

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(UPDATED, October 1998.)

There does not exist to our knowledge in Italy extensive work on the history of the Italian Communist Left from 1926 to the Second World War. However, since the beginning of the Seventies, there existed (at least until 1990), an interest for the Italian Communist Left, and the “ultra-Left” currents in general in Europe. Relatively abundant sources fill slowly, but still insufficiently, our gaps. We present here a short bibliography.

SOURCES

Fortunately, the materials and documents are abundant and of a relatively easy access. They exist as well in Italian as in French. To begin initial researchs, very important books exist:

- Arturo PEREGALLI and Sandro SAGGIORO, *Amadeo Bordiga (1889-1970), Bibliografia*, Colibri, Milan, 1995 (address: Cooperativa Colibri, via san Michele del Carso, 4 – 20037 Paderno Dugnano (Mi); fax 02/99042815.). This excellent bibliography contains an exhaustive list of all documents, articles, books of and on Bordiga.

- Jacques DE COCK, Thierry DELPLANCQ, Charlotte GOËTZ, Anne MORELLI, Rosa TERRIZZI, *Inventaire du fonds Perrone. Le communisme 'bordiguiste' exilé en Belgique*, “Groupe d’histoire et de sociologie du communisme”, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), slnd, 1994?
- Anne METTEWIE-MORELLI: “Letters and documents of E. Ambrogi”, *Annali Feltrinelli*, 1977 (pages 173 to 191). This study is also a testimony of the grand-daughter of a sympathiser of the Italian Left in Brussels, Alfredo Morelli, which collected the Archives of Ambrogi, already quoted.

A. - FORMATION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEFT

Until 1926, the Italian Communist Left identified itself with its principal spokesman: Amadeo Bordiga (1889-1970), who left a mass of documents very varied and very fertile. This political literature being a literature of party, could not however reduce itself to the only name of Bordiga, who always rejected any personalization of his current.

There is a convenient collection of texts of Bordiga of 1912 to 1920: *Storia della sinistra comunista*, T I, 1912 to 1919, *Programma comunista* (1964); T II, 1919 to 1920, *Programma comunista* (1972); T III, 1920 to 1921, *Programma comunista* (1986); T IV, 1921-1922 (1997). With a choice of articles drawn from *l'Unità*, *Avanguardia*, *Avanti*, *Il Socialista*, then of *Il Soviet* (Naples) after 1918. Some texts are preceded (Tome I) by a relevant history, written by Bordiga, displaying the genesis of the Abstentionist Communist Fraction after 1919, until the Livorno’s Congress, where the Communist Left became majority. The other tomes give the point of view of the official “Bordiguists” Party (*Programma*

comunista).

The current, known as “Bordiguist”, expressed itself through all the papers or reviews of the PSI before the scission, then those of the Italian CP:

- *Il Soviet*; reprint (Schio’s section of *Programma comunista*, 1989?);
- *Ordine Nuovo*, founded by Gramsci in 1919;
- *l’Unità*;
- *Il comunista*;
- *Rassegna comunista*;
- *Lo Stato operaio*;
- *Il Lavoratore di Trieste*;
- *Prometeo* (1924); reprint Partito comunista internazionale, Schio, June 1990.
- *Il sindacato rosso*.

These papers can be consulted:

- * Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, via Romagnosi, 3, Milan;
- * Internationaal Instituut voor sociaal Geschiedenis (IISG), 1019 AT Amsterdam, Cruquiusweg 31.

It should be noted that the Feltrinelli editions reprinted around 68 a certain number of these reviews (of which *Rassegna comunista*) as well as documents such as: *Manifesti ed altri documenti politici (congresso di Livorno, 1921)*; *II° Congresso, relazione del comitato centrale (congresso di Roma, 1922)*.

There exist in Italian a compilation of texts embracing this period, selected by an intellectual of the Partito comunista italiano (PDS and Rifundazione comunista today):

- Franco LIVORSI, *Bordiga, scritti scelti*, Milan, 1975.

