

**Manifesto Program  
of the  
(new) Italian Communist Party**



March 2008

**We dedicate this Manifesto Program to all the heroes  
of the first wave of the world proletarian revolution.**

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*(Preliminary note: With the asterisk (\*) we indicate that this Manifesto Program is using a category, a concept that in our conception has a precise meaning that the reader cannot understand by the current meaning of the terms. The Manifesto Program itself will explain below what this category or concept means)*

## Introduction

The world we are living in is shaken by heavy convulsions from end to end. They are the convulsions of the old world dying and the new one rising. The old world splits in two, one part going to die and the other going to give birth to the communist society, a new phase in humanity's history.

The bourgeoisie took advantage of the period of decay the organized and conscious communist movement (\*) went through in the second half of the last century. It succeeded in killing the trust many workers had to be able to change the world, to build a world fit to their needs, to their best aspirations and feelings. Nevertheless it did not succeed in killing it in everybody. We communists are still living, and millions of workers keep that trust. And the others, who have had that trust dead, need our contagion to revive it, because it is the only way out from the decay and nightmare where the bourgeoisie drove them in and more and more plunges them.

The new general crisis of capitalism, (\*) begun in the Seventies of the last century, has developed, enlarged, and made more ferocious the undeclared war of extermination the imperialist bourgeoisie is carrying out against the popular masses in every corner of the earth, also in imperialist countries, also where it has not yet become military aggression or spread out civil wars. The gravity of the material, moral, intellectual and environmental crisis afflicting all humanity and frightening so many people, both among popular masses and imperialist bourgeoisie, confirms how deep

is the transformation the humanity has to carry out.

The bourgeoisie imposes to the popular masses so cruel and unbearable conditions that the struggle against it explodes in thousand ways. Where the communists are not yet able to be their direction, other classes are doing it, with the limits and forms consistent with their nature.

However, in the struggle to face the devastating effects of the contradictions of capitalism, made again lacerating in every country by its second general crisis, (\*) in every corner of the earth the communist movement revives, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: the conception of the world and method of action and knowledge elaborated by the experience of 160 years of the communist movement and particularly by the experience of the first wave of the world proletarian revolution.

The (new) Italian Communist Party is a component of the new international communist movement that is rising again, strengthened by the first wave of proletarian revolution.

In this Manifesto Program we communist declare the conception of the world that leads us, the balance we draw from the first 160 years of the communist movement, the methods by which we work and the objectives we pursue for making Italy a new socialist country and so contributing to the second wave of the proletarian revolution advancing all over the world.

This Manifesto Program is the ideological basis of the unity of the (new) Italian Communist Party.

# Chapter I

## The class struggle during the first 160 years of the communist movement and the present conditions

### Introduction

On behalf of the League of Communists, the first communist party in history, less more than 150 years ago, in 1848, for the first time, in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels exposed the communists' conception of the world, method of work and knowledge, objectives and general line. (1)

They elaborate the experience of the workers struggling against bourgeoisie and they also were the first to achieve a scientific understanding of past history. This is a process of natural history: (2) a succession of modes of production by which the human kind gradually faced and solved the problems of its survival and so doing transformed itself and the world. Only in the light of the history of the modes of production it is possible to reconstruct the history of the other aspects of society and the history of the human nature scientifically. (3)

Particularly, they showed that men and women have not ever been divided in classes of exploited and exploiters, of oppressed and oppressors. (4) The class division arose only at a determinate grade of development of the productive forces, in situations that made it profitable for human kind's survival and development. (5) The societies divided in classes prevailed over the primitive ones because, at that stage of development of human kind and of its productive forces, they were a more favourable context for the production, the further development of the productive forces and the intellectual and moral progress. (6) However, the capitalism has created the conditions that make possible and necessary the end of men and women's division in classes and, with it, the extinction of the State. (7) As a matter of fact, it is essentially an instrument by which the exploiting class imposes and keeps its social order. Shortly, the capitalism has created the conditions that make possible and necessary a new social order, the Communism.

They showed that the bourgeoisie must develop work productivity because of its nature. (8) In order to do it, it makes the productive forces more and more collective. (9) Just this makes the survival of the capitalist mode of production more and more precarious. The capitalist relations of production and the other social relations, the conceptions, feelings and behaviours to them related, during an entire historical phase were factors favourable to the solutions of the problems of human kind existence and the development of its material, intellectual and moral productive forces. But by now they are become an hindrance: the present

productive forces can be an instrument for further progress for humanity only thanks to a workers' active, conscious and organized participation. This participation is not consistent with the antagonisms of interests peculiar to the capitalist mode of production. On the contrary, these antagonisms make the same productive forces a mean of destruction of human civilization and its environment. This contradiction, their instinct of survival and the conscious and organized activity of the communist movement will lead men and women to overcome the capitalist mode of production and go beyond bourgeois society. This is made easier by the fact that the creation of collective productive forces creates also by itself conditions favourable to make grow workers' consciousness and organization.

Workers were already spontaneously struggling against bourgeoisie for improving their condition. Marx and Engels showed that, in order to get outcomes lasting and on large scale, workers had not to limit themselves to this but, most of all, they had to struggle for their emancipation from bourgeoisie. Communists' specific task is to make workers' struggle become a conscious and organized struggle to overcome capitalist mode of production and all the social relations, conceptions, feelings and behaviours to it connected.

So, the working class' struggle against bourgeoisie personifies the struggle between the productive forces' collective character the capitalist mode of production incessantly increases, and the capitalist relations of production, between the general level of civilization human kind achieved and capitalism itself.

In this struggle working class' triumph is unavoidable. It personifies the way the humanity has to go for its survival. It will substitute the capitalist with the communist society: a society with no more class division and no exploitation of man by man. In the societies till now existed, the constriction of the majority of men and women and their exclusion from the moral and intellectual patrimony of society and its richness have been the necessary condition for few people's free development and for the accumulation of that patrimony and richness. These societies will be substituted by the working class with "an association where everyone's free development is the condition for all people's free development".

Therefore, the presuppositions of Communism, the objective and subjective necessary conditions for its coming, form themselves in the capitalist society, despite of bourgeoisie's direction. (10) At a certain

point, the working class will establish socialism: this shall be the phase of transition from capitalist to communist society under working class' direction, a specific phase of humanity's history. This phase will begin with the conquest of political power by the working class. The political form of this phase will be the dictatorship of proletariat. (11) Socialism will be at the same time the conclusion of the barbaric part of human history. It will be the phase of the extinction of the humanity divided in classes of dominated and dominators, oppressed and oppressors, exploited and exploiters. It will end the division of men between directors and directed and intellectual and manual workers. It will eliminate the economical and cultural inequalities between men and women, adults and young people, city and countryside, advanced and backwards sectors, regions and countries. It will also end the more or less blind subjugation of men to nature and to social relations unconsciously created by them. (12) It will put on new bases the relations of men with the environment they live in. It will be the passage of men and women from the reign of necessity to the reign of freedom. It will be the beginning of a new phase in human history. Already today the productive forces involve, regard, tie and unite people in every corner of earth, region and country. These productive forces will cease to be managed, created and directed as private business of single capitalists or

of their associations. They will be managed, created and directed as a business common to all men and women. In this way the relation of production will become adequate to the already collective character reached by the productive forces. The concerns will cease to be patrimony, property, ownership and creatures of individuals or groups of individuals who by those concerns produce commodities. They will become collective organs of workers in charge of carrying out a certain service for the society. Each collective organ will receive from society what it needs to carry out the work it is responsible for. Each member of the collective will have at his disposal a share of social product assigned to individual use. The necessary work will be distributed among all the members of society and will become a secondary fraction of his activity for each one of them.

Communism was already the ongoing practical movement of transformation of capitalist in communist society. Thanks to Marx and Engels' work it became also the objective consciously pursued by the communist party. It became the consciousness of the working class struggling for power. It became the instrument of its direction over the rest of the proletariat and the popular masses. (13) Marxism became communist party's conception of the world and its method of action and knowledge.

## **1.1. The capitalist mode of production**

### **1.1.1. The mercantile production**

The mercantile production is the ground on which the capitalist mode of production sprang and developed. In its turn, this made universal the mercantile production, transformed and it is still transforming a growing part of human activities in production of commodities.

The mercantile production appeared in humanity's history long time ago, when single workers or groups began to produce goods and services and exchange them with goods and services produced by other people. However, it arose in a society where normally the workers produced for their own consumption or for that of those who they were providing to by any title (children, kinsmen, etc.), or else they were producing at command, for the personal consumption of their masters or priests, that is of the ruling and exploiting classes.

By its nature the mercantile production involved and generated relations, conceptions, feelings and behaviours radically different from those connected to other modes of production. These were all founded on natural ties, similar to those we see in other animal species (of herd, generation, gender, clan, relatives,

neighbourhood, blood, etc.) or on social relations specifically human of personal dependence (of slave on master, serf on lord, labourer on clergy, notable or protector). On the contrary, by its nature the mercantile production implied the freedom from all these ties. It implied equality and freedom of producers, their equal social dignity. But at the same time it implied and promoted the division of the work among individuals and groups and so made them dependent each other. It compelled each producer to know and care of tastes and needs of its possible customers, that is individuals with whom he had no one of the ties above mentioned. It created among the producers a mutual economical dependence that potentially went beyond the ties of blood, personal relations, race, religion, culture, language, neighbourhood: that is to say, it created universal dependence and tie. The typical protagonist of the mercantile production produces, sells and buys according to its convenience, moved by its interest. Nevertheless, for living he needs to find buyers and sellers. Until then, each man had been able to live thanks to his belonging to a specific community. The individual had been an ap-

pendix of his natural community, without autonomy, unable to survive out of it. On the contrary, the mercantile production frees him from community tie. Each man can survive thanks to the mercantile tie that could be established with anybody in its turn trades. He depends on all others, but on nobody in particular: so the individual in the modern sense of the world is born. The mercantile production done by single workers makes every individual personally indifferent to each other, but at the same time makes him dependent on society in its whole: he is no more dependent on this or that individual, but on the whole of individuals which he is directly or indirectly related to through the exchange (the market). Practicing for a long time and in different situations the mercantile production, men and women gradually developed a new level of civilization.

Such a relation among men arose in the form of a common dependence on a quality of the goods and service to be exchanged, a quality called value. As a matter of fact, the other conditions being equal, the relation of exchange was achieved and concluded only if buyer and seller agreed on the evaluation of the quantity of objects they would exchange; if they agreed on their exchange value, if they both recognize and submit themselves to it. Therefore, there was a voluntary but not arbitrary relation among them. (14) It was a quality the same goods and services did not have out of the mercantile society and relations.

The entire structure and evolution of the mercantile production, and of the capitalist production rooted in it, became understandable only thanks to the discover that

1. the value is the quality of a thing, but is nothing but a quality the producers of commodities attribute to it, owing to the particular relation they have among them: so, the value is a social relation owing to which men confer a particular and specific quality to the things they produce and the services they do;

2. the quantitative determination of the value (the exchange value) of any commodity is determined by the quantity of work socially necessary to produce it. (15) (16)

The mercantile production was the original cell of a new higher phase of human civilization. It drove the human kind to distinguish itself still more radically from the other animal species. It marked a break by human kind with the common roots it had with the

other animal species. It started a transformation that through capitalism will lead to Communism. Through the voluntary but not arbitrary association of the workers, Communism will overcome the mutual indifference that characterize the producers of commodities and makes everyone of them a slave of its social relations. Just because of the consciousness and organization connected to this overcoming, the communist society will maintain not only the conquests of civilization achieved by the mercantile production, but also the social cohesion that until now has been imposed by the ruling class and therefore has its mark. It will contain the essential requirement for the further development of the ones and the other: it will be an association of individuals that will recognize themselves equals and, finally free by the blind and unconscious subjugation both to nature and social relations, they will consciously direct by themselves the relation among them and their collective life. The need will no more restrict their activity and the social relations will no more be imposed to them as a power stranger to them and independent, as their God. (12)

The production of commodities as a mercantile production done by free men, the direct producers, is the simple mercantile production. The production of commodities, their circulation and the money from them sprung, appeared since remote times and in many countries as a marginal mode of production auxiliary to others (slave, feudal, Asiatic, etc.). The simple mercantile production was not able to assert itself on a large scale, and become the principal and prevailing mode of production of entire countries. As a matter of fact, 1. it was not consistent with the already existing social conditions of production (the systems of irrigation, the road networks, the great public works, etc.) and 2. it was not consistent with the class division already rooted in the societies where it was born. So, the mercantile production established itself on a large scale only as capitalist mercantile production. As a matter of fact, this one combines the production of commodities with the class division of the society and the collective conditions of production already elaborated by humanity in former history. In fact, the commodities circulation was the starting point of the formation of a new ruling class, the bourgeoisie, by the transformation of money in capital.

### **1.1.2. Birth, nature and development of the capitalist mode of production**

The capitalism is born where who owns means of production and goods for consumption, or the money for buying them, meets the worker "free" seller of his labour force (working capability). (17) In capitalism, the labour force assumes the form of a commodity belonging to the

worker: a commodity that is sold (by the worker) and bought (by the capitalist) as any other commodity. Therefore, in capitalism it is a value and has an exchange value, the salary. Consequently, the worker's activity assumes the form of wage earning labour. As the e-

xchange value of any commodity, that of labour force is determined by the time of labour socially needed for its production. Therefore, the exchange value of labour force is that of the goods of consumption and services necessary to keep the individual worker in its current life and labour condition, in a particular country and time, and to maintain his family: that is to ensure the reproduction of the commodity labour force. (18)

The worker sells its labour force for a determined time in exchange of salary. The capitalist becomes owner of this commodity for that time, and consumes it in his firm, in the factory. The duration of his workers' labour is higher than that (called "necessary labour") the worker needs to product in final commodities an exchange value equal to that (the salary) it receives in exchange of the labour force he sold. Therefore, the capitalists make the worker produce exchange values for which he does not pay the equivalent. He takes possession of an exchange value supplementary to that he paid in advance with the salary. This additional value is called surplus value: it is the product of surplus labour, that is the labour the worker does beyond the "necessary labour". The capitalist exploits the worker and valorizes (increases) his capital. Because of it, by its nature, the capitalist is interested in prolonging the duration of his workers' comprehensive labour time. Nevertheless, by its nature he is also interested in reducing the lasting of "necessary labour". That is to say, he is interested to increase labour force's productivity. This use of labour force is the process of capitalist production of commodities. It is a process of production of goods and services that is also a process of creation of value (because it is done within the mercantile production) and a process of valorization of capital or extraction of surplus value (because it is done within the capitalist mode of production).

This is the essence of capitalist mode of production shown by Marx and Engels. (19)

This process of exploitation is the cell which the entire present society developed from during some centuries. It is the base which the entire building of present bourgeois society rises upon. This cell already encloses within itself the antagonism that is the source of the irreconcilable class struggle between workers, who have nothing but their labour force, and capitalists, who own the means of production, the goods for consumption, and the material and intellectual general conditions of production and, on this base, are the ruling and directing class.

The capitalist mode of production is born in Europe starting from XI century. There were development of mercantile production towards capitalism also in former times and regions, but they had no continuation. Therefore they had no historical importance, as the travels to Americas before 1492. In the XI century, instead, in some zones of Europe a process began that never stop-

ped anymore. On the contrary, it spread all over the world, drove to the present world society, comprehends and determines the still ongoing world evolution.

Owing to a combination of circumstances, in those European zones and in those times the mercantile production had reached a sufficiently wide development. In its ambit it appeared the capitalist, as personification of commercial capital. He was buying commodities not for personal use, but for selling them. He was carrying on this activity not to make his living, but to increase his money. The following step occurred when the still merchant capitalist passed to regularly order the production of goods. Subsequently, starting from the XVI century, the capitalist became industrialist: it passed to organize the production by himself. He began to engage people in his own premises (manufactures) and with his own means of production and raw materials. These people working for him in their turn were free from bondages, but also obliged to provide for their life only selling their labour force. From that time on, the workers' destiny ceased to be more or less tied to his enslavement to work, to his working effort or to the conditions of the environment where he was living, and passed to depend mainly on the course of capitalists' businesses and on his strength in front of capitalist, in his struggle against him. On the other side the capitalist became interested not only in making every worker of his to work as more long and intensely as possible but also in raising his work productivity as much as possible.

Former history already concentrated the society's cultural and scientific patrimony and richness in the hands of the ruling classes and dug a furrow between them and the rest of population that increased as those patrimony and richness developed. But, differently from former ruling classes, by its nature the bourgeoisie systematically applied both that patrimony and that richness to raise the workers productivity of work. This is the reason of the superiority of capitalist society on the former ones, and the reason why it ousted them.

Driven by its interest, starting since XVIII century, the bourgeoisie passed from the manufacture to the great industry first mechanized and then computerized. It carried out a process of wide socialization and division of work and more and more accentuated the dependence on the different firms (productive unities). It extended the mercantile production to a growing number of the old work sectors: mines, transports, forests, agriculture, fishing, services. It created new sectors of mercantile production: research, communication, worship, sanitary assistance, care of children and elder people, education, human relations, every kind of services. It has made the most various productive sectors interdependent, making one the market of the other. It has tied one to the other regions and countries till then extraneous. It used, assimilated, transformed or destroyed every material or institution that history fur-

nished. It created nations and national States as superstructures of its market and of its field of productive investment and business. It subjected the old States and it created new ones, putting all them at the service of capital valorization. It invaded and, in a way or another, made field for their business all countries not only in Europe, but also in all other continents and divided them in capitalist and oppressed (colonies or semi colonies) countries. By far, wage-earning work has become the more diffused work relation and also the other work relations have assumed its form.

The capitalist relations of production were a powerful incentive to the development of production, productive forces and civilization.

The search for profit drove the bourgeoisie to widen the production, to improve the machineries and technology in industry, agriculture, transports, services, in every field. It drove it to create great infrastructures, to develop science and scientific research in every ambit until it did of systematic research a productive sector apart; to transform the environment; to not withdraw in front of any enterprise; to modify the form of the entire planet. Its unlimited and individual search of profit drove bourgeoisie to crush centuries old habits and customs, to not stop itself in front of any crime, to eliminate entire populations and civilizations, to impoverish, pollute and destroy the natural resources and environment.

All former ruling classes exploited workers to satisfy their need of consumption. Therefore, that consumption was the limit of exploitation. Instead the bourgeoisie has as objective not its consumption, but the increase of capital: it is an objective with no limits, by its nature. So, it has driven exploitation of workers and natural resources far beyond what is necessary to ruling class' exploitation and drives it on unlimitedly. Despite this still barbaric guise, however it opened unlimited horizons to men's practical and intellectual activity. In the ambit of capitalist production, the human kind reached a stage of development where the principal limit is no more the natural environment, or the work productivity, or the level of knowledge, but its social order.

From what we've told till now, there are evident the reasons of the economical and cultural superiority of capitalism to the old modes of production (slave, feudal, Asiatic, etc.) among which it developed, and of the progressive role the bourgeoisie have had in humanity's history for an entire historical era. The capitalist mode of production established itself definitively in Europe in XVI century struggling against the feudal mode of production. It did not required only new relations of production and the end of corporations, feudal monopolies, courts, feudal particularism, Papacy and clerical Roman Church, theological dogmatism and clerical obscurantism. (20) It also requested and made rise new political relations. In order to make room for its business, the bourgeoisie imposed to old world authorities its

own political representation: parliaments, elections, division of powers (executive, legislative, judiciary), the limitation of executive's powers, its subordination to laws and constitutions. It made rise in the mass of the population behaviours, conceptions and feelings not consistent with feudalism. It defined or gave another definition to weights, measures, calendars, codes and every kind of institutions according to its interests.

The capitalist mode of production prevailed on a large scale first of all in Great Britain where, owing to a series of circumstances, it was able to employ the old State's force for sweeping away the feudal resistance until seizing agriculture, which then was by far the most important economical activity. Then followed France and little by little the other European countries and the Anglo-Saxon colonies of population (Northern America and Australia). The almost uninterrupted series of wars constituting the history of Europe in the XVI, XVII, XVIII centuries, the English Revolution (1638-1688), the American War of Independence (1776-1783), the French Revolution (1789-1815) and, finally, the European Revolution of 1848 are the principal stages of the struggle by which, in Western Europe, the bourgeoisie eliminated the feudal world as much as it needed it, and established its domination. The world supremacy of Great Britain and of the Anglo-Saxon countries in contemporary age is strictly tied to this pre-eminence and to the depth by which the capitalist mode of production adapted to itself the social relations in these countries, particularly in USA.

While bourgeoisie was carrying out its struggle against feudalism, against Sacred Germanic Roman Empire, feudal monarchies, monarchic absolutism, Roman Catholic Church and Papacy's obscurantism, in the ambit of its mode of production a new class, the working class, was numerically growing and getting cultural maturity and political force. The bourgeoisie compelled it to work and life conditions worse than they had never been. But, at the same time it proclaimed and imposed its liberation from feudal and clerical servitudes. Against those ones the bourgeoisie hoisted the slogans for universal "liberty, equality and fraternity". Against feudatories and clergy's resistance, it mobilized the working class itself.

In the XVIII century, in England, the most advanced capitalist country, the antagonism between bourgeoisie and workers was already enough developed. The worker had become enough different both from the capitalist and from the craftsman, the workshop boy and generally from the poor, as far as he gave rise to many kinds of rebellions, individual and collective, and to the first forms of class organization. The workers actively participated in the French Revolution, but substantially still in the train of bourgeoisie. In the first decades of the XIX century, in the countries of Western Europe, the workers set themselves against bourgeoisie more and

more diffusely. So, they acquired class-consciousness and struggle ability. They dragged the rest of the popular masses along in the struggle. They became a problem for the public order. (21) In the European Revolution of 1848, though it was still the bourgeoisie who got the outcomes of their struggle, they already participated as a separate class. In June 1848, in Paris, they suffered a fierce and mass repression that, in France, marked the net between the two classes and also the end of the newborn bourgeois republic. The contradiction between bourgeoisie and working class had become the principal contradiction of the society.

Till then, the greatest theorists of bourgeoisie tried in vain to understand origins, nature, laws of development and historical role of capitalist mode of production. The elaboration of working class' experiences drove to an exhaustive understanding of all this. So, also the material conditions in which the working class' struggle developed and by which it was conditioned were understood. (22)

The capitalism combines the old times class subjection with the individual freedom of seller and buyer of commodities. The mass of the population consists of proletarian men and women who, in various measures, influence and shape in their likeness also the other workers. They should be subjected to a handful of men (the bourgeois) and at the same time, as producers and sellers of a commodity (the labour force), and as buyers of the commodities the bourgeoisie puts on sale, everyone of them should develop aptitudes, behaviours and moral and intellectual abilities of a protagonist of the world market and live at its rates. On one side, capitalism needs workers brutish like those of the old societies, which greatest aspiration is to serve masters that, moreover, by now the bourgeois civilization itself deprived even of the aureole of divine and natural right that consecrated their forerunners as depositaries of power. On the other side, the capitalism requires from each proletarian the ability to mind his own business in a society continuously transforming: a society by now devoid of customary constrictions consecrated by a long tradition that in former modes of production dictated life and behaviour of each individual "for the eternity", according to the class he belongs and the trade he carries on. The capitalism is the contradiction in action. By its nature is a regime of transition. It cannot do as the old modes of production, that lasted millenniums as way of life of generations following one another unlimitedly, one essentially equal to the other, alike, from many points of view, what happens for the others animal species, at a rate in which as a rule changes are slow, casual and restricted in large part to that minority constituting the ruling class.

In the evolution of human kind, capitalism has the historical role to educate the masses of men and women to an intellectual, moral, sentimental and

social life as free and equal individuals. But such life is not consistent with the nature of capitalism itself, because it is an order of a society still basically founded on class oppression.

Capitalism fastened the evolution of civilization and of human species. It continuously creates and suppresses the conditions for a superior life for the mass of the population. (2) Capitalism combines within itself the old barbarism and the new civilization. It keeps the old semi-animal barbarism of the worker instrument of his master and creates the conditions for the new communist civilization. Through the advancing of capitalism, the conditions of the new civilization multiply and root themselves continuously. Therefore, the two souls of capitalism differentiate, separate, contrast until they exclude themselves each other. The bourgeoisie becomes the more reactionary the more it has completed its historical mission to create the conditions of the new civilization.

The most barbaric consequences the survival of its domination has - genocides, wars, famines, epidemics, marginalization, alienation, precariousness, etc. - are not worse than the recurrent events in primitive societies. But they are unbearable today just because they are by now superfluous and because, consequently, the feelings and nature humanity has developed today are new. In its decay the bourgeoisie brings into use again, perpetuates and intensifies on a scale never reached before all behaviours typical of humanity's barbaric phase, but with their today's consciousness men repudiate them. It is not new the barbarism that bourgeoisie recalls, perpetuates, imposes and personifies. New are the feelings and ideas that make it unbearable to us, and new is the practical situation that makes it superfluous.

On one side, milliards of men and women come near en masse to the material, intellectual and moral conditions adequate to the "an association where everyone's free development is the condition for all people's free development". On the other side, the ruling class withdraws more and more in the conservation of the old class oppression and, in its extreme defence, grasps all the power of its weapons of oppression, brutishness and destruction for producing which it subdues all society's productive forces. In its own support it evokes all old forces of paradise and hell, heaven and earth. It assembles priests and prophets of all religions and worshippers of any vice: it ensures them an unlimited field of action and expansion and takes advantage both of their activity and of the repression of it. In the most advanced capitalist countries the bourgeoisie has made every good and service a commodity and the money the indispensable mean for every relation. Therefore, it compelled every proletarian to employ the greatest part if not all his physical, intellectual and moral energies for getting the money necessary to satisfy the needs of an elementary social life. It envel-

ops every proletarian in a network of obligations, payments, loans, instalments, that obliges it, in exchange of the salary, to dedicate the best of his abilities for accomplishing the duty assigned to him in the ambit of the technical and social division of the work, that in its whole makes work and reproduces the social system which embodies bourgeoisie's domination. So it is generated a state of universal intellectual and moral brutishment the bourgeoisie promotes on every side, that is the principal obstacle of any civil progress and that the communist movement has to remove for ac-

complish its historical task.

The working class has become the leading force of the further humanity's progress, that is to say of the transformation of capitalist in socialist society. Communism is, besides the practical process of the ongoing transformation, the conception of the world and the method of action and knowledge by which this new class carries out his struggle. The first wave of world proletarian revolution (\*) with the first socialist countries (\*) was the dawn, as the same time already shining and still gloomy, of the decisive battle.

## 1.2. Classes and classes' struggle

### 1.2.1. The birth of division of humanity in classes

Since about 150 years in the most advanced countries it is the social order that limits the production and the mass of the population, the proletariat, gets its part in the distribution of the product mainly struggling against bourgeoisie and the social order it embodies. This is the reason why the overcoming of capitalist social order opens a new phase in humanity's history. Before humanity could reach this new condition with bourgeois society, for millenniums, in all the societies till then existed, the by far principal occupation for men and women's great majority, their greatest harassing thought and damnation, was the struggle against nature for wringing the necessary for living. Therefore, humanity's history has its base in the history of its modes of production. (3)

Every mode of production is characterized by a specific combination of productive forces (5) and productive relations. (20) This combination constitutes the structure of society: the material and economic base of its existence and reproduction. Since millenniums the productive forces and the relations of production have constituted a unity of opposites, two distinct terms constituting the social structure in relation of unity and struggle between themselves. Given productive forces favoured the affirmation of given relations of production. These favoured the development of superior productive forces that in their turn favoured new relations of production.

