

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST BULLETIN

**Organ of the Fraction of the International Communist Left
(English version)**

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(The texts translated and available in English are in bold. The others aren't translated into English.

Warning : the translations into English we do, are made by comrades whose knowledge of this language is very relative. Thus, besides the lack of easiness for the reading, our English texts may present some mistakes and confusions which aren't political but "technical". One can refer to the French and Spanish versions.

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The "Mass Strike" today and tomorrow

"Political and economic strikes, mass strikes and partial strikes, demonstrative strikes and fighting strikes, general strikes of individual branches of industry and general strikes in individual towns, peaceful wage struggles and street massacres, barricade fighting – all these run through one another, run side by side, cross one another, flow in and over one another – it is a ceaselessly moving, changing sea of phenomena. And the law of motion of these phenomena is clear: it does not lie in the mass strike itself nor in its technical details, but in the political and social proportions of the forces of the revolution" (Rosa Luxemburg, *The Mass Strike*, 1906).

The present world situation illustrates the analysis that Rosa Luxemburg made on the "Mass Strike" in the period of the 1905 Russian Revolution. Obviously, we aren't on the eve of the Revolution. But the proletarian struggles increase almost everywhere around the planet, in capitalism's "central" countries as well as in the "peripheral" ones, and take various forms : isolated strikes or full sector of the economy as well as general strikes which spread in a city or in a whole country ; spontaneous strikes (without unions call) or "wildcat" as well as long strikes that the great unions have more and more difficulties to control ; demonstrations of proletarian young students whose perspectives of future collapse as well as public sector and big industries workers who see their living conditions worsening. In more than an occasion, the "economical" struggle of resistance are transformed in "political" struggles against the government or, at least, against the most representative figures of the capital's interests (even though, of course, these political struggles are still caught, controlled and led by the Left forces of the capital itself)... Furthermore the struggles develop every time more simultaneously ; they carry in themselves a strong tendency to spread, to seek solidarity and thus to become every time more determined and militant¹. Thus the conditions which have created this struggle climate aren't temporary : the continuation of capitalism's fall in the worse crisis of its history enables us to foresee a long period, of many years, of this tendency to the rise of the proletariat's class struggle, a true international "mass strike".

Of course, in every country, the proletariat's struggles confront more and more fiercely to the different obstacles the capitalist State sets up ; in first the **unions**. For the moment, the majority of the strikes

and the "Days of struggle" in countries like France and Spain are organized by the great unions in order to let off steam the growing discontent of the workers and, at the same time, to confine it in a framework which doesn't really enable to stop the capital's attacks against their living conditions. Nevertheless, these Days still are an expression of the growing discontent and combativity of the proletarians and of the bourgeoisie's need to anticipate on the spontaneous and out of control explosions. Furthermore, the proletariat begins to be conscious of itself as a class, to feel the need to overcome the sector barriers in which the unions enclose it, to seek solidarity and to become aware of the need to take control of its struggle outside the unions.

Then come the political parties of capital, particularly the parties and other organizations of the "**capital's Left**". As we could see in Greece since the beginning of past year, and as we now see in Tunisia and Egypt, the proletariat's anger (and of other exploited classes) can break out at any moment, in any country ; it is enough with an additional pinch of injustice (a youth's murder by police, rising prices of first necessity products...) for coming out onto a situation of spontaneous demonstrations and of generalized revolt which drive to open confrontations with the State repression forces. Then, the true role of "Left" parties of the bourgeoisie, as the "Socialdemocrats", the "Left Democrats" or all kind of stalinists, appear in all its cruelty and all its extent. Through the "change" of leaders, their role is to give back credit to the capitalist State to keep alive amongst the proletarians the harmful illusion that it does exist "solutions to capitalism's crisis" and "solutions to their problems". Nevertheless, if much workers still keep on illusions on the Left parties of capital, the actions of the latter - which appear more and more openly in favor of capital's interests and against the workers – carry in themselves a process of decline of their image, a process of growing consciousness

1. Long is the list, it begins with the main European countries, of the workers fights which had developed these last two years and their number isn't but increasing in all continents with capitalism's economical dead-end. For a more precise following of the workers struggles around the world, we refer our readers to the international presses of the Internationalist Communist Tendency and of the ICC.

within the working class that they are enemy forces.

