

Ugo Duse

May 1965 Be the Year of Organisation of the Italian Marxist-Leninist Movement

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Our newspaper is beginning its second year of life, and whatever and however many comments, reservations, and criticisms one may feel it deserves the way in which it has taken its first steps must be judged to be positive. Born as the voice of the upset and perturbed conscience of so many thousands of Italian proletarians, born to be their voice, their collective thought in the struggle against revisionism in our country, Nuova Unità has attempted to do its duty with dignity and consistency, with the style and the modesty characteristic of Leninists.

Has our newspaper succeeded in always fulfilling this task? Of course only in part.

However the process of division, of disaggregation of the live forces of the proletariat pursued implacably by revisionism has, during this last year, met with a more serious resistance than in the past, and in some cases it has met with clamorous defeats. Among these on the international level Khrushchev's downfall, and in Italy the very birth of our newspaper.

We are not guilty of lack of modesty when we put side by side facts which are as different as the birth of our newspaper in its first struggle, on the one hand, and Khrushchev's downfall on the other hand. This is not lack of modesty because, while the levels are different -- especially with regard to the political weight of the two events -- these events are closely connected by a single prospect and are qualitatively one because they are expressions of the first serious successes of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the struggle against revisionism, one an Italian expression of it the other an international expression of it.

We will certainly not become giddy with pride in the

conviction that we played even the smallest part in determining the hopeless crisis which revisionism generally, and Italian revisionism in particular, are undergoing today: we are however convinced -- and from this conviction we draw all necessary consequences and indications for the struggle-- of the fact that the internal contradictions of the Italian Communist Party have, this time, pushed out of the party groups which do not really operate in the sense of criticism of its policies in order to alter them by outlining alternatives of change of direction, but which operate with the avowed aim of creating a new communist, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party which would promise the working class power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means that basically within the Italian Communist Party itself there have ripened those forces which, independently of their present formation, are destined to replace the revisionist party in order to fulfill the function of organized vanguard of the working class.

Our theory is based on historical materialism and on dialectical materialism. History has more than once testified to the exactness of one of the foundations of this theory: the concept "one divides into two" is clearly at the basis of any revolutionary phenomenon.

On the political level each step forward of the proletariat has been characterized, even determined, by a similar law: its emancipation from the political leadership of the bourgeoisie during the last century; its break with the opportunism of the second international, and the subsequent creation of communist parties; nowadays the break with revisionism. Certainly men face all their problems after the latter have already arisen; thus also the problem of the break between Marxists-Leninists and revisionists is a problem we face because history has already raised it. Does this mean that the break between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is already in course? Certainly, as a matter of fact in its premises it is a fact which has already taken place. At the international level, within the international communist movement, is it an accomplished fact? It is an accomplished fact and on this point we must be decisively clear. It is however more complicated to delimit this accomplished fact, to indicate precise facts and precise events. However the fact that the struggle is already taking place, that the Marxists-Leninists are achieving successes and that the revisionists encounter defeat after defeat is the most obvious proof of the fact that "one divides into two!" At this point the actions of the forces which are fighting each other are to a large extent conditioned by the iron law which wants the victory

of that side which is consciously fulfilling its historical function of progress. Such is the camp of Marxism-Leninism, i. e. the working class which fights against the last support of the bourgeoisie: revisionism.

Khrushchev has fallen, and at the basis of his fall are the contradictions which tear apart the camp of revisionism and the struggle of Marxists-Leninists. However it is now becoming increasingly clear, even to those who had had too many illusions, that this downfall was one only aspect of this struggle. The policies of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are still aimed at the Moscow Meeting, in a desperate attempt to re-establish the unity of a front which is already broken, the front of revisionism.

For this is what it is all about, it is not a matter of the unity of the international communist movement which is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which only the Marxists-Leninists can bring about. After the lesson of Khrushchev's downfall it is even more serious to insist on summoning the Meeting: it is a self-destructive act which assumes the character of an act of open connivance with American imperialism. The purpose is obvious: to ratify formally a reality which is already in action. But what does this illusory solution entail? It entails transferring ideological debates to the level of the overthrow of national alliances: it is obvious that if an international conference points out as the main enemy the one who does not give in to American blackmail, if it points out as the enemy of humanity the one who has decided to defend to the bitter end the conquests of the working class and of the workers, the independence and the freedom of his own people, then the consequences can be truly catastrophic. To line up in such a way against the Chinese Communist Party, against the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, against all Marxists-Leninists, means to line up against the workers of the whole world, and as an inevitable logical consequence it means to line up alongside American imperialism.

For this basic reason, even though the law "one divides into two" is already operating in practice, even though the division between Marxists-Leninists and revisionist is irreversible on the ideological level, even if the only possible condition of a re-establishment of unity is the abandoning of revisionist positions, it is the duty of all Marxists-Leninists to fight against the preparatory meeting of the Moscow Conference, as an open encouragement to American aggression.

Therefore once again we call upon all workers, upon all Italian communists, to fight against the participation of the Italian Communist Party in the preparatory meeting of the Moscow Conference. This is one of our basic tasks.

The tests which we have withstood during this last year

have however also confirmed the correctness of the indications which were the very reason of the birth of our newspaper. The process of involution of the Italian Communist Party has continued, irreversibly. We have not failed to emphasize tirelessly the most obvious aspects of this involution, and this has certainly been positive because it has allowed a unification of judgement, indispensable for the realization of further steps forward. But the more obvious aspects of the revisionist capitulation of the Italian Communist Party are only the outward results of its work of corruption and of treason with regard to the basic interests of the Italian working class.

We have however failed to examine all the aspects of Italian revisionism, to denounce mercilessly all the capitulations and all the acts of treason, to indicate the ways and the means to bring them to nought and to counterattack; from this point of view we have not done all we should have done. Any reproach, any criticism levelled at us from this point of view is just, and we must accept it.

However we must say that first the neutralization and then the defeat of the positions of the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party cannot be achieved by means of a periodical, even if this periodical is the interpreter of the outlook of the most advanced part of the working class. The fact is that the outlook can be clear as the ideas can be, and are, clear, but if the ideas and the outlook are not substantiated day by day, hour by hour, with political actions, with mass agitations, with organizational activity, they remain beautiful pronouncements, but pronouncements which are at the borderline of the kingdom of utopia. It is not sufficient to recognize that the Italian Communist Party no longer fulfills its function of revolutionary guide, it no longer suffices to denounce its involution in parliamentary stupidity; it is no longer sufficient to note that of the about 8200 words which make up Longo's report to the recent Central Committee about 300 (and this is worth underlining) are all that is devoted to an economic analysis of the Italian situation, to the tasks of the working class, to the tasks of the party, while the remaining 7900 words, as well as all the speeches which followed this report, are but a painful repetition of trite social-democratic statements. From a denunciation of the treason we must go on to the development of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary tactics, to the construction of an organization capable of engaging in the political struggle.

Ever since the years of liberation the Italian working class has lived through various breaks within the framework of the traditional labor parties: but none of these breaks

was based on a revolutionary need. Therefore under the mosaic of parties which claim to belong to socialism and to democracy in the reformistic sense, we have really seen a multiplying of leading groups which converge towards a social-democratic, bourgeois-parliamentary outlook. Therefore what has basically been at work in these secessionist processes, below the surface, is another dialectic law: that of the confluence of opposites. But moments of revolutionary awakening have always been characterized by the other law: one divides into two, which is the true substance of revolutionary unity, of the new unity.

And today we launch a just and correct password: all Marxists-Leninists, all workers who are decided to fight for the socialist revolution, all those who do not fear American imperialism -- the enemy number one of the peoples and of peace, must unite; they must unite in a national movement, above traditional reformist parties and against them, so as to lead the hundreds of thousands of their honest followers who have been left without a guide in the hands of corrupt syndicates, victims of the most abject transformism; they must lead them in the coming struggles, lead them against the offensive unleashed by monopolies, lead them in the rebuilding of their organizations in the places in which they work, lead them in the struggles in defense of their bread, for the conquest of a higher form of political class organization.

This is the first, natural, inevitable phase through which we must pass. Once we will have been re-educated in struggles without compromise, once we will have regained confidence in our strength, once we will have reconquered all of the scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism in its purity in practice too, we will have created the conditions necessary for the formation of a true Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore this party will not come to light against revisionism, but rather in order to lead the working class to power: it will arise from the ashes of revisionism which the organized movement of Italian Marxists-Leninists will burn down inexorably in its vigorous enthusiastic fight.