For various millenniums the relations of production are mainly relations between classes of exploited and exploiters, of oppressed and oppressors. In all these societies the struggle between ruling and oppressed classes combined with the struggle to wring from nature the necessary for living. For millenniums, these two struggles are the principal driving forces of development of class divided societies. Only in the modern bourgeois society the scientific research began to achieve the role of third driving force. This made definitively obsolete the theft of others' work time as source of social richness, which all class divided societies were and are founded on. (23)

But the division of society in classes has not always existed. The division of men and women in classes is tied to a given phase of development of their productive forces. The study of prehistory and of primitive societies survived in history showed that in most ancient societies we are able to know, there were no classes. It allowed also to outline through which passages they gradually have been formed. (6)

In primitive societies the work division was linked up with sex and age, as it roughly occurs today in superior animal species. The division of work among individual and groups developed spontaneously from here. It imposed itself because it made work more productive. A group of men or women carried a specific activity permanently and had determinate relations with other groups. (24) With work social division, and relations to it connected in the primitive conditions in which it rose, it develop the private property of means and conditions of production, first of all the private use of earth and livestock. This gradually replaced the use in common. The social relations gradually developed as far as some individuals no more participated in the production of the material conditions of their existence. They carried on only activities from which the other members of society were excluded and lived by their work. This internal community's development combined with relations of plunder, robbery and subjection among communities. The combination of two processes carried to class division in single communities. So the class divided societies were born.

The division of men and women in classes of exploited and exploiters, oppressed and oppressors, created a context fit for productive forces' development and for the birth of superior levels of civilization. Only the separation between exploiter and ruling and exploited and oppressed classes compelled men and women to product systematically and in growing quantity more than what they themselves consumed (surplus product) and allowed other to develop systematically activities to which, in those time conditions, men and

women couldn't devote themselves en masse. So it imposed itself because society's survival was still precarious. Since then the societies with no classes have survived only as inferior forms of civilization, isolated from the main stream. This one gradually has carried away and wiped them out.

The division of humanity in classes is therefore connected to determinate conditions giving it a progressive function. The bourgeois society took away those conditions and, on the contrary, made the extinction humanity's division in classes the necessary condition for any further progress.

### **1.2.2. The class struggle and the State**

Since remote times the class struggle made rise the State as exploiting class' instrument: an association of its members for holding other classes at bay, for settling their business and rule the entire society. (7) As Lenin explained "the State rises in the place, time and measures in which contradictions are objectively irreconcilable". The State is an exploiting class' instrument for repressing the exploited classes. The exploiting class has new means for keeping the exploited classes subjected with the State. These means combine themselves with ruling class' moral and cultural hegemony and with the general strength and role every social order has when it is constituted, because every society needs a social order for surviving.

The essence of State consists of the fact that the exploiting class takes the use of violence upon itself, as its monopoly and right, and denies it to the other classes. (25) In a society divided in classes of exploited and exploiters where the contrast is irreconcilable, it is not objectively consistent with the economic constitution of the society that the monopoly of violence could be exercised by any other class but that of the exploiters. (26) The persistent, systematic and diffuse use of violence by the exploited gives rise to nothing but the civil war. (27)

Monopoly of violence and right of exploitation proceed at the same pace. But every ruling class has tried

to convince the oppressed classes that its monopoly of violence corresponds to the natural order of things, and is a God's will. That the ruling class is depositary of this monopoly because its members are intellectually and morally superior by nature: wiser, more cultured, more gifted of sense of justice and self-control, more able to rule. It uses the state of brutishness in which it keeps the members of oppressed classes for demonstrating that they will make an irresponsible use of violence. True revolutionaries always aimed at destroy this ideological shield of violence monopoly in exploiters' hands. They denounced the foolish use of violence publicly and privately done by the ruling class: denounce of wars, repression, and criminality. They denounced and fought the brutishness in which the ruling class relegates and tries to keep the oppressed classes: racial prejudices, oppression over women and children, hate among nations, defence of privileges, moral deprecation, misery, exclusion from society's cultural patrimony. They promoted oppressed classes' education to use violence and weapons: "power is born from the barrel of the gun". Who is against the use of violence by oppressed classes and their education to use weapons is not a revolutionary: in one way or another, consciously or not, he favours the conservation of the existing social order. (28)

### **1.2.3. The two fundamental classes of bourgeois society**

Owing to the affirmation of the capitalist mode of production, in the society two great opposite classes have been formed: bourgeoisie and working class. (30)

At the beginning, the struggle between these two classes gets the form of economic struggle. A group of workers get organized and struggled against a single capitalist, now in a factory and now in another, for relieve their conditions. This struggle regarded only the distribution of product and work conditions. It did not yet involved the exploitation bases (the system of production) and the political and cultural superstructure that defends it. Workers' struggles were not aimed at eliminating exploitation, but at mitigating it, at increasing wages and improving work conditions. Though limited in its objectives, from all ruling classes' viewpoint this collective struggle however questioned "the natural order of things": the subjection of exploited to their exploiters. So against it entered the field not only the interested masters, but also all the powers of social

order, first of all the State and the clergy.

For their part the capitalists, besides resorting to blackmails and dismissals, developed on a growing scale methods and techniques of division among workers, opposing individuals and little groups to workers' mass, to their struggle organizations and their class solidarity. The solely economic struggle unites exploited people in struggling successfully against masters. But it may also divide them, leading some to gain masters' favour or to improve their conditions to the detriment of other exploited people. Bourgeoisie systematically tries to transform every contradiction between itself and the exploited in contradictions among groups of exploited. Historically, this first kind of struggle had however an important role, because it educated workers and led them to organize themselves. At the same time this struggle showed its own limits. State and clergy's intervention in defence of capitalists helped and still helps workers to understand that their

struggle must assume a political character and upset society's order. Somehow bourgeoisie opened the road to workers: through representative bodies it imposed limits to State's free activity and laws favourable to its own activity. Workers had to impose laws and rules in their favour to the enemy State (political struggle for reforms) and to resist to its repression. On the other side they had to forge their own conception of the world and, after all, impose a new social order.

In order to defend its own power, the exploiting class tries to present its State as an institution above the classes, expression of the entire society and depository of society's general interests. As a matter of fact the democratic State is above any single capitalist and is expression of entire bourgeoisie. So, the exploited tries to oblige the bourgeoisie's State to limit exploitation, through laws and rules (political struggle for reforms). In their turn the exploiters try to use reforms for intensify exploitations or else to avoid them. Reforms create conditions in which, following a revolutionary line, the exploited classes took advantage for strengthening their struggle. The political struggle for reforms is a favourable ground for the education and aggregation of oppressed classes in view of the civil war. This, even when does not reach victory, produces reforms that create a more favourable ground to the development of oppressed classes' struggle. This is the dialectic between reforms and revolution, when the exploited classes struggle for their emancipation.

In bourgeois society the prosperity of the capitalist firm does not depend only on its owners. It also depends on general business trend. By the nature of capitalist social order itself (capitalist's free individual economic enterprise), it escapes the control of single capitalists and his association and State. So, after all, in order to remedy their troubles, for the workers it was not enough neither to establish relations of strength with their masters, nor to impose laws and rules: they had to change the social order.

The struggle against repression and conjuncture proceeding of economical activity (owing to which moments of intense activity are followed by moments of stagnation that are followed by new moments of intense activity) helped and continue to help workers to understand that nor economic struggle nor political struggle for reforms are able to free the working class

from the misery of its condition. The same struggle for a less unequal repartition of richness can successfully develop on a large scale only if it combines and is led by the struggle to establish a communist system of production.

With Marxism workers reached the most complete consciousness of their social situation. Their struggle became more conscious, till it assumed a superior character. It became revolutionary political struggle, for overthrow bourgeoisie's State, for building an own State and, thanks to the seized power, for creating a new system of production and a new social order, eliminating exploitation and its historical expression: the division of society in classes.

Since then the economic struggle, the politic struggle for reforms, the struggle for masses' intellectual and moral progress and the struggle against repression became four distinct fields of action objectively connected each other, parts and aspects of the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Those who follow economism or spontaneous political trends avoid distinguishing these different fields of class struggle and generically talk about "struggle". Or else they arbitrarily confuse one to the other. In this case, their slogans vary according to time and circumstances. They say that only the economic struggle is "concrete", that it needs to politicize the economic struggle, that it needs to transform the economic in political struggle, and so on. The common and harmful side of these slogans consists of hiding the role, autonomy and importance of revolutionary political struggle and hindering or restraining the development of its specific forms. In any case the followers of economism and spontaneism are not able to combine the different struggles in the way apt to the emancipation of the working class and the other popular masses from the bourgeoisie.

The communist party is the specific organ of the revolutionary political struggle. It is able to combine the different struggles in the right way. It must promote and direct the economic struggle, the political struggle for reforms, the struggle for masses' intellectual and moral progress and the struggle against repression, so as it could make everyone of them a school of Communism, and so making it contributes to create the subjective conditions of socialism and to serve the revolutionary political struggle. (31)

#### **1.2.4. The working class' struggle becomes struggle for Communism**

Despite all proclaims and pretences of democracy and equality and despite the conquests wrung from the oppressed classes in bourgeois democratic societies that took the place of old monarchic, clerical and nobiliary societies, also in bourgeois societies the struggle among the classes does not limit itself within the economic life. It is typical of opportunists and reformists

to conceive class struggle as something regarding only work relations and "distribution of richness", something expressing in contracts and agreements between capitalists and workers, between masters' organizations and trade unions or, at most, in the "redistribution of income" done by the State. They conceive and proclaim that claiming struggles are the only "concrete"

ones. The most advanced ones conceive the political struggle as extension of the trade unionist one (“politicization of claiming struggle”, “to transform the claiming struggles in political struggles”). It is a conception primitive and limited of the class struggle that also the bourgeoisie accept when it cannot do anything else. The bourgeois trade unionism is its expression. On the contrary, in times of troubles, the bourgeoisie sets the economic and the political struggle for reforms against the revolutionary political struggle of the oppressed classes. As a matter of fact, not only the reason of its existence, but also the keys of political power structure are really in the relation between exploited and exploiters. So, the struggle against the antagonist class be-

### **1.2.5. The enlargement of State role in bourgeois society**

In bourgeois society the monopoly of violence has expressed in a systematic and growing whole of professional instrument of repression based on work division: armed forces, polices, secret services, control systems, magistracies, prisons, codes, laws and trials. By now in modern society it absorbs huge and growing social resources and has gone as far as to constitute an obstacle to productive forces’ development and civilization. The military secret combines with the industrial one and with class oppression and together they conspire to hinder research and slow down productive forces’ development and, in general, knowledge.

Nearby the role of monopolistic depository of violence, in front of the growing of the collective character of economic activity and multiplication of social activities, the bourgeoisie developed another role for its state, at the maximum level consistent with the capitalist mode of production: the role of centre that express society’s common will, carries it out, organizes and direct social business with an its own body of public functionaries. So it tried to make work its State as directing organ of society, as depository of its unity, delegate and representative of the entire society. But this role contrasts with the antagonism of classes that is in bourgeois society’s nature: in

### **1.2.6. By its nature it is the working class that directs other classes exploited and oppressed by bourgeoisie**

The bourgeoisie oppresses and crushes also other classes besides the working class. But only the working class can take the direction of the common struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie and drive it to final victory. Differently from all other classes of the popular masses, the working class is directly involved in the competition among fractions of capital and directly suffers the effects of laws belonging to capital nature. Because of the role it

comes struggle for political power: “In the last resort each class struggle is a political struggle”. The class division permeates all society’s life from the beginning and involves all system of social relations. It manifests itself in all ambits of superstructure: in politics, in ideology, art and, in general, in all spiritual life, conceptions, feelings, behaviours and morals. Class struggle has its roots in economy, in the relation between exploited and exploiters, but involves all the social order and has here its solution. Working class’ objective and task are not the “redistribution of income”, but the change of social order: therefore, the political revolution and, on its base, the social revolution to create the communist society.

every capitalist country there exist two distinct and potentially opponent classes. The bourgeoisie’s pretence reached its highest realization with the State monopolistic capitalism: its State has become the centre of its business, machinations and internal struggles. (29) The reverse of the medal is that now it is compelled to carry on all these activities behind the hypocritical mask of the care and regulation of all society’s business and the observance of laws publicly in force (the “petty theatre of bourgeois politics”). Instead, in socialist society, what for imperialist bourgeoisie is an economically unattainable pretence will become reality regarding society’s overwhelming majority. Workers and other labourers will have the State of proletarian dictatorship as an instrument for reorganizing society so as to realize their interests according to the intellectually and morally most advanced criteria. Afterwards, gradually, with the passing of old bourgeoisie and the extinction of class division and of relation and conceptions from it derived, it will extinguish the State as monopoly of violence. Instead it will develop a system of organs of all workers’ association, by which workers will manage their common business, all society’s business. (see chapter 5, Objection 8)

Communism is born from the essential requirements the capitalism itself creates, it solves its contradictions, it allows productive forces development taking away the character destructive of men and environment that in capitalism on the decline has become dominant, it preserves and develops the advancements that capitalism and mercantile production have brought to human civilization. The working class can improve steadily and on a large scale its condition in society only abolishing the capitalist system of production and more generally the private property of means of production, establishing relations of production fully corresponding to the col-

### **1.2.7. The working class struggle for its emancipation and the extinction of class division**

The birth of classes was the outcome of a spontaneous development. Millions of men and women, during thousands of years, did it without realizing it and with no notion of what they were really creating, driven by the needs of their existence. (12) On the contrary, the passing of classes can be only outcome of the working class' conscious and organized struggle that leads to the establishment of socialism, its political domination. This is the necessary phase of transition on the way to form a society with no classes and all workers' conscious association: the communist society.

The bourgeoisie, for its own interests and aiming to do quite different things, unavoidably creates the objective conditions favourable to the struggle for establishing socialism: a certain grade of capital concentration (and therefore of workers as well) and of proletarianization of labourers, a great development of production. It is the working class that has to create the subjective conditions for establishing socialism: a certain grade of organization and a certain level of consciousness of proletariat mass. The communist party is both one of these conditions and the principal promoter of their creation. It is possible to create the subjective conditions of socialism only in concomitance of objective conditions. But, as the bourgeoisie has created the objective conditions, and these exist in the greatest countries of Western Europe since the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the creation of subjective conditions becomes the decisive factor for establishing socialism. The fundamental contradiction of bourgeois society creates favourable conditions for raising working class consciousness and its organization. The substitution of capitalism with Communism is an unavoidable event, in the sense that capitalism, until it will last, will drive and compel the working class to assume its role. Every time it will fail its historical duty, capitalism will create the conditions for making rise within working class and society new rows of communists that will carry the working class back to the struggle for power and Communism. Because of it the struggle for Communism continues unceasingly: it springs up again after every defeat accompanying its

lective character the productive forces already have reached, putting an end to each man's exploitation over man, each class division and the connected social division among intellectual and manual workers, directors and directed, men and women, adults and young people, advanced and backwards sectors, regions and countries, creating feelings, conceptions and institutions corresponding to new society. In modern society, when the working class is struggling, it assumes the role of catalytic agent of all other popular masses' struggles and, if it follows a not corporative line, but a line of struggle against bourgeoisie, it easily takes its direction.

development as they have accompanied the development of every great enterprise of men.

But working class' consciousness and organization form as far as it is necessary to the establishment of socialism only thanks to the propagandistic and organizational action of the communist party and the practical experience of class struggle in every field guided by the party according to a right method and line. The communist party is the organization of the highest consciousness of the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the popular masses and the imperialist bourgeoisie. It levers on these contradiction to accomplish its mission.

The proletarian revolution is more difficult than any former revolution in human history. In fact, it is not a privileged class that substitutes another, that forms itself within the old society making use of the monopoly of economic, cultural and moral patrimony already constituted by the old ruling class, takes possession of it and, as it brings a form of exploitation somehow more profitable for the ruling class itself, finishes by absorbing a part of it in various ways. Besides, the new mode of production does not form spontaneously, but requests a conscious and organized participation of workers' mass, and they never had at their disposal consciousness or organization. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie systematically prevent they to get them. Finally, the bourgeoisie opposes and will oppose a more obstinate, fierce, shrewd and evolved resistance than that any other former ruling class opposed. In fact, in its defence it uses and will use all cultural and scientific conquests, and in its support it will mobilize all reactionary remnants of humanity's history with so much deep hatred because its members will not be able to recycle themselves en masse in the new ruling class. They saw and will see in the coming of socialism the end of their world, that is, for them, the end of the world.

Against the practical experience of workers and other classes of popular masses, the bourgeoisie opposes its

ideological influence. With its propaganda, with thousands activities of disinformation, diversion, evasion, confusion, intoxication, imperialist bourgeoisie tries to manipulate the oppressed classes' consciousness and prevent their direct experience from becoming feelings, conceptions and institutions that could lead it to victory in class struggle. In modern society, the public opinion's manipulation has taken the place of the burden of "revealed truths", of "eternal truths" and prejudices that in past times clergy and notables made weigh on the mass of population. It avails itself of stately and refined instrument and methods; gave rise to new productive sectors and new sectors of scientific research; it employs lots of workers. However, it is far from reaching the conservative effectiveness of clerical obscurantism of the ancient times. It is typical of defeatists and liquidators of the communist movement to exaggerate the effectiveness of the operation for manipulating consciousness the bourgeoisie is carrying on. On the contrary, it ceaselessly increases the already huge resources dedicated to such operations, just because of their reduced and decreasing effectiveness for facing situation. For the same reason it tried and tries by all means, despite many contradictions, to revive the Catholic and other Churches and to give them new strength, for making them impose again the burden of gloom of their "revealed truths": the Roman Pope with its Vatican and its Church has become again world centre of ruling classes' activities, though they are atheist or anyway not Christian catholic. Defeatists and liquidators refuse to openly and frankly analyze the limits of communist movement that after all are the main obstacles to its success. They avoid and dissuade from doing the necessary effort for making the communist movement able to face bourgeoisie as far as it is necessary also in the field of formation of class consciousness, levering on factors and conditions to us favourable.

The first wave of proletarian revolution (\*) greatly improved popular masses' level of consciousness and organization, not only in the first socialist countries, (\*) but also in imperialist and oppressed countries. Modern revisionists' (\*) ill-omened work and the collapse of great part of the first socialist countries wiped that progress out only in part. Besides, by its nature, the capitalist society makes the popular masses live a practical experience of continuous transformation; it involves them in the open struggles among members of the same ruling class; it have recourse to repression in any case where the consciousness manipulation is not enough.

The substitution of capitalism by Communism is an objective law of capitalist society. (32) This law was discovered by Marx and Engels studying capitalism nature. Such substitution is not dictated by men's conception and feelings: it is dictated by the practical relations they're living. These make arise the conceptions and feelings necessary to realize the substitution. The working class carries out this law, transforms reality

according to it with its communist party, its mass organizations, its struggle and direction over the rest of proletariat and popular masses. But only the communist party is able to give the working class a revolutionary orientation and makes the socialist revolution a possible enterprise. The practical experience drives the working class to assume role of leader of all other classes of the popular masses in their struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie. But the practical experience becomes consciousness and line of action only through passages that, owing to the social condition to which the bourgeoisie relegates it, the working class cannot carry out spontaneously and en masse. The communist party, that is the vanguard and organized working class' department, is the expression of the working class' leading role at the higher level of consciousness and organization, and carries the whole class to carry on this role towards all other popular masses. It levers in a scientific and organized way on the practical experience of the working class and the other popular masses for developing their consciousness and organization till they will be able to establish socialism. The followers of economism and spontaneism deny or undervalue the role of conscious and organized element in the development of communist movement, unilaterally rely upon spontaneity instead of elaborating the experience of spontaneous movements, that is they preach and practice spontaneism and leave the monopoly in ideological field to bourgeoisie.

The study of practical experience allows the communist party to understand also origin, real meaning, role of conceptions, feelings, moods and behaviours of working class and other classes of popular masses, and to elaborate lines and methods to transform them. On the contrary, in general it is useless the attempt to explain existing reality looking for its origin in feelings, aspirations and wills of individuals, groups and social classes.

The first and not eliminable source of sensations, feelings and conceptions by which men represents to themselves their life and orient themselves in the struggles it involves, is the experience of production and class struggle, that is the practical experience that each member of society does. The communist party elaborates the experience of working class that struggles against bourgeoisie and forges its consciousness and organization. With a systematic and organized work the communist party can and must transform this practical experience in revolutionary theory and carry on, already in the phase of the accumulation of the revolutionary forces, a systematic activity of propaganda and orientation of working class and other classes of popular masses to class struggle, civil war and socialism: "from above", through its organizations and instruments, and "from below", through mass organizations, advanced workers and members of other classes of the popular masses. It is a party's specific task

to strengthen also spiritually the working class and the other classes of popular masses and prepare them also spiritually to their historical task: to establish socialism. As the objective conditions for socialism already exist in Europe since more than a century, subjective conditions are the decisive factor for the victory of socialist revolution. A party not striving to create the necessary organization and consciousness in the mass of proletariat betrays its mission. If there is no party able to do it, looking elsewhere for the reasons of the lack of a revolutionary movement or of its defeat means to hide the real problem. Every balance of class struggle leaving apart the communist party's role is wrong, spontaneistic, liquidator, defeatist. The communist party is the decisive factor for creating the subjective conditions necessary to establish socialism and for the victory, the decisive factor for creating the subjective conditions necessary to establish socialism and for the victory of struggle for establishing socialism. It is also the most difficult factor to build. The reason why the working class has not yet established socialism in any imperialist country is the particular difficulty it has to build, just in these countries, a communist party equal to its task and role.

The victory of modern revisionism in the communist movement in the decades following the Second World War, the recovery of ideological

influence of bourgeoisie and clergy upon the popular masses, the great conquests wrung by popular masses thanks to the first wave of proletarian revolution and the end of the first general crisis of capitalism, (\*) the elimination of those conquests ongoing for almost thirty years until today in the ambit of the second general crisis of capitalism, (\*) the renewal of communist movement are material and spiritual processes that influence and determine one another. The communist party has to understand more and more better the dialectical link among these processes and to draw a line for the accumulation of the revolutionary forces in the present strategic defensive phase. (\*) The progression of the second general crisis of capitalism (\*) is the material base of the defeat of modern revisionism (\*) and of every reformist party and current: the bourgeoisie cannot give anything more to the popular masses through reformists, on the contrary it take possession again of what it had to give. In their turn, the working class and the other classes of the popular masses have no more reasons to be satisfied of reformists. They lose credibility with the popular masses and become useless for bourgeoisie. It is time for revolutionary and reactionary mobilization. (\*) A new wave of proletarian revolution advances all over the world.

## **1.3. Imperialism, last phase of capitalism**

### **1.3.1. Origins of imperialism**

In the second half of XIX century the economic development of the most advanced bourgeois societies in Western Europe and Northern America reached a turning point. The division of society in classes and their antagonism ceased to be the most favourable condition to productive forces' development and became a check on it. It did not mean that productive forces were no more developing, but that they developed at a lower rate than that allowed by the conditions reached: the rights of property, the oppression of popular masses, the bourgeoisie's compromise with nobility and clergy, the commercial and military secret, the recurrent economic crises and other aspects of capitalist society restrained their development. The production and reproduction of material condition for society's existence depended no more on men's struggle with nature, but on their social order.

Therefore, there had matured the conditions for a superior social organization, for Communism. Since then, as there were realized the objective conditions that make the beginning of the transition to Communism (that is socialism) possible and necessary, the subjective conditions became the decisive factor: a level of consciousness and organization of proletarian great masses making the working class able to lead the

popular masses and overthrow ruling class' power and so begin the transition from capitalism to Communism.

By then, politics conditioned economy, even if, given ruling class' nature, it was not still able to govern it. Men could continue to advance in their economic relations only creating the political conditions to direct it. As a matter of fact, by necessity, the first measures the proletariat takes in economic field after seized the power consist only of imposing that existing productive forces be used for humanity's welfare in the most reasonable way we know today and that the work will be carried out in the conditions most respectful of workers' integrity and dignity today possible. (33)

With European revolution of 1848 the bourgeoisie definitively prevailed over feudal classes in political field in the greatest countries in Western Europe. But, while transforming reality according to its nature, (34) the bourgeoisie had to pay and paid attention both to the resistance of old society classes, and to the struggle of the new class it was creating (the working class), and to the help it can get from the first ones in its struggle with the second. So, the bourgeois revolution did not end with the complete elimination of the old feudal forces (the monarchs with their courts, the nobil-

ity with its orders, the clergy with its churches, the Papacy with its Roman Catholic Church, the bureaucracy, the magistrates and the career officials, etc.) by the revolutionary bourgeoisie. It ended with an agreement of bourgeoisie with old feudal forces. The agreement implied the submission of old feudal forces to bourgeoisie. But these ensured their complicity against proletariat, peasants and petty bourgeoisie in exchange of important concessions. (35) The old monarchic – nobiliary – clerical – bureaucratic state structure continued to exist also in the countries (as France) where the republic was proclaimed, so resulting, in reality, to be a “monarchy without king”. That structure continued to rule and to have armed forces at its disposal (but at career officials’ orders coming from nobility and high bourgeoisie it entered the conscripted troops of compulsory universal military service), of police and public administration. But now its activity had to submit to the constitution and laws issued by representative assemblies. It was limited by the autonomous powers of elective assemblies and of stipendiary magistracy (division of powers). Monarchy, nobility, clergy, officials of armed forces and State great functionaries maintained a great political power, a wide social influence and any kind of privileges: the High Chamber (the Senate) and the exclusive right (the monopoly) of various public offices, properties, incomes, apanages, tithes for clergy, fiscal exemptions, immunities, special powers in fields of education, assistance, and lawmaking. These old social groups amalgamated with high bourgeoisie in various groups. Also the magistracy was tied to it by thousand ways. The great landlord and the high bourgeoisie, together with part of the middle bourgeoisie and richest strata of intellectuals, professional men and public functionaries, also enjoyed an electoral weight out of proportion to their number, through the census vote and their social influence. All this to the detriment of bourgeois-democratic rights of petty bourgeoisie, peasants, proletarians, artisans and other poor labourers and women: equal universal vote, direct and secret, freedom of speech, consciousness, press, reunion, association, strike, etc. The public administration, police, armed forces, clergy, nobility and high bourgeoisie limited in thousand ways popular masses’ democratic rights, even if intended in the acceptance consistent with capitalist social order.

In this context, Marx and Engels proposed and asserted in the communist movement an orientation based on the following conceptions and lines of actions:

1. Only the working class is able to emancipate itself from bourgeoisie.

2. In order to emancipate itself from bourgeoisie, the working class has to emancipate all humanity from the subjection to its social relations, from any kind of exploitation and oppression, from the division of society in classes.

3. The working class finds the way of its emancipation en masse only through the direct and practical experience of class struggle and of organization.

4. The communists distinguish themselves from the mass of proletariat because they have a better understanding of conditions, outcomes and forms of working classes’ struggle and on the base of this understanding they drive it more and more on.

5. The working class’ struggle includes the claiming trade unionist and political struggles, the intervention as autonomous class in the bourgeois political struggle heading the rest of the popular masses, the formation of popular worker associations autonomous from bourgeoisie in any fields of activity, the struggle against repression. The direct participation in the struggle on these four fronts is the principal school of Communism for the mass of workers.

6. The establishment of socialism will occur through the overthrowing of existing political power by the working class that will establish its own power, the dictatorship of proletariat.

7. During the socialist phase, the working class will have to drive itself and the other classes of the popular masses to transform, on the base of the public property of productive forces and of the planned management of economical activity established by revolution, its own whole social relations and feelings, connected conceptions and behaviours, until the suppression of every form of exploitation and oppression, the end of subjection to its social relations and the extinction of division of society in classes, and of the State.

In this strategic orientation the qualitative and decisive, historical leap, breaking with the existing society, was indicated in the sixth point. How would the working class establish socialism?