Major texts of the Italian Communist Left of the years 1919-1926, were (and are sometimes) reedited rather regularly by the Bordiguist official current (*Programme Communiste, Il Programma comunista*) or by dissidents (*Il Partito comunista* and *Comunismo; Invariance*, etc.). Let us quote:

In Italian:

- *Dall' economia capitalistica al comunismo*, conferenza tenuta a Milano il 2 Luglio 1921 (da Amadeo Bordiga), ED. Comunismo, Naples, may 1975.

- *Relazione del partito comunista d'Italia al IV congresso dell' Internazionale comunista*, November 1922 (Iskra edizioni, Milan, April 1976).

In French (sometimes in English)

- "Over the Communist Party; Theses, speeches and resolutions of the Communist Left of Italy (1917-1925.)" (*Le Fil du Temps*, October 1971);

- the Democratic principle (1922) (ED. *Programme communiste*);

- *Party and class* (idem);

- *Communism and Fascism* (id.)

- *the parliamentary question in the International Communist* (id.);
- *the land question* (1921), reproduced in French translation by *Le Fil du Temps*, No. 2, June 1968).

To understand the political sources of divergences between Bordiga and Gramsci, one can refer to the compilation of texts chosen by Alfonso LEONETTI:

- *Dibattito sui consigli di fabbrica* (il dissenso teorico e strategico tra i due capi negli articoli di Soviet e di Ordine nuovo), Edizioni Savelli, Milan, 1973).

The political writings of Gramsci, were edited, presented and annotated by Robert Paris (Gallimard, 1974, 1975, 1980), as well as the *Cahiers de prison* (Gallimard, three volumes). They let understand the evolution - Ordinovist, then Bordiguist and finally Zinovievist - of the former leader in Turin.

Sources of “the Italian Question” in the Comintern are Die Protokolle von der II, III, IV, V Weltkongresse der kommunistischen Internationale (reprint, Karl Liebknecht Verlag, Erlangen, 1970); “Resolution about the Italian question” (IVth Congress of the Comintern, in the first Four congresses of the International Communist, facsimile Maspéro, Paris, 1969 (in French)).

From 1922, Bordiga more clearly marks its opposition to the official theses of the IC. We refer here to the articles which he wrote in the press of PCd'I, as well as in the “Protokolle”, mentioned above. The similarities and the differences with the Trotskyist Opposition, hardly being born, can be examined in:

- “la questione Trotskij ” (*l'Unità*, July 4, 1925);
- “la politica dell' Internazionale ” (*l'Unità*, October 15, 1925).

And especially in the last intervention of Bordiga face to face with the supreme authorities of the Comintern, at the time of the VIth Enlarged Executive, where the rupture is consumed:

- *Protokoll der Erweiterten Exekutive der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Moscow, 17 February to 15 March 1926, Hamburg, 1926. (A partial translation of the interventions of Bordiga was made by the review *Programme communiste* (Communist Program), Nos. 69-70, Paris, May 1976.)

The isolation of the Italian Communist Left which not recognise the other Communist Lefts (KAPD, then the group of Korsch around *Kommunistische Politik*) can be understand through the following articles and letter of Bordiga:

- “Le tendenze della III Internazionale “(*Il Soviet*, May 23, 1920);
 - “La situazione in Germania e il movimento comunista ”(*Il Soviet*, July 11, 1920).
- (These two articles were translated in *Programme communiste*, “Letter from Amadeo Bordiga to Korsch” (October 26) (*Programme communiste*, No. 68, October-December 1975).

Concerning the fight of the Communist Left inside the Italian CP and the Comintern, see too an important compilation of texts:

- *Il partito decapitato. La sostizione del gruppo dirigente del PC d'Italia (1923-1924)*, edizioni l'Internazionale, Milan, 1988;

- *La liquidazione della sinistra del PC d'Italia (1925)*, Edizioni l'Internazionale, Milan, 1991.

B. - FRACTION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEFT IN EXILE (1926-1945)

Although exiled, the Italian Left published a lot. If the majority of its texts were not easily accessible, the collections multiplied these last years.

