said that A was not welcome in a demonstration and was absent from a public meeting because he was not welcomed and left Montreal for that and went to New Brunswick, so he was already running away.
- The version of A is not credible: the "blackout" is manipulative in that it does not denounce the act itself
- The first statement does not mention that there was a second assault
- The expulsion of N was never declared, why?
- GIO [CWO? Translator] supporters are of the view that A. is toxic and hinders the work of the GIO.
- It is the responsibility of the individual to repent and rehabilitate that of the communist organisation
- An organisation cannot be built if there is no security for women
- If one discovers an aggressive past one must exclude the member, communists must have a pure past
- Ultimatum: expulsion from A or otherwise requesting disaffiliation from of the GIO from the ICT.

Most of the CWO's arguments stand.

But the charge of manipulator does not hold. A. has already testified that he was accepted to the GIO with his past disclosed. It is not his personal fault, it is that of the GIO that underestimated the magnitude of this decision among activists of different groups.

In addition, the GIO refused to share it with the ICT by eliminating any information on the subject in its reports. We are now in a better position to criticise it. What was implied, if not taboo, was that this information was part of the private domain. This could be understood since there had been no charges taken by the police. But in front of the militants there was a fault and one did not see it. Yet it is well known that the oppression of women who are relegated to the sphere of the private (family, care, education of children, cooking, sexuality, household) is the cause of their oppression and radical feminists do everything to bring it back into the public and political realm.

The other assertion, that rehabilitation is only the responsibility of the aggressor, goes against any social principle. Of course the aggressor must himself want the process of repentance, otherwise he must be put out of the society. But rehabilitation, like any other human need, must be taken care of by society. So much for the principle. For us communists, a comrade, in a rehabilitation process needs his organisation to succeed in his recovery.

It also says that the comrade is still fleeing from the consequences of his actions. Although he was obliged to withdraw from public events, he participated in the May Day demonstrations in the last two years without any retaliation from anyone. In addition, A is currently involved in a process of transformative justice with a professional of the method.

There remains a doubt. If one takes the case in legal way one can reasonably pose some questions. The feminist, V... B ... who put the bloody tampon in R's glass never explained her action. We contacted her and she does not want to say anything. Why then was it connected with the affair of A.? Did it target another person? This poses a question. But we cannot answer it except to note that R. was the one targeted.

A. has resigned. At our meeting of November 12, 2016. He resigned to appease emotions and start on a basis of mutual trust. We realise that with 3 big errors in a row (the integration of a member with the violent past, moreover, towards women, the non-disclosure of this decision to the ICT and also the secret on the expulsion of another violent member towards his partner), this confidence between comrades and between groups was undermined.

However, his resignation does not resolve deeper questions.

Is the GIO to be dissolved?

2- The rehabilitation of comrades

3- The oppression of women regarding our programme, our statutes and our attitude on this issue

Dissolution of the group

The dissolution of the group would have the advantage of erasing the reputation of the GIO among the militants and of allowing it to relaunch communist work here under another name. But with the same activists. The same ones who made the decision to hide the past of A, and N. And D. was part of that decision. This is tantamount to reviving a company under a new administration. So it's not a good idea. The GIO must take stock.

The rehabilitation of comrades

That will have to be looked at. Transformative justice when it can be applied, supposes not to leave the comrade alone with himself. His community must keep him in his fold. To supervise him in his rehabilitation, make him acknowledge his wrongs and convince him to participate in his reparation. This may apply to violence against women but also to all kinds of crimes that are accused of the working class for all sorts of good and bad reasons.

The oppression of women in our programme, our statutes and our attitude on this issue.

We consider that our approach to women's oppression is deficient. The current crisis in the GIO makes us aware of it.

The section on the oppression of women in "For Communism" merely surveys the subject and does not guide us for what needs to be done now. The origin of the oppression explained by Engels is contested and there is no pronouncement on this debate. If the origin of the oppression of women brings us back well before the accumulation of wealth, monogamy, the emergence of the state and social classes (the last scientific studies shows this) it means that the socialist revolution will not automatically regulate oppression. And therefore, one can not make this struggle a secondary issue. The debate on this issue must therefore be revived in the programme, the statutes and our attitude (for example, harassment and violence against women activists is not private, a women's committee should be set up at least at the level of ICT as a non-mixed pole of regroupment).

As the CWO has argued, this issue poses greater centralism of certain aspects of the organisation such as the statutes; Membership requirements for example.

We have already asked whether the situation of the GIO had already occurred in the past in an ICT group or before its founding. We did not get an answer. How does a group in its statutes deal with harassment and sexual violence? I imagine that similar situations have occurred in the history of the Communist Left. It would be interesting to know in which cases we expel some comrades and in which cases they are deemed worthy of their rehabilitation. There are surely precedents.

We ask you to work with us on this course, because it is the real issue in this crisis. It is no longer about A, or N, nor R, nor even the GIO. The transformation of individuals, rehabilitation, repentance, reparation is what is at stake. I do not think that it is necessary to throw a group in the trashcan, when its regroupment [by which he must mean the ICT - Translator] does not know the way to repair the fault. Apart from the solution of throwing everything in the rubbish bin education is also an avenue, ours is about Marxism, it must also be about other aspects of exploitation, especially towards women. Transformative justice is the key to unraveling a stalemate that will help us to welcome women activists into our groups.

D

For the GIO.

13-11-2016

ICT IB Response to the GIO's Proposal to resolve its crisis

Comrades

Thank you for your response to the CWO Open letter which was sent to you as an "appeal" (see opening and final paragraphs of their Open Letter) not as an ultimatum. It does though require decisions to be made and the IB is deeply worried by some of the arguments and vague conclusion of your Proposal which does not seem to take account of the seriousness of this sad affair for a communist organisation.