For some decades (1850-1890) the communists, including Marx e Engels, thought that in Western European and American most advanced countries the working class would seize the power during a popular insurrection (of proletarians, artisans, other poor labourers, revolutionary intellectuals, etc.) against high bourgeoisie and the remnants of old reactionary classes to it allied, that it would establish socialism and, through a more or less long period of civil and international wars, it would carry out the transition from capitalism to Communism. Just on this point the reality showed that communists were wrong, and just on this point the communist movement met and still today meets the greatest difficulties in elaborating a line adequate to the problems it has to face. Until today, the working class has not succeeded to establish socialism in anyone of those countries. (36) This is the greatest limit till today the communist movement has not overcome. This limit negatively affected and affects all the communist movement on a world level. Founding itself on the balance of the first wave

of proletarian revolution, Maoism, third and superior stage of Communist thought, gives the answer to this problem with the strategy of the revolutionary protracted people's war. (\*)

The course of events confirms the laws peculiar of capitalism that Marx discovered and described. (37) But it also showed

1. that the submission of all society to capitalists (the real subsumption of society in capitalism) and the establishment of capitalist mode of production in the rest of the planet occurred in forms partly different from those Marx foresaw. They excluded a complete polarization of society in a handful capitalist on one side (suppression of other privileged classes, centralization and concentration of capital) and a mass of proletarian on the other (proletarianization of population), though the polarization was a real trend;

2. that the creation of the "subjective condition of socialism" was a process that had to be carried out within the society directed by bourgeoisie that, from its side, hindered it by all its forces, ways and means: this requested an activity of the communist party superior to that Marx and Engel thought about.

With Marx and Engels' work the communists did not yet get an understanding of the conditions, outcomes and forms of struggle sufficient to drive the working class to establish socialism. Consequently, the mass of proletariat did not reach a level of organization sufficient for the working class to take the direction of the rest of the popular masses and lead them to abolish bourgeoisie's power and begin the transition from capitalism to Communism. Therefore, contrary to the provisions Marx and Engels did at the half of XIX century, the working class did not succeed to establish socialism in anyone of the first capitalist countries.

The bourgeoisie created and was continuously increasing the objective conditions for socialism. Socialist revolution had become an immediate task and practical necessity. The subjective conditions had become the decisive factor. Given that in first capitalist countries there were not been created enough conditions to establish socialism, instead of directly passing to socialism, the first capitalist countries entered a new and unforeseen phase: the imperialist phase of capitalism we are living in still today. On the economical field the principal characteristics consisted of the prevalence of the monopoly over the free competition, the prevalence of the financial capital rising from the fusion of the industrial with the monetary capital, the prevalence of

the exportation of capital over the exportation of commodities, the complete division of the world in imperialist countries and countries oppressed by imperialist powers, the partition of the world among capitalist monopolies.

On the political and cultural level, gradually the bourgeoisie lost every progressive role. It more and more assumed the features of a reactionary and oppressive class. It continued to increase the objective conditions for socialism, but this objective progression of humanity towards Communism carried on under bourgeoisie's direction, become the more tormenting and destructive of men, things, environment and civilization the more the establishment of socialism delayed. (38)

The prolongation of bourgeoisie's domination in the countries where capitalism was more developed made qualitatively change the international context in which the socialist revolution had to develop, compared with that in which Marx and Engels carried out their activity and from which they drew the line they indicated to the communist movement. Not the socialist, but the proletarian revolution, combination of revolutions of new democracy (\*) and socialist revolution, would put an end to the capitalist mode of production. (39)

Imperialism would be the phase of capitalism putrefaction, of the preventive counterrevolution (\*) and the proletarian revolution.

The economic, politic, cultural situation of single countries assumed unexpected features. By then, the entire world was wrung in only one net of economic, political and cultural relations. Since then the conditions of socialist revolution in every country could no more be valued without taking into account of the international situation. Marxism-Leninism substituted Marxism as communist party's conception of the world and its methods of transformation and knowledge. (40)

The world was entered in the imperialist phase of capitalism, the phase of capitalism decay and of proletarian revolution, which we are living in still today. By then, three great contradictions ruled humanity's history: the contradiction between bourgeoisie and working class, the contradiction between imperialist groups and States on one side and the popular masses of the oppressed countries on the other, the contradiction of imperialist groups and States among themselves. The transition from capitalism to Communism would have not been fast nor easy, though it have become the only possible way of progress for humanity, Until it had not been carried out, humanity would have lived the "labour of birth". No realist politician could set this aside. The events since then occurred have confirmed it.

### 1.3.2. How have we arrived at that turning point? And how did it show itself?

Before a cyclical series of economical crises, culminated in years 1815, 1825, 1836, 1847, 1857, 1867, then the Great Depression (1873-1895), drive European and American bourgeoisie to start up a series of measures for contrasting the fall of profit rate. (41) In particular, they developed the productive forces on a large scale, gave a monopolistic structure to the capitalist production and extended the range of its financial and productive investments in all continents. Consequently, it strongly increased the collective character of economical activity, most of all in capitalist countries of Western Europe and Northern America and, for the first time in human history, created a unitary system of production and consumption including all world population.

In the capitalist countries the competition among many little capitalists was gradually superseded and the monopolies of a handful of great capitalist groups had become the force leading the economic process. The little capitalists were not disappeared as social groups, but they were become dependent 1. on the monopolies as sole furnishers of commodities, sole customers of commodities and sole furnishers of technology, 2. on financial capital through loans, mortgages and insurances, 3. on the State through regulations. The same happened to great part of petty bourgeoisie constituted by autonomous workers, professional men and intellectuals.

The bank and the productive capital had merged in financial capital. It had also taken control of other classes' savings and properties in many forms (deposits, insurances, loans, mortgages, stock exchange, shares, obligations, etc.). (42)

In face of the difficulties met in the valorization of capital in its countries of origin, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the European and American bourgeoisie had looked for financial and productive investments and sources of incomes in every part of world. Already for some time it had extended its commercial network all around the world and had undermined the old modes of production existing in any place. Not only this network became more and more thick, but also commodities export was superseded and capital export assumed the leading role in international economic relations. Then the bourgeoisie unified the world, as could do a class of exploiter in competition among them. Therefore it raised a relentless resistance. But, with the exception of Japan (43), it repressed it ruthlessly and successfully, because that resistance was directed by the old ruling classes and was aimed to maintain or establish again the old social order that the commercial bourgeois invasion did not allow to exist. Breaking off the resistance of the old authorities and taking advantage of their weaknesses and divisions, the European and American bourgeoisie colonized and submitted to a ruthless exploitation the peoples of yet

not capitalist countries. It exported everywhere the capitalist exploitation of wage labour. But in its countries of origin the bourgeoisie was already in struggle with the working class and allied with the remnants of the old reactionary classes in order of maintaining its social order. This made it unable to carry out to end the revolutioning of old modes of production it found in invaded countries. So, the bourgeoisie combined with the old ruling classes and, through a system of interests, incomes, usury, patents, concessions, monopoly prices at purchase and at selling, taxes, misappropriations, thefts, swindles and robberies, took possession of a part of the richness that continued to be produced in the ambit of the old systems of exploitation. But the bourgeoisie took away from them the habit limits, and drove them to extremes. So it made impossible their perpetuation and fastened the bourgeois – democratic revolution that, however, it itself repressed.

At the end of the XIX century the world was divided in a little number of imperialist countries that shared and dominated all the rest of the planet formed by colonies and semi colonies where the greatest part of the world population lived. The unequal development of the countries became a law of this world unified by the bourgeoisie. The colonial system became one of its pillars.

The great monopolies of the imperialist countries began already then to ramify in every country, to consider the entire world as a whole area available for valorising their capitals and to share among them the entire economic activity (internationalization of production, globalization, multinationals, etc.): a trend that would have assumed a leading role in world economy after the Second World War, when the American imperialist groups imposed their law over all world not included in socialist camp.

While bourgeoisie was creating the objective conditions for socialism, these ones and communists' work had also made arise en masse the feelings, behaviours, consciousness, attitudes and abilities necessary to the new society in the working class of the capitalist countries, in contrast with the ideology and habits peculiar of the servile condition which all workers were subjected to.

The Communists' League (1847-1852) created the condition for the birth of Marxism.

The First International, the International Association of Workers (1864-1876), focused and also verifies in practice the Marxist line for the accumulation of the revolutionary forces in the most advanced countries. So doing, it victoriously concluded the struggle of Marxism against the anarchist and petty bourgeois conceptions of socialism. These refused one or another of the necessary struggles for creating the subjective conditions of socialism, and the struggle necessary to estab-

lish a new State, the State of proletarian dictatorship. The First International diffused Marxism among the advanced workers and communists of all the world.

The bourgeoisie savagely put down the first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, with bloodshed (1871). But this showed the working class in power for the first time, gave great teachings (the necessity of working class' communist party, of the preparation of revolutionary forces and of the proletarian dictatorship) and made know socialism to oppressed people of the entire world. (44)

In socialist and social - democratic parties of the Second International (1889-1914), the proletariat of the greatest capitalist countries, particularly in the European ones, achieved en masse the consciousness that its claiming struggles (economic and political) could be developed only with the socialist transformation of

society, and established a wide hegemony over the other popular classes. It became the class that embodied and personified the objective exigency of passage to Communism and created institutions able to form and express the new class' will: its own political party, the trade unions, various other mass organizations. (45)

Since then, since the end of XIX century, the struggle against the progression of Communism for maintaining the existing orders became the principal aspect of bourgeoisie's political and cultural activity. The bourgeoisie became conservative and reactionary: The epoch of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeoisie's progressive role was definitively ended. The preventive counter-revolution, the co-optation of remnants feudal forces and the Antithetic Forms of Social Unity became indispensable instruments of bourgeoisie's direction.

### 1.3.3. The preventive counter-revolution

The preventive counter-revolution became the new political regime of the most advanced bourgeois countries, the imperialist countries. Historically (that is from the point of view of historical evolution, of humanity's progress towards Communism), the preventive counter-revolution is a great step forward in comparison to the regimes the bourgeoisie established in Western European countries after the European revolution of 1848. The regime of preventive counter-revolution takes thoroughly into account the new role the popular masses have in social life compared with that they had in societies before the bourgeois society. Now, not only the ruling class directly organizes the productive process of the society, but also the productive mechanism has become directly social and all social relations are closely related to productive relations. The bourgeoisie cannot do without the collaboration of popular masses and the bourgeois State is responsible of their welfare. In fact this now depends more on the order of the society than on struggle against nature. However, with the preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie built a barrier to the establishment of socialism that the communist movement has not yet been able to cross in any imperialist country.

The USA were the country where the capitalist mode of production developed more freely, less hindered by feudal heritages. There, from the end of XIX and the beginning of the XX century, the bourgeoisie get ready and tested the preventive counter-revolution.

What does the preventive counter-revolution consists of?

The capitalist social relations are such as the bourgeoisie needs some degree of collaboration by workers, proletariat and the rest of the popular masses. It does not succeed in exploiting a hostile mass, founding itself mainly and for a long time on force and terror. This is

one of its "Achilles' heels", which we communists can and must lever on. The bourgeoisie needs workers for valorising its capital. Also we communists need workers: only the popular masses led by workers can change the present world. Since the *Manifesto* of 1848 we communists are aware that we "make history" only because we are their vanguard: the communist party is nothing else that the staff of the working class struggling against bourgeoisie. We communists mobilize and organize the workers so as they seize the power: without them we are powerless. The best theories, the most generous aims, the most heroic activism do not change the society if the mass of workers do not take them as its own, if they do not become guide for the activity of the mass of workers. The will and the individual efforts to create a new world are effective only if they contribute to mobilize and organize the workers. So, the communists work for increasing workers and popular masses' consciousness and organization. So, as we are different from the people who strives after what happens, we do not go and speak to workers about that they already care for: we go and speak about what they had to care for advancing (mobilize and organize themselves and the others) struggling and winning - it is for us to induce the advanced workers to listen us. In its turn, in order to induce workers to collaborate with it, to get, maintain, establish again popular masses' collaboration, and in order to prolong its power the bourgeoisie must prevent our work from having success.

In the first decades of the communist movement the bourgeoisie struggled against the conscious and organized part of it in the old way, about how the old regime of absolute monarchies, nobility and clergy struggled against bourgeoisie to prevent it from seizing political power. But very soon the communist movement made those methods ineffective or anyhow not sufficient.

This was very clear in Germany when the Antisocialist Laws were in force (1878-1891). It was even clearer in a country like USA, where feudal heritage was weaker. For emancipation of workers and that of the other popular masses that followed, the communist movement exploited the new social and political conditions the bourgeoisie itself created and that could not do without: individual freedoms, culture and education, freedom of association, popular participation in political life, acknowledged and proclaimed universal right to a dignified and happy life. In short, all that the bourgeoisie proclaimed universal right against the old regime, thanks to Marxism the communist movement translated in concrete instruments of workers' emancipation from bourgeoisie: the ideas assimilated by the masses became material force. Consciousness and organization made the workers the leading force of society. Until the proletariat had been weak, the bourgeoisie had been revolutionary. It had struggled for democracy against the relations of personal dependence (patriarchal, slave, feudal, religious, etc.) on which old societies were founded, for freedom, popular sovereignty against feudalism, monarchic absolutism and clerical obscurantism. But Bismarck warned it at the right time: "The bourgeoisie signed a blank bill. Soon or later the proletariat will ask for paying it. The Roman Pope wasn't less than him. As the communist movement made practically count the extension to proletariat and to the masses of imperialist countries and the peoples of colonies of rights of bourgeois democracy, of formal acknowledgment of equality, of equal right to contribute to determine the direction of State and to govern, it run into the necessity the economic relations impose, to maintain bourgeoisie's dictatorship over the exploited classes and the peoples of the colonies. As regards economic relations, in every bourgeois country first of all the State has to defend and promote bourgeoisie's interests. In every capitalist society, bourgeoisie's political dictatorship is economically necessary, though the forms it assumes change according to concrete circumstances. Anyway, if capitalists do not have good profits, until the country social order keeps on being bourgeois all economic activity ruins and with it the life of all classes is upset down. On these bases the bourgeoisie could try to mobilize the working class and the other classes of the popular masses at its service also in political field.

Since when the proletariat succeeded in creating parties effectively participating in bourgeois political struggle, in constructing strong trade unionist organizations, in creating various mass organizations and so it was able to make effectively count the rights of bourgeois democracy until then only proclaimed, the bourgeoisie could no more tolerate democracy. By force of circumstances it became the centre of gathering all the reactionary forces. In its authorities and

State's activity, the security of its social order (re-named "national security") supplanted and had to supplant the respect of individuals and associations' democratic rights, of laws and constitutions. The contrast between the economic and social enslavement of the mass of the population and the bourgeois democracy became antagonist. The bourgeois legality was putting bourgeoisie down. On the other side, by then the bourgeoisie could no more exclude the popular masses from political activity, but establishing a terrorist regime, risking rousing a civil war. Louis XIV (1638-1715) proclaimed: "The State is me" against the bourgeoisie claiming political direction. Before the bourgeois era, the State was emanation of the monarch and he held power by God's will. The bourgeoisie instead stated that power belongs to people, that the State is emanation, expression and representative of people, that the State has to provide to people's welfare: this legitimize it to command: They surely were only words, ideas. But ideas become material force when they are assimilated by the masses. The more the capitalist mode of production has freely established itself, the more the masses assimilated these ideas. This had been a strong point for bourgeoisie in its struggle against the old regime, but it became a weak point with the development of communist movement. Does bourgeoisie succeed in managing its State despite the popular masses' participation? It depends on how the popular masses participate. Does the bourgeoisie succeed in ensuring welfare to its people? It depends on many factors, and the imperialist bourgeoisie does not control them always and in every country. All these problems were more acute in USA than elsewhere.

Given the capitalist property of productive forces, even if the collaboration of the mass of proletarians had been made necessary by the collective character that productive forces and by the importance that social life had assumed, it couldn't realize itself in the form of universal conscious participation in the management of social affairs: it requested then a wide and articulated system of manipulation, corruption and repression. This is clear if we consider capitalism in its pure form, highlighted by Marxism. In capitalism, juridically the proletarian is free; he is not tied to land or any master. He can go asking for work in one or another capitalist's firm. But he's not free as regards the whole bourgeoisie. He has no means of production, and so he's obliged to sell his labour force and so to undergo the yoke of exploitation. The bourgeoisie needs seller and buyer's freedom, but on the other side must prevent the proletarians from uniting and reducing their exploitation both increasing their wage over the value of their labour force and reducing their surplus labour: the difference necessary between the real time of labour and the time of labour necessary to produce a value

equal to that of labour force. So it must hinder the increasing of consciousness and organization of the mass of proletarians. If it is not able to absolutely prevent it, it has to deviate and periodically break off and drive back proletarians' organizations and consciousness. Periodically, it has to break its democratic legality. But this violently set it against the popular masses. It creates a situation of civil war. If it is not enough to threaten it, it needs to do it. This not only damages business, but it is also very dangerous for the bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie sets weapons against workers, sooner or later workers arm themselves.

With the preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie tries to avoid arriving at that point. An effective regime of preventive counter-revolution prevents bourgeoisie's oppression upon proletariat and the other popular masses from leading to civil war. In preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie combine five lines of intervention (five pillars that together support every regime of preventive counter revolution:

1. To maintain popular masses' cultural and political backwardness. In order to do it, to promote successfully a culture of evasion from reality, movements and theories that distract attention from reality and concentrate it on futilities (diversion), to make confusion and intoxication with reactionary theories and false news. In short, to prevent the rise of political consciousness with a proper articulate system of cultural operations. In this field, the bourgeoisie reappraised and recovered the role of religions and churches, firstly that of Catholic Church, but couldn't limit itself to it, because part of the masses unavoidably escape their seizure.

2. To satisfy the requests of improvement that the popular masses make more strongly, to give everyone the hope to have a dignified life and feed this hope with some practical result, to envelop every worker in a network of financial bonds (loans, instalments, mortgages, bills, taxes, rents, etc.) that every moment make him risk to lose everything or anyway much of its social state and richness if he's not able to respect fixed deadlines. If in claiming struggles against bourgeoisie the popular masses conquered time and money, the bourgeoisie must address them to use them for satisfying their "animal needs". So it had to multiply and multiplied means and way to satisfy them so that they work out the time and the money they have. To develop channels for popular masses' participation in bourgeoisie's political struggle in a subordinate position, following its parties and exponents. The popular masses' participation in bourgeoisie's political struggle is an essential ingredient of preventive counter-revolution. The division of powers, the representative assemblies, the political elections and the struggle among various parties (the multipartitism) are essential aspects of the regimes of preventive counter-

revolution. The bourgeoisie has to make the masses perceive as their own the State that in reality is that of imperialist bourgeoisie. All those who want to participate in political life must be allowed to participate. The bourgeoisie, however, lays and must lay down the tacit condition that they had to play along with ruling class' laws: they had not to go beyond its social order. Despite this tacit condition, however and immediately the bourgeoisie is obliged to divide more definitely its political activity in two fields. A public one, which the popular masses are admitted to (the "petty theatre of bourgeois politics"). A secret one, reserved to the authorized staff. To tacitly respect this division and adapt itself to it is an indispensable requirement of any "responsible" politician". Obviously, every tacit rule is a weak point of the new mechanism of power.

3. To maintain the popular masses and particularly the workers in a state of powerlessness, to prevent them from organizing themselves (without organization a proletarian has no social force), to supply the masses with organizations led by men the bourgeoisie trusts in (organizations the bourgeoisie makes build to divert the masses by class organizations, mobilizing and supporting priests, policemen and the like: the "Yellow" organizations like the Italian Unionist Confederation of Workers, the Italian Christian Association of Workers, the Italian Union of Workers, etc.), venal, corruptible, ambitious, individualists, to prevent an organization autonomous from bourgeoisie in its structure and orientation.

4. To selectively repress communists. To prevent by all means that communists get success: that they multiply their strength organizing themselves in party, that they have a right conception of the world, right method of knowledge and work and a right strategy, that they carry out an effective activity, that they recruit, that they establish their hegemony over the working class. To corrupt and co-opt, and break and eliminate those who don't let themselves be corrupted or co-opted.

In short, with preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie tries to prevent the creation of the subjective conditions of socialist revolution: a certain grade of consciousness and organization of the working class and the popular masses, autonomous from bourgeoisie. Or at least prevent consciousness and organization of working class, proletariat and popular masses from growing more than a certain level. So, with the preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie enters in competition with communists, contests them the ground of masses' consciousness and organization, using all the power of the society it directs. Until the bourgeoisie surpasses communists, its domination keeps and its social order is safeguarded.

Which one of the two opponents will win? It is up to communists to utilize the superiority of their conception of the world and work method, their identification with

the masses' strategic and comprehensive interests, the weak points of preventive counter-revolution and of the bourgeoisie in general. So, on this side, the success of preventive counter-revolution is not guarantee a priori. All the weapons and measures the bourgeoisie adopt are double edged. Its cheating cultural politics take away credibility to any authority and "eternal truth", and at the same time produces instruments of communication and aggregation. Its yellow organization can be turned on itself, particularly when their outcomes do not correspond to promises. Repression makes arise solidarity and introduces to political struggle. The more the masses' participation in political struggle becomes autonomous, the more it obliges the bourgeoisie to create political performances and hide true politics: in short, it makes more difficult for the bourgeoisie to manage its State. The welfare the bourgeoisie can grant to the masses depends on how its business goes on and on the resignation of the peoples oppressed by exploitation. After all, it is up to us communists to learn how to use politics and measures of the preventive counter-revolution to advantage of the cause of workers and popular masses' emancipation from bourgeoisie.

Communists are requested to face preventive counter-revolution with proper principles, method and initiatives, different from those suitable for a situation where the State not only is, but also explicitly shows itself as an extraneous body, hostile and opposed to the popular masses. With preventive counter-revolution, until today the bourgeoisie has succeeded in prevent communist movement's victory in imperialist countries mainly because this movement has not been enough ideologically advanced for facing it. In particular, it succeeded to do it in USA, because the American communist movement has not yet been able to elaborate a conception of the world, a work method and a strategy adequate to overcome that regime, and because for a long time US imperialism has drawn up resources from every part of the world. However, the preventive counter-revolution is far from guaranteeing the communist movement's defeat to the bourgeoisie and the integration of the masses in its regime, as many defeatist and militarist currents maintained and are maintaining. It only marked a new more advanced and decisive form and phase of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

In case of failure or insufficiency of preventive counter-revolution, the imperialist bourgeoisie has at its disposal the recourse to the popular masses' reactionary mobilization. It already normally transforms every contradiction between the masses and itself in contradictions among the masses. If it closes a firm, it opposes the workers of one zone to the workers of another, every group in defence of its firm. It does the same when it dismisses, when it produces excluded people, criminals, etc. When its State is unable to provide for popular mas-

ses' welfare, the bourgeoisie has to mobilize the masses to provide for it, at expense of another part of masses, or attacking, oppressing, robbing and sacking other countries, peoples and nations: this is the popular masses' reactionary mobilization. But also this is a double-edged weapon. If it does not get its aim, if countries, peoples and nations resist effectively, this reactionary mobilization becomes revolutionary. Finally, in every country the bourgeoisie predisposes means, instruments and structures for the civil war, and prepares civil war, because it will resort to it if the other systems employed for preventing the working class and the popular masses from seizing power will fail.

These are the political conditions every communist party of the imperialist countries has to grasp in general lines and in specific features of the country, to make know and publicly denounce. A party that neglects these aspects or keeps the masses in the dark about them is not a communist party. But it is even more important that the communist party guides the organizational construction and the activity of the conscious and organized communist movement, and firstly of itself, so as to be able to face successfully these conditions.

In bourgeois society less than in former societies there are Walls of China dividing one class from another. In order to create a regime of preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie have had to modify also the relations among members and groups of the ruling class. The relations democratic and ruled by laws and norms publicly accepted were gradually substituted by the domination of a handful of exponents of financial capital over the bulk of bourgeoisie and by antagonist relations among the representatives of the fractions the comprehensive capital of society is divided in. In every country, for the imperialist bourgeoisie there became current practices the militarization of state activity, the manipulation of information and public opinion, the subordination of political and social institutions both to the corruption of financial capital and to infiltration of repressive organs, the plots of secret democracy and secret services, a wide political and speculative activity carried out behind the scenes of the petty theatre of bourgeois politics by few great capitalists and other "specialists", the formation of armed gangs shirking officials laws and orders. The residual secret societies of rising bourgeoisie (masonry, mafia, chivalry orders, etc.) changed into financial and criminal societies.

In cultural field the bourgeoisie drive the research and diffusion of knowledge of physical world and social processes on the background. It put on the foreground the culture of evasion, the elaboration and diffusion of theories that hid the real social relations, defended the existing order and proclaimed its eternity. The religious conceptions and practices and respective churches, which in the times before were fought by the bourgeoisie, were found again by the

bourgeoisie itself and their authority imposed again, striving to maintain the collaboration of popular masses and stop their political development.

Everywhere the bourgeoisie ceased to struggle against monarchies, clergy, nobility and other old stuff of the past somehow survived to bourgeois revolution (feudal institutions, churches, obscurantist practices, secret societies, etc.). It recovered and defended them, making them allies against communist movement.

Under the guidance of Pope Leone XIII (1878-1903), the Catholic Church, its clergy and chief achieved again new prestige also in protestant countries, thanks to their new role of defenders of bourgeois civilization. (47) Concordats and similar agreements multiplied. The bourgeoisie assumed religion as necessary instrument of domination over classes and oppressed peoples. The atheist bourgeoisie imposed religious education in schools and constituted religions as State religions: the Gentile's reform in Italy is exemplary. (48) But not only Catholic Church and its Pope: the bourgeoisie did up all religious institutions that bourgeois revolution has not yet eliminated and conferred the role of defenders of established order and guide of the masses upon them, despite the protests and quarrels that this provoked among religious themselves, given that many of them pretended to have the exclusive right.

### 1.3.4. The Antithetic Forms of Social Unity

But nor repression nor consciousness' manipulation, nor old churches and religions' zealous collaboration would have been enough to stop communist movement. The bourgeoisie had to take more and more in account the already collective productive forces' character. It had to continuously create forms of collective management (capitalists' association) able to constitute a mediation of capitalist individual property of productive forces with their collective character and, at least in some measure and provisionally, able to get over the most devastating effects produced by the survival of capitalist relations of production though productive forces have yet become collective. Marx called them Antithetic Forms of Social Unity Marx (AFSU): stock companies, capitalists' associations, international monopolies of sectors, central and international banks, trust monetary systems, State economic politics, collective labour agreements, general insurance systems, public regulations of economic relations, supranational bodies up to the State monopolistic capitalism and the world trust monetary system. (29) (42) (46)

The AFSU assumed a role more and more important in society economic and political structure. More and more often within the bourgeoisie itself there arose attempts and, even more numerous than the attempts, promises of giving a direction steady and on a large scale of capitalist economy through the State and bank

The bourgeois entrepreneur spurned and envied the vicious and parasite aristocratic and fought the reactionary and obscurantist clergy. The imperialist bourgeoisie instead had no difficulty in receiving the parasite aristocrats and the clergy among the new parasite rentiers. They became members of financial oligarchy, without having to change habits or conceptions. The clergy gave the example and in God's name blessed bourgeoisie's conversion and the new holy alliance. What happened in imperialist countries gradually extended also in the oppressed countries: the old ruling classes and the clergy were co-opted by imperialist bourgeoisie against the advancing of proletarian revolution.

That recovery became source of contradictions and crises and developed new activities in the bourgeoisie, that however, in their turn, put limits to capital valorisation: relations of personal dependence, criminal organizations, the substitution of economic competition with violence and corruption, the prevailing of discretion about laws of governments, public administrations and relative exponents, the combination of public functionaries and politicians with great capitalists and their corruption, the elimination of competitors, the war among capitalist groups whose relations could no more be mediated by laws and institutions common to all them, etc.

consortiums. But the whole bourgeois society remained composed by a myriad of individual capitalists, individual producers (petty-bourgeois) and sellers and buyers of commodities and labour force in competition among them. So, it remained ungovernable. Plan of capital, country-business, world government of capitalist economy remained and remain illusions or swindles and the AFSU structures of limited effectiveness, precarious and fragile. (49)

However, AFSU were a sign of the necessity of Communism, showed its practicability and created some material and cultural means and some premises for Communism. They were the transition from capitalist to communist society, in the way possible given the persistence of bourgeoisie's direction, making the transformation painful, slow, tormenting and devastating. In particular Lenin pointed out that the State monopolistic capitalism constituted the most complete material preparation for socialism possible within the capitalist mode of production, though between it and socialism it was necessary the leap of socialist revolution, that is to say the passage of society's direction from imperialist bourgeoisie to working class. Only on this condition the transformation of society from capitalist to communist could enter the final, as well as the most direct, fastest and less painful way: the socialist way, the way of the transition under working class' direction.