The proletarian struggles are indeed also confronted, more and more directly, with the **repression forces** of the capitalist State - judicial apparatus, police, army - which are constantly reinforced. In Mexico, the massive lay-off of 40 000 workers of the electric sector in the late 2009, had been preceded by the brutal occupation of the work places by the federal and anti-riot police ; in the "democratic" Spain of Socialist Zapatero, the December 2010 "wildcat" strike of the air controllers has been broken by the airport control by the army. Increasingly, workers demonstrations end up in violent confrontations with the police (Greece, Great-Britain, India, Bangladesh, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt...) which, far from what the bourgeois medias hurl at us, are everytime less the product of "direct actions" of "small radical groups" and more and more due to the anti-riot police. In the last, this aspect is a clear sign of the conflict sharpening of the two antagonistic classes of the society : on one part, it is the intensification of the fierce attacks of the capitalist class against the living and working conditions of the proletarians as well as the preparation of this class and of its State to confront the exploited's resistance ; on the other part, it is a clear sign that the working class's attempts to resist and to engage in the struggle against capital are becoming more determined and wider.

Finally, all this climate of increasing classes struggle is methodically and knowingly distorted by the **capital's medias**, press, radio, TV, without forgetting Internet. Never so many means of information have existed as today... but at the same time never has the ruling class used as today these means to avoid the proletariat to get a clear idea of the present stakes ; to avoid each worker become conscious that, everywhere, his class brothers rise up and fight exactly for the same reasons as the ones he is himself outraged (unemployment, direct and indirect attacks at work, constant worsening of the living conditions for his family, increasing exploitation and oppression) ; to avoid that everyone be aware these struggles are his and that these ones carry on spreading in all continents ; actually to avoid the proletarians recognize themselves as a class with the same interests and the same goals : fighting capitalist exploitation.

At first place, there's **the greatest censorship possible** - at national scale as well as world wide - on

the proletarian struggles. For instance, everybody has been informed, up to nausea, of the assassination attempt against the democrat US congress woman in Phoenix. But, except the readers of the militant press, how many workers have been informed of the strikes in the United-States of the past year in which thousands of proletarians of different sectors participate to ? Then, if they can't completely hide them anymore because their wideness, the bourgeois medias **distort** in any ways the class struggles by presenting them as essentially "local" or "national", or as "selfish and irresponsible reactions which oppose to the adjustments capitalism judges necessary and profitable to the whole population" ("cuts in the State spendings" or "streamlining of enterprises" which supposedly make indispensable lowering salaries, massive redundancies or pension cuts) ; or by presenting them as "small extremist groups" actions or as responses to "corrupted" governments that it is enough to change to bring back calm. The height of cynism is the frequent affirmation according to which the workers on struggle are "privileged" who, "selfishly", pretend to keep their living conditions at the expense of the rest of the population !

The conditions are present for the continuation of the classes struggle development

In this situation, the medias try by all means to hide or to minimize the struggles, or even to lose the fact that they obey to the same fundamental causes. Since this makes more difficult workers' growing consciousness that they have common interests and aims, the **simultaneous sudden appearance of wide struggle movements** in all continents become even more significant.

Two important historical facts are at the basis of this situation. Firstly, the generalized attacks and every time more brutal and direct against the living and working conditions that the workers and the other exploited classes suffer from the capitalist class because the inexorable collapse of the capitalist system in its worse fall in economical crisis of its history. It is more and more obvious that all the efforts of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of all sectors to "save itself" and to "recover" from the crisis, have their foundation in the exploitation, up to the last drop, of the working force by all indirect and direct means it has at its disposal. For instance, the

"funds transfer" from the State - at first rank the first world power - to "save" the great banks and the great industries actually consists in making pay this "rescue" by the workers through the explosion of unemployment, taxes rises and direct and indirect salaries cuts). And this happens in all countries around the world, as well as in the great capitalist powers as in the smallest and weakest. **This capital's generalized charge against the proletariat is at the basis of the simultaneous and sudden appearance of a multitude of seats of resistance struggles at the world level.**

Moreover, it is increasingly obvious that the supposed "end of the 2010 recession" is clearly appearing for what it is : a lie and, for the least, an illusion. In order to justify this, the bourgeois medias look for make believe that it is because the slown down of the "recovery" in the United-States or because the responsibility of many European countries whose public finances are collapsing. According to the economical area where they belong to, the medias warn against the growing "risks" of a new and next "economical" relapse whose cause would be the "responsibility" of the other one area. Behind this mediatical war, we find the sharpening of the commercial and financial war between the different "blocs" of the national bourgeoisies (at first even though not only, around the United-States and Great-Britain against the Euro-zone).