You may consider that A revealed all when he joined the GIO but to ICT comrades he revealed nothing. For all the comrades who hosted him, supported him and went out to get people to attend his meetings this felt like a betrayal. You also keep only referring to one accusation against A when we know there are at least three (and this without going into the fantasies of RS). Furthermore, whilst we could accept his excuse for reticence that he was sincerely ashamed, once the admission was made we were looking for a robust defence of his past from A. However he simply repeats (with minor inconsistencies) the same minimal account of what he claims happened (as in his letter to Common Cause). And in all these accounts there is not one word of remorse for the person he traumatised. We would have expected as a minimum a document addressed to either the rest of the ICT or his accusers. You try to foist on us the principle that we don't accept the idea of repentance and rehabilitation. We might when we are convinced about it but we are not convinced here. The longer this affair has gone on the less we have heard from A and there has been too much evasion for us to make a judgement. You cannot have restorative justice unless all is revealed. A communist organisation is not a court of law. We are not condemning the young man to so many years in gaol. We are simply saying that a communist organisation (especially a small one) cannot carry the burden of someone who as a reputation for past sexual aggression towards women. How can the GIO seriously present itself as an organisation of the working class when it contains such people? How credible can it be to half the working class who would know that they might not be safe in such an organisation? We feel you continually underestimate this in your determination to stand by a bad decision to which none of the remaining members of the GIO were party.

You also say that you raised the question of whether any of the groups of the ICT had experience of this sort of thing but had received no reply. The CWO delegate thought he had informed you previously that the CWO and ICT are firmly opposed to anyone who abuses women in any way. This position is basic and long-standing. Many years ago the CWO discovered that a member of the organisation was not a rapist, but was a serial sexual predator. We discussed this amongst the members and, though we were not unanimous, we immediately called for the "comrade" to come to a meeting to explain himself (there were other, more serious charges, as well about actions he had taken which endangered another comrade) but he refused to come and disappeared. As we understand it A was admitted, not after a proper enquiry by the whole group, but after a cosy chat with one comrade who thought his own reputation in Montreal was so great that he could cover for him. It then became a fait accompli and a condition for all new members who joined that they accepted this original decision. Such individualistic arrogance has no place in a communist organisation and has completely undermined the coherence and credibility of the GIO.

Towards the end your Proposal demonstrates that you are still trying to avoid the real issue. When you write:

It is no longer about A or N or R nor even the GIO you are simply muddying the waters. Yes, there will have to be work done on how we organise, on our position on women and sexism, on statutes etc BUT the immediate issue is the question of what kind of organisation can harbour someone with a past of sexual aggression. Once that primary question is answered we can go on to look more widely at everything that has arisen in the course of this episode.

And what you write in order to deflect us from that issue does the ICT a great injustice. When you write re the struggle for sexual equality

And therefore, one can not make this struggle a secondary issue.

what are you doing but repeating what is in For Communism?

We fully support the idea (it is already in our original statements) that

The debate on this issue must therefore be revived in the programme, the statutes and our attitude (for example, harassment and violence against women activists is not private, a women's committee should be set up at least at the level of ICT as a non-mixed pole of regroupment).

But it would have to be at ICT level since the GIO currently is the only group in the ICT which does not have women members despite having once had a lot of women sympathisers. To keep talking about defending comrades who have failed to speak up for themselves is not going to alter that.

It is time to break with the past (and not just because of this affair). The GIO has behaved for too long like a group of individual activists who paid lip service to ICT positions. It has cost it members in the past (although it is only with the unravelling of this issue that we have learned all this). There are many good comrades in Canada who are prepared to join and/or work with a group which truly reflects ICT politics and the politics of the Communist Left. Now is the time to give them the opportunity to make that new beginning. You can now start that process in earnest but we cannot even begin the process of explaining our real position towards women with the current reputation that the group carries. The GIO should be dissolved and the process of creating a new grouping should begin.

For the new group to be re-affiliated to the ICT certain conditions would have to be met,

The new group needs to have a new name but cannot simply be the GIO with a different name. The only continuity would be in the person of the one comrade who did not make the decision to admit A, who was not party to a conscious attempt to hide from the ICT delegate who was in Canada in June 2014 the real truth.

All other GIO members should have to reapply individually for membership of the new organisation. None of those who took the decision to admit A and conceal his past from the ICT should be readmitted

None of those with a past which does not conform to communist norms should be readmitted.

The question of rehabilitation of comrades who have a past which does not conform to communist norms should be postponed until the new group is fully established and in a stronger position, and should then be decided in conjunction with the ICT.

Internationalist greetings

JW

CB

JD

The delegates of the IB from the GIS, the PCIInt and the CWO

18 November 2016

Friday, January 6, 2017



About us

The Internationalist Workers' Group is the organization of members of the Internationalist Communist Tendency in the US. "We are called internationalists because we believe that the interests of the exploited are the same all over the world, and that communism can not be achieved in a single geographic area, a myth peddled as true by Stalin. We, are therefore, bitterly opposed to Stalinism in all its varieties, for too long taken to be communism both by the bourgeoisie and many generations of workers who looked to it in good faith when the ownership of industries, distribution, land, etc. went from private to state hands, leaving capitalist relations and its components (commodities, money, wages, profits, borders etc.) largely intact. This was not communism but a particular form of capitalism, state capitalism. After 1917 the economic blockade of the Soviet Union and the failure of the world revolution in the West meant that the revolution was transformed into its opposite, eventually becoming an imperialist bloc that would collapse after only seventy years. "

Internationalist Communist Tendency – About Us For more information about our organization and answers to frequently asked questions: <http://www.leftcom.org/en/about-us>



Internationalist Workers' Group