### 1.3.5. The communist movement at the beginning of the imperialist era

The strategy Marx and Engels proposed to communist movement consisted of taking in hands the torch of democracy the bourgeoisie let fall, seizing the power during a popular insurrection and carry out to the end the war against the compromise between bourgeoisie and the old feudal forces until the elimination of popular masses' economic and social enslavement. This strategy turned out not to be sufficient, as Engels himself openly admitted. In the first capitalist countries there were no more democratic revolutions. The essential tasks of democratic revolution had been carried out, within the limits possible in the capitalist mode of production. Socialist revolution had its own forms, clearly distinct from those of democratic revolution. The strategy Marx and Engels had proposed does not sufficiently define them. Even if in most advanced capitalist countries the conscious and organized communist movement had entered the road of accumulation of forces within the ambit of bourgeois society, it had never defined a strategy for establishing socialism, despite the open warning by Engels in 1895. Without an adequate strategy, the working class did not even try to seize the power. So, the bourgeoisie kept power and entered the imperialist phase of capitalism. Imperialism was the putrefaction of bourgeois society. This putrefaction exploded in all its gravity only with the First World War, but even before communist movement became aware of it. In fact, within it a clash between two antagonistic lines began on a world level. "The struggle between the two main trends of working movement, the revolutionary and opportunist socialism, fills the entire period from 1889 to 1914". (50)

On world scale, within the conscious and organized communist movement temporarily the right wing prevailed. This right wing personified a trend against the main historical trend of human history towards Communism. In order to prevail and lead the working class and the other popular masses towards socialist revolution, the left wing needed to elaborate an adequate

strategy. The right wing only needed to prevent the left from doing it. In this role it was supported by bourgeoisie both spontaneously and consciously, and was helped by the objective difficulty the working class has in forming an own body of leaders (organic intellectuals) owing to the social condition which the capitalist social order relegate it in, and because the bourgeoisie does not spare means for repressing, corrupting and co-opting the ones who are formed (workers' aristocracy (\*)). In fact, the right wing's victory was favoured also by the constitution of a workers' aristocracy (functionaries of workers' movement) and by the strong presence in the parties of the Second International of intellectuals coming from other classes. These ones entered the workers' parties attracted by the hegemony the working class conquered, but they were not remoulded according to the role they played in the party.

So they reproduce in it characteristic and limits of their precarious social condition and ideological subordination to bourgeoisie. Opportunist socialism had its theoretical base in E. Bernstein's revisionism. This maintained that it was possible a gradual and pacific transformation of capitalist society because, as he told, as a matter of fact capitalism had entered a different way from that Marx indicated, the way of attenuation of class antagonisms, of unlimited extension of democratic rights to the masses and of the conscious government of society's economical activity by the democratic State. The social democratic surrender in 1914 facing bourgeoisie's blackmail (or collaborate with war effort or face open repression and civil war) marked Second International's inglorious end so as the end of any scientific pretence by Bernstein's revisionism. The conscious and organized communist movement rose stronger in another place. (51) It received new impulse by the revolution of new democracy triumphed in Russian Empire within the long lasting revolutionary situation created by the first general crisis of capitalism (1900-1945).

### 1.4. The first general crisis of capitalism, the first wave of proletarian revolution, Leninism second superior stage of communist thought

At the beginning of the XX century, for the first time the capitalist countries clashed with the intrinsic limit of capitalist mode of production indicated by Marx: the absolute overproduction of capital. The capital accumulated was by then so great that if, in existing social conditions, the capitalist continued to invest it entirely in commodity's production, the mass of profit would be diminished. So, only a part of the capital newly accumulated could be invested as productive capital. (42) From here it comes the struggle among capitalist groups be-

cause everyone wants to increase in value its capital. From here it comes the inter-imperialist war and the popular masses' reactionary mobilization: the ruin of "its own" capitalists drags with itself the ruin of economical activity of the mass of population and of its way of life and compromises even its survival in every country, as far as its social order remains bourgeois. Overproduction of capital means overproduction of everything in which the capital materializes itself: overproduction of means of production and goods for consumption, overabundan-

ce of raw materials, labour-force (unemployment, redundancies), money. So, all classes' life is upset down. Only at costs of growing difficulties, of individuals' growing moral and intellectual brutishment and recurrent social catastrophes, the process and production and reproduction of humanity's material conditions and the organic exchange between man and nature continued to be carried out in the ambit of capitalist, money and mercantile social relations. (52) In contrast with technical and political progress and the power of working productive forces, in every country for the proletarian mass they made the satisfaction of elementary needs for a civil life enough complicate to absorb any individual's intellectual and moral resources in a great part if not entirely. They kept everyone in a condition of intellectual and moral conditions of brutishment different but not less degrading and humiliating than which the mass of humanity mass had been relegated in past societies. They enveloped every proletarian by all sides, in a cobweb of obligations and constrictions driving him to individual behaviours whose social effects he ignored, but they were legitimated by state of necessity. That is to say, they were necessary to satisfy legitimate needs or anyhow consecrated by current culture. Avidness, criminality and indifference to others' destiny were justified by the state of necessity which social relations set in every individual. The real powerlessness in influencing the course of social relations pressing him by all sides, united with the growing social division of the work, generated and legitimated the irresponsibility of individual behaviours that, multiplied for millions and milliards of individuals and repeated innumerable times, generated a monstrous and disastrous course of things. Against all this, not the individual morals but the political action was the weapon every conscious proletarian could and had to grasp.

Then it exploded the first general crisis of capitalism (1900-1945). It arose from economy, but the crisis did not find solution in economical field, as it still happened for the cyclical crises of the XIX century. It necessarily transformed itself in political and cultural crisis. Its solution requested the revolutioning of whole social relations. There came from here a long lasting revolutionary situation, imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. This first crisis lasted many decades and ended only thanks to the destruction of productive forces and the upsets of orders, institutions and cultures culminating in the Second World War.

At the beginning of the first general crisis the entire world had already been divided among imperialist groups and their states. In every country and at international level the imperialist bourgeoisie ferociously defended existing orders (the colonial system, the world gold monetary system, the juridical and legislative orders, etc.) as forms of its own power. But, on the other side, by then the capital had occupied all the space of

extension possible in the ambit of those orders and was no more able to extend itself without subverting them. Every single imperialist group could broaden its business and increase its profits only occupying the space of another imperialist group. The difficulties the capital accumulation met with upset down the entire process of production and reproduction of the material conditions of whole society's existence, all society's economic structure and political and cultural superstructure. The relations between imperialist bourgeoisie and popular masses spread out all their antagonism. The ruling class could no more regulate the relations among its groups, nor hold the popular masses at bay by the old systems, nor the masses could accept the desegregation and pains that the general crisis carried them to and whose concentrate manifestation was the First World War.

Then it began a *long lasting revolutionary situation*. (53) The world had to change. Acquired and consolidated interests had to be eliminated. The network of commercial and financial relations had to be dissolved. A new order had to be established. No individual, group, party or single class was able to make society go out from the crisis to which the objective development of capitalism drove it. Only a general mobilization by the large masses could eliminate consolidate relations, habits and practices and establish new ones, and create a new social order. Compelled by the objective situation the great masses would have mobilized themselves for establishing a new society. Masses' mobilization was an objective event, as in the mountain the water flow dawn to the valley during a storm. The motive powers of this event did not were in individuals' initiative and consciousness but, on the contrary, created individuals' initiative and consciousness.

Two ways were possible. The bourgeoisie transforms the contradictions between it and the popular masses in contradictions among the popular masses. The working class mobilizes the popular masses against imperialist bourgeoisie and on this base organize and unite them. What was at stake and the object of the political struggle among the classes was the way to follow.

1. The popular masses' mobilization directed by some groups of imperialist bourgeoisie against other popular masses and aimed to establish a new world order still capitalist through the destruction of part of accumulated capital and of productive forces personifying it (*popular masses' reactionary mobilization*).

2. The popular masses' mobilization directed by the working class through its communist party against imperialist bourgeoisie and aimed to establish the socialist society that from the beginning takes away the character of capital at least from the most important part of the existing productive forces (*popular masses' revolutionary mobilization*).

Any group, party or class does not generate the popular masses' mobilization that directs. But there is

no popular masses' mobilization without direction. Just from the beginning within it there's a struggle for its direction between the two classes, two ways and two lines and popular masses' mobilization fulfil its objective only under one of the two antagonist classes' direction. (54)

In the communist movement the highest understanding of the transformation the humanity was carrying out and of the forces clashing among themselves within it was expressed by Lenin (1870-1924). Leninism became the second superior stage of communist thought.

Leninism enriched and developed communist thought beyond Marxism. It gave indispensable contributions mainly in three fields: 1. communist party's nature and role in preparing and carrying on the proletarian revolution; 2. economic and political characteristic of imperialism and proletarian revolution; 3. the working class' direction upon the other popular masses and the alliance of imperialist countries' popular masses with the people oppressed by imperialism.

Marxism-Leninism was the conception of the world and method of work that led the communists during the first wave of proletarian revolution.

Firstly the reactionary mobilization prevailed. The imperialist bourgeoisie had already the power everywhere and in the Second International the left wing did not succeed in opposing successfully revisionists' action because it hasn't reached a sufficiently advanced understanding of conditions, outcomes and forms in which by then the class struggle was carried out. The Second International, therefore, did not accumulated revolutionary forces of the quality necessary for making the working class and its communist parties able to face successfully the civil war, which bourgeoisie challenged them to. The bourgeoisie threw all people down in a period of upheavals, destructions, pains and slaughters of till then un-heard dimensions, that lasted more than thirty years. Europe and Asia were put to fire and sword; North and South America, Africa and Oceania were squeezed for contributing to war. In every country there emerged bourgeois groups that, in name of the salvation of their class' general interests, took its direction submitting other groups' interests to their own, and headed the popular masses' reactionary mobilization, which exemplary forms were Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany.

Popular masses' reactionary mobilization took and couldn't take anything else than the form of war among States and civil war. The imperialist bourgeoisie had no other way or for "deciding" which particular interests had to be sacrificed for class' salvation and which had to be imposed as all class' new general interests, or to prevent and stop revolution. In every imperialist country, in order to contrast the political regime's unsteadiness coming from the crisis, the State had to use its most advanced means for opening

spaces to the expansion of capitalist groups' business of their countries. Economic contrasts between imperialist groups and popular masses had become antagonist and transformed themselves in contrasts among imperialist States and politic contrasts within every country. Capitalist society's course put on the agenda the alternative between war and revolution. But in no one of imperialist country the working class was able to face victoriously the civil war the bourgeoisie was imposing. So, the imperialist bourgeoisie mobilized great masses against other masses stranger or of the same country, on a scale never seen before, and the war assumed again the more primitive character of mass extermination war, but carried on with most modern resources and means and equally in contrast with the most advanced culture and feelings the humanity had by then produced.

The first years of the general crisis were dedicated to political, military, economic and psychological preparation of war. Then the bourgeoisie threw the masses in the First World War. But already during the First World War, in a series of countries the working class succeeded in transforming the reactionary in revolutionary mobilization: masses that the imperialist bourgeoisie mobilized and threw out of traditional course of their life to make them give their blood and strength for making prevail its interests, turn against who was leading them and changed field.

The events showed that, among all the parties of the Second International, only the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia, led by Lenin, carried out an accumulation of the forces qualitatively adequate to face the situation. Therefore, in Russian Empire it succeeded in transforming the imperialist war in proletarian revolution. In 1917 it was able to take advantage of the conditions the imperialist war created and the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia established the revolutionary power in an important part of the Empire. It mobilized and organized the popular masses around the communist party (the Soviets, concrete form of the revolutionary forces and of the classes' front the communist party has to aggregate under its direction for carrying on the proletarian revolution) and on the military level creating its own armed forces (the red army, the other form of popular masses' organization the communist party has to promote for carry out the proletarian revolution).

Contrary to the expectations of the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia itself, the new power had to face a long and decisive civil war (1918-1920). Czarist Empire's reactionary forces mobilized under their orders the Russian bourgeoisie and the forces under its influence. They were supported by all imperialist powers. These ones, with their satellite countries, within the limits that each country's internal situation allowed, threw their forces to attack the new revolu-

tionary power, for nipping it in the bud, doing again what French and German ruling classes succeeded to do in 1871 against the Paris Commune. (55)

However, unlike what happened at Paris Commune, a communist party equal to the situation now led the new power and it was not isolated on the international level. On the contrary, it was supported by all countries' revolutionary forces, even if the other proletarian revolutions anyhow broken out in Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Baltic Countries, etc.) were defeated, while in other (Italy, Rumania, Poland, France, etc.) the revolutionary turmoil did not even succeed in transforming itself in the beginning of seizing power, so backward the local communist parties were, and so inadequate for facing the civil war was the accumulation of forces carried out in the ambit of the Second International. In about three years of civil war and resistance against the imperialist attack, the new revolutionary power established in 1917 in Russia succeeded in crushing the counter revolutionary forces, driving back the imperialist attack and imposing and consolidating its direction over great part of the old Russian Empire. In 1922 it was constituted the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR).

With the Russian revolution of 1917 it began the first wave of proletarian revolution that upset the world and opened a new era for all humanity. By then, on the international level the proletarian revolution had conquered and consolidated an its territorial base, its first red base, and had its own armed forces. Its existence and activity made make a leap of quality to the revolutionary forces both in imperialist and in oppressed countries. Since then the world proletarian revolution assumed two aspects: the popular masses' mobilization of the country and the defence and consolidation of USSR, the red base of world proletarian revolution.

In every country for revolutionary mobilization the communist party took advantage of organizational and ideological help coming from the red base of world revolution. In its turn, it had to measure itself with the tasks of popular masses' revolutionary mobilization in its country and with the defence and consolidation of USSR, the red base of world proletarian revolution.

The Soviet Union Communist Party had to measure itself with the tasks derived from the role of red base USSR carried on for world revolution and with the tasks of socialist transformation of the various modes of production existing on the territory of old and backward Russian Empire (in 1919, at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of Russian Bolshevik Communist Party Lenin enumerated even six of them).

In reactionary mobilization every imperialist group constantly had two guidelines: the war among imperialist groups and the repression of proletarian revolution. Starting from the constitution of the first red base of

world proletarian revolution, in every country the repression of revolution assumed a local aspect (suppression or control of local revolutionary forces) and an international aspect (elimination of the red base of world proletarian revolution). The reactionary mobilization was weakened every time these distinct aspects came into conflict and the imperialist groups were torn by contrasts about which of them was priority.

Since then a fourth contradiction added to the three great ones already indicated: the contradiction between the imperialist system and the socialist field. On a world level, from the point of view of world proletarian revolution, the phase of the accumulation of the revolutionary forces was passed in the phase of strategic equilibrium: by then the communist movement had an its own territorial base and its armed forces the bourgeoisie was not able to eliminate.

The masses' reactionary mobilization was realized in the establishment of mass terrorist regimes as Fascism (1922), Nazism (1933) and Francoism (1936-1939), in Japanese invasion of China and other Asiatic countries (1936-1945) and in setting of the Second World War (1936-1945).

The revolutionary mobilization took strength from the victory got in Russia. The working class, through its communist parties created in the ambit of the first Communist International (1919-1943), took the direction of anti-imperialist democratic revolutions in many colonial and semi-colonial countries. Their culmination was the revolution of new democracy in China and the establishment of Chinese Popular Republic (1949). In many countries, the working class strongly carried out the struggle against Fascism, Nazism and Francoism. It successfully defended its own political orders established in Soviet Union from the repeated assaults of united imperialist powers (1918-1920 e 1941-1945), from sabotages, from economic blockades and from the furious aggression by imperialist bourgeoisie that did not withdraw in front of any crime. It succeeded in discouraging aggressive Anglo-American projects about a second aggression against USSR and in preventing their counter-revolutionary confluence with German, Japanese and Italian imperialist groups. (56) With the great victory against the aggression of Nazis and their allies (1945) it succeeded in creating popular democracies in North Korea, Yugoslavia, Albania, Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria. It started the transition to Communism of more than a third of world population. It developed the revolutionary forces all over the world. It acquired a great experience in the completely unexplored field of transition from capitalism to Communism, synthesized in the works of Lenin, Stalin (1879-1953) and Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976).

Despite these great successes, however, during the first general crisis of capitalism the working class did not reach a level of consciousness and organization sufficient for overcoming bourgeoisie also in the countries where bourgeoisie was stronger, that is in the imperialist countries. In these countries the working classes hadn't yet expressed its own direction conscious of strategic tasks and, consequently, able to individualize and realize systematically the tactical tasks related to the accumulation of the forces of revolution and to the seizure of power.

The socialist parties existing in these countries at the beginning of the general crisis formulated stands against the war the bourgeoisie was preparing (as the *Manifesto of International Congress of Basel - 1912*). But the revolutionary statements masked reformist political line, tactics and organization, all internal to the bourgeois political movement, filled with illusions about the still democratic character of bourgeoisie. Words hid facts instead of enlightening them. They unilaterally confused the revolutionary political struggle with the intervention in bourgeoisie's political struggle so this one put down the first. So, these parties were not ready at all to assume the direction of masses' mobilization and in 1914 were submerged by opportunism and social-chauvinism.

The communist parties formed in the imperialist countries in the ambit of the Communist International constituted everywhere a leap forward in comparison to the socialist parties.

However, they did not succeed in becoming equal to the situation. The right currents remained strong, filled with illusions about the still democratic character of the bourgeoisie and with mistrust in working class and popular masses' revolutionary ability. The left currents did not understand the nature of the ongoing general crisis, nor the characteristic of the long lasting revolutionary situation. So, they did not succeed to develop a right line for the accumulation of the revolutionary forces. They considered the terrorist regime established by imperialist bourgeoisie in some countries (Germany, Italy, etc), its threats to break out the civil war in others, and the collaboration of imperialist States and groups of so called democratic countries with fascist States as a situation of emergency, as an anomaly in the course of history and of the struggle between the classes. Fascism, Nazism, wars and in general the reactionary mobilization of the masses were by the left currents considered as circumscribed and local anomalies, exceptions and emergencies. They did not assimilate the conception that, in reality, socialist revolution advances only making rise against itself a powerful counter-revolution, only winning which the revolutionary forces become able to found the new society. In vain in these years Stalin repeated the law already stated by Marx, that class struggle becomes the more acute the more the working class advances towards victory. (57)

The development of proletarian revolution on a world level split the imperialist bourgeoisie in two opposed wings in every country and sharpened the contrasts between them. There was a right wing that thought possible and useful to put down the proletarian revolution with the repression. There was a left wing that thought possible and useful to do it with more flexible tactics: saving time, making concessions, strengthening its influence within the ranks of revolution, repressing selectively, improving its own relation of force, dividing and corrupting the revolutionary forces until they are desegregated. The opposition between the two bourgeoisie's wings was an element of strength for revolution. But in imperialist countries, owing to its left wing's limits, the communist movement was not able to take advantage of the division of bourgeoisie, and constantly oscillated between sectarian contraposition and opportunistic conciliation, dogmatic sectarianism and collaboration without principles, struggle without unity and unity without struggle. The right wing of communist movement easily imposed a reformist line, in which the communist party served as left wing of a line-up led by imperialist bourgeoisie's left wing, and the working class renounced to look for seizing power. So, the communist parties of the imperialist countries generally gave a rightist interpretation of the line of the Anti-Fascist Popular Front, launched by the Communist International in its Seventh Congress (July-August 1935). In some of these countries, the popular masses led by the respective communist parties, carried out great struggles and displayed great heroism in the struggle against Fascism, Nazism, Francoism and in general the reactionary forces. These struggles accumulated a great patrimony of experience that also today constitutes the higher point the working class reached in those countries in its struggle for power. The communist movement reached a great prestige in imperialist countries themselves and obliged the bourgeoisie to make great concessions. The bourgeoisie succeeded in preventing the first wave of proletarian revolution from being successful also in the greatest imperialist countries, but had to pay dearly for it: the reforms the popular masses succeeded in wringing from it.

In colonial and semi-colonial countries the line of revolution of new democracy, by which the working class through its communist party assumed the direction of democratic bourgeois revolution, was adopted and applied only by some communist parties, in particular by the Chinese Communist Party, the Korean Labour Party and by the communist party of Indochina, with great successes. In other colonial and semi-colonial countries it prevailed the line to leave the direction of bourgeois democratic revolution in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, which made it fail.

Though failed, the bourgeois democratic revolution made disappear the old colonial system, and transform colonies in semi colonies or in relatively independent countries.

## **1.5. The recovery of capitalism, the modern revisionism, the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, Maoism as third superior stage of communist thought**

The end of the Second World War closed also the first general crisis of capitalism. During this crisis the communist movement got great successes. This confirms that the line followed by the movement on the whole in this period was mainly right, even if the communist movement failed in establishing socialism in imperialist countries. Just these successes and the turn occurred in capitalism put to communist movement new and greater tasks both regarding to the progression of the transition from capitalism to Communism in socialist countries, and to the unsolved task of socialist revolution in imperialist countries, and to the development of revolution of new democracy in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

During the first wave of proletarian revolution there were formed socialist countries only in semi-feudal or anyway capitalistically backward countries. At the beginning of the Fifties they constituted a wide socialist camp from Central Europe to South Eastern Asia, including a third of world population. The red base of world proletarian revolution had enormously enlarged. In these countries, owing to their nature, the development of socialism was more difficult than it would have been in imperialist countries. However, the communist movement succeeded in defending its existence and gave a great fit to their economic, cultural and social development. Nevertheless, in the new conditions of recovery of accumulation of capital and expansion of economical activity in imperialist countries, it remained the problem to trace a right line for continuing to transform social relations towards Communism at the new level in everyone of the socialist countries, and to carry on their role of red base of world proletarian revolution. The great influence got by the communist movement in imperialist countries and in colonial and semi colonial countries put the task of carry out the struggle for victory. The communist movement had to do a quality leap. Consequently, in the international communist movement it began again a world clash between two antagonist lines.

On one side the left wing upheld the prosecution of the struggle against imperialism on three fronts (socialist countries, imperialist countries, colonies and semi colonies). However, it had no inkling that the first general crisis of capitalism was ended and that for capitalism (that still was the dominant economic system over the world) a relatively long period of recovery of capital accumulation and expansion of economic activity has opened. So, it had not a general line adequate to the situation and in general was dogmatic.

On the other side the right wing upheld the line of agreement and collaboration with imperialist bourgeois-

ie. It had its theoretical base in the modern revisionism. In contrast with the law Stalin again formulated about growing acuteness of class struggle, modern revisionism upheld that the force achieved by communist movement attenuated classes' antagonisms, made possible a gradual and pacific transformation of society, reduced the bourgeoisie to see reasons making it disposed to concessions and reforms. The bourgeoisie conceded reforms under the pressing of communist movement's advancement for not losing everything, and modern revisionists interpreted it as if capitalism has changed its nature. According to the right wing, the capitalist system would no more generate crises and wars, as the storm generates hail. That was the "new" theory with which Kruscev, Togliatti, Thorez and the other modern revisionists presented themselves. In socialist countries the right wing tried to attenuate class' conflicts, upheld that there were no more class division or struggle among classes because by then the victory of socialism was complete and definitive. In international relations they upheld the economic, political and cultural integration of socialist countries with imperialist world. It substituted the peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems and the support to proletarian revolution with the economic, political and cultural competition between socialist and imperialist countries. In the imperialist countries the right wing proposed the parliamentary and reformist way to socialism: reforms of structure and widening of the conquests in economic, political and cultural field would gradually transform capitalist in communist society. In semi colonial and colonial countries the right wing was contrary to the prosecution of anti-imperialist war of national liberation and upheld the direction of bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie aiming to gradually wring concessions from imperialists. (58)

The political and economic turmoil and the destruction done during the first general crisis and in particular by the two World Wars opened to bourgeoisie space for a recovery, even if lasting few decades, of accumulation of capital with the consequent new expansion in its ambit of the process of production and reproduction of the material condition of existence. The economic contrasts among imperialist groups and between imperialist groups and popular masses attenuated themselves and this apparently belied the law of class struggle's growing acuteness.

In these conditions, in the communist movement the modern revisionism prevailed, so as at the beginning of the century it prevailed the revisionism promoted by Bernstein. Its success was favoured by the end of the

first general crisis of capitalism with the Second World War, and by the fact that the communist movement had not been able to prevail in any imperialist country (what constituted and constitutes also today the communist movement's greatest limit). But first of all its success was favoured by the fact that communist movement's left wing did not understand well the novelties the new phases put to Communists.

In the thirty years (1945-1975) that followed the Second World War the capitalist mode of production was able to expand itself again all over the world in which the bourgeoisie had maintained the power. In this new situation the proletariat and labouring masses of the imperialist countries, strengthened by the revolutionary experience of the former period, succeeded in wringing a series of improvements in economic, labouring, political and cultural conditions: improvement of material conditions of existence, politics of full employment and stability of job, rights of organization for workers, right of intervention in work organization, attenuation of discriminations for race, sex, age, mass schooling, social security measures against invalidity and old age, systems of health care, building at fixed prices, etc. In all the imperialist countries, starting from Anglo-Saxon ones and USA, as a matter of fact in those years it began the construction of a human faced capitalism. That had to be a society in which, even though in the limits of capitalist relation of production and wage work (and then of work ability as commodity and of worker as seller of it), in any case every member of the oppressed classes could dispose of the necessary means for a normal existence and for sustenance and education of people charged to him, in which he could have a role in some measure proper to his characteristics in society's productive life, he could reasonably progress in diminishing fatigue, be ensured against misery in case of illness, invalidity and old age. The preventive counter-revolution found the economical base for its success.

On this ground in all imperialist countries the modern revisionists and the reformists were successful. In all imperialist countries they took the direction of workers' movement as theoreticians, propagandists and promoters within it of the improvement in bourgeois society's limits. They proclaimed that bourgeois society's development would have proceeded unlimitedly, from one conquest to another, from one reform to another, as far as to transform the bourgeois society in socialist society. The banners, slogans and principles they hoisted were different in every country, according to the concrete political and cultural conditions inherited by history, but in that period their role in society's political and economic movement was the same.

Thanks to the new period of development of capitalism also in the greatest part of countries dependent on imperialist groups and States, the direction of masses'

movement was taken by supporters and promoters of collaboration with imperialists, spokespersons of bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie. The majority of these countries became semi colonies; they constituted autonomous States dependent on one or more imperialist groups (collective colonialism). Some feudal remnants were somehow limited, but at the same time the condition for the reproduction of large masses of peasants were destroyed and they poured in the cities as poor people. Other feudal remnants were assumed by imperialism under its wings, and utilized for making colonialism stand as, for example, the religious structures of Arabian and Muslim countries. The bureaucratic and comprador colonialism grew.