Since 1926, the Fraction of Communist Left appears in France, with the Congress of Lyon (Third Congress of the Italian CP) and with the congress of Lille of the PCF:

- *Tese per il III congresso* (in *Diffesa della continuita del programma comunista*, Milan, 1970, ED. PC.)
- Platform of the Left (project of theses presented by a group of “Leftists” (Bordiguists) for the Fifth Congress of the PCF) (1926).

Within the Italian Left, two currents can be defined, one being attracted little by little by the German Left, the other one claiming “Bordiguist” tradition.

The first one gathered around Michelangelo Pappalardi in Lyon published *Réveil communiste* (in French), *Il Risveglio comunista* (in Italian), 1927-1929; then *L'Ouvrier communiste* (the Communist Worker) (monthly organ of the Communist workers' groups), 1929 to 1931, before disappearing. It will publish:

- Before Thermidor. Revolution and counter-revolution in Soviets' Russia. Platform of the Left in the

Bolshevik party (Sapronow, Smirnow, Obhorin, Kalin), in 1928. - Response to Lenin, by Herman Gorter (1920).

Second current was born after its congress in Pantin in 1928, around Italian militants exiled in France and Belgium, whose leader was Ottorino Perrone (1897-1957), which dominated the Fraction of the Left of PCd' I, which will last until 1943, date of foundation in Italy of the Partito comunista internazionalista. It published:

- *Prometeo* (from May 1933 to 1938), semi-monthly, Nos. 1 to 153,
- *Bilan* (November 1933-January 1938), Nos. 1 to 46;
- *Octobre*, monthly review of the Office of the fractions of the Communist Left), Nos. 1 to 5 (February 1938-August 1939).

Belgian Fraction of the Communist Left, which left in 1937 the League of the Internationalist Communists (LCI) published:

- * *Communisme* (February 1937-August 1939), Brussels, Nos. 1 to 29 (re-issued).

A bulletin of discussion in Italian language will appear in 1938, under the title:

- *Il Seme comunista*, Nos. 1 to 5, "sotto la responsabilità della C.E. "

In French, the production of internal bulletins is richer:

- * News bulletin of the Fraction of the Italian Left (published under the responsibility of the Executive

Commission), 1931-1933, at least 10 bulletins.

In addition, the Fraction published also some texts in the International Bulletin of the Left Opposition (1930-1931).

During these decisive years, in the wake of the Fraction a bulletin (laying claim from Bordiga) will appear:

* *Pour la renaissance communiste*, 1933, Nos. 1-3, bulletin published in Paris, under the responsibility of the comrades Mathieu and Gandi, militants of the Italian Communist Left.

(All these reviews can be consulted in Amsterdam, Follonica and Milan; it is possible to consult photocopies of Bilan and Communisme at the BDIC of Nanterre.)

Ottorino PERRONE (VERCESI) left Archives (in fact the Ambrogi's Archives) which are deposited at the BDIC of Nanterre.

Amadeo PERRONE, son of Ottorino, yielded the Archives and books of his father to the Université libre de Bruxelles. See the work of Anne MORELLI, mentioned above.

VAN HOEGAEDEN (LE WITTE), Member of the Belgian Fraction, left Archives to the Université libre de Bruxelles (1998).

It is the same for Piero CORRADI (Piero), which yielded its Archives to the library of Follonica (Italy).

Reprint texts of *Bilan* saw the day these last years in French:

- texts on the war in Spain, in *International Review* (review of the International Communist Current, or ICC), Nos. 4 and 6, 1976, “*Bilan: lessons of Spain 1936* ”; No. 7, 1937, “*Bilan: the crisis of the Fraction in front of the events of Spain 1936*. ”

-*Bilan, Counter-Revolution in Spain (1936-1939)*, texts presented and joined together by Jean BARROT (Gilles DAUVÉ), UGE, coll. 10/18, Paris, 1977.