But, at this Russian roulette to which the world capitalist forces play, there is an additional element for the worsening of the crisis : inflation. We'll see in the next months a period of generalized rise of the prices, firstly of the energy and first necessity products ; it is already the spark which have launched many of the recent revolts (Tunisa, Algeria, Egypt, Chile...).

All in all, the crisis sharpening and, with it, of the material conditions don't but provoke the multiplication of the exploited's resistance struggles which not only tend to maintain themselves but also to become everytime wider and deeper.

There is a second fact also of historical meaning, which manifests itself at international scale and during an extended period, what Rosa Luxemburg called the "masses strike" ; it is what we can perceive today in the **proletariat's willingness to defend itself and to struggle** ; it means the existence at the

same time of "objective" factors and of "subjective" ones which are in favor of the spreading and the deepening of the proletariat's fight against capitalism.

For one part, we can notice a tendency towards "contagion", it means to the **appearance of a tendency to the international extension of the struggles**. Since the struggles in France, the workers of other European countries (Great-Britain, Spain, Italy, Belgium...) have also embarked on the battle with the consciousness that the capital's attacks are the same everywhere. More recently, the social movement which has inflamed Tunisia during a month, has served as an example and as a detonator to the massive demonstrations which have shaken up the other countries in North Africa for the same reasons : the increase of the first necessity products price. At the same time, and again despite the obstacles that the bourgeoisie sets up - in particular the union control whose one task is to maintain the demands and the workers struggles divided -, we too see in the struggle the **beginnings of solidarity expressions between workers of different sectors** (even at the international scale), which means that the basis for a future unification of the demands and the goals of the struggles do exist.

What is also striking in the present struggles, it the anger and the **combativity which don't stop growing**. The action of the police forces of the capitalist State whose aim is to "dissuade", it means to terrorize and to repress the struggles, has become its opposite in various occasions : a stimulus pushing the workers to go out in the street in order to protest massively against the governments. The exceptional situation of the violent and massive revolts in Greece, more than a year ago, tends now to reproduce itself in various countries : Great-Britain, Tunisia, India, Egypt...

We also have to note the existence of **tendency towards "politicization"** of the struggles in the sense that the demonstrations in front of the worsening of the economical conditions give way every time more to open opposition to the State and to its more distinguished representations. Obviously, the bourgeois parties of "opposition" take over and take advantage of this "politicization". Nevertheless, they express a tendency amongst the proletarians to take consciousness that the response to give to the worsening of their living conditions is not simply at the factory or sector level, it means at the local and

"economical" one, but that it has to be more "general", more "global" and thus too "political".

Finally, we must underline the fact that, with the acceleration of these struggle movements, does accelerate too the **development of political proletarians vanguard minorities** who look to go beyond the immediate struggles, who reflect on the defeats' causes, who seek to gather and organize in order to prepare in the best conditions the struggles of tomorrow, to make them that they'll be no defeated or taken over by the capital's forces and that they go towards the "true change" which is capitalism's destruction; all in all, minorities who look for a revolutionary alternative and a revolutionary commitment. For instance, the defeat of the French mobilisations against the attack on the pensions system has left a multitude of small workers' "assemblies" where they, with members of various political organizations, discuss on the perspectives of organization and of struggle. A similar mood exists elsewhere. This reflects in the increase of correspondances, of discussions and contacts of the revolutionary groups.

By regrouping their forces, the communists will be able to fully play their role in the class.

This open situation that we define as the "mass strike", **makes even more essential and urgent the intervention of the revolutionary minorities within their class**, in particular the one of the groups and militants of the Communist Left.

Of course, one aspect of the ideological campaigns of the bourgeoisie against the proletarians (to which do participate even groups which declare themselves "revolutionaries" as the anarchists for instance), is to sow workers' distrust towards the truly revolutionary and communist political groups in order they see them as "external", "foreign" and even "dangerous" to working class's eyes. It is why we don't stop insisting on the fact that the revolutionary groups, in particular the ones of Communist Left are **an entire part of the working class itself**, the one which is "the most conscious and the most determined"; that they simply are - as the Communist Manifesto said in 1847 - the ones who *"point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality"*; they are *"on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every*

country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement"; and their goals are: *"formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat"*.

In this sense, it is firstly indispensable that, in this period, the revolutionary minorities **put forward the common interests of the class which lie in the struggles which appear everywhere**. Their task is not only to "spread information", nor to simply call for the struggle, but above all to boost the tendencies towards extension and unification of the struggles beyond any sectorial or national division that bourgeoisie tries to impose. **They have to underline their common nature as parts of a movement of the whole working class, of a movement whose causes and historical goals** – the destruction of the Capitalist State and the seizure of power by the proletariat at the international scale - **are the same**.

At the same time, it is indispensable that the revolutionaries assume their task of passing on the legacy of the experiences of the past struggles which are in their hands as well as the revolutionary theory - marxism - in such a way that the proletarians can benefit for their present fights. Through this, not only revolutionaries contribute to increase the capacity of the whole proletariat to give up the mystifications and the traps the bourgeoisie opposes to each struggle but above all they contribute decisively to the growing class consciousness of the proletariat for its revolutionary interests and goals and for the need and possibility for realizing them.

Finally, the revolutionaries have also the imperious task of transmitting all the accumulated experience of the class about the organisation and particularly about the one of the revolutionary period of the beginning of Century 20th; the experience which led to the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia and to the international revolutionary wave which cracked the capitalist edifice and threatened to put it down for ever.

Today, and even more tomorrow, the arising of vanguard proletarians looking for revolutionary coherence, for revolutionary militant commitment

and for revolutionary organisation, imposes particularly to the present groups and militants of the Communist Left the major responsibility to clear the path which leads to the setting up of the new world communist party. On this way, the present communist forces must firstly overcome their political and organisational dispersion which characterize them and

have to engage firmly, from today, in a process of getting closer and of "regroupment". They have to do so if they want to be up to the situation and to assume the responsibility for which the proletariat made them appear.

January 2011

Massive Proletarian Struggles in North-Africa and Middle-East :
Yes to Classes Struggle ! No to the Democratic Trap !

Street demonstrations of hundred of thousands workers, permanent assemblies on the city places, general strikes, fights with the repressive forces, massive struggles, true proletarian uprisings has unleashed these last weeks in particular in various countries of North-Africa and Middle-East. This situation is now the most manifest expression of the dead-end in which is capitalism. Its inexorable fall into **economical crisis** and the staggering deterioration of the living and working conditions of the proletariat which accompanies it, engender the outburst and the generalization of the **classes' struggles** in the entire world.

Contrary to what the bourgeoisie's new medias want to make us believe, the struggles in these countries are not determined by "local" or "regional" causes such as "an authoritarian power", a "fight between religious groups" or a "desire to more democracy". The medias can hardly hide that **the true origin of these massive struggles are in the situation that the proletarian class and the other exploited live there as well as in all the world countries.**

The struggles in the North-Africa and Middle-East countries confirm in an amazing manner the opening of a **"masses strike" at world scale**¹ and show many characteristics that we surely may see developing in the future.

In particular in Egypt, the **general** uprising has come from "below", from the proletariat, in a spontaneous and generalized way. In some weeks, the great cities of Egypt, Cairo, Luxor, Suez, Alexandria... has lived days of demonstrations and protests against unemployment, prices rises and against the government to which participated hundreds of thousands, sometimes millions workers ; these demonstrations turned into permanent assemblies on the main places of the cities and were accompanied by strikes in all the sectors which became a general strike which has paralyzed the economical activity of the country - what the bourgeois medias are careful not to say. In front of the attempts of government's repression by the police (in uniform as well as dressed as civilians) and its vague promises of "reform", the movement has generalized to the whole country up to the dismissal of the "dictator" and still continues at the present moment ².

Not only around the Mediterranean Sea but everywhere is spreading the understanding that there is a link, a continuity, the same causes and goals between the struggles in Greece and Tunisia, in Tunisia and in Egypt, between the ones of North-Africa and the ones of Western Europe, thus between the ones of capitalism's "periphery" and the ones of capitalism's "center". In the entire world, the courage and

¹See the article on the "mass strike" in this bulletin.

²Since the beginning of the movement and above all these last two years, massive strikes have shaken the sectors of transportation, banks, oil, textile and even the official media and various government administrations organisms. If today (mid-February), the military junta which has replaced Moubarak is clearly threatening the workers on struggle, it is because their strikes paralyse capitalist economy and that some are affecting directly the bourgeois State.

the desire to launch into struggle is growing. It is this feeling of **international class identity** which is surging back within the proletariat ; the one the bourgeoisie tries to curb through its medias by presenting each situation as "particular", as "national".

If the bourgeoisie and its news media now talk of the "triumph of the popular revolt", and even of a "triumphant revolution" in Egypt, it is precisely to conceal that actually there is no "triumph" and even less "revolution". The attacks against the living conditions of the workers are going to carry on and the capitalist State which guarantees the salaried's exploitation, remains intact.

But also, the bourgeoisie has now begun to come out **one of its master cards in order to try to divide, to exhaust, to dissolve and finally to make fail the movement through seeking to divert it from its class ground to a suicidal struggle "for democracy"**. Thus, it has quickly encourage the "opposition" with El Baradei's coming back, the "Muslim brothers" and other bourgeois forces which, with the army, begin to prepare a "**transition to democracy**" which indeed is supported by all the world bourgeoisie, at first Obama and Merkel.

This is another lesson the proletariat will have to remember and to learn : according to the needs of the bourgeoisie and of the classes' struggle, the capitalist State can change its face. It can present itself through the form of "dictatorial", "military", "democratic", "religious and autocratic", "fascist" and even "socialist" government, but **the capitalist State does not but carry on being a weapon which guarantees the maintening of the regime of exploitation of the salaried work.**

The workers on strike in Egypt were not long to realize : from Monday 14th, the Egyptian army threatened with repression if the workers strikes which affect the main sectors of the country economy and which still maintain despite Moubarak's fall, did not stop. Yet it is this way that the proletarians must carry on following. It is the only mean for them to force some demands which will limit the inevitable worsening of misery and their exploitation. It is the only mean and the only ground which will enable them to face the repression that the "new" democratic States prepare. It is the only mean and the only ground which can allow them to drag behind them all the exploited classes of society. It is also the only mean and the only ground which can enable the whole proletarians of the world, in particular of the historical centers of capitalism, to recognize themselves in their movement and to be inspired by it in order to develop even more their own struggles and to so affirm the only solution to misery and capitalist barbarity : the destruction of the capitalist States and the setting up of a society without exploitation nor classes.

Yes to the class struggle ! No to the democratic trap !

February 15th, 2010

STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISTS' REGROUPMENT

The text of the Internationalist Communist Tendency which follows, was written in 2009. It is a summary of the Report on the Annual General Assembly of the ICP (Battaglia Comunista) published in its press and on its web site ([http://www.leftcom.org/en/articles/2009-11-07/the-\"istituto-onorato-damen\"-a-small-clarification](http://www.leftcom.org/en/articles/2009-11-07/the-\)). It has been re-published on the web site of the review Controverses, the very one which had declared the "bankruptcy of the Communist Left groups" and which calls for their dissolution (see our response to the IC-K in this bulletin). Actually, Controverses has found an echo to its own thoughts and method amongst militants of the ICT (then IBRP) who had deserted this organisation in 2009 as did the comrades of Controverses with the ICC. The abandon of the ICP without fighting for defending their criticisms and their own positions within the organisation, their absence of political platform – as the ICT text underlines it - not only comes to participate to the dispersion of the proletarian camp and to its weakening, but above all to strengthen the liquidationist and anti-organisation tendencies which proliferates at the present time and of which the review Controverses seems to have become the rallying point.

In front of this present offensive against the usefulness and the very existence of the Communist Left groups, we think very important to participate to make known the ICT's response the wider possible ; and we take the opportunity to salute it and support it. By condemning the attitude of desertion of its own members resigning, it condemns at the same time the attitude and the thoughts of Controverses and the whole anti-organisation jumble which tries to gather around it. Actually, "how politically mistaken and unjust was the method the comrades adopted first to criticise and then to leave the Internationalist Communist Party" as well as "to put forward the idea that there is a political deviation and then not to turn up at the congress called to discuss it cannot be taken seriously".

*Our only reserve on this text is secondary in front of the new liquidators and in front of the dispersion of the communist forces ; but it is not the least very important from the point of view of the struggle for the communist forces regroupment. It turns on the affirmation that "a communist organisation can **only** develop through its intervention in the class and in real struggles" (we underline). Here is for the least a reducing vision that Lenin in his time, in What has to be done ? for instance, has criticized in his struggle against Economism. If the criticism of the "discussion circle" in this case seems to us justified, the ICT comrades forget the fundamental role of the debates, of the confrontations of political positions, of the polemics and criticisms within the communist camp, for the strenghtening and the development of the process leading to the setting up of the party. It means that they seriously underestimate, according to us, the "leading" role of political vanguard, the irreplaceable political responsibility of the communist groups vis-à-vis the whole international proletariat as the main and higher expression of its class consciousness.*

This consideration (and criticism) does not at all tone down the fundamental support we bring to their position against the nasty, according to us, policy of the comrades of the Istituto O. Damen and of Controverses. In the fight of today, of the present historical period, on the question of the party, we are on the same side of the barricade and will continue to do all we can in order the ICT assumes, in a more decided manner than it presently does, the role of pole of regroupment which falls to it since the opportunist drift of the ICC. Here we come back to the question of regroupment and we refer our readers to our response to the IC-K (unfortunately only in French and Spanish) in this issue.

The Fraction of the International Communist Left.

The "Istituto Onorato Damen" – A Small Clarification

An association taking the name "Istituto Onorato Damen" was formed on 30 April of this year. The association was formed by comrades who for several years were the Catanzaro section of the Internationalist Communist Party. These comrades were formally expelled from the organisation on 10 May at the AGM¹ but largely because the, by now, ex-section of Catanzaro had already left the ranks of the PCInt and therefore of the International Bureau to form the above-mentioned association. We decided not to comment on the birth of this institute in order to avoid useless polemics. We have since learned that this association has produced a document ("*Punto e capo...*") which has been sent to, among others, our readers and sympathisers as a result of the fact that they still hold our subscription list. In this document they attribute positions to us which are absolutely no part of our political heritage, positions which we condemn and fight against. We are therefore obliged in front of our readers and sympathisers to make a small clarification.

If we really wanted to make a full judgement on the political behaviour of these comrades we would need an entire magazine. There are so many of their actions that we could point to but the risk would be to lose ourselves in a trivial

1. AGM stands for General Assembly of Militants in which all the members of the PCInt take part. It acts as a Central Committee and it elects the central organ of the organisation (the Executive Committee or CE).

polemic. We have therefore decided to consider only those aspects which allow us to underline how politically mistaken and unjust was the method these comrades adopted first to criticise and then to leave the Internationalist Communist Party.

We come to the point. In their document (“*Punto e capo...*”) they maintain that our organisation has recently been oriented towards movementist, situationist and anarcho-syndicalist positions. The document is dated 30 July 2009 but the theory of some presumed political deviation was first put forward by one of these comrades in October 2007 during a meeting of the Executive Committee (CE)¹. The discussion in the CE ended with this comrade being given the task of preparing a document for our comrades as the starting point for education work on the party/class issue. This comrade never produced the document in question. Going a little further back to the CE meeting of April 2007 the same comrade took on the task, in collaboration with the rest of the Catanzaro section, of preparing a document which could be used to start a course of clarification for party members on the theme of class consciousness and intervention. Even this document was never produced. At the AGM in April 2008 why did the comrades not even then pose the question of a *political deviation*? And again in December 2008 in a letter to the CE the Catanzaro section proposed the calling of an AGM with the agenda being the approval of a document which clearly expressed our conception of the party/class relationship and the question of intervention. For the third time the same Catanzaro comrade took it upon himself to draft this document, to send it to the CE, and all the militants for the AGM. This document never arrived because incredibly these comrades had decided not to attend the AGM (which they had previously called for). The General Assembly of Militants was duly held on 9-10 May². The first day was given over entirely to discussing the questions raised by the Catanzaro comrades who, as we have already said had already decided not to take part.

They had theorised the presence of a political deviation or drift, and had had plenty of opportunity to seriously confront this question. You cannot put forward such a serious criticism and then end up refusing to participate in the AGM (which is our equivalent of a Congress).

To put forward the idea that there is a political deviation and then not to turn up at the congress called to discuss it cannot be taken seriously. They claim to have settled the issue by email. They claim that the replies they got to their email comments from other comrades were brief and superficial. Hells bells! We are talking here of a presumed political deviation in the Internationalist Communist Party a discussion so serious and important that could not be discussed at the congress (or rather AGM)! These comrades instead indulged in entirely destructive behaviour which has stuck two fingers up to the principle of democratic centralism. It is behaviour which is light years away from the political traditions of the communist left and the Internationalist Communist Party in particular.

This is one of the two aspects which we want to inform everyone about. The other is the lack of a basis for their accusations of a *movementist drift*³. Despite the absence of these comrades the AGM took on the political questions they were posing. It was also decided to produce a document just for internal circulation to record the contents of the meeting. We have decided to make this account (“**A propos the latest painful events**”) public in order to clarify — in front of our readers and sympathisers — the political questions raised by our ex-comrades. As we have already said the accusation of a deviation has no foundation and without a shadow of a doubt there was plenty of space in the AGM for these comrades to clarify (or at least try to!) the question if they had been willing to.

These comrades have now formed an association unfortunately taking the name of Onorato Damen. The birth was announced in a “Communication” in which we read

“Such an institute has as its end the study, research and dissemination of the principles of scientific socialism ... consolidated over time by the international communist left against Stalinism and all forms of opportunism.”

An opportunism which these comrades condemn in words, but seem to aspire to, in practice. The “communication” was in fact sent to, among others, all the epigones of Bordigism, the ICC and its splitters, ex Lotta Comunista etc or rather to whole areas of the political spectrum which these comrades have always, quite rightly, strongly criticised. And they also sent this communication to our central address; even though we are according, to their way of seeing things, movementist, situationist etc. In the communiqué we read

“This task of research, elaboration and dissemination distinguishes the institute as essentially a place of discussion which

1. The comrade in question of the ex -section of Catanzaro was part of the CE of the party. In fact it has been this comrade who played the leading role in these absurd events.

2. The AGM also elected the new CE as happens every two years.

3. Just referring to our recent writings it should be enough just to read, in particular, the article “The G20 Meltdown Protest” (BC May 2009) and the pamphlet “Youthful spontaneity and the revolutionary party” to see just how far we are from movementism.

will be open to contributions from all who identify the same need, who show a certain sensitivity to these themes and towards the historic perspective which constitutes the final goal of the struggle for liberation, of freedom for the entire proletariat.”

Open to contributions from all who identify the same need (which need?), who show a certain sensitivity (which means?) towards these topics. The thing — at least so far — seems to be vague, say little and is therefore opportunist. What would be the political platform of this association?

As they say themselves the institute is essentially a discussion place and their communication gives it the semblance of a study circle or publishing house. It is a type of organisation which has little interest for revolutionaries like us. We are not interested in seeing ourselves just as a discussion circle as we are certain that a communist organisation can only develop through its intervention in the class and in real struggles.

“The firm basis for proletarian strategy is the need for the class party as the instrument of revolutionary struggle.”
(Onorato Damen, Battaglia Comunista 1950)

We will continue our work of forming and rooting within the working class communist cadres in order to build a political organisation of the proletariat. We will always maintain, with whatever forces have, that intervention in the working class — in the struggles in which they express themselves — is central to our political work. It no accident that we want to end this article by drawing attention to this issue and it is no accident either that we follow the words of Onorato Damen

“We have to reassemble the forces of revolution, however small in number, however partially destroyed, damaged, faltering, inside the workers struggle; to regroup them in militant political activity, and not just in writing texts on a typewriter, which is only a personal and always very debatable activity, in both its intentions as well as its outcomes.”
(Onorato Damen, Battaglia Comunista 11 1958)

NZ

STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Statement (December 5th, 2010)

On the occasion of the workers mobilizations of this late 2010 in France, militants who had contributed to the setting up of the Internal Fraction of the ICC found themselves in struggles places in Paris - in particular in the "Assemblées générales interprofessionnelles" - with eminent members of the present ICC. There, our comrades - who has received until now only contempts, aggressivenesses and even acts of brutality from these ICC representatives - resulted dumbstruck when they got warm handshakes and even kisses. Moreover, some members of the ICC got up to propose them to *"renew fraternal relationships... under the condition they acknowledge some supposed mistakes of behaviour they had during the organisational crisis the ICC suffered in 2001-2002"*. It is a clear refusal that they received from those who they nevertheless excluded from the ICC, then denounced in the ICC international press, in the public meetings, towards the other groups of the Communist Left and towards all their sympathizers, as being cops, nazis, thieves, blackmailers, etc. ; and about who they had adopted an internal resolution for banning any relation with these pariahs. Today, after an enormous organisational crisis and ten years of ICC life marked by a deep and endless opportunist drift, members of this organisation propose actually to "clean the blackboard", to "forget the past" and to do as nothing had occurred.

We want to denounce publicly this behaviour, typical **political behaviour** of opportunism, which consists in reducing the political disagreements to personal questions, indeed supposed individual attitudes. Behind this, behind this seeming "hands holding out", the political action of political opportunism which presently liquidates our organization remains the same : to sidestep political discussion, it means the real political confrontation, the one which opposes two irreconcilable political lines.

"The terms of a debate and of a political fight on divergent political positions on the questions of organisation, of functioning and of militantism and communist commitment, are posed and won't be put under the table, nor hidden, nor even sidestepped" (Internal Bulletin n°244 of *Révolution internationale*, May 16th, 2001) were we already proclaiming at that time. It was **well before** we were accused of having stolen minutes of meetings, of being indignant militants, then of using nazi methods, of being cops, etc... The almost 10 years which separate us from this affirmation, have largely, and so much, verify our warning. Thus it is not a matter of personal questions, nor of behaviours¹.

There are 2 opposed political lines :

- one which attempts to defend the political positions of the ICC, at first its political Platform which is today directly attacked and liquidated, to defend the tradition and the political inheritance of this organization at the theoretical and political levels as well as at the organizational one ;
- the other one which betrays the original positions of the ICC, its Platform - from the question of the anarchist organizations now presented as revolutionary, through the rejection of the historical alternative war or revolution and the one of the theoretical foundations of the "decadence", up to the introduction of organizational methods which have nothing to do with the tradition of the workers movement, up to the liquidation of the original statutes of the ICC, etc...

These two lines oppose themselves and one **politically** eliminates the other one.

For our part, we have always carried on "saluting" the ICC militants whom we met, carried on considering them as communist militants, carried on thinking we were belonging to the same camp, despite the important political disagreements which separate us, despite the insults and even the physical aggressions against us (in order to prohibit us the access to the ICC public meetings). For our part, the question is not to have or not "fraternal" relations, but of having **political relations**. We keep ready to "renew" these kind of relations.

¹*Even if some behaviours still remains today within the ICC, which are for the least very suspicious, but surely unworthy for a communist militant, and that they'll be some day sanctioned - but this is not the priority and the main question.*

This means, concretely, from the class point of view, from a communist and marxist point of view, the reintegration of all the militants excluded - of course the ones who have this willingness - as organized minority, for our part as fraction, with all the means and rights that the original ICC statutes define for the existence and the activity of a fraction.

Because, let nobody have doubts, the only reason for a revival of "fraternal relationships" can't but exist if the present ICC accepts the unique "debate" worthy of this word in class term : the confrontation of the divergent political positions and the open, frontal, fight between the opportunist and liquidationist line which rules today this organization and the line which defends the principles positions and original political orientations of the International Communist Current.

The rest is not but tricks, escape in front of the political confrontation, refusal of the "debate", and opportunism.

The Fraction of the International Communist Left.
December 5th, 2010.

Workers' movement Texts
Karl Liebknecht
Speech to the Reichstag (1914)

In December 1914, Karl Liebknecht has been the first deputy of the Reichstag to vote against the war credits breaking with the orders of its parliamentary group, the SPD one. It is through this speech we publish below, that this great figure of the proletariat explained his courageous vote against war.

My vote against the War Credit Bill of to-day is based on the following considerations. This War, desired by none of the people concerned, has not broken out in behalf of the welfare of the German people or any other. It is an Imperialist War, a war over important territories of exploitation for capitalists and financiers. From the point of view of rivalry in armaments, it is a war provoked by the German and Austrian war parties together, in the obscurity of semi-feudalism and of secret diplomacy, to gain an advantage over their opponents. At the same time the war is a Bonapartist effort to disrupt and split the growing movement of the working class.

"The German cry: 'Against Czarism!' is invented for the occasion – just as the present British and French watchwords are invented – to exploit the noblest inclinations and the revolutionary traditions and ideals of the people in stirring up hatred of other peoples.

"Germany, the accomplice of Czarism, the model of reaction until this very day, has no standing as the liberator of the peoples. The liberation of both the Russian and the German people must be their own work.

"The war is no war of German defense. Its historical basis and its course at the start make unacceptable the pretense of the capitalist government that the purpose for which it demands credits is the defense of the Fatherland.

"A speedy peace, a peace without conquests, this is what we must demand. Every effort in this direction must be supported. Only by strengthening jointly and continuously the currents in all the belligerent countries which have such a peace as their object can this bloody slaughter be brought to an end. "Only a peace based upon the international solidarity of the working class and on the liberty of all the peoples can be a lasting peace. Therefore, it is the duty of the proletariats of all countries to carry on during the war a common Socialistic work in favor of peace.

"I support the relief credits with this reservation: I vote willingly for everything which may relieve the hard fate of our brothers on the battlefield as well as that of the wounded and sick, for whom I feel the deepest compassion. But as a protest against the war, against those who are responsible for it and who have caused it, against those who direct it, against the capitalist purposes for which it is being used, against plans of annexation, against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, against unlimited rule of martial law, against the total oblivion of social and political duties of which the Government and classes are still guilty, I vote against the war, credits demanded.

Karl Liebknecht.
Berlin, December 2, 1914.