In socialist countries the supporters of capitalist way and the promoters of capitalism restoration were also them greatly strengthened by the new period of capitalism development. They found their exponents in the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Teng Hsiao Ping within the State organs of socialist countries, the mass organizations and the communist parties. They prevented from being taken the economic, political and cultural measures necessary to carry on the society's transformation towards Communism. They put their countries at capitalists' school, aping their institutions. They laced tight economic (commercial, technological and financial), political and cultural ties with capitalists till they transform the socialist countries in economically and culturally dependent and politically weak countries. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and its followers transformed the system of the first socialist countries in a bureaucratic, antidemocratic regime, founded on the dependence of population mass on a heap of privileged individuals, aimed to preserve and develop their privileges hand in glove with economic gangsters (that began to develop on a large scale) and with the international imperialist groups. However, it is wrong to indicate the economic regime formed by revisionists in socialist countries as State monopolistic capitalism, "Asiatic mode of production", "bureaucratic capitalism", etc. It means to renounce to examine the new in its advanced and backward sides and stop at the old forms by which the new is more or less wrapped up and stained. The communists must study the regime of the first socialist countries, in their different and contrasting phases of ascent and decay, starting first of all from their specific characteristics, not from the unavoidable similarities between them and the capitalist countries. The attempt to study the superior and more developed species with the categories of the most backward ones carries off the road also in social sciences. Who indulges in such deceptions denies himself a patrimony of experiences the communists have to learn from for accomplishing their tasks. Because of this we shall dedicate a chapter of this *Manifesto Program* to the balance of socialist countries' historical experience.

After all that, the thirty years following the Second World War were on the whole a period of recovery for the bourgeoisie. However, for some years the revolutionary forces kept on advancing and get some very meaningful successes (Cuba, Indochina). But, first of all, resisting against revisionism they enriched themselves with the experience of the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution (1966-1976).

Against the current of the majority of the world communist movement, the Chinese Communist Party led a long struggle against modern revisionism on the international level and tried to carry out the transition toward Communism in Chinese Popular Republic. Even if the struggle of CCP did not invert the course of world communist movement in the immediacy, nor it succeeded in preventing the CCP itself from falling in revisionists' hands, anyway it gave to the communist of all the world the Maoism as third superior stage of communist thought, after Marxism and Leninism, balance of the experience of the first wave of proletarian revolution and the experience of class struggle in socialist countries. The Maoism enriched and developed the communist thought with contributions that cannot be disregarded principally in five fields: 1. the protracted revolutionary people's war as universal form of the proletarian revolution; 2. the

revolution of new democracy in semi feudal countries oppressed by imperialism; 3. the new nature of bourgeoisie in socialist countries and the class struggle during socialism; 4. the mass line as principal method of work and direction of the communist party; 5. the two lines struggle as principal instrument for defending the communist party from the bourgeoisie's influence and developing it. (59)

The success of modern revisionism made withdraw the communist movement in respect of the results got at the end of the first general crisis of capitalism. But revisionists' success has been necessarily temporary. By its nature revisionism is a restraint of communist movement development, a counter-tendency in respect of the principal trend and, if the worst comes to the worst, it brings back to capitalism from which necessarily the communist movement rises again. The practical development of events coming from its temporary success has taught all communists that revisionism does imperialist bourgeoisie's interests. The collapse to which at the end of the Eighties the revisionism carried out great part of the institutions created during the first wave of the proletarian revolution, for its seriousness is comparable to the collapse of social democratic parties in 1914, created one of the necessary conditions for a new higher renewal of communist movement.

## **1.6. The second general crisis of capitalism and the new wave of proletarian revolution**

In the thirty years (1945-1975) that followed the end of the Second World War, the imperialist bourgeoisie ran out again the margins of the accumulation created with the upheavals and destructions of the two World Wars.

Since the Seventies the capitalist world is entered a new general crisis for absolute overproduction of capital. Capital accumulation cannot continue in the ambit of internal and international existing orders. Consequently, the process of production and reproduction of the material conditions of entire society's existence is upset now here now there in a measure more and more deep and widespread.

Apparently, the capitalists are grappling now with inflation and stagnation, now with violent variation of monetary exchange; here with public debt becoming enormous, there with the difficulties to find markets for produced commodities; at a moment with stock exchanges' crises and booms, at another with unpaid foreign debts and mass unemployment. They and their spokespersons cannot understand the unitary cause of the problems worrying them. But overproduction of capital produces its effects even if the capitalists do not recognize them, and even if there are not aware of it at all those intellectuals whose understanding of events does not goes beyond the horizons which the capitalists

are locked in by their material interests, though some of them proclaim themselves Marxist or even Marxist-Leninist or Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. The economic contrasts among imperialist groups become again antagonist: the cake to be divided does not increase as it is necessary for valorising all the capital accumulated and every group can gain only when the others lose.

In all imperialist countries the economic contrasts between bourgeoisie and popular masses are becoming again openly antagonist. In all imperialist countries the bourgeoisie is eliminating one after another the conquests the masses had wrung from them. It abrogates them (wage indexation scale, stability of jobs, national collective labour contracts, etc.), or lets ruin or privatizes the institutions in which they were realized, (public educational system, public enterprises, low rent building, public services, public health systems, etc.). The human faced capitalism has had its day. In all imperialist countries the bourgeoisie is more and more abolishing those regulations, rules, practices and institutions that, in the period of expansion, mitigated or neutralized the more destabilizing and traumatic effects of the movement of single capitals, and the extreme peaks of economic cycles. Now, in the ambit of the crisis, every fraction of capital finds those institutions as an unacceptable obstacle to the freedom of its

movements for conquering living space. Liberalization, privatization of State and in general of public economic enterprises are on the agenda in every imperialist country. In every country, bourgeoisie's slogan is workers' "flexibility", that is freedom for capitalists to exploit workers without limits.

This makes unsteady the political regime in every country, makes every country less governable, within the rules and orders still working until yesterday. The attempts to substitute this rules and orders with others in a pacific way, that in Italy sum up in the reform of the Constitution, regularly fail. In reality, it is not matter of changing rules, but of deciding what capital sacrifice in order to valorise some others, and no capitalist is willing to sacrifice himself. Among capitalists only war can decide. In fact, in the relations among bourgeois groups, the matter is no more mainly the agreement and partition, but it is mainly the struggle, the elimination and the weapons. Attempts, on internal and international level (UNO), to reduce the political expression of the contrasts because they are growing, expansion of ruling classes' recourse to criminal proceedings and extra-legal and private militias, creation of electoral barriers, increasing governments and administrative apparatuses' competencies at elective assemblies' expenses, restriction of local autonomies, limitation by laws on strikes and protests, are on the agenda in every imperialist country. The measures and even more the repressive operations spread in every country. Increase of repression against the popular masses is the answer that universally the bourgeoisie gives to every economic and social contrast by itself generated. In order to hinder the grow of the unsteadiness of its country's political regime, every imperialist State has more and more to resort to measures increasing other countries unsteadiness: the abolition of convertibility of dollar in gold and of Bretton Woods monetary system, the politics of high interest rates and of expansion of public debt followed US federal in the Eighties, the protectionist measures and of boosting commercial exportations more and more adopted by every State, the war that is being outlining between dollar and euro monetary system, the aggression of oppressed people whose authorities oppose obstacle to new colonization (firstly Arabian and Muslim countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.). "Globalization" has become the banner covering and justifying the thievish aggressions of imperialist groups and States in every corner of the world, the new "gunboat politics". The bourgeoisie's struggle for the survival of its social order becomes an undeclared extermination war the imperialist bourgeoisie carries out against the popular masses all over the world. Every year millions of men and women, children and elder people of every age, race and country are killed by wars, deprivations, pollution, sack of territory, depravation and curable ill-

nesses. An important part of humanity is relegated to live in conditions of misery, social marginalization, ignorance, intellectual and moral brutishment, precariousness. This not only contrasts with feeling and conceptions by now developed en masse by men, but also with the available material and intellectual possibilities, and generates among the masses a more and more widespread and ruthless resistance. The struggle for directing this resistance is the object of political struggle of the ongoing period.

The crisis for absolute overproduction of capital generated the second general crisis of capitalism: an economical crisis that becomes political and cultural, a world and long lasting crisis.

The greatest part of semi colonial countries firstly became a market where imperialist groups poured the commodities made exceeding by capital overproduction. Then they became a field where the same groups invested as capital loan the capitals that couldn't be invested as productive capital in the imperialist countries if not at a decreasing profit rate or that, if invested as capital in commodities' production, would have reduced the mass of profit. Finally, they became a ground the imperialist groups have to invade directly for making it a new field of capital accumulation. The imperialist groups plunder the human and environmental resources of semi colonial countries, devastate them and then, when the work is finished, they leave them and move into other countries.

The colonial countries are reduced again at rank of colonies, but now as collective colonies of imperialist groups, so none of them assumes any responsibility for the long-term conservation of profit and income sources. The savage and dreadful emigration of masses of workers and an endless sequence of wars are the unavoidable consequences of this new colonization. In the greatest part of first socialist countries the regimes established by modern revisionists firstly found them hemmed in on all sides by the economical crisis ongoing in imperialist countries on which they made themselves commercially, financially, technologically dependent, then they collapsed so showing those same regimes' internal fragility. The bourgeoisie has had to realize that was not possible to restore capitalism in a gradual and peaceful way, and has thrown these countries in turmoil of misery and war, opening the way to a restoration violent and at any cost. The imperialist system swallowed but it has not been able to digest them. On the contrary, they fastened the progression of the general crisis.

All this is creating a new situation of war and revolution, alike that existing at the beginning of the last century. The world must change and will unavoidably change. The present orders of imperialist countries and the present international relations hinder the prosecution of capital accumulation and so will be unavoidably

subverted. There will be the great masses, taking one road or another, to “decide” if the world will change again under bourgeoisie’s direction creating different orders of a still capitalist society, or if it will change under working class’ direction and in the ambit of communist movement, creating a new socialist society. Every other solution is excluded by objective conditions: practically, those who look for other solutions cannot do anything else than work for one of these only possible two solutions. This is the new long lasting revolutionary situation that’s developing within which our communists’ work is and will be carried out. The important divergences among communists and the confusion still reigning within our ranks regard exactly the acknowledgment that we are again in a long lasting revolutionary situation and the line to adopt for developing from it the revolution and carry it out until the establishment of new socialist countries.

The imperialist bourgeoisie tries to overcome the present crisis of absolute overproduction of capital and so conquer another period of recovery or with the integration of former socialist countries in imperialist world, or with the re-colonization and a higher grade of capitalization of semi colonial and semi feudal countries’ economy, or with a destruction of capital of ade-

quate dimension in capitalist countries themselves, or with some combination of these three solutions. First of all, everyone solution of these carries to a period of wars and upheavals that will be obviously presented to the masses in the most alluring dress of war for peace, for justice, for the defence of their own rights and vital needs, of war against terror, of last war. But the outcome of this period and the direction taken by masses’ mobilization that will unavoidably develop, and that imperialist bourgeoisie will have to promote in any case, will be decided by the struggle between the subjective forces of socialist revolution and those of imperialist bourgeoisie. After all, the dilemma is or revolution precedes war or war generates revolution. (60)

In fact, the working class can overcome the present revolutionary situation taking the direction of popular masses’ mobilization and leading them to the struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie until the seizure of power and the start of the transition from capitalism to Communism on a higher level than that reached during the first general crisis. This is the way of the renewal of the communist movement already ongoing all over the world, whose qualitatively highest points are the revolutionary people’s wars already in advanced phase in some countries (Nepal, India, Philippines, Turkey).

## **1.7. The historical experience of first socialist countries**

More than a century ago the working class established the first socialist State, the Paris Commune (March - May 1871). The Commune lasted only few months and was always in war for its survival against the united forces of French reaction and German State. Anyway, it constituted a source of precious teachings for all the following communist movement, with its practical experience and also for the slaughter as great as it had not seen in Europe

since long time, by which the bourgeoisie tried to wipe out even its memory.

Consequently, as Marx told, “worker Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated, as the glorious herald of a new society”. (61)

But it is during the first wave of proletarian revolution that the working class formed the first socialist countries on a large scale. They offer an immense patrimony of experience to us communists.

### **1.7.1. What does socialism consist of?**

Before being a theory, before existing in communists’ consciousness, Communism began to exist as practical movement, as process through which the social relation of production and other social relations transform themselves to become adequate to the collective character assumed by productive forces within the ambit of capitalist mode of production.

Communism is the movement of whole humanity that transform itself in order to put the common ownership and collective management of its productive forces by associated workers on the base of its economical life.

The realization of this objective implies the transformation not only of the relations of production, but also of all social relations and then of the man itself, the creation of a “new man”, new in his feelings, his consciousness, in his way to manage himself

and his relations.

According to the use introduced by Marx, we call socialism the first phase of Communism, the phase of transition from capitalism to Communism. (62)

The transition from capitalism to Communism is an objectively necessary and unavoidable movement. The collective character of productive forces necessarily imposes its rights in some form and measures already in the imperialist society, still before socialism is established. In the imperialist society these rights expresses themselves negatively as attempts to submit all the economic movement of bourgeois society, and then all capitalists, to the “capitalists’ associations” (State, public economical institutes, monopolies, financial societies, etc.), that some capitalist try to create again and again, every time clashing with the impossibility to eliminate

the division of capital in opposed fractions, within every country and on the world level; as not only economical but also hierarchic and administrative submission of the rest of population to these capitalists' associations; as repression and suffocation of most contradictory and destructive expression of bourgeois relations; as attempt to establish capitalists' direction and control upon proletarians' consciousnesses and behaviours. That is to say, after all, as attempt to repress the most destructive expressions of capitalist relations of production that by their nature do not allow order or direction.

In fact, the Antithetic Forms of Social Unity and particularly the State monopolistic capitalism materially prepare socialism in the most complete way possible within capitalism. They are the antechambers of socialism. (63) But the leap to socialism, also from the capitalist society most prepared to socialism, is the socialist revolution, the elimination of the State of bourgeoisie and the establishment of the State of the working class. Socialism is the transformation of the relations of production and the rest of social relations, promoted and directed by the working class that realizes its emancipation in it. To confuse the socialist societies with the societies of State monopolistic capitalism means to wipe out the distinction between the classes, to make interclassism in theoretical field and brings to the desperate attempt to understand a higher mode of production with the categories of the lower one.

However, the transition from capitalism to Communism is a complex and long lasting process that the seizure of power only begins.

The workers have to transform themselves en masse so that they could become able to direct themselves and find the associative and organizational forms suitable for realizing their direction upon their own working process and upon themselves. The transition from capitalism to Communism in socialist society expresses itself in the creation of the direction of the whole economical movement of society by workers' community, by organized workers. The substance of transition from capitalism to Communism that is realized in socialist society just consists of forming the association of all world workers that takes possession of all already social productive forces, and has established social relations directed by itself among its members.

In the bourgeois society there are already established some premises for forming such association: the communist party and the mass organizations. However, they concern only a minimum part of the workers and have still many limits regarding to the real equality of individuals constituting it (division between directors - directed, men - women, etc.). They are strengthened by the revolutionary struggles through which the proletariat arrives to seize power.

The complete establishment of that association, its ar-

ticulation in organizations and institutions, the creation and consolidation of social relations suitable for it and the inclusion in it of the whole population constitute the result of the entire historical experience of socialism: the transition from capitalism to Communism consists mainly of it. When this association will reach the capability to direct the entire spiritual and economical movement of society, its formation will be completed.

Also in this case it is a question of a quantitative process that will generate a qualitative leap.

Then we shall not need anymore a State or a communist party and the directors will be simple delegates for carrying out determinate functions, replaceable at any moment because thousands of other individuals will be able to carry out that work so well.

In socialist society the collective character of productive forces expresses it positively as spur to the transformation of the society inherited by capitalism, to the suppression of private and group property of all the productive forces including the labour force ("from everyone according to his capabilities"), to the elimination of the society divided in classes, of the discrimination between men and women, adults and young people, of the differences between cities and countryside, and between backward and advanced countries, regions and sectors, to the elimination of the difference between manual and intellectual work, to the mass diffusion of a high level of culture and attitudes for carrying out organizational, projecting and directing activities, to a distribution of goods of individual use realized according to the principle "to everyone according to his needs", to the establishment of a world community where the spur to human work productivity will be the reduction of toil and duration of obligatory work and the growth of free creative activities, of the "properly human" activities and every individual's social relations. (2) This quantitative process of transformation will generate a qualitative leap and will change the nature of work: it will no more be a condemnation and an obligation, and it will be become the main expression of every man's creativity, the primary need of its social existence. (64)

The experience of the era of imperialism and of proletarian revolution confirmed what Marxist analysis of capitalist mode of production already enlightened: the passage of humanity from capitalism to Communism realizes itself and can be realized only with an progression by subsequent waves, whose motor is the class struggle.

At every new wave new peoples will pass to socialism and the transformation of socialist societies towards Communism goes ahead. The reflux follows the wave: the transformation are assimilated, diffused, concretized, verified, corrected, consolidated, rejected, blocked or inverted. Advancements and withdrawals are unavoidable while humanity is opening as a whole

her way towards Communism.

In the period of advancement the bourgeoisie and its spokesperson struggle with wild determination for crushing and sabotaging it, and in the period of reflux they hasten to proclaim that Communism is impossible, that Communism is dead. But capitalism does not solve anyone of the problems that pushed classes and peoples

towards Communism and so they will repeat the attempts until they will get the success. The proletariat and its spokespersons learn also from every reflux, accumulate the material and spiritual forces by which they prepare the new period of advancement that always follows every period of reflux.

### **1.7.2. Socialism triumphs in one or some countries at a time, not at the same time all over the world**

The first socialist countries involved a limited, though great part of humanity, at least a third of it. By its nature, the communist movement is a world movement. The economical unity created by capitalism reflects itself in the international character of the revolutionary situation that allows the working class to seize the power and in the world character the Communism will have.

But the unbalanced material and spiritual development of different countries and parts of world economy under capitalism reflects itself in the fact that the working class seized and also in the future will probably seize the power in different times in the single countries. So, the transition from capitalism to Communism will begin in different times and proceed at different rhythms and with different forms in the various countries. Still today, many countries have to carry out a democratic revolution for eliminating the relations of personal dependence (patriarchal, feudal, clerical, etc.): only on base of this democratic revolution it will be possible to establish socialism.

Also the course of transition will be necessarily different, because it will reflect the different starting points (the depth of democratic revolution, the rate of capitalization of economical activity and subsumption of society in capital, the level reached by the collective

character of productive forces), and the difference of national characters that is far from being disappeared, though capitalism has strongly reduced the isolation of nations and countries.

In doing the balance of first socialist countries' experience we have to take into account that they involved societies incorporated but not "really subsumed" (34) in capitalism and where the democratic revolution hadn't yet carried out its historical work. Their incorporation in imperialist world system prevented them from eliminating the old relations of production and the relations of personal dependence unless establishing socialism. They had to combine the struggle for eliminating old pre-capitalist modes of production, the struggle for eliminating the relations of personal dependence corresponding to it and the struggle for making collective productive forces still prevalently individual, with socialism. So the forms and institutions we see in first socialist countries are deeply different from those socialism will have when it will be established in imperialist countries. Not by chance Lenin and Stalin systematically exhorted the communists of imperialist countries not to assume Russia and Soviet Union as a model.

Despite these important differences, socialist countries experience is full of teachings.

### **1.7.3. The phases which the first socialist countries passed through**

The life of socialist countries created during the first wave of proletarian revolution cover a relatively short period, from 1917 to now. Despite the great differences among the various countries, in their life, fundamentally the first socialist countries passed through three phases. (65)

The first phase began with the seizure of power by the working class and its communist party (almost everywhere at the head of a revolution of new democracy). It is characterized by the transformations that move socialist countries from capitalism and pre-capitalist modes of production, and bring them towards Communism. It is the phase of "construction of socialism". In Soviet Union this phase lasted almost 40 years (1917-1956), in Eastern Europe popular democracies it lasted about 10 years (1945-1956), in People's Repub-

lic of China less than 30 years (1950-1976). The second phase began when modern revisionists conquered the direction of communist parties and reversed the sense of transformation. It is the phase characterized by the attempt to establish or gradually and peacefully restore capitalism. No more steps are done towards Communism. Seeds of Communism are suffocated. Still existing capitalist relations are favoured and there are attempts to revive the disappeared ones. There goes along again backwards the way gone in the first phase, until the pathetic proposal of NEP done by Gorbaciov at the end of the Eighties! (66) It is the phase of "the attempt of peaceful and gradual restoration of capitalism". In USSR and Western and Central European popular democracies this phase roughly opened in 1956 and lasted till the end of the Eighties. In Chinese Popu-

lar Republic it opened in 1976 and it is still ongoing.

The third phase is that of “the attempt of restoration of capitalism at all costs”. It is the phase of restoration of private property of means of production on a large scale and of integration at all costs in world imperialist

system. It is the phase of a new violent clash between the two classes and ways: restoration of capitalism or renewal of the transition towards Communism? In USSR and Central and Oriental Europe popular democracies roughly opened in 1989 and it is still ongoing.

#### **1.7.4. The steps done by the first socialist countries towards Communism in the first phase of their existence**

Socialism is the transformation of productive relations, of the other social relations and the following conceptions for fitting them to the collective character of productive forces and the strengthening of productive forces' collective character where it is still secondary. Therefore the steps on done by the working class in the first phase of first socialist countries' life must be individuated in the relations of production (property of productive forces, in the relations among workers within the working process, distribution of the product), in the other social relations (politics, right, culture, etc.) and in the conceptions, in men and women's consciousness.

Which were the main steps onwards?

##### **1. State and political power.**

Leading role of working class' party and creation of a system of proletariat's dictatorship.

Mobilization of the masses for assuming duties in public administration (becoming members of mass organizations or of the communist party).

Proletarian internationalism and support to proletarian revolution all over the world.

Peaceful coexistence among countries with different social regimes (against the aggressions imperialist groups and States aimed to cause against socialist countries).

##### **2. Transformation in the relations of production.**

2a - Property of means and conditions of production.

Elimination of private property in the greatest productive structures, elimination of mercantile relations among the main productive unities: assignment of productive duties, planned distribution of products among productive sectors and unities.

Transformation of individual activities (peasants, artisans, etc.) in co-operative ones.

Universal obligation to carry out a socially useful work.

Attenuation of private property of working capability, particularly the more qualified one.

Development of voluntary work on a large scale for facing social needs (communist Saturdays).

2b - Relations among men in working activity.

Elimination of the discrimination of women and national and racial minorities.

Measures of integration between manual and intellectual work (directive, organizational, projecting, administrative, bookkeeping, etc.).

Distribution among all population of manual and of intellectual work (in cultural, recreative, political field, etc.)

Measures of integration between simple (abstract) and complex (concrete) work.

Integration of city and countryside: urbanization of the countryside.

2c - Distribution of the product among the individuals. (67)

Elimination of incomes not earned (profits, interests, rents, author's rights, etc.).

Retribution of workers according to quantity and quality of the work carried out.

Increasing of free or almost free availability of most necessary consumer goods.

Supplying of some services according to need (education, health care, etc.).

Attribution of not yet eliminable privileges to the function and not to the individual.

##### **3. Transformation in superstructural relations.**

Constitution of mass organizations based on democratic centralism that are going to organize and manage an increasing number of activities of the Public Administration (reduction of the role of public professional functionaries).

Promotion of universal access to education at every level and for every age.

Elimination of State religions, of privileges of churches and universal freedom for all cults and religions, freedom to not profess cults, freedom to profess and propagandize atheism.

Struggle against sects and secret societies.

Diffusion and deepening of local autonomies in all fields (political, cultural, economical, educational, judiciary, military, public order, etc.): the soviets in Soviet Union, the communes in PRC.

Recognition of motherhood and children's care and education as social function.

Emancipation of women from men.

Emancipation of boys and young people from parents.

Struggle against racial and national discriminations.

Intellectuals of cultural sector at workers' services and diffusion of culture among workers.

Mass control upon leaders and members of communist party.

Periodic purge of leaders.

### **1.7.5. Steps backwards done by modern revisionists in the second phase of the existence of first socialist countries**

The steps backwards done in the second phase of socialist countries are recognizable with the same criterion used for recognize the steps onwards done in the first phase.

#### **1. State and political power.**

Abolition of measures defending the class nature of the party (“all people’s party”) and of the political system (“all people’s State) and opening to members of privileged classes.

End of the campaigns of masses’ mobilization for assuming new and wider duties in economical, political and cultural fields.

Economical, political and cultural integration of socialist countries in imperialist world: substitution of peaceful coexistence and support to proletarian revolution with economical, political and cultural competition between socialist and imperialist countries.

#### **2. The transformation in relations of production.**

2a - Property of means and conditions of production.

Introduction of financial autonomy of firms.

Attenuation of the role of the plan in the distribution of products among productive sectors and unities.

Enlargement of individual property (in countryside, retail selling, working services among private persons).

Abolition of universal obligation to carry out a socially useful work.

Attenuation of social role of voluntary work.

2b - Relations among men in work.

Attenuation or elimination of measures of integration and combination of manual and intellectual work (directive, organizational, projecting, administrative, bookkeeping, etc.)

Attenuation or elimination of all measures realizing all people’s participation in necessary work and promoting manual labourers participation in intellectual work (in cultural, recreative, political and other fields): exaltation of professionalism to the detriment of leaders’ political and ideological orientation.

Enlargement of the division between simple (abstract) and complex (concrete) work.

Loosening of measures directed to combine cities and countryside.

Unequal development of zones and so promotion of contradiction among the masses.

2c - Distribution of the product among individuals.

Legitimation of not earned incomes (profits, interests, rents, authors’ rights, etc.).

Use of retributive rises for silencing contradiction between masses and authorities.

Main role given to individual economical incentive for increasing work productivity.

Decrease of free or almost free availability of most necessary consumer goods.

Reduction of supplying services according to needs (education, health care, etc.), introduction of two categories of services (public and private) and deterioration of public services.

Legalization and moral legitimation of individual enrichment.

#### **3. Transformation in superstructural relations.**

Transformation of mass organizations (that before were mainly organs for the popular masses to share the management of social life) in public administration organs or in organs for controlling the popular masses.

Decay of mass organizations deprived of authority and of local autonomies.

Attenuation of struggle in favour of women’s emancipation from men.

Revaluation of family role towards boys and young people.

Concession of privileges to churches and clergy in exchange of collaboration and loyalty to political power.

Increasing role of professional functionaries in carrying out social functions.

Intellectuals’ autonomy from workers.

Abolition of mass control upon leaders and members of communist party.

Abolition of periodic purge of leaders.

Establishment of fidelity to the leaders and to the organization and of discipline as main criteria for belonging to the communist party, instead of devotion to the cause of Communism, of the political line and of the bond with the masses.

### **1.7.6. How did it happen that modern revisionists seize the power?**

The possibility to come back is inborn in the nature of socialist countries. To deny this possibility means to deny that class struggle continues also after the working class seized the power.

In general the socialist countries in the first phase of their existence made great steps on in the transformation of the property of means of production, the first of the three aspects of relations of production.

“We have essentially completed the socialist transformation of property”, Mao told in the Sixties. However, the individual property continued to subsist in little measure and the group property of workers still existed on a large scale (kolkhoz, communes, cooperative societies). Besides, it was largely unsolved the problem of eliminating the private property of everyone’s labour-force, also of most qualified labour-

force: technicians, intellectuals, scientist, etc. So it is as regards the first aspect of relations of productions.

In socialist countries, at the end of the first phase the mass of workers was still far from being able to direct itself. It was still far from the condition, as Lenin told, in which “also a cook can direct State business”, also if they had made steps on towards this direction and, on historical plan, the material premises for realizing this condition were fully set by capitalism itself. (68) Until the members of population are not in this condition en masse, who directs is not a simple delegate to carry out a socially necessary function, replaceable with thousands of other people as much able as him at any moment. He disposes of a personal power that the great majority of other individuals are not able to exercise and that however is socially necessary: it cannot be simply suppressed as anarchists uphold. So it is as regards the second aspect of relation of production and of superstructural relations.