One can add, translated into Italian, the texts of Vercesi in *Bilan* (not signed), republished in 1958 by *Prometeo* (organ of Partito comunista internazionalista, tendency Onorato Damen):

- “Articoli di O. PERRONE, rivista *Bilan*, 1933-1938 ”(a choice of seven articles).

A collection of its contributions over “the transitional period to Communism” exist in Italian translation:

- *Rivoluzione e reazione (lo stato tardo-capitalistico nell'analisi della sinistra comunista)*, Università degli studi di Messina, Giuffrè editore, Milan, 1983. Texts introduced by Dino ERBA and Arturo PEREGALLI.

The Italian Fraction of 1930 to 1939 nourished its existence of confrontations with groups located at

the Left of the Trotskyism:

- L'Union communiste (The Communist Union) (1933-1939), group come out of the Frank's and Molinier's Communist League, published until July 1939, 43 numbers of its monthly review *L'Internationale*. Its principal organiser Gaston Davoust, republished in 1979 a collection of articles of this review, under the nickname of Henri CHAZE, Chronic of the Spanish revolution, Union communiste (1933-1939), Paris, 1977, Cahiers Spartacus.
- The League of the Internationalist Communists (LCI), came out of the Trotskyism about 1930, published a *Bulletin* until the war. This group (around Adhémar Hennaut), will come out in February 37, at the time of the events of Spain; its minority, after the scission of 1937, published *Communisme*, organ of the Belgian Fraction. You will find some of these texts in the book of Jean BARROT (Gilles DAUVÉ).

The Italian Fraction practically did not have contacts with the Dutch Left (GIC, group of the international Communists), although the LCI had closer connections with the group *Living Marxism* around Paul Mattick in the USA. To have a fast sight of the positions of these groups:

- The bureaucratic counter-revolution (coll. 10/18, Paris, 1973).

In 1937, a Mexican group, sharing the positions of Bilan on the war of Spain, will come into contact with the Fraction. This group, Grupo of trabajadores marxistas (GTM), published of 1938 to 1940 the theoretical review *Comunismo*. Certain texts were translated by *L'Internationale* in 1938, then a few

decades later by the *International Review*, organ of the ICC, in French (Nos. 19 and 20 (Oct. and Dec. 79).

War and thus clandestinity reduce the forces of the Fraction. It published nevertheless from 1943 eight numbers of an international Bulletin of discussion. The French group of the Communist Left, which takes the name of French Fraction of the Communist Left, or Communist Left of France, published as from May 1945 and until 1952 the monthly review *Internationalisme*, and in 1945 a printed newspaper: *l'Étincelle* (The Spark).

Some elements of this group, which joined in 1945 the new Partito comunista internazionalista, published another *Étincelle* (Spark) in 1946, then *l'Internationaliste* (the Internationalist) until March 1949. It took the name of French Fraction of the international Communist Left (F.F.G.C.I.).

The Belgian Fraction of the international Communist Left (FBGCI), of the same tendency, published until 1949 *L'Internationaliste* (the Internationalist).

In 1943, the PC Internationalist was formed, in Turin, and in Lombardy, around Onorato Damen. It published *Prometeo* clandestinely, in the form of newspaper, then in 1945 in the form of printed review, then at the end of the war *Battaglia comunista*. One will find the principal texts of his foundation in:

- *L'imperialismo e la guerra* (ED. Prometeo, Milan);

- *Program's Schema of the PCINT* (1944);
- *Piattaforma* (1945).

(Reprint of the clandestine *Prometeo*, organ of the Partito comunista internazionalista, 1943-1945, Edizioni Elf Biella, Casella postale 292, Biella (Italy), 1995. With a Preface of Roberto GREMMO.)

Over the war and post-war period, one will find elements of history in the Report of the first national conference of the Internationalist Communist Party of Italy, booklet, Paris, 1946. Several Italian republications of the *Resoconto del congresso del Partito comunista internazionalista* (Florence, 6-9 may 1948.) by the Damen's Group.

The quoted texts of the period of clandestinity are in our possession; they can be consulted in Amsterdam and Milan, or requested near the groups issuing from the Italian Left, such *Programma comunista* and *Battaglia comunista*.

C. – “BORDIGUIST” CURRENT AFTER 1945.

We refer to the bibliographical work of Sandro SAGGIORO and Arturo PEREGALLI, mentioned above. *Invariance* translated and published between 1968 and 1998 a lot of texts written by Bordiga (from 1912 to 1970), notably the articles of the Series: “Sul filo del tempo”, published anonymously in the 50s by *Programma comunista*.

See in French :

Review *Dis)continuité*, 1998 :

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo* (1952).

Bordiga, textes sur la conquête spatiale, 1957-1967.

Bordiga: textes d'avant 1914 (ainsi que quelques textes extraits de l'*Histoire de la Gauche communiste (Storia della Sinistra comunista)*(1912-1919).

Bordiga, textes, 1915 -1966.

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1953.

(Les 6 numéros contiennent une introduction de F. Bochet.)

Invariance :

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1949 (1), avril 1992, 104 p.

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1949 (2), juin 1992, 96 p.

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1950 (1), mars 1993, 106 p.

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1950 (2), mars 1993, 97 p.

Bardiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1951 (1), septembre 1994, 120 p.

Bordiga, *Sul filo del tempo*, 1951 (2), novembre 1994, 127 p.

Œuvres d'Ottorino Perrone, août 1993, 157 p. (Il s'agit principalement du texte "Parti-Internationale-

Etat” de Perrone, parus dans *Bilan*.)

Bordiga, textes, 1912-1969; juin 1994, 293 p.

Bordiga, textes (2), 1913-1965; juin 1995, 419 p.

(Présentation “Prolétariat, philosophie et Nature (suite) ou en guise d’introduction” de F. Bochet.)

Textes du mouvement ouvrier révolutionnaire 1; mai 1996, 294 p. (textes de *Le réveil communiste*, *L’ouvrier communiste*, *Bilan*).

Textes du mouvement ouvrier révolutionnaire 2; juin 1996, 344 p. (textes de *Bilan*, *Octobre*, *Communisme*, *Prometeo*,...)

Textes du mouvement ouvrier révolutionnaire 4; oct. 1996, 260 p.(textes de Rühle, Pannekoek, Bordiga, Camatte. (Ces quatre derniers numéros sont précédés d’une introduction: “Pensée, révolution réaction et catastrophe” de F. Bochet.)

STUDIES

They are rare studies concerning the period 1926-1945, except for the Italian Left before the exile.

A. - 1912-1926

Before the birth of the CP of Italy:

- Z. CIUFFOLETTI, M. DEGL'INNOCENTI, G. SABBATUCCI, *Storia del PSI; 1. Le Origini e l'età giolittiana*, Editori Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1992.
- Leo VALIANI, *Il Partito Socialista Italiano nel periodo della Neutralità 1914-1915*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1963.

On Mussolini the “Revolutionary Socialist” before 14:

- Renzo DE FELICE, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario 1883-1920*, Einaudi Tascabili, Turin, 1995.

Add, on the birth of the communists Fractions:

- Michele FATICA, *Origini del fascismo e del comunismo a Napoli (1911-1915)*, Florence, 1971.
- Mirella MINGARDO, *Mussolini, Turati e Fortichiari. La formazione della sinistra socialista a Milano 1912-1918*, Graphos Storia, Genoa, 1992.

On the history and the structure of the Bordiguist-Communist movement:

- *Storia della sinistra comunista* (not completed, will go until 1926), 4 volumes, 1966-1996; Bordiguist point of view; see above.
- Paolo SPRIANO: *Storia del partito comunista italiano*, Tome I, Da Bordiga a Gramsci, Turin, 1967. (Point of view of a member of the Italian CP).
- Bruno FORTICHIARI, *Comunismo e revisionismo in Italia. Testimonianza di un militante rivoluzionario* (a

cura di Luigi CORTESI), Tennerello editore, Turin, 1978.

- Giovanni SOMAI, in *Movimento operaio e socialista*, n° 4, Oct.-Dec. 1979, “Il tentativo frazionista nel Partito comunista d’Italia: Il Comitato d’Intesa e il ruolo di Amadeo Bordiga”.
- Giovanni SOMAI, *Storia contemporanea*, n° 4-5, Oct. 1980, “La formazione del gruppo dirigente di ‘centro’ e il ruolo di Bordiga. Carteggio 1923”.
- Massimo ILARDI and Aris ACCORNERO (under the direction of), *Il Partito comunista italiano. – Struttura e storia dell’organizzazione 1921/1979*; Femtrinelli, Milan, 1982.

On Bordiga :

- Andreina DE CLEMENTI, *Amadeo Bordiga* (Einaudi, Turin,1971).
- Bruna TESO, *Bordiga* (masters’ degree, 1972, Paris I-Sorbonne).
- Franco LIVORSI, *Amadeo Bordiga*, ED. Riuniti,1976 (point of view enough honest from an intellectual of the PCI, which continues its study until the death of Bordiga in 1970).
- Agustín GUILLAMON IBORRA, *Militancia y pensamiento político de Amadeo Bordiga de 1910 a 1930. Orígenes, formación y disidencia del bordiguismo en el seno del Partido Comunista de Italia*, tesis de licenciatura, Barcelona, 1987.
- Agustín GUILLAMON, *Chronologia de Bordiga*, review *Balance*, Barcelona, No. 4, November 1995.

The point of view of the International Communist Party (Bordiguist) “En défense du Programme communiste, Nos. 71, 72 and 74: “Gramsci, l’Ordine nuovo et Il Soviet;”Nos. 50 to 56: “In memory

of Amadeo Bordiga; ”No. 68: “Communist Left of Italy vis-à-vis the debates in the Russian party”.

We can refer to the newspaper *Il Partito comunista* and the review *Comunismo*, organs of a dissenting Bordiguist group (another International Communist Party), established especially in Florence:

We can add the critical testimony of Onorato Damen, another founder of PCd’ I, then of PCINT in 1943, before his rupture with Bordiga in 52:

- *Bordiga, validità e limiti di una esperienza nella storia della sinistra italiana*, EPI, Milan, 1977.

On the relationship between Gramsci and Bordiga, in addition to the presentation of Robert Paris (op. cit.), cf.:

- Arturo PEREGALLI, *Il comunismo di sinistra e Gramsci*, Dedalo libri, Bari, 1978.
- Giovanni SOMAI, *Gramsci a Vienna. Ricerche e documenti 1922-1924*, “Studi storici”, Argalia Editore, Urbino, 1979.
- Onorato DAMEN, *Gramsci tra marxismo e idealismo. L’analisi di un esponente della prima opposizione allo stalinismo*, edizioni Prometeo, Milan, 1988.
- Christian RIECHERS, *Gramsci e le ideologie del suo tempo*, Graphos Storia, Genoa, 1993.

The relationship between Korsch and Bordiga is studied in:

- Christian RIECHERS, “Kommentar zu Bordigas Brief”, *Jahrbuch* 1, “Über Karl Korsch”, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973.
- Danilo MONTALDI, *Korsch e i comunisti italiani* (Savelli, Milan, 1975).
- Giovanni SOMAI, *Storia Contemporanea* n° 2, April 1979, “La mancata ‘venuta’ di Bordiga a Mosca. Il preludio della questione russa dell’ottobre 1926”.

B. - 1926 TILL THE WAR

The studies on the history of the Fraction are extremely rare. Short, and polemic development, in : “Notes for a history of the Communist Left; the Italian Fraction, 1926-1939 ”, ICC’s *International Review*, No. 9, March 1977.

On the “inactivity” of Bordiga between 1930 and 1943:

- Arturo PEREGALLI and Sandro SAGGIORO, *Amadeo Bordiga. Gli anni oscuri (1926-1945)*, Quaderni Pietro Tresso, Florence, 1997.

On the activity of Vercesi during this period, cf. its Archives (BDIC and ULB) and the obituary of *Programme communiste* (Communist Program), No. 1 (1957). See too:

- Anne MORELLI, “Le bordighisme en exil autour d’Ottorino Perrone”, Actes du Colloque sur le Komintern, Centenaire de Jules Humbert-Droz, La Chaux-de-Fonds (Suisse), 1992.

On the ultimate political way of Virgilio Verdaro:

- Pasquale GENASCI and Bruno STOPPA, *Virgilio Verdaro (1885-1960), il comunista eretico e il socialista controcorrente, il militante internazionalista e il balermitano*, Fondazione Pellegrini-Canevascini, Lugano, 1988.

See too the general studies on the Italian immigration in France and Belgium:

- Anne MORELLI, *Fascismo e antifascismo nell'emigrazione italiana in Belgio (1922-1940)*, Bonacci editore, Rome, 1987.
- Simonetta TOMBACCINI, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, Mursia editore, Milan, 1988.
- Pierre MILZA et alii, *L'immigration italienne en France dans les années 20*. Acte du colloque franco-italien, Paris 15-17 octobre 1987, Editions du CEDEI, Paris, 1988.

See some documents and works concerning the political relationship between Trotskysm and Bordiguism:

- ? Lev TROTSKY, *Scritti sull'Italia*, Controcorrente, Rome, 1979. Texts chosen and presented by Antonella MARAZZI.
- ? Michel ROGER, *Histoire de la gauche italienne dans l'émigration 1926-1945*, Paris VIII, 1981. (One part of this thesis was published anonymously by the ICC: *La Gauche communiste d'Italie (complément). Rapports entre la Fraction de gauche du PC d'Italie et l'opposition de gauche internationale 1929-1933*, CCI, Paris-Bruxelles, mai 1988.)
- ? Giovanni SOMAI, in *Storia Contemporanea* No. 1, Feb. 1982, "Sul rapporto tra Trockij, Gramsci e

Bordiga (1922-1926)".

- ? Paolo CASCIOLA, *Pietro Tresso militante trotskysta (1930-1944)*, Centro Studi Pietro Tresso, Foligno, 1985.
- ? Paolo CASCIOLA, *Appunti di storia del trotskismo italiano (1930-1945)*, Centro studi Pietro Tresso, Foligno, May 1986.
- ? Hans SCHAFRANEK, *Das kurze Leben des Kurt Kandau. Ein österreichischer Kommunist als Opfer der stalinistischen Geheimpolizei*, Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, Wien, 1988.
- ? (VVAA), *Revolutionary History*, Volume 5, No. 4, Spring 1995, "Through Fascism, War and Revolution: Trotskyism and Left Communism in Italy"; "Socialist Platform", London.

Concerning the splitting in the Italian Communist Left (1936), cf.:

- ? Agustín GUILLAMÓN IBORRA, *Balance* No. 1, Barcelona, November 1993, "Los bordiguistas en la guerra civil española".
- ? Fausto BUCCI, Rossano QUIRICONI and Claudio CARBONCINI, *La vittoria di Franco è la disfatta del proletariato. Mario De Leone e la rivoluzione spagnola*, La Ginestra – Comitato pro ex Ilva, Follonica, 1997.

For the activity of Damen imprisoned or banned in Italy, we return to the special number of *Battaglia comunista*, No.14, Oct. 1979, which is devoted to him after its death.

(The political testimony of a former militant of *Bilan* (1938), Marc Chirik, is given in the *International*

Review: preface with articles on Spain (op. cit.). The assessment of the activity of the Fraction will give place to polemic just after the end of the war. We refer to the articles of *Internationalisme* No. 7, “Resolution on the case Vercesi;”; No. 8, “Letter of the GCF to the Belgian Fraction; ”No. 10, “Letter to all the groups of the international Communist Left.” All these articles go back to 1948.)

To understand the framework of the rebirth of the Italian Communist Left in Italy during the war, see the important these of:

? Serge LAMBERT, *Tradition révolutionnaire et ‘nouveau parti’ communiste en Italie (1942-1945)*, PhD 1985, Institut d’Etudes Politiques, Grenoble.

Very important are the following books or articles to appreciate the activity of both PCIInt and Bordiga’s Fraction in Naples, and their relationship with groups of partisans:

? Arturo PEREGALLI, *L’altra Resistenza. Il PCI e le opposizioni di sinistra 1943-1945*, Graphos Storia, Genoa, 1991.

? Roberto GREMMO, in *Storia ribelle* 3, Autumn 1996, Edizioni ELF, Biella, “Bordiga a Roma nel 1944 rifiutò i soldi degli agenti segreti americani e resinse le proposte politiche dei Socialisti”.

? *Quaderni di Battaglia comunista* 6, “Il processo di formazione e la nascita del Partito comunista internazionalista”, edizioni Prometeo, Milan, December 1993.

? *Quaderni di Battaglia comunista* 7, “Lo scontro degli internazionalisti con lo stalinismo e le sue vittime”, Edizioni Prometeo, Milan, March 1995.

? *Prometeo* 8, December 1994, “Il PCIInt e i partigiani italiani dopo la caduta di Mussolini”.

- ? Roberto GREMMO, *L'ultima resistenza. Le ribellioni partigiane in Piemonte dopo la nascita della Repubblica (1946-1947)*, Edizioni ELF, Biella, 1995.
- ? Roberto GREMMO, *I comunisti di Bandiera Rossa. L'opposizione rivoluzionaria del Movimento Comunista d'Italia" (1944-1947)*, Edizioni ELF, Biella, 1996.

C. – POST-WAR

For the general framework of his opposition to the official Left, one will find elements in:

- ? Giorgio GALLI, *La sinistra italiana nel dopoguerra*, Milan, 1978.

On the evolution of the Italian Left in Italy until (and after) the rupture of 1952 between Damen and Bordiga, some books give the general political and theoretical framework:

- ? Danilo MONTALDI, *Saggio sulla politica comunista in Italia (1919-1970)*, Quaderni piacentini, 1976;
- ? Danilo MONTALDI, *Milano com'è*, Feltrinelli, 1962, p. 215-232.
- ? Danilo MONTALDI, *Bisogna sognare. Scritti 1952-1975*, Colibri, Milan, 1994.
- ? Liliana GRILLI, *Amadeo Bordiga: capitalismo sovietico e comunismo*, La Pietra, Milan, 1982.

It is necessary to consult primarily the collections of *Prometeo* and *Battaglia comunista* until 1952, as well as the book of Onorato Damen (op. cit.). See the polemic pamphlet:

- ? *Un chiarimento. Fra le ombre del bordighismo e dei suoi epigoni*, Edizioni Prometeo, Milan, November 1997. And:
- ? *Quaderni di Battaglia comunista* 3, “La scissione internazionalista del 1952. Documenti”, edizioni Prometeo, Milan, October 1992.

Memories of militants around Ottorino PERRONE, as the texts of his last writings after 1945 were collected in:

- Ottorino PERRONE, *La tattica del Comintern (1926-1940)*, introduction and notes of Bruno BONGIOVANNI, Edizioni sociali, Venice, 1976.

Invariance (old series, 1968-1971, new series, II-IV, 1972-1996) published many texts of this period, number 1 to number 10. One will read particularly in No. 9: “Communist Left of Italy and the international Communist Party”, by a former militant of the P.C.I. (*Programme communiste*), Jacques Camatte. This last one gave an important political testimony on the internal life of the International Communist Party (ICP-*Communist Program*):

? “Dialoga avec Bordiga”, *Invariance*, November 1975.

The biographical notes relative to Bruno FORTICCHIARI, Onorato DAMEN and Bruno MAFFI are in:

-*Dizionario del Movimento operaio italiano*, ED. Riuniti, Rome, 1975, by ANDREUCCI and DETTI.