

Revisionist Theses and Marxist-Leninist Action

Published: *Nuova Unità* (New Unity) Vol 2 #9 December 1965 p4; English version: JPRS, Translations on International Communist developments #798 January 21st 1966

Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards.

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We publish here an article that appeared in the Bulletin of the Roman Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Circle dealing with the theses for the XI Congress of the PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano; Italian Communist Party). In this article, the comrades responsible for the analysis make an interesting contribution criticizing the document published by the PCI, so as to serve as an opening for a debate on the problem throughout our movement and in our newspaper.

We are in agreement with the document of the Roman comrades in its analysis of the theses and the opposition to it of a different alternative, with revolutionary content, even though it will obviously have to be further developed.

We are not in agreement with the authors, and we say so frankly, as should be the case among Leninists, when, in the last part of their study, dealing with tactics, and thus of the time, to arrive at the building of the revolutionary party of the Italian working class, they maintain that it must be the product of the struggles that we will have to develop and carry on.

That the creation of the new party is necessary is beyond doubt for the Italian Marxists-Leninists, and thence for the comrades who wrote the analysis themselves, who, in everything they have written, maintain that the working class and the Italian popular masses no longer have a revolutionary guide and that, for this reason, it is necessary to create a new party.

But to claim that we will have to wait for the struggles to create the conditions to build the party is, in our opinion, erroneous, because there is no lack of struggles for the working class and the Italian workers.

The battles are there, the workers are fighting as well as they know how and are able to, often fighting spontaneously, their struggles

often having no success, and, to a greater or lesser extent, they are being held back by the opportunism of the leaders of the PCI. Neither the battles, nor a revolutionary drive on the part of the masses, nor the historical conditions for the Socialist revolution are lacking. What is lacking is a revolutionary guide: the avant-garde party organized by the working class. The position of anyone who claimed that the working class must, through its struggles, ripen the idea of providing itself with a revolutionary political party would be considered pre-Leninist. The Italian working class brought this idea to maturity so many years ago and the PCI was born. Today the PCI no longer is a guide. The working class does not have to undertake again, under conditions still more favorable to the struggle for Socialism, an experience which it has already undergone; it must rebuild the party which no longer belongs to it, and the sooner the better.

We think that our movement must, as soon as possible, transform itself into a party because this is the historical need of the Italian labor movement in this phase of the struggle for Socialism. And here the discussion passes from the analysis of objective conditions to consideration of subjective ones. If the former exist in the real state of things, the latter are being formed through the action that the Marxists-Leninists have carried out in Italy in these recent years and to which the authors themselves of the analysis have made their contribution. There exists a Marxist-Leninist movement with groups scattered in various cities of Italy, with their controlled organs, the National Committee and Political Office, with a journal, Nuova Unità. This movement was officially born in Milan in April 1965. Nuova Unità became its organ.

It was supported by everyone who sincerely desired its development with the objective of creating a party, and was opposed by those who did not want that development. It is not a question, today, of "structuring" a Marxist-Leninist movement on national bases. It exists already structure; it is being defended and strengthened, better organized, extended, and this will be all the more possible all the sooner if, in carrying on its activity, taking its inspiration from the principles of Leninism, from the principles of the party that must be quickly crystallized, it acts from now on as the revolutionary political party of the Italian working class.

When we speak of building the new Marxist-Leninist party, it is a necessity to think about what we have already built, in order to make further progress.

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Although they were presented on 7 November, the anniversary of the October Revolution, the theses for the XI Congress of the PCI no longer contain anything revolutionary.

Essentially, there are two basic arguments at the center of the mile-long, nebulous, and contradictory document: the question of "peaceful

coexistence" on the international level, and the alleged "failure of the center-left coalition" on the internal level. The revisionist leaders of the PCI must now give up claiming that there is prevalent in the world a "tendency to the relaxation of tension" between imperialism, socialism, and the oppressed peoples, as they were trying to make us believe in the old Khrushchev and Kennedy years so nostalgically lamented by them. However, they take care not to recognize that the increased aggressiveness of American imperialism was provoked, on the one hand, by the "capitalization" and betrayals of the Khrushchevite revisionists (Cuban crisis; political and economic struggle against China, Albania, and all the Marxist-Leninist parties; USSR-USA collaboration; weak and equivocal aid to Vietnam, etc., etc.), and, on the other hand, is an attempt to repress the growing revolutionary and anti-imperialist drive of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, while the conflicts among the various imperialist and capitalist countries continue to sharpen. The reason for this striking contradiction of the "theses" is clear: they want at any cost to preserve the now threadbare principle of Khrushchevite "peaceful coexistence," and they conclude, rather awkwardly, that in this situation "we have to force imperialism into peaceful coexistence." But how can you force into "peace" someone who aggresses upon you and makes war upon you, if you don't answer with a dose of his own medicine and put him in a condition where he can do no harm? The Marxists-Leninists all over the world, and the Chinese comrades first of all, have always maintained that peace is best defended by fighting against US imperialism with all possible means, and not by trying to appease it. Despite this, the "theses" continue to claim, without any sense of logic or reality, that the positions of the Chinese comrades and of the other Marxists-Leninists are erroneous. This is the right time for all Communists and workers to draw the true consequences from the ideological and political failure of the revisionist leaders of the PCI and destroy them in one way or another to increase the combativeness of the Italian Communists against the arrogance of imperialism, with US imperialism at the top of the list.

As for the so-called "failure of the center-left coalition," we are of the opinion that this is a rather obvious piece of prestidigitation. We agree that the reformist illusions of the center-left have failed. But who fed them? The Lombardis, the Giolittis, surely not the "dorothei," or Saragat, or Nenni, or the Italian capitalist bourgeoisie (the more able sector), who from the first moment, on dedicated themselves to disorienting and dividing the Italian laboring masses and imposing upon them the wage block and unemployment in a time of recession. We have been repeating for some time that the center-left coalition, from this point of view, has not in fact failed, but rather has achieved success (the passage of the PSI into the governmental collaboration, imminent Social Democratic reunification, and extension of the center-left to local administrations). The center-left is tending to go on and to become a "regime," despite the increasingly overt aspects of its essentially conservative nature, particularly because of the weak, ambiguous, and erroneous opposition of the PCI. The "theses" declare, in fact, that to "beat" the center-left coalition, "new majorities" must be created (in the parliamentary sense?) to achieve a new model of economic development which would work for the interests of the popular masses by limiting the power and the profits of the monopolistic groups. But how to "limit" the economic and political power of the monopolistic groups? With "democratic planning" and

"reforms of the structure" reply the "theses." But who is supposed to carry out the colossal tasks of "democratic planning" and "reforms of the structure?" The "democratized" state, politically directed by the (parliamentary?) "new majorities" say the "theses" in essence. And there's the rub. The imminent reunification of the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano; Italian Socialist Party] and the PSDI [Partito Socialdemocratico Italiano; Italian Social Democratic Party] into a single social democratic party, and the constitutional impotence of the so-called "leftists" of the Christian Democratic Party, make the prospect of "new majorities," parliamentary or not, appear increasingly absurd. Aside from this, the Italian workers know very well from their own decades-long experience that the state apparatus and the whole bourgeois democratic regime exist only to defend the interests of the monopolistic groups, of the entire capitalist bourgeoisie, and of clerical conservatism, and will not in fact allow themselves to be "democratized," neither "from within," nor "gradually," much less "peacefully." For this reason, we need something quite different from generic propaganda and agitation, incomprehensible to the masses, in favor of "democratic planning" and certain "structural reforms," in order to change the set-up of the state and of Italian society radically. It is true that we have to orient the working class and the peasant and working masses indefatigably, and align them courageously, on the side of a clear Socialist alternative. There is no point in setting up an impossible "democratic" planning in opposition to capitalist "planning;" all we need is "Socialist planning." "Structural reforms," if we are really talking about the structures of society, cannot be carried out by keeping the political and economic power of the bourgeoisie standing.

They can be effected only with the Socialist revolution. To achieve these arduous objectives, we need a true mobilization of the proletariat and the laboring masses, and a growing and uninterrupted sequel of class struggles aimed at the conquest of power. The revisionist "theses" offer, on the other hand, only an illusory prospect, one of evasion of the real tasks, of pious desires and wishes, of elucubrations of an intellectualistic cast, not concrete indications for the mobilization and struggle to come.

Meanwhile, the national and international situations are becoming graver. A series of acute contradictions is bringing the class struggle throughout the world closer and closer to unforeseeable outcomes: perhaps "local" and not so "local" wars, disastrous economic crises, revolutionary and reactionary situations. The Italian proletariat has for some time already been paying the hard price of the "recession" at the end of the "boom" that had been caused by the economic integration of capitalist Europe and the American economic invasion. The Italian working class no longer has a battle guide either in the various labor parties or in the trade unions, all of them crippled by Social Democracy and revisionism, and it has therefore lost faith. The Italian Marxists-Leninists must seriously recognize all this and must multiply their efforts to increase the effectiveness of their activity.

We have to fight and to study at the same time. Study and deepen the thinking and the action of the great leaders of Marxism-Leninism (from Marx to Engels to Lenin to Stalin to Mao). Study the aspects of old and new

revisionism (from Kautsky and Turati to Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchev, and Togliatti), to fight it better. Study the new aspects of the old class domination of the capitalist and imperialist bourgeoisie. Fight to get the workers and peasants out from under the revisionist influence and orient them to the revolutionary principles of Communism.

Fight inside and outside the workers' parties to sharpen the crises in the revisionist leadership. Fight to structure a Marxist-Leninist movement on the national basis, better organizing the existing Marxist-Leninist groups, creating new ones everywhere, stabilizing or establishing links on the provincial and regional levels, preparing national meetings that would define the fundamental lines of a political program of action and of organization. Fight to direct the immediate demands of an economic and social nature on the part of the laboring masses, without ever neglecting to explain that the real solution of the problems lies only in the Socialist Revolution. Fight against the capitalist bourgeoisie and clerical conservatism, which want to keep the workers divided, resigned, and ignorant, the better to be able to exploit them. Fight for national independence against US imperialism, which has subjected our country politically, economically, and militarily. In the course of all these struggles, the necessary conditions will crystallize so that at the right moment it will appear possible and necessary for there to be in Italy the creation of a new Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