At the end of the first phase, the socialist countries were still far from being able to realize a distribution “to everyone according to his needs”, even if they made some steps on towards this direction and, on historical level, already the capitalism itself fully set the material premises to realize this condition. (69) As much this condition is not carried out, in order to accomplish his duties who directs has at his disposal life and work conditions the other members of population do not have en masse. The distribution “to everybody according to quantity and quality of its work” creates by itself great differences among individuals, tends to re-establish relation of exploitation and besides makes thousand small openings to violations of the principle itself. So it is as regards the third aspect of relations of production and the superstructural relations. (70)

In socialist countries, in the first phase of their life there were made great steps on in putting culture, art and science at workers’ service, so as the cultural, artistic, scientific patrimony could serve to workers for understanding and solving the problems of their spiritual and material life. However culture, art and science still were sectors where the bourgeois conception largely predominated. Intellectual, artists and scientists considered themselves as special people and from many points of view lived a secluded and privileged life. The mass of population still benefited little of cultural, artistic and scientific patrimony of society.

In every one of the fields above indicated there was a cutthroat struggle between bourgeoisie and working class. In socialist countries bourgeoisie is essentially constituted by that part of leaders of the new society

(of party, State, mass organizations, public administration and other social institutions) that opposed that transformation and follow the way of capitalism. (71) Their presence makes grow trends and dreams of restoration. Such trends and dreams unavoidably lead to attempts of restoration. This is an objective datum that will continue to exist during all socialist era and in all socialist countries.

What does it makes this possibility real? The mistakes of the left wing. Those mistakes accumulated and weren’t corrected, and so became systematic till they constituted a line of establishment or restoration and suffocation of germs of Communism and allowed promoters and supporters of restoration to take the direction.

Mistake is possible in every new and unprecedented experience. The deep study of the experience of socialist countries and the fraternal collaboration with the communists of the first socialist countries will give the communists the possibility of not doing the mistakes done in first socialist countries and generally of doing less mistakes. The two lines struggle in the communist party, the consciousness of class struggle, the knowledge of bourgeoisie in socialist countries, the practice of criticism and self-criticism and, in general, the teachings about class struggle within socialist society outlined in Maoism will allow the future socialist countries to go further on.

The main reason why the revisionist regimes collapsed at the end of the Eighties is the general crisis of capitalist world. It did no more allow continuing the slow and gradual erosion of socialism. The bourgeoisie that ruled socialist countries was no more able to face the debt contracted with the banks and international financial institutions. It was not able to mobilize the masses of socialist countries for facing the consequences of annulling foreign debts and ended with selling out commodities and resources of socialist countries in the imperialist market, so making plunge the internal economical crisis that transformed in political crisis. The bourgeoisie of imperialist countries needed new fields of investment, new revenues and markets. Besides, it faced with growing difficulty to the action of disturb the socialist countries were bringing in their relations with the masses of imperialist countries themselves and with semi-colonies and in the relations among the imperialist groups themselves. So, the bourgeoisie had to go for broke. It has been a painful match for the masses, but very risky for the bourgeoisie. It threw the mask and now the struggle between the two classes and the two ways is again open in all socialist countries.

### 1.7.7. The teachings of socialist countries

In their short existence the socialist countries

- demonstrated that the working class has to have a communist party in order to establish socialism and gave great and wide teachings about the nature of this party;
- taught that in order to establish socialism the working class has to take the direction of the rest of proletariat and popular masses (front);
- demonstrated that, in order to establish socialism, the working class has to construct its own armed forces, that has to destroy bourgeoisie's old State and old public administration, that has to establish its own dictatorship;
- demonstrated that the working class has to maintain this dictatorship for an undetermined time;
- demonstrated that the working class has to mobilize the masses, organize and form them so as they could assume wider and wider duties in public administration, economy and superstructure;
- enormously enriched the teachings of Paris Commune and showed that proletarian dictatorship combines in a relation of unity and struggle the growing participation of the masses organized in the management of social life with the actions of State institutions founded on hierarchy and professionalism (see charter 3.1. point 2)-gave a demonstration on a large scale that Communism is possible: in the first phase of their existence they gave an affirmative and practical answer and on a large scale to the question which Marx and Engels necessarily gave to only a theoretical answer; (72)
- showed what great deeds the popular masses led by the working class are able to do;
- gave a huge mass of concrete experiences about how to organize life and transform social relations in every field of economic, cultural, artistic, scientific and other activities;
- demonstrated that once they are constituted, the socialist countries cannot be won by any external aggression (the Hungarian republic of 1919 was suffo-

cated in the first months);

- showed that class struggle continues also after seizing power and also after essentially having transformed the relations of property of means of production (dead work);
- showed that culture and in general the superstructural activities are the fields in which the bourgeoisie's resistance is more tenacious and hard to win;
- showed that in socialist countries the bourgeoisie that can carry out attempts of restoration is essentially constituted by leaders of party, State, Public Administration which opposed themselves to the steps that is possible and necessary do towards Communism;
- showed that the involution (return backwards) is possible, but it is a process slow and as more difficult as more transformation toward Communism is advanced and as more the masses are been active protagonist of the process of transformation.

The history of the third phase of socialist countries confirms that restoration of capitalism is not possible but as a process of general upset and decay of society that will last for a period we do not know how long it could be. It is impossible to peacefully bring back men and women formed by socialism to live in an inferior system: it needs to deform, mangle, outrage them in a measure we still are not able to imagine. Since more than 15 years from the "democratic revolution", the socialist countries still are the weak ring of imperialism, the countries where bourgeoisie's fate is more in danger.

As Paris Commune guided communists for carrying out their duty in the first wave of proletarian revolution, the experience of Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, of the other socialist countries and of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution will guide communists in accomplishing their duty in the second wave of proletarian revolution.

## 1.8. Conclusions

The international experience of class struggle we resumed teaches us that Communism has become not only possible but also economically necessary.

That is to say, it is economically possible and necessary that the working class seize the power. Because of economical reasons that the bourgeoisie cannot eliminate, in bourgeois societies' political movement periodically occur long periods of crisis and political unsteadiness (long lasting revolutionary situations). For starting the transition it needs that the working class solve the cultural and political problems of its transformation in ruling class, that is, essentially, that it provides itself a "true" communist party, so that it could take advantage of those revolutionary situations

for accumulating forces till arriving in favourable condition to the decisive clash with imperialist bourgeoisie and establish its own power as the only political power in the whole country.

What has changed as regards the communists who carried out their duty in the first wave of proletarian revolution?

1. In our favour, we have the experience of the first general crisis, of the first wave of proletarian revolution and the experience of the first socialist countries; these experiences are synthesized in Maoism, third higher stage of communist thought, after Marxism and Leninism.

2. The failure of modern revisionism as proletarian

politics is evident today to all world and every its pretension of truth and scientific nature has been unmasked by practice.

For a long period, *in socialist countries* the modern revisionists tried to restore capitalism peacefully corroding and corrupting step by step institutions and structures of socialist society, making them no more able to work, making rot and gangrene contradictions, making room for all backward elements and practices inherited by old bourgeois or feudal society in economical, political and cultural field.

However, the project of peaceful restoration of capitalism failed thanks to masses' resistance. The modern revisionists succeeded only in throwing socialist countries in chaos and driving the situation to such a point that an open clash has become unavoidable. The modern revisionists are gone head-over-heels. Their place has been taken by the open supporters of restoration determined to carry it out at price of any violence and coercion, at price of any sacrifice and suffering for the masses.

The delimitation of fronts between who supports the renewal of advancing towards Communism and who supports the restoration of capitalism, the new "white guards" and the deployment of respective forces creates the process showing itself in ongoing years.

*In imperialist countries* the modern revisionists were able to rise and establish themselves thanks to the phase of economical expansion and development of the thirty years that followed the Second World War. They organized and managed the institutions and practices by which the project to construct a human faced capitalism was carried out, they were the prophets of the illusion that it could last and expand unlimitedly. Since when there has been the turn and the bourgeoisie began to dismantle institutions and practices of human faced capitalism one after another, it failed the ground where the modern revisionists rested upon and began their unstoppable decay. Reformism has lost its real base (the economical, politic and cultural conquests) that gave it strength, has become and more and more becomes reformism without reforms, foolish ambition, adventurism, empty speech that the masses shrink from. The strength of reformist groups and parties and of their old mass organizations (trade unions, etc.) proportionally comes less and less by masses' support and more and more by bourgeoisie's favour. But the bourgeoisie could less and less rely on reformists for ruling the masses and so it will less and less lavish its favours to them, even if they continue to be their last resource for dividing the masses in a measure sufficient for repressing them successfully: as a matter of fact they open the way to the masses' reactionary mobilization, of which, however, at least part of them will become also victims.

The conciliation with imperialism has kept the great part of *semi colonial countries* in a condition of eco-

nomical and cultural backwardness and political dependence and fragility. The imperialists called them "developing countries", but for the greatest part of them economic and cultural growth has remained a mirage. Day after day, the development of general crisis of capitalism relentless rips the curtain of "economical miracles" and lays bare exploitation, misery, hunger and crimes the imperialist bourgeoisie was hiding behind it. The domination of imperialism and of feudal indigenous, capitalist-bureaucratic and comprador groups destroys the condition even if primitive but necessary for the survival of large masses, it threw the greatest part of world population (that lives in these countries) in a condition of marginalization and chronic undernourishment that more and more drives them to a savage emigration in imperialist countries. However, in almost all the semi colonial countries the proletariat and the revolutionary forces are grown. The greediness and rapacity of imperialist bankers and of their local servants make the revolution of new democracy the only way of survival for the large masses.

3. The contradiction between the productive forces' collective character and the capitalist relation of production has become more open and sharper. The productive process of present societies has become even more deeply and pervasively collective work of a world organism: every part of it can work only if the others work and thanks to all others' working. In the sixty years passed since the end of the Second World War the ambits of individual or local autonomous systems of production are been further on reduced. On economical level the world has become a single organism in a more strict sense, even if more and more lacerated by contradiction just because of the capitalist character of the relations among its constituting parts.

The world unity created by capitalism become more and more deep, but just because of it the bourgeois forms of this unity become forms of uneasiness, over-power, rebellion, wars and revolutions, havoc and plunder. In fact, the capitalists and their followers pretend to found such an organism on the individual property of the productive forces and on the theft of others' labour time, as when working and result of productive forces depended mainly on single individual or group's resources and energy. In bourgeois societies profiteers are become "our times heroes". It is not possible eliminate this contradiction but eliminating capitalism itself. After all, the contrasts lacerating single imperialist societies and the world society (particularly included the destruction of environment become an universal contradiction in the latest fifty years) come from this fundamental contrast, even if through a series of intermediate passages that sometimes give their concrete expressions completely different appearances. As a matter of fact, who has money and then can have economical initiative, wants and must gain at once and very much, the maximum, while the masses

must waste their energies for them, destroying themselves and the conditions of their life.

4. The bourgeoisie has no possibility to directly end the present crisis. It can only crush the world with a long period of wars and revolutions, so great as today we are not yet able to imagine. The structures presently directing the productive process of present societies (State monopolistic capitalism, financial capital, world monopolies) are superstructures, excrescences of old times capitalism, that of capitalists producers, merchants and bankers, speculators and profiteers, producers and sellers of commodities that constitutes still today the great part of bourgeois societies. (73) Those structures lay upon the wide base of capitalist mercantile production and of capitalist individual property of productive forces. Every association of capitalists and every agreement among them are therefore temporary, functional to the profit of individual capitals and internally undermined by the contradictions among the individual fractions of capital. The States and national and international capitalists' associations boast to be able to plan society's economical movement, to direct it according to a preventively traced plan, to control and direct the society's economical, political and cultural movement. They pretend to be entered in a new mode of production, the neo-capitalism that would have overcome the weak points of old capitalism. We can see how this reveals itself to be an illusion of some ones, a lie for interest of some others, and a hallucinated nightmare for some others more. The plan of capital existed only as a boasting of the eggheads of capital and as a speculation of the so-called "operaists", and their teachers of "Frankfurter school". (74) (75)

5. The working class is more numerous and widespread all over the world and the proletarianization has grown. Wide masses have had a recent, practical and direct experience of socialism. The expansion of the capitalist mode of production in China, India, and in many other countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa has multiplied the driving forces of the new social order. The globalisation, the expansion of international (multinational) monopolies, and the mass migration that imperialist bourgeoisie imposes to the popular masses throughout the world, are creating an international proletariat as a concrete figure: the proletarian internationalism acquires new instruments of force. With the first socialist countries, vast masses have had recent, practical and direct experience of socialism.

6. The struggle of women for their emancipation and for taking an equal role in social life has become a more important and conscious component of the communist movement. With the development that humanity has had within the capitalist mode of production were now finally removed all the objective conditions on which for millennia was based the enslavement of women to men: procreation as an essen-

tial work for the conservation of kind, muscular strength as essential component of the workforce and aptitude for combat, etc. The discrimination against women, such as racial discrimination, religious and other outstanding aspects of society, survives only because it is useful to the bourgeoisie to prolong the survival of its social order. The bourgeoisie hinders the emancipation of women, because it leverages on each division among the popular masses, because it has enrolled its support all the forces survived from the past (particularly the Catholic Church) and why the mobilisation of women to take in social life an equal role with men contrasts with the need the bourgeoisie has to maintain all the popular masses in a state of subjection. On the contrary the struggle against capitalism requires the mobilization of women workers and of the housewives of workers' families, the struggle for the establishment of socialism requires the mobilization of the women of popular masses, the march towards communist society requires the elimination of inequalities between men and women: these three factors make necessary that the communist movement undertakes women's emancipation as its own objective and open the way to women's mobilisation for their emancipation. The struggle of women for their emancipation has become a component of the communist movement and enlarges the camp of the forces driving the new wave of proletarian revolution. (76)

7. The ecological disaster has become a universal and objective demonstration of the need to overcome the capitalist mode of production.

The unlimited growth of production of commodities as vehicle production of surplus value, which by its nature capital pushes forward indefinitely, the effects of competition among capitalists producers of commodities on the nature of such commodities in the production process (of the form of the production on contents of production), the mass exclusion of most part of humanity from the activities specifically human, (2), the growth of mass consumption as a tool of public order (one of the pillars of preventive counterrevolution), the private ownership of natural resources, the anarchy connected with the division of capital among various capitalists, the brake that the capitalist mode of production poses to scientific research and application of scientific discoveries to the production of goods and services and to the rest of human activities are the seven factors that have product and increase the plundering of natural resources, environmental pollution and the devastation of the planet, till making the elimination of the capitalist mode of production a prerequisite for the survival of the human species. Experience has denied all the theories with which some supporters of the bourgeoisie have tried to impute the ecological disaster to other than capitalism itself. In particular has

shown that it does not depend on the population growth or on the limited amount of natural resources. It is not by chance that they have begun to launch their prophecies when the world population was one-third than now. The resources men draw from environment and even more the conditions of the spare between the human species and the rest of nature change with the kind of activities that men carry out, with the progress in mastering the nature by men, that is with the advances in science and technology, with the social order. The association increasingly clear of bourgeois ecology with class oppression (who can pay can pollute, who can not pay must contract) and with racial and national discrimination (the oppressed countries must not reach the life levels of imperialist countries) makes increasingly clear the class character of environmental disaster. (76) This widens the camp of the forces that the working class can mobilize in its struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of socialism.

The new general crisis generated and generates a new long lasting revolutionary situation. The objective conditions drive the popular masses to mobilize themselves and also the ruling class must favour their mobilization for facing its problems. It will try to keep its direction upon them developing their reactionary mobilization. It has no other way out. The communists' duty in the next years is to make prevailing working class' direction in masses' mobilization, so transforming it in revolutionary mobilization, in struggle for socialism.

How can we get this aim?

The popular masses mobilize themselves for resisting to the progression of the second general crisis of

capitalism. The material and spiritual upheavals today ongoing among the masses is the way by which they try to face the situations they are within because of the progression of the crisis.

The masses' resistance to the progression of the crisis includes both the defence of the conquests wrung (defensive aspect), and the struggle against the regime that eliminates them, and the struggle against the repression by which it tries to suffocate individuals and organizations promoter of the resistance (offensive aspect). (77)

This is what the masses have to undertake and on this ground the two antagonist classes lock horns, the imperialist bourgeoisie for maintaining power and direction upon the popular masses and the working class to conquer them. This determines the communist party's general line for the next years: "to tie ourselves closely and with no reservations to the resistance the masses are opposing and will oppose against the progression of the general crisis of capitalism, to understand and apply the laws according to which this resistance develops, to support, promote and organize it and make prevail in it the working class direction until it will be transformed it in struggle for socialism, adopting the mass line as principal method of work and direction."

The consequent application of this general line brings the communist party to determine, on the base of balance of experience, the particular lines to be applied in every country and in every phase, the forms of struggle and the consequent forms of organization (the way to proletarian revolution in our own country).



# Chapter II

## The communist movement in Italy

### 2.1. Balance of the experience of class struggle in our country

#### 2.1.1. The presupposition and context of communist movement in Italy

The present capitalist mode of production that along the centuries spread over all Europe and from there all over the world began to develop just in Italy. It started from the little mercantile production that lived at margins and in folds of feudal world, from the monetary richness concentrated in clergy and feudal lords' hands, from luxury and splendour of the Church and most advanced feudal courts. Already in the XI century Amalfi and others Commons of the peninsula had developed a capitalist economy to a relatively high level. The main form of capital was the commercial capital that we already described in chapter 1.1.2. of this Manifesto Program. Since then, the development of capitalist mode of production continued for some centuries in many parts of the peninsula.

In political field, capitalism development is the base of the wars that raged in the peninsula from XI to XVI century, caused the ruin of many feudal courts and families and gave an incurable blow to feudal world. In cultural field it is at the base of exuberant culture of the period and of the influence that Italy had for the second time in Europe and all over the world during history. (78) The reason of cultural and political contrasts from XI to XVI centuries is the struggle between the rising capitalist mode of production and the feudal world opposing a cutthroat resistance. All the more, it founded support and nourishment in the rest of Europe by then more backward. It is only by the light of this struggle that the various episodes of political and cultural life of the epoch cease to be a succession and a combination of casual and arbitrary events and it is showed the dialectical nexus that unites them. (79)

The Papacy has been the main reason why in the peninsula it has not been formed an absolute monarchy, when they were formed in the rest of Europe, during XV and XVI centuries. Owing to the strength the Papacy had by then, it was not conceivable a State unity built eliminating the papal State. On the other side it was not useful neither to Papacy nor to the other European powers that the peninsula was unified under Pope's sovereignty. For the other European States it was unbearable a State able to combine the international authority of the papal Court with the economical and political means of a State including the entire peninsula. On the other side for heading a wide country, including regions already economically and intellectually more advanced in bourgeois development, the

Papacy would have to transform itself resembling the other absolute monarchies. This transformation would have involved it in a fate similar to that of other European dynasties and it was incompatible with its international role and its intrinsically feudal nature. (80) Not by chance the initiatives the Popes took for heading a unification of the peninsula were sporadic and fanciful.

In the peninsula the struggle between the rising capitalist mode of production and the old feudal world had a turn in XVI century. With the protestant Reformation the Papacy had and would have lost its power upon many European countries. In the peninsula with the Counter-Reformation it resolutely headed the other feudal forces, won after a cutthroat struggle and imposed a new social order. In this order the bourgeois institutions and currents were suffocated or mortified and the feudal remnants (first of all the Papacy) occupied the command post. However, it was impossible to wipe out all what had happened. All the more, the elements, institutions, spokespersons of bourgeois development in peninsula (of commercial relations, monetary economy, scientific research, individual freedoms, etc.) found nourishment in the rest of Europe. The Counter-Reformation aimed to be an international movement, so it couldn't cut all the links between the peninsula and the rest of Europe. For winning, the Papacy itself had to favour the intervention of European States in the peninsula. But in the rest of Europe the influence of Counter-Reformation was null (in protestant countries, hostile to Papacy) or attenuated (by absolute monarchies' interests). So, the development of capitalism and of the bourgeois society to it connected continued and continued to influence the entire peninsula. Therefore also here the decay of feudal relations and institutions continued, even if in different conditions. Nevertheless, as they ruled the country, since then their decay was the decay of the entire country, a decay in comparison of the other European countries. Italy did not get over it either with the "Risorgimento" in the XIX century and has not yet get over it today (see the so called "beggar imperialism", "Italian anomaly", etc.).

The overcoming of Counter-Reformation cut off the development of capitalist relations of production. It repressed and in many ways reduced bourgeoisie's entrepreneurial activity. It obliged capitalists to renounce completely or in part to business and to trans-

form in landlords though maintaining their residence in the cities. With reformation of clergy and also thanks to the end of feudal landlords' own political role, it strengthened Church's hegemony upon peasants. (81) It established in every class Church's monopoly in spiritual direction of women and education of children. The separation of manufacturing activities from agriculture the capitalists were doing was interrupted. The industries that continued to subsist and in some cases even developed though with difficulty, did not have the peasants as customers though they constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. The economical separation between countryside and cities was increased. By and large, in the three centuries that followed, the economy of the peninsula was founded everywhere upon a mass of peasants cut out from the mercantile activity: they produced in a primitive way and in the ambit of servile relations all they needed for living and what they had to give to landlords, clergy and authorities. The landlords that were mainly living in the cities, the authorities and the clergy parasitically wasted what they extorted from peasants, either if they consumed directly or sell in the cities or abroad. (82)

The cities already have and maintained an abundant population. They were servants, employees, public services operators, policemen, soldiers, deadbeats, thieves, prostitutes, artisans, artists and professional persons mainly remunerated with money, who satisfied the needs and vices of landlords, authorities and clergy. The cities, particularly Rome and Naples, so became huge parasite structures: they consumed what clergy, landlords and extorted from peasants without giving them anything in exchange.

Politically Italian peninsula remained divided in various States. Everyone of them became more and more a backward and version on a small scale of the absolute monarchies of the rest of Europe. For three centuries, since the first half of the XVI to the first half of XIX century, France, Spain and Austria politically dominated the peninsula, in succession, according to the balances elsewhere forming among European powers.

So, Italian history offers the example of a country that has developed a higher mode of production, where the struggle between the classes supporting the old and the new mode of production did not end with a revolutionary transformation of the entire society. It shows how in this case the conclusion is the common ruin of both classes. (83)

Italy as single and independent State was created less more than 150 years ago, from 1848 to 1870, when the reign of Savoia was extended to the entire peninsula. The bourgeoisie that directed the unification called "Risorgimento" this period and its work. With this high-sounding name the bourgeoisie pretended to represent as the imaginary resurrection of a nation that never existed the work of construction of a nation

(Massimo D'Azeglio realistically told that it was necessary "to make the Italians") that it couldn't really carry out because it would have requested the mobilization of the mass of the population.

The movement of unity and independence was effect and reflection of the general evolution of Europe, with which the bourgeoisie of the peninsula and its intellectuals maintained close ties, despite the Counter-Reformation. Particularly, it was an aspect of the movement initiated by the French Revolution of 1789 and culminated in European Revolution of 1848. In fact, this led off to unity and independence of Italy and Germany, the countries where there were the two political institutions more typical of European feudal world: the Papacy and the Holy Germanic Roman Empire.

At the half of XIX century the capitalist mode of production was already fully developed in England, Belgium, wide zones of France and elsewhere. It established the industrial activity as an economic sector autonomous from agriculture and made it the centre of production and reproduction of the material conditions of existence. In some measure it conquered also agriculture, it already clearly developed class antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie and began to enter the imperialist epoch.

What position in the peninsula the various classes have as regards the process which the European movement was driving it to?

The political unification of peninsula and the capitalist development of its economy necessarily involved the abolition of Papal State and so anyway it went to detriment of the clergy and of the other feudal forces and institutions. But the obstacle was no more insurmountable. The Papacy has arrived at the end of its decay. In great measure European powers did not support it anymore. The other Italian feudal institutions followed the Papacy in its decay. Many of residual noble families were already assimilated to bourgeoisie or subordinated to it by mortgages and other liabilities.

The Italian bourgeoisie couldn't keep itself out of the European movement but to detriment of its own interests, damaged by the bourgeoisie of surrounding countries, already entered in a phase of expansion beyond its own national borders. So, the bourgeoisie had all to gain from unification and independence, but the social system fixed by the Counter-Reformation directly opposed great part of it to the peasants.

The multicoloured population of the cities economically depended on ruling classes' parasitism: therefore it was not able to carry out an own political movement. The proletariat in the modern sense of the term was still numerically weak and even weaker politically: so, it was not possible for it to take the direction of the movement. At Milan the working class was more developed, and was the main force in the uprising of

1848. It made the barricades and paid in the flesh, but was the bourgeoisie that got the results.

For the peasants that in XIX century still were the great part of the population in the peninsula, the first problems were the possession of land and the abolition of residual feudal vexations. However, they were scattered, available to let themselves be dragged in revolts every time others create occasions for them, but constitutionally unable to elaborate their own direction independent from the rest of bourgeoisie and the clergy.

The result of this contrasting class interests was that the movement for unification and independence of peninsula was directed by the conservative wing of bourgeoisie, the Moderates of the Right wing headed by Cavour under the flag of Savoia monarchy. It succeeded in making work at its service also the revolutionary and popular wing of bourgeoisie, the Left, whose most great exponents were Mazzini and Garibaldi. In fact, the Left did not want to head the peasants. The peasants' movement for the land and the revolutionary abolition of residual feudal vexations was crushed by the Unitarian bourgeoisie itself.

Owing to its contrast of interest with peasants, the Unitarian bourgeoisie had to renounce to mobilize the mass of the population of the peninsula for improving its own material, intellectual and moral conditions. So, it also renounced to establish its hegemony, its intellectual and moral direction upon the mass of the population.

However, that moral and intellectual reform was necessary for a profuse development of the capitalist mode of production. But the intention to realize it was reduced to attempts and foolish ambitions of marginal bourgeois groups. In fact, only the mobilization en masse of the population to improve their conditions could create a new moral independent from religion, able to draw its principles, criteria and rules from the practical conditions of the masses themselves. The unitary history of our country is marked in all respects by this development, most of all in Southern Italy and mountain zones of Centre and Northern Italy. It was the rising communist movement, with its leagues, co-operatives, trade unions, labour chambers and its party, that from the epoch of Risorgimento onwards took the role of promoter of the practical initiative of the popular masses and therefore also of their emancipation from moral precepts deriving from old times social conditions. Little by little a vanguard of workers were formed, who were freeing themselves from the mud of the past supported by the strength and prestige of State authorities, of Church and other parallel organizations of the ruling class, with limits, mistakes and hesitations but also with tenacity, heroism and continuity. Instead of using their liberation for their personal emancipation and career, they organize themselves for multiplying their forces and diffuse more widely the intellectual and moral reformation necessary to end the decay be-

gan with the Counter-Reformation. In fact, by now this is the necessary reform to get out from the marasmus which the imperialist bourgeoisie has driven in also our country, for constructing a communist Italy.

The Unitarian bourgeoisie had to reassert the enslavement and exploitation of the mass of peasants, and so it had to rest on the Church: this far back ensured the moral and intellectual conditions of that enslavement and therefore avoided the necessity to resort to the restriction of weapons and other State coercive instruments at every step. The bourgeoisie reduced to the minimum indispensable the transformations to be imposed to the Church. It defended the great part of clergy's interests and privileges and paid in various forms a ransom for the ones it was obliged to abolish. Besides, it ensured the prerogatives, privileges, rents and in many cases also the public and political offices they had to the pre-unity State functionaries, notables and dignitaries. It loaded even the debts of the suppressed States to the new State. Finally, where it was not able to ensure the repression of peasants in league with Church and State ordinary forces, it delegated local armed forces (Sicilian Mafia and the like) to carry it out under high protection and supervision of its State. (84)

Resuming, owing to the contrast of interests with peasants, the Unitarian bourgeoisie couldn't sweep away the residual feudal forces: the Papacy, its Church, the monarchy, the great landlords and the other institutions, sects, congregations and secret societies of the feudal worlds. It opted for their gradual integration in the new bourgeois society. In fact, so it was. But with this integration they in their turn marked and permanently degraded the most important political, economic, and cultural aspects of Italian bourgeois socio-economical formation. The Italian bourgeois stayed halfway between their role of "capital officers", intent on investing profit extorted from workers for further increasing production, and clergy and other classes' habits intent on using what they extorted from workers for their luxury and pomp. This is the foundation of "Italian anomaly", of the specificity of Italian bourgeoisie in comparison to the bourgeoisie of other European countries: its so complained scarce propensity for productive investment, for scientific and technical research, for industrial and financial risk, etc.

The Risorgimento was therefore an anti peasant movement. The peasants, that is the overwhelming majority of the labourers of the peninsula, not only did not have the land nor the abolition of residual feudal vexations but, besides the obligations towards the old owners, they also had to undertake the new burdens imposed by the new State: taxes and military services. Consequently, the Risorgimento generated an endemic condition of rebellion among the peasants. For years they formed everywhere a mass manoeuvred by all the ones within the ranks of nobility and clergy opposed the unification of

the peninsula or, more concretely, blackmailed the authorities of the new State threatening to mobilize the peasants against them. (46) This role of the peasants ceased only when and as much as the working class established its own direction upon their movement of rebellion against the unbearable conditions that they were reduced to by the Unitarian bourgeoisie, and integrated them in the communist movement.

The Risorgimento was not directly a revolution in social relations. However, it established a different political order in the peninsula (the political unification) and determined its different insertion within the European political and economic context. The Unitarian bourgeoisie started a series of transformations and works (railway and roadway network, national school system, armed forces and police, industrial and scientific development, hospital and public health system, public works, State apparatus and entertainment expenses, etc.) that modified the relations of production fixed by the Counter-Reformation. With the general strengthening of commercial and capitalist relations and the expansion of public works, the market of lands was greatly boosted. The land became a capital and its output was compared with that of the capital invested in other sectors. (86) This and the development of internal and international exchanges more and more transformed the relations between landowners and peasants in the countryside in mercantile and capitalist relations. The expulsion en masse of peasants from agricultural work that followed, the recruiting of peasants for public work, the emigration abroad, the industrial development in Northern cities, and the internal migrations changed the class composition of the country.

So, not only the peasant masses weren't mobilized for transforming their condition, but they underwent the transformation imposed by the bourgeoisie with the strength of its economic relations and of its State with unspeakable tribulation and suffering. Anyway, Italy became an imperialist country. Since then, talking of "completion of bourgeois revolution" in Italy, differently from what is valid for every other European country, so as talking of the "feudal remnants" to support such line, has become a banner of the opportunism that gave up the only further transformation the communist movement was able and had to do in our country: the socialist revolution. (87)

The anti peasant bourgeois revolution is what gave rise to the "peasant problem". This was solved only in the twenty years that followed the Second World War, with the elimination of peasants. But it also gave rise to the "problem of the South", to the "Vatican problem", to the problem of the political and social role of territorial armed organizations partly autonomous from the central State as Sicilian Mafia and to other specific characteristic of Italian bourgeoisie still persisting.

1. With the unification the bourgeoisie maintained

many of the old feudal institutions, relations and habits with their localism, being satisfied of placing on it the new State organs. They were only gradually incorporated in new bourgeois society. So, the social difference of the various regions was conserved for a long time and partly it still persists though in twenty years following the Second World War the mass of peasants has been driven out from the countryside and millions of people are being obliged to migrate from South to North and from North East to North West. This is the reason why in Italy the contrasts among classes and the contrasts among productive sectors repeatedly became territorial contrasts and threatened the State unity (federalist movements and secessionist). For decades, the problem of the great industry has been mainly the problem of Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria; the problem of small and medium enterprises has been mainly the problem of Veneto and Emilia Romagna; the problem of the latifundium, of the small production with its multicoloured world of little masters, autonomous and dependent workers, semi proletariat and civil service has been mainly the problem of Southern regions. (88) The specific characters of single regions and zones partly persist and the communist movement has to take them in due account, today in the struggle for establish socialism and tomorrow in the order the socialist revolution will establish. In particular we had to favour the national movements (Sardinia, South Tyrol, etc.): independently from the little nations' real ability to actually get an autonomous life, today their movement is an important aspect of popular masses' struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie for the defence and widening of their democratic rights.

2. The Church was the very beneficiary of the anti peasant character of the Risorgimento. The bourgeoisie did not carry out with energy, and owing to its nature couldn't carry out successfully an activity for eliminating or at least reducing the moral and intellectual hegemony the Church had upon peasants, women and a part of urban population.

Its initiative was nearly null on the plan of morals, of individual and social behaviour, for promoting morals adequate to modern society's condition. The bourgeoisie renounced to formulate and promote as morals (as principles and rules of individual behaviour) the complex of social relations (of civil society) that its State safeguarded with violence and expressed with its legislation on juridical plan. The little the bourgeoisie did with public educational system had small effects because it regarded only the school attended by a minority of new generations. Illiteracy, Church's influence in lower schools particularly in the countryside and the persistence of a widespread system of colleges and schools managed by the clergy prolonged Church's hegemony in moral and intellectual formation of new generations. The State just formed the candidates of the higher stratum of ruling

class: in order to be even a little equal to its duties, it necessarily had to have an intellectual and moral formation different from that the bourgeoisie was imposing to the classes of the popular masses and in general to the women through the Church.

In the Risorgimento and in following decades not only there had been no mass mobilization of the masses for improving their economic conditions, education, hygienic and health conditions, etc., and for promoting all the other aspects of mass initiative that only a peasant revolution and the trust in themselves strengthened by outcomes would develop in millions of people. But there was even the joint effort by Church, State and great part of the ruling class for mortifying, repress and discouraging the practical initiative and, upstream, the moral and intellectual emancipation of the mass of men and women. The emigration from countryside to the cities was systematically used for strengthening the ecclesiastic hegemony also in the cities: the parishes utilized their role of labour exchange for extending the ecclesiastic control upon workers and other labourers of the city.

The bourgeoisie's struggle for a general moral and intellectual renewal of the country was reduced to private uncoordinated initiatives mainly sectarian and elitist, idealist as they set aside the practical movement that would be the only one able to make them become mass initiatives. (89) In the bourgeois society it is possible to build a party upon a conception of the world and a political program. It is possible to mobilize and unite the popular masses only in a practical movement, for a practical objective, as it would had been exactly the improvement of their conditions through the conquest of the land and the revolutionary elimination of residual feudal vexations, objective that the Unitarian bourgeoisie's left wing was not able to take upon. (90)

Besides, since then a lasting opposition was set up and then kept between the mass of population and the authorities of the new State that presented themselves only or mainly as carabinieri, taxmen or bailiffs, and the compulsory military service for an enemy State imposed after Unity. Moreover, there was the action of instigation and boycott long promoted by the Church and other anti Unitarian groups whose social power (richness, prestige and often also public offices) the bourgeoisie had entirely preserved. Particularly, the Church on one side got richness, privileges and power by the new State, and on the other posed as protector and spokesperson of the popular masses in a systematic position of blackmailing against the authorities of the new State.

The new State legislation and even more its application and the practical activity of the new State and its Public Administration safeguarded Church's interests, and supported its integration of the new condition of country richness. The Church and its Roman "black aristocracy" transformed their land and real

properties in new financial richness on the conditions dictated by them.

3. The *scarce availability of capital for investments* has been a complaint gone on along all our country history after Unity, and that bourgeois historians, clerical or not, complaisantly showered in their treatises of history in justification of the persistent misery of such a great part of the population and of Italy economic and political subordination to German, French and English bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact the capitalist entrepreneurs and even the State had to resort largely to foreign loan and investment banks and to foreign stock exchanges for financing investments and Public Expending. In reality, when the Risorgimento began, the monetary economy was already very developed in Italy and the monetary richness of the country was abundant and concentrated. But it was also used to a very small degree for capitalist investments. Just the anti peasant character of the Risorgimento prevented the creation of necessary political and class conditions for canalizing country's monetary richness towards country's economic and civil development and for a taxation transparent, equally allocated and equal to Public Administration's spending. Until second post-war years the landlords continued to wring out from peasants the incomes and the personal performances they wrung out before Unity. But where were these incomes ending? Most part of landlords weren't capitalists that invested what they wrung out from peasants in industrial firms. The Church was the most macroscopic example of it. They were parasites that continued to squander as they did before the Unity, in the cities and abroad. The financial speculation, usury, land and estate speculation, financial investments abroad, hoarding, expenses for consumption, rich people's luxury and opulence and Church and public authorities' magnificence, their entertainment and prestige expenses continued to absorb great part of country monetary richness and labour forces, so as, at the same time, rhetoric, theology and art of pettifoggers continued to absorb great part of its intellectual energies.

The Church continued to be the promoter centre and the main source of ruling class' parasitism that, through thousands channels and capillaries, in 150 years of unitary history corrupted and still today corrupts all the country, absorbs such a great part of its productive forces, occupies such a great part of its labour force, imposes its evil shadow and mark and dictates its law all over the country. Not by chance in Italy charity, favours and alms always have been in inverse proportion to popular masses' rights and salaries. It is the "benevolent conservatism": the workers are at the mercy of rich people's warm heart, rich people must not exaggerate - the feudal culture the Church dressed up: the Church's social doctrine!

The protection money that Mafia and other criminal organizations demand is nothing else than the

specific form of this general state of parasitic exploitation that by now has merged in imperialist bourgeoisie's general parasitism. (91)

Instead of drawing on financial resources for the development from sacs of parasitism it found until it drained them away, the Unitarian bourgeoisie amplified the Public Expending for financing and enlarging the old parasitism that became a new sore. These expenses added to those the new State had to do for creating the conditions of a State modern, independent and with least of authority in European context, and increased them. Just think at the plethora of high degree officer and public functionaries already in the first years of the Reign, given that it absorbed great part of bureaucracy and armed forces of the States suppressed.

Together, the inherited and new burdens inflated the Public Expending enormously. At the same time, the taxes, that in the first decades affected mainly the peasants, were enhanced. These ones and the compulsory military service further increased their hostility towards the new State. They created a more favourable ground for the manoeuvres and blackmails of anti-Unitarian forces, first of all the Pope and Church, though they were the most beneficiaries of Unitarian bourgeoisie's politics. Peasants' hostility, created by objective conditions and aggravated by the instigation of old authorities and particularly of the Church, obliged the State to make further expenses for public order (see the war against "Brigandage") and national security.

4. The narrowness of internal market is another complaint going on all long our country's history after Unity, which bourgeois historian, clericals or not, complaisantly lavished in their treatises. But what was the reason of this narrowness?

Still for many decades after Unity, until the second Post War, the peasants were the majority of the population. They were overloaded with old charges and new taxes beyond all limits. The total load was about doubled with Unity, according to reliable valuations. (92) Peasants' condition was worsened by the fact that, at a certain point, in order to find funds, the State put up for auction the public and convent's lands, so suppressing the "civic uses" (pasture, forestage, etc.) that peasants enjoyed there from immemorial time. Until then the civic uses, together with convent meals, were sources from where the mass of peasants, particularly the poorest and even more in the worst years, brought them in enough to live on.

So, given these conditions, it is obvious that peasants did not buy agricultural tools or capital goods for improving their work productivity nor consumer goods. They were content with little and they try to produce that little directly, by themselves (natural economy). This was the main reason of the narrowness of internal market.

In fact, the internal market was constituted 1. by capitalists' demand for investments and by public ex-

penditure for buying goods, 2. by capitalists and parasitic classes' demands for their consumption, 3. by urban families and workers' demand for consumer goods and tools, 4. by peasant families' demand for consumer goods and tools. The capital creates part of its market just breaking up from agriculture auxiliary and complementary activities (spinning, weaving, production of tools, building, manufacturing agricultural products, etc.) that within a natural economy peasant families do for themselves and their masters. The capital raises these activities to independent productive sectors of mercantile and capitalist economy, which sell their products each other and to peasant families (social division of work). This latter internal market's quota (peasant families' demand) was important for Italian post Unitarian capitalism because the first two quotas largely resorted to most advanced European countries, owing to their nature and to a long tradition. Furthermore the role of internal market increased by the fact that after completion of Unity of Italy began the Great Depression (1873 – 1895), with connected stagnation or even reduction of foreign market.

5. The new State never fully established its sole sovereignty upon the entire living population within its borders, even if this one had little or no local autonomy. It neither wanted to establish its sole sovereignty nor trusted to have force for doing it. In North and Centre of the country it took in its own account the exertion of violence, repression and maintenance of public order and counted on Church that hold women and peasants at bay, upon which it exerted an effective intellectual and moral direction. This Church's direction upon peasants was less effective and strong in South. Here the State supported different social forces zone by zone, the ones that were able to keep peasants at bay, to dictate law and rule and make observe them. Obviously the State had to consent each one of those forces to dictate its own law and rules and to make it observe in its own way, even if within a limited, mobile and fluid acknowledgment of some State's supremacy. (93)

The Church was the main cause and the main beneficiary of new State's limited sovereignty as well. Already at the completion of Unity, the bourgeoisie recognized exemptions, immunities and extraterritoriality to Church and committed publicly themselves and by law to respect them. With the Guarantee - Act (1871), the new State left to the Pope and committed itself not to exert any authority (judicial, police, military, fiscal, etc.) upon a part of city of Rome (the Leonine city) and upon the relation the Pope and his Court maintained with foreign countries. The State also placed at unquestionable Pope's disposal, 50 millions of lire at year, more than the taxes the Pope drew from Papal State. (94)

As a matter of fact, the Church, headed by the Pope, continued to work in the entire country as a sovereign power, a State in the State, with its network of function-

aries covering the entire country starting from centre, until the most remote villages, advantaged by the fact that now there were the new State's police, magistracy, penitentiary administration, operating in the peninsula, which made respect its interests, rents, power, speculations and prestige and took responsibility about it. The Church's functionaries were selected, formed, nominated and dismissed by Pope's unquestionable decision or of some superior functionaries (bishops) by him delegated for it. They enjoyed of revenues by diocesan and parish goods, of public building and other prerogatives and powers upon the population (baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc.). The new State was content with establishing that superior functionaries (the bishops) nominated by the Pope had to have State's approval (that never lacked, for tacit consent), in order to enjoy benefits, powers, immunities, warrants, protections and exemptions guaranteed by State Authorities.

On one side Church fomented antagonism and rebellion, on the other was becoming more and more exigent, threatening to do worse (in its international intrigues and instigation of peasants and women), leveraging on moral subjection and fear it aroused in the Court and the greatest part of ruling class' higher leaders. In fact, they were mostly pious people on which threats of excommunication, of torments of hell in afterlife tomorrow and of God's curses at once in the earth had a great effect. Thanks to this situation Church, Roman "black nobility", Pope's relatives and trustees and other exponents of Roman Curia on theirs or Church's own account shared in the "sack of Rome" (land and estate speculation) that took place in the decades after Unity, and in financial speculation which scandals since then on repeatedly upset the entire country's financial and bank system, until latest businesses Sindona (Italian Private Bank), Calvi (Ambrosian Bank), Parmalat, Fazio. These Church's activities have not only financial effects. They paralyze judicial system, which have to stop every time it crashes into Church's exponents. They limit legislative power, which had to restrain itself every time provisions concern Church's interests that however are present in every field. They condition investigative apparatuses. They throw a shadow upon reliability of the entire Italian financial and State system. Obviously all the national and international adventurers interested to do it avail themselves of this situation.

The situation of double or limited sovereignty determined by Church contributed to maintain and create other sovereign powers in the country. Sicilian Mafia is the most famous (apart Church itself) among oldest ones. Starting as power as a matter of fact recognized and delegated by Italian State in Western Sicily, afterwards Mafia had widened its field of action in USA, Italy and other countries.

The present situation rises from this condition of limited sovereignty, which Italian State is in since its

birth. Under Italian State's apparent formal sovereignty, in Italy there are territories and social relations where its law is not in force. A series of sovereign powers, independent from Italian State, are operating. Every one of them dictates its own rules and has at its disposal its own means for imposing its will, as well as for exerting an extra legal influence on State Authorities and Public Administration. This is widely infiltrated by every one of the sovereign powers, which have at their disposal men who owe them their career and role in Public Administration and so act accordingly to directives of a power who does not officially takes any responsibility of the operations and behaviours carried out by the people it rules. Vatican is the main of these powers. In our country today there is no place or ambience where it couldn't gather information and exert its influence. In the country it has an influence much more scattered, effective and centralized than the State has. Furthermore, it can avail itself of a great part of State structure and Public Administration.

After Vatican there follow US imperialists (directly and through the OTAN), Zionists groups, Mafia, Camorra, 'Ndrangheta and other groups of organized criminality and any one who has will and means to take advantage of the situation. The vicissitudes of Masonic Lodge P2 showed a way to do it.

However, the double sovereignty State/Church has a particular character. It created a regime that is unique of its kind. Its particularity consists of the fact that in Italy the Church is not a religion. The religion is only a pretext and the ideological dress of a feudal monarchic political structure. This one had directors designated by the monarch at Rome and in every corner of the country. They are selected according to their allegiance to the chief, fortunes and role of everyone of them depend on unquestionable will of the monarch which power is absolute and pretends to be of divine origin. The believers need to be faithful and obedient. Their opinions and experience do not decide the orientation of Church's activity: one the contrary, they have to adequate themselves to Church's decisions. Its directions are unquestionable and pretend to have a divine authority. It and the Pope, its absolute chief, are the supreme government of Italy. It does not announce programs or orientations, and does not present any balance of its action, because it does not recognize any right of vote and either of opinion to Italian people about it. This government is concealed and irresponsible, but direct the country through a State structure that, as in any bourgeois republic, pretend to be legitimized by popular will and to be headed by a Parliament and a government that have to be sanctioned by the popular vote. Officially, this structure is the sole State. Differently than any other constitutional monarchy, the limits of the competences between constitutional State and Church are arbitrarily, unquestionably and secretly

decided by the Church for every separate case. Just it gives the entire regime some precariousness, but also that flexibility that allows relations of struggle and unity with all the other autonomous powers that set foot in Italy. Such a regime is not described in any handbook of political science, but nevertheless is very real and the communist movement has to come to terms with it in our country. Its history passes through five different phases:

1. The bourgeoisie carried out the Risorgimento willing to create an its own State. But realized that in order to rule it needed Church's collaboration, owing to peasants' hostility. The matter of issue was the delimitation of power between the two institutions. So there was a phase of not fought war, of armistice between State and Church, resumed as for State in the Guarantee Act, as for Church in the line of *non expedit* (95). It lasted since about 1870 to 1898. Within the bourgeoisie the currents willing to promote an own direct hegemony upon the popular masses has still some importance. The separation between the bourgeoisie's left wing and the rising communist movement was not yet sharp. The bourgeoisie leave to Church time and conditions to reorganize its forces in Italy and all around the world. In the second part of the Nineteenth century, on the international level the bourgeoisie passed to the phase of imperialism, of the preventive counter-revolution, of the mobilization of the residual feudal forces in a new "holy alliance" for arresting the Communist movement's advancement. It is the transformation already described in the chapter 1.3. of this MP. The Catholic Church, directed from 1878 to 1903 by Pope Leone XIII, exploited this international situation to get out from the difficulties which it was put in by the unifications of the peninsula. It became the principal mainstay of imperialist bourgeoisie on the international level and from this new condition it dealt the definition of its new role in Italy.

2. With agreements like the Gentiloni's Pact (1913), bourgeoisie and Church recognized that they need to collaborate for their common interest against the communist movement, sharing their duties. The communist movement had already got a fair ideological and political autonomy from the bourgeoisie. For holding it at bay and limiting the rising connection between workers and peasants, the bourgeoisie asked the Church to restore and strengthen its hegemony upon peasants and women weakened by the communist movement's advancement and take initiative for establish its hegemony at least upon a part of the workers (Azione Cattolica [Catholic Action, Translator's Note], etc.). The Church accepted the challenge but demanded bourgeoisie's help for carrying out a work with such an uncertain result. This phase lasted about from peasants and workers' risings of 1893-1898 until 1928. The Catholics shared in parliamentary elections and activity

in support of government. The Church created mass organizations in every class and rank, particularly among workers for stopping the progression of the communist movement, preventing the unity of workers and hindering the unity among workers and peasants. By then, the Church supported government's action, from the intervention in Libya to the participation of Italy to the First World War (1915-1918). When the war began to produce a general revolt of the popular masses, whose culmination was October Revolution, it takes the direction of the movement for doing an armistice. In front of the popular masses' widespread rebellion following the end of the war, the Church accepted the Fascism, imperialist bourgeoisie's terrorist dictatorship, as necessary solution for re-establishing the order. It supports its coming to power and strengthening of the regime.

3. Through Mussolini's mouth, bourgeoisie officially recognizes the Church particular sovereignty in exchange of its official and public commitment of fidelity towards State Authorities – on the base of a vow done to God that Church could release its functionaries from when it wanted to do it, while crimes against the State did by them were protected by immunities and anyway were invalidated by prescription. Lateran Treatise, Concordat and Financial Convention signed on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1929, opened this phase that lasted until 1943. The Church officially renounced to pretend old Papal States' restoration and in compensation of lost taxes had paid cash 750 millions of lire, a milliard in bearer Treasury Bonds and an endless series of privileges, properties, rights, exemptions and immunities. But Fascism was also the bourgeoisie's extreme attempt to become completely master of the country and therefore also politically autonomous from Church. The Church carefully negotiated and cashed all Fascism was giving, but firmly oppose the attempt carried out by the bourgeoisie through Fascism to build an own direct hegemony upon the popular masses. There were corresponding to this side of Fascism bourgeoisie's exceptional effort and dynamism for strengthening country's economic and political structure. During Fascism, bourgeoisie tried to extend Italian State's power in Mediterranean Sea and introduced great part of structural innovations, which the Democrat Christian regime would have profited by; central bank, State industry, great public works, structures of research, agrarian consortia, social security institutions, etc. In short, the innovations and institutions resumed in the creation of a system of State monopolistic capitalism. But the bourgeoisie's attempt ended in a disastrous way for itself. Fascism was overwhelmed by the outcome of the war and by the progression of the communist movement. The risk that in Italy the working class could lead the popular masse to establish socialism was never so heavy. In order to avoid such risk, the bour-

geoisie completely relied on Church and US imperialism. Its ambitions to rule the country ceased forever.

4. It is the phase of State's indirect subordination to Church through Christian Democracy, nearly lasting from 1947 to 1993. Italy became a new kind of enlarged Papal State, supported by US imperialism. The Church is the highest moral authority of the regime, a kind of constitutional monarchy but without constitution. The legal State acts under its high and unquestionable direction. The Church directs the official State and rules the country indirectly, through its party, the Christian Democracy. The Church keeps intact its territorial structure (curiae, parishes, associations, congregations and religious orders, schools, hospital structures and charitable institutions, financial institutions, etc.) independent from that of the State. Besides, it forms a close alliance with US imperialism for carrying out the struggle against the communist movement together on the international level. Anyway, US imperialism settles itself in the country directly, with its own forces. The official State asserts the Papal authority, within the limits requested by Church's necessity and the limits allowed by the country's real class composition and by the internal and international relations of force resulted from the defeat of Nazi Fascism by the communist movement. The Constitution of the official State is a falsehood: every republican institution must pretend to take it for real (and so to swindle the masses), while, in reality, it serves only for ordering the subordinate activity of State legal organism, for silencing the exigencies of the so called people's friends with promises to be fulfilled in an indefinite future, and for drawing a beautiful veil over real relations. In return the Vatican bears no responsibility for the consequences of its government. Shortly, it is a power irresponsible and of last instance, silently accepted by all the signatories of the "constitutional pact" and by their heirs.

5. It is the present phase, characterized by Church's more direct intervention in country government. In 1992, the political crisis, an aspect of the general political crisis of capitalism, sweeps away the Christian Democratic regime constituted at the end of the Second World War. The situation obliged the Church to commit itself more directly in country's government. The contrasts between imperialist groups and the contrasts between the bourgeoisie and the popular masses have reached such a level that bourgeoisie's political exponents are no more able to form a steady and reliable structure, that could silently rule the country on behalf of the Vatican giving it what it and its Church need and, at the same time, could be expression of an electoral majority, no matter how the public opinion would be manipulated and intoxicated.

So we are in present times. They are the times of the putrefaction of DC regime, whose poisons are tainting

our country, and of the renewal of the communist movement within the new wave of the proletarian revolution advancing all over the world.

The objective of communist movement is the establishment of a new social order: the adjustment of relations of production to the already collective character of the productive forces, and the corresponding adjustment of the other social relations and of ideas and feeling to them related. The political revolution, the conquest of power by the working class at the head of the rest of the popular masses, is the indispensable premise of the social revolution. To conquest the political power in Italy concretely means, first of all, to eliminate the Church: in fact, the other supports of the present political regime (US imperialism, Confindustria [Italian Manufacturers' Association, Translator's Note], criminal organizations, bourgeoisie's parties and other political organizations, Zionists, etc.) have an auxiliary role.

The Vatican and its Church are the principal main stay of the political regime that imposes and maintains the imperialist bourgeoisie's dominion over our country, defending its social order. It is not possible for the working class to lead the masses to establish proletariat's dictatorship without eliminating the Vatican and its Church. No social revolution is possible in Italy without eliminating this obstacle. So, it is essential that we communist on one side carry this duty to the working class and the popular masses, and on the other clearly distinguish the struggle for realizing the political duty to eliminate the Vatican and its Church and with them the political regime of which they are the main axis, from the struggle to realize that moral and intellectual reformation the masses need for assuming that leading role without which is not possible a new social order equal to the material and spiritual productive forces the humanity today disposes. The first struggle is between antagonist classes and after all the popular masses will have to work it out by force. The second is an internal transformation of the popular masses, it regards not antagonist contradiction and cannot be carried out and solved but through a movement of the popular masses themselves, regards contradictions within the people.

Obviously, the two struggles are connected on many sides. Church and bourgeoisie need religion and the Church easily fulfils popular masses' religiousness. Bourgeoisie and Church are very interested in confounding the two struggles, in defending their power behind religion. On the contrary, the interest of popular masses, working class and ours is to distinguish them as most clearly as possible.

The elimination of Church and Vatican is matter concerning all international communist movement, given the counter revolutionary role the Vatican and Church are carrying out on the international level, collateral to the role of international policeman carried

out by US imperialism. But the Italian communist movement has a particular role in fulfilling this interna-

tional duty, like that the US communist movement has in fulfilling the duty to eliminate US imperialism.

### 2.1.2. The first Italian Communist Party

After the political unification of the peninsula, in our country the class struggle has been very sharp, with great participation of the popular masses. However, in Italy as in other imperialist countries, it has been affected by the particular difficulty the working class have had just in imperialist countries in giving itself a communist party, equal to its role, able to face and win the regime of preventive counter-revolution the bourgeoisie set up for defending its social order.

Starting from the completion of country's political unity it began the development of the communist movement as conscious and organized movement. The communists' strategic duty was to mobilize the working class in the struggle for establishing socialism. First of all they had to make themselves ideologically autonomous and to separate themselves organizationally from the left wing of Unitarian bourgeoisie. The political duties they had to face were:

1. The influence of left wing of Unitarian bourgeoisie among urban workers: this wing of the bourgeoisie was revolutionary because it was Unitarian and anti-clerical, but in an idealist way and so inconclusive because it was anti peasant.
2. The contradiction between the Unitarian bourgeoisie and the peasants, who constituted the great part of the population, and the clergy and nobles' reactionary hegemony over the peasants
3. The Church's monopoly in women's direction and new generations' education.

These duties were similar to those the Communists had to face in other European countries. The contrast between Unitarian bourgeoisie and Church, however, presented also aspects favourable to the development of rising communist movement: the struggle between clergy and bourgeoisie publicly showed the anti-popular character of both them and the struggle they were carrying out one against the other was weakening both them as well.

The Italian Communists got a great aid by the international communist movement that was more advanced. Marx and Engels showed very well the inconclusive and foolishly ambitious of the revolutionism of left wing of Unitarian bourgeoisie, particularly of Mazzini. This characteristic unavoidably made the left wing undergo the direction of the Right wing of Unitarian bourgeoisie.

The struggle carried out by the First International (1864-1872) against anarchists and the teachings of Paris Commune helped very much the rising Italian communist movement to develop its own ideological and organizational autonomy from the left wing of Unitarian bourgeoisie (Andrea Costa (1851-1910), to

give a not corporative orientation to economic claims and to pay its attention to the peasant movement, despite the hegemony the reactionary were still exercising over it.

The II International (1889-1914) and Engels' hard work supported and led the Italian communist movement in further strengthening from ideological autonomy from the left wing of bourgeoisie and, once it got a certain degree in this autonomy, in developing a wide network of proletarian organizations in the fields of culture and education (circles, publications, evening schools, sport, music associations, etc.), of economy (cooperatives and mutual aid cashes), of trade unionism (trade unions of category, chambers of work, national unionist confederation) and finally to found the Italian Socialist Party (1891).

In the first years of the Twentieth Century in Italy the conscious and organized communist movement was by then organizationally and politically autonomous from bourgeoisie's left wing about so much as it was in the rest of Europe and, on the contrary, exercised some influence on it and attracted its best exponents, as it happened in the rest of Europe. Its ideological autonomy was instead, as in the greatest part of European countries, still too much limited in regards to what was necessary for successfully facing the political duties the national and international situation put on the agenda.

One of the greatest and lasting outcomes of this period was the establishment of a link between the communist and the peasant movement, that finally broke clergy and anti Unitarian nobles' hegemony upon the peasants. (96)

During the first general crisis for absolute overproduction of capital (1900-1945) and the connected long revolutionary situation, first there was a widespread mass revolutionary movement during and after the First World War (the Red Biennium 1919-1920). By the light of the theory of the revolutionary protracted people's war (\*) is clear that the accumulation of the revolutionary forces carried out in previous years and the imperialist war created a situation in which the communist movement could advance only passing from the first to the second stage of the revolutionary people's war, that required the creation of the revolutionary armed Forces for which there were favourable conditions.. The Italian imperialist bourgeoisie was in a tight spot: it hasn't yet elaborated an effective regime of counter preventive revolution and the old style repression was no more enough. But the revolutionary movement lacked of the characteristics adequate to the needs of those times: the accumulation of the revolu-

tionary forces done in previous years had not consciously aimed to pass into a higher stage nor put the necessary bases for it. The Italian Socialist Party neither tried to assume the direction of the movement, so much it wasn't adequate for the aim. (97)

The imperialist bourgeoisie found the solution resorting by itself to the masses' reactionary mobilization. It was the first in the world that created a regime of imperialist bourgeoisie's terrorist dictatorship: the Fascism. The Fascism answered to the Italian bourgeoisie's defensive necessity: in Italy the regime of preventive counter-revolution was still too weak for facing the popular masses' revolutionary rush in another way. But through it the bourgeoisie also raised the hope to establish a direct hegemony on the popular masses, eliminating the communist movement and marginalizing the Church, too. It tried to breach among the workers leveraging upon the backwardness the communist movement was keeping, particularly on corporatism.

The claiming and union struggles are activities that the workers and generally the proletariat can't do without. They also are for them a school of Communism that they can't do without. A communist party unable to direct the claiming and union struggle of workers and generally of proletarians wouldn't have the force to direct the socialist revolution, it wouldn't gather up within itself the great part of advanced workers, and so it wouldn't yet be the General Staff the working class need for carrying out successfully the revolutionary protracted people's war (\*) until the establishment of socialism. But the working class' revolutionary political struggle, the struggle for establish socialism is not the prolongation of its claiming struggle, or its widening, radicalization, politicization, transformation in political struggle, generalization. The current conception in II International and of anarcho-syndicalists, as other ones transposed among communists by trotskyites, instead confounded the working class movement for improving their conditions with the movement for the emancipation from bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialism, drowned the way to revolution in the enlargement and generalization of claiming struggles. (98) The Leninism carried out a tenacious and decisive struggle against this conception of all economists that isolates the working class from the rest of the popular masses and opens the road to corporatism. With Fascism in Italy, and on a greater scale with Nazism in Germany, the bourgeoisie tried to exploit among the workers that backward conception and to establish its own hegemony making them, the peasants and the other classes of the popular masses, guess the possibility to improve their conditions thanks to the elimination of the communist movement, of its internationalist purposes and the class struggle and the exploitation of other peoples, nations and countries. This is the substance of the popular masses' reactionary mobilization, and Fascism was its first edition on a world level.

It is also thanks to the aid of the first Communist International and of Soviet Union that the Italian communist movement succeeded in overcoming the snare laid by bourgeoisie with Fascism. It is thanks their impulse that in 1921 the first Italian communist party was founded and that, starting from 1923, it was put under direction of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). He was its first and great leader that tried to make it the revolutionary party of the working class. (99) In the struggle against fascist regime, that the PCI directed within the scheme of the Communist International, the party made the popular masses and the working class get a strength they never had before, culminated in the partisan war (the Resistance) of the years 1943-1945. (100) However, under its direction the working class did not succeed in leading the popular masses to establish socialism. Why so?

Undoubtedly, at its foundation the party gathered the most advanced part of the Italian working class. However, it did not succeed in realizing the duty of bolshevization, that is the transformation of a party already gathering the best part of the working class in a revolutionary party. What the revolutionary character of a communist party consists of?

First of all, of the revolutionary theory guiding it, that is the dialectical materialistic conception of the world and the dialectical materialistic method of knowledge and action of its members and organizations.

Secondly, in its statute of General Staff of the working class that organizes its activity, employs its forces and those it is able to mobilize, defines its organizations and their functioning, selection, formation and relations of its members and leaders in order to the conquest of power by the working class.

Thirdly, in its ability, based on the two characteristics given above, to elaborate a concrete and specific line for advancing towards establishment of socialism (its strategy, the way to socialist revolution) in our country and to steadily follow it, doing all the tactical operations requested by various and changing situations with flexibility.

The Communist International clearly put the objective of party's bolshevization already in the Twenties. The PCI itself declared the bolshevization the fundamental duty of the party. (101) The *Lyon Theses* clearly declared that "in Italy there is no possibility of a revolution that is not a socialist revolution" and with farsightedness warned the party about the impending right deviation. (102) But actually the party was not able to combine the struggle against Fascism with the struggle for socialist revolution. It just fell in the right deviation consisting of setting itself as the left wing of all the forces working for overthrowing Fascism. The Party, directed by its right wing (Togliatti & Co.), systematically refused to lead the popular masses to assert their material and spiritual interests until risking the bourgeoisie's resort to terro-

rism and civil war and then facing it in this decisive battleground. Its left wing limited itself to do the Fronde, to moan about party limits in popular masses' mobilization, paralyzed by a dogmatic conception of party discipline and by the conception of insurrection as strategy of socialist revolution. (103)

The limits of Italian Communist Party in its understanding of the laws of socialist revolution were shown by the fact that it was overtaken by the repressive turn of fascist regime in 1926 (the party direction was imprisoned); by the fact that in 1943 it was overtaken by the events of 25<sup>th</sup> July and 8<sup>th</sup> September; by the fact that, fundamentally, it was not ready for the civil war as unavoidable way out of general crisis of capitalism and of the reactionary mobilization of the popular masses (Fascism); by the fact that in the partisan war it did not keep steadily its political autonomy, so obliging from this position the other anti-fascist forces to unite in the war against fascists and nazis; by the fact that it carried out the partisan war more as a military campaign than as an instrument to create a new popular power; by the fact that it did not realize that with the end of the Second World War the capitalism, even if weakened by the successes of the communist movement and by the collapse of colonial system, came out from its first general crisis; by the fact that it accepted to carry out the role that the Christian-Democratic regime absolutely need for consolidating itself: to conceal the monarchic power of Vatican, to hide the fictitious character of the Constituent Assembly and of Constitution, to back the democratic character of the regime of "limited sovereignty" that silently Vatican and US imperialists imposed to the country, to minimize what US imperialism political and military installation signified, to liquidate the political and military force got by the working class and the popular masses. In the years of its long and glorious struggle against Fascism, many times the party oscillated between sectarian and dogmatic isolation on one side and opportunist collaboration (with no principles) and revisionism on the other, between struggle without unity and unity without struggle, as besides other European communist party of the first Communist International did. The balance of its experience confirms that it is necessary that the communist party assimilate a dialectical materialistic conception of the world and a dialectical materialistic method of work and to elaborate a sufficiently concrete strategy (opportunists call "theoretically drafted plan", while it actually is "to prepare and organize revolution" Lenin already taught us). Without doing this, even with the greatest heroism and discipline, a communist party is not able to utilize the various and changing circumstances with a flexible tactic. It has no practical use in discussing about tactic without having a strategy. Thanks to Communist International's direction the PCI carried out right and im-

portant tactical and middle-term operations, but it did not succeed in elaborating an its own strategy corresponding to the specific conditions of our country and to the international situation it is put in. So it did not succeed in fulfilling its duty, despite the heroism of great part of its members and leaders.

Studied by the light of the theory if the revolutionary protracted people's war, (\*) the history of Italian Communist Party is rich of great and important teachings. It show how in the Forties the imperialist war and the work of the international communist movement created sufficient conditions for the communist party could create its own armed forces and by necessity enter the second stage of the revolutionary people's war. It couldn't advance without doing it. It also shows that the left wing of the party was absolutely unready to get the direction of the party, both on ideological and on political level, and that because of this the communist movement withdrew from the second to the first stage of the war itself when the external condition that pushed it on failed. (103) Owing to the limits and errors of its party, the working class did not seize the power despite with Fascism the bourgeoisie got itself in an extremely difficult situation that starting from then took her away any ambition of political independence. The power remained to the imperialist bourgeoisie that created its political regime based on the leading role of the Church headed by Vatican under supervision of the USA: the Christian-democratic regime that since then governed the country, and it does it also now, despite the phase of putrefaction which it entered in 1992.

This regime consolidated thanks to the long period (1945-1975) of recovery and development of capitalist accumulation and expansion of productive apparatus that capitalism had all around the world. During those years, the popular masses and the working class succeeded in wring out great improvements in economic, political and cultural field with simply claiming struggles. The PCI became the organic interpreter of this phase of relations between the working class and the popular masses of our country and the imperialist bourgeoisie. That is why in those years the PCI was at the same time both the working class' party, because practically all the workers active in their class' organizations were members of the PCI, and one of the parties of the modern revisionist current led by the Communist Party of Soviet Union. Also in our country, the period 1945-1975 was that of the "human faced capitalism". The more developed it was, the stronger the communist movement was in our country, in confirmation of the fact that reforms are the by-products, the legacy of missed revolutions.

During that period there were happened some great transformations in class composition of our country, which we attend to in the Chapter 2.2 of this MP.

Those transformations make out the context in which today the renewal of the communist movement develop.

The main ones are the following:

1. The elimination of peasants dedicated to an economy of self-subsistence. The subsumption of agricultural production by capitalism, the mass expulsion of peasants and farmhands from land, the migration abroad and internal, from South to North and from North East to North West, from countryside to cities, enormously reduced the number of agricultural labourers and changed their class nature. The Christian Democratic regime solved the "peasant problem", created by the Unitarian bourgeoisie in the Risorgimento, depopulating the countryside. The place of families and peasant farms has been mainly taken by capitalist firms, by land left fallow, by tourist plants, by villas of Italian and stranger rich people.

2. The increase of not worker proletarians. The great development of Public Administration, of public services, of cooperatives and no profit institutes created some millions of not worker proletarians, in many aspects close to the working class. They take the place of the peasants as closest and surest allies of the working class in the struggle for establishing socialism.

3. The growth of women working as proletarian. Openly contrary to the reactionary doctrines the Christian Democratic regime was inspired by, in the period in which it ruled our country women's segregation within families and home has been largely eliminated, though in the bourgeois way, that is in the most worrying way for the popular masses and for the women themselves firstly. It has grown the number of women participating in the production, both as proletarian and as autonomous workers. Women's struggle for their economic, intellectual and sentimental emancipation from man, their struggle for wage equality, for an equal role in social life, for a conscious maternity, for a social organization of children and elders' life, for dignified relations between men and women, for sexual relations free from the medieval morals patronized by Catholic Church, for a real equality of rights, have made the worker women and the women of the other classes of the popular masses a component of the communist movement even more important than in the past. Many women already free themselves from the influence of the Catholic Church and of the clergy and this strongly weakened the moral and intellectual hegemony on which the political power of Vatican is founded, and its utility for the bourgeoisie. Now more and more directly and clearly the Catholic Church and the Vatican are the leaders of bourgeois opposition to women's emanci-

pation. The struggle for eliminating Catholic Church and Vatican political power is an essential aspect of socialist revolution in our country and just to this aspect is also directly tied the struggle of women for their emancipation.(76)

4. The great development of services provided by capitalist firms. Presently, the numbers of labourers of capitalist firms that produce and sell services exceed that of labourers of firms producing and selling goods. The firms where these labourers are gathered have not yet the experience of organization, of trade unionist and political struggle got by the working class of industrial capitalist firms. The labourers of the services are doing in these years their school of class struggle that the workers of industry had done some decades ago. There are conditions for they could learn quickly. With the experience of class struggle they will reach the workers of traditional capitalist firms and together they will make up the new working class that will establish socialism.

5. The formation of a wide "worker aristocracy" In our country the worker aristocracy includes hundreds of thousands of individuals. It is formed by promoters, directors, organizers, functionaries of popular organizations like trade unions, parties, cooperatives, associations, patronages, publishing houses, newspapers, radio and TV, etc, by persons elected or designated to be members of organism of representation, joint committees, study commissions, etc. They are a mass of individuals that immediately and individually get the most intellectual, moral and social advantages, in terms of relations and social prestige, by workers and popular masses' movement and as a rule get a part at least important of their income for the function they carry on in it. Socially, every member of worker aristocracy has a role that bourgeois society denies to the single proletarian, "is worth" some number of proletarians (a union man talks to some number of proletarians, has relations with them, influences them, etc.). A particularly large and important sector of worker aristocracy consists of the leaders of the unions of the regime and of the other unions. Those members of worker aristocracy who use the advantages of their status to promote workers and popular masses' interests are the left wing of this sector of society. Those who use their social condition for personal purposes and advantage, or for that of relatives or acquaintances or friends, are the right wing of worker aristocracy. They do nothing else than propose again the Christian Democratic-Mafia system of clan, families, friends of friends, etc. With the advance of the general crisis, of the resistance and the class struggle, the left and right wings of worker aristocracy are destined to divide themselves more and more clearly or with the popular masses or with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The left

wing of worker aristocracy will go in the service of workers and popular masses and so will contribute to the renewal of the communist movement and especially to the renewal of the trade union movement. The communist party must guide it and make it an its own component. The right wing of worker aristocracy by necessity will be forced to align itself increasingly on the positions of bourgeois right, to lose followers among workers, to become useless for the bourgeoisie unless it becomes effective promoter of the reactionary mobilization of popular masses. The forms, timing and allocation of worker aristocracy between left wing and right wing will depend also on the line of the Communist Party and on the action it will carry out on it both directly and through the workers and the rest of the popular masses.(104)

6. The immigration of workers by former socialist countries and from countries oppressed by imperialism. Italy passed from country of emigration to country of immigration. The mobilization and organization of these new labourers and their integration with autochthonous labourers is a duty new but indispensable for the Italian communist movement. This duty, difficult in itself, is made even more difficult by the weakness of communist movement on the national and international level. (102) On the other side immigration constitutes one of the ways by which an international proletariat really constitutes itself. So, it is a precious instrument for the communist movement, to promote a stronger internationalist unity of the working class. The communist party must mobilize autochthonous and immigrants labourers for the absolute equality of civil, unionist and political rights. The overexploitation and oppression of immigrant labourers weaken also autochthonous labourers. The communist party must mobilize all these workers against imperialist bourgeoisie and so unite them.

7. The decentralization of productive units and the chronic unemployment. In Italy as everywhere in the world, today the working class is more concentrated than ever. Each one of some great world monopolies have hundreds of thousands employees scattered in various countries. Also by this way an international proletariat has been constituted as a particular sector of the proletariat. This makes possible to promote working class' stronger internationalist unity. On the other side, due to many reasons, the firms gathering in one place ten thousands labourers are diminished, even if there are still many great and medium firms. The bourgeoisie tends to organize smaller productive units, to combine in the same place labourers employed by different companies and under different contracts and labour conditions, to displace firms and oft upset labour organization, to generalize precarious, atypical, illegal labour relations, sub-

contracts, externalizations, etc. This will allow the communist movement to "infect" more easily the entire working class, once it will have established strong relations with advanced workers.

8. The proletarianization of autonomous labourers. The mass of autonomous labourers is actually formed by labourers less and less autonomous. Many of them closely depend on industrial and service monopolies and on banks for sales, technologies, credit and on State for regulations that organize their activities, for fiscal regime and public contributions to their budget. This gives great possibilities for the hegemony of the communist movement, once it will overcome the corporative trends and it will establish its role of promoter of popular masses struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie.

9. The constitution of European Union and the creation of European common money. The unification of Europe began after the Second World War, as a project of US imperialist bourgeoisie in order to mobilize Europe more strongly against European communist movement and Soviet Union. At the beginning of the new general crisis, in the Seventies, the French-German imperialist groups took the project in their hands. They launched their offensive on a large scale in order to create a "living-space" in Europe to be used in the international competition against USA. The European Union has a future only as attempt of French-German imperialist groups to unite themselves and the European capitalists and respective countries for a new partition of the world against the predominance of US imperialist groups and for ensuring better imperialist bourgeoisie's rule over European popular masses despite the development of the general crisis, favouring the abolition of the conquests the popular masses wrung out from it during the first wave of proletarian revolution. It gave and is giving a big support to bourgeoisie in the elimination of the conquests and created a political arrangement new but still precarious. In fact, German imperialist groups hesitate. They are hemmed in all sides. On one side the US imperialist groups can't give anything more to their partners; on the contrary they draw up capitals, resources and men from every country for keeping themselves afloat in USA: in that country the counter-revolutionary has important economic grants to American popular masses as its essential pillar. To keep subordinate to US imperialist groups mean to contribute to weep them standing, but this have fateful consequences in Germany, because also German counter-revolutionary itself stands upon important economic grants. On the other side the German imperialist groups remember as a nightmare their latest attempt to conquest a "living space" with Hitler. It is a nightmare so much more worrying because, in

order to really compete with US imperialist groups the French-German ones should begin to impose a greater discipline just to the German popular masses.

As regards the Vatican and Italy, the European Union stakes the Church's political role in our country. The alternative is to get along in the shade of US imperialist groups, but they do not give anything anymore: this is the alternative that probably will be chosen by Vatican if its plan will not raise an unstoppable opposition by Italian popular masses. As a matter of fact, to keep staying under protection of the US imperialist groups will allow the Papal State to prolong its existence, safeguarding what the Papacy absolutely needs to get in Italy: the conditions and resources to carry out its "divine mission in the world", at the expenses of the Italian popular masses. For the Italian Communists has become also more important than in the past to strengthen the internationalist tie with the communist parties of the other European countries. We have to mobilize the popular masses to struggle both against the US and to the European imperialist pole, for its own interests. They are tied to the renewal of the international communist movement.

**10.** The rise of "environmental problem". In the decades that followed the Second World War the Christian-Democratic regime showed on a great scale which capacity capitalism reached to physically and morally destroy men and environment, artistic patrimony and historical heritage. The period of great world economic development corresponding to the first phase of the regime (1945-1975) has fully enlightened this character. The moral and environmental collapse produced by fifty years of Christian-Democratic regime has no precedents in Italian modern history. Permeated by the medieval conception of power that Papacy and Church have, the Chris-

tian-Democratic regime has paid much attention to the problems of stability of power and of mass consensus, but it has been completely indifferent to all the matters of popular masses' welfare, in short and even less in long-terms, as they are the protection and preservation of environment, that the communist movement, ruled by revisionists, did not raise as problems of public order.

The territorial, environmental and moral collapse produced in Italy by the Christian-Democratic regime combined, as national aggravating circumstance, with the environmental devastation produced by the capitalist system on the world level. The pursuit of profit, the firms that have the production of profits as their own aim, required that every capitalist exploits men, resources and environment according to its private and immediate advantage, and that the system on its whole year after year increases exponentially the volume of production, condition necessary for the growth of Internal Gross Product and of the profits. This creates a suicide course of events of the humanity. To put an end to it is a matter of life and death. The incompatibility of capitalist system with humanity's progress is clear on this side as well. Only the renewal of the communist movement and the formation of new socialist countries will create the conditions for facing the environmental matter in a rational, systematic and international way. The communists have to support and promote thousand single struggles, also immediately contradictory among themselves, upon the environmental matter and find the way to make each one of them contribute to the accumulation of revolutionary forces and function as school of Communism. So, besides giving stopgap measures to single problems, they will contribute to create a definitive solution of the environmental matter. Interclassism would condemn us to ecological disaster. (76)

### **2.1.3. The first attempts to rebuild the communist party**

In our country the struggle against modern revisionism started again and continued the struggle against the right deviation that was gone along all party's life.

In the Eight Congress (December 1956) the right wing of PCI, taking advantage of the success got by the revisionist group of Kruscev in the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 1956), liquidated what remained of communist programmatic bases. As we told above, according to the right deviation the communist party has to be the left wing of a progressive alliance directed by the bourgeoisie struggling for country modernization, for eliminating feudal remnants and enlarging the democratic rights to the masses. Until then, this deviation had been presented within the party as a provisional line to be applied wai-

ting for more favourable times. From then on, it was put instead as a strategic line, coherently with the conception of modern revisionists. In fact, they asserted that the strength got by the working class make by then the socialist revolution unnecessary and the gradual and pacific passage to socialism possible. The pacific, democratic, parliamentary way to socialism through structural reforms and the continuous enlargement of masses' democratic rights, was proclaimed as Italian way to socialism and even proposed as a model (Euro-Communism) on the international level.

After the Eight Congress the spontaneous, instinctive and widespread struggle against the right wing got new strength. It made a leap of quality in the second half of the Sixties, within the struggle launches on the

international level by the Party of Labour of Albania and first of all by Chinese Communist Party. (106) It was then born the marxist-leninist movement and later on, in 1966, the Communist Party of Italy (PCd'I-Nuova Unità) [New Unity – Translator's Note] that was closed only at the beginning of the Nineties, for joining the Communist Refoundation (RC).

The reason of the weakness of PCd'I and of all the marxist-leninist movement was the same that led the left wing of PCI to be defeated by the right wing: the insufficient ideological and theoretical autonomy from bourgeoisie and the consequent lack of a strategy for conquering power. On some sides the marxist-leninist movement was invalidated by dogmatism: this is demonstrated by the fact that it never recognized that there was a third higher stage of communist thought, the Maoism, nor it ever understood the limits and mistakes of the left wing of PCI, even if it struggled against its right wing. On other sides, that same marxist-leninist movement got mixed with the various "left" deviations" (bordighists [from the name of A. Bordiga, one of the founders of the first PCI – Translator's Note], anarcho-syndicalists, etc.) that were an old illness of the Italian communist movement with which the PCI never really settled its accounts

At the end of the Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies, in Italy as in other countries there was a great period of struggles (the 1968 and the "Hot Autumn"). The struggle for wringing out new conquests of civilization and welfare from the bourgeoisie culminated touching its limit: for going beyond it had to transform itself in struggle for the conquest of power and establishment of socialism.

The struggle against revisionism reached a very great development in political field in the Seventies when, from working class and popular masses' claiming struggles it raised a widespread movement of armed struggle, personified by the Red Brigades. It gathered and politically expressed the necessity to conquer the power and transform the society the claiming struggles themselves raise in the working class and in the popular masses.

That is the reason of popular masses' support, adhesion and favour towards the Red Brigades, witnessed by their embedding in important firms (FIAT, Alfaromeo, Siemens, Pirelli, Petrolchimico, etc.) but even more by the measures the bourgeoisie had to adopt for contrasting their persisting influence and isolating them from the masses and from the persistence of their influence also after their defeat.

With their practical initiative the Red Brigades broke the conception of the form of socialist revolution that predominated among the communist parties of the imperialist countries during the long revolutionary situation 1900-1945. (107) Differently from the Com-

munist Party of Italy (Nuova Unità), the Red Brigades began to reckon with the errors and limits that prevented the communist parties of the imperialist countries to carry on to a successful conclusion the revolutionary situation generated by the first general crisis of capitalism. That is why the teachings that can be drawn by their activity are so rich, particularly as regards the laws of the accumulation of the revolutionary forces (the main duty in the first stage of the protracted revolutionary people's war), and the passage from the first to the second stage of it (construction of the revolutionary armed forces) (\*)

However, they did not succeed in free themselves from the influence of the left bourgeois culture, particularly in the version given by Frankfurter School (75), that the modern revisionism made current culture and nearly unopposed. Consequently

- they did not succeed to correct the errors of analysis for the phase that were founded in that culture. As regards the relations between the popular masses and the bourgeoisie, they exchanged the climax of popular masses' struggle for wringing out the conquests in the ambit of bourgeois society for the beginning of revolution. As regards the relations among imperialist States and groups they exchange the attenuation of the contradictions connected to the period 1945-1975 of recovery and development of capitalism for the definitive disappearance of antagonism. They ignored the alternating of general crises of capitalism with periods of recovery of capital accumulation: the Seventies were just the moment of passage from the period of recovery and development that followed the Second World War to the new general crisis for absolute overproduction of capital.

- They did not succeed to consciously get the method of the mass line in order to stay at the vanguard of mass movement also in the new phase produced by the beginning of the new general crisis, at the half of the Seventies. They did not make a right balance of the communist movement: they combined illusions in modern revisionists, in the socialist countries and in the communist parties directing them, with the abandonment of the historical experience of communist movement owing to the success the modern revisionists succeeded to get in it.

Owing to these errors, the Red Brigades' tie with the masses ceased to grow and began to weaken. The Red Brigades began to cuss against the masses' backwardness and drowned in militarism (theory of the "substitution"\*). In this manner they favoured the attack of the bourgeoisie that was concentrated on taking advantage on their limits and isolating them from the masses.

Owing to these steps on undone, to this self criticism not completed, their tie with the popular masse instead of developing weakened and the Red Brigades were overwhelmed by bourgeoisie's offensive, which the modern revisionists shared as an undertak-

ing vital for them. (108)

The struggle the Red Brigades carried out shows, for the third time in the history of Italian communist movement after the Red Biennium and the Resistance, how in an imperialist country could arise the conditions for the passage from the first to the second stage of the protracted revolutionary people's war. (\*) It also shows, on the other side, that the possibility to utilize successfully the favourable conditions depends closely on the quality of revolutionary forces' accumulation before its rising.

The PCd'I and the Red Brigades are the two main failed attempts to rebuild the communist party. They both tried to give an answer to this necessity of the working class and the popular masses of our country. But none of them get their aim. For taking the positive result they have produced and getting teachings from their experience it is necessary to understand the reasons of their failure.

The history of communist movement is full of successes and defeats. The ones and the others show us that the contradiction between theory and practice expresses itself in the contradictions between revolutionary theory and construction of the revolutionary organization, between revolutionary party and masses' movement and others more. Which is the right relation between the two terms of each one of these contradictions? The history of the communist movement teaches us:

1. the unity of the two terms: one of them can go on in its development only if also the other develops itself in an adequate way.

2. that generally, in the struggle of the working class for the power, the first term is priority, even if the second is priority in absolute terms, that is from a wider point of view.

In fact, in general the theory of the communist movement is the reflection in our mind, is the elaboration of the practical experience of working class and popular masses' struggle. Marx and Engels produced a revolutionary theory elaborating the experience of workers' struggle. But it is thanks to this theory of Marx and Engels that the communist movement created the Internationals and the socialist parties before and the communist parties after. Lenin resumed the struggle he carried out in the first years of the past century saying: "There is no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory". In 1940, Mao Tse-tung made the balance of Chinese revolution saying: "For almost 20 years we did the revolution without having a clear and right conception of it, and we acted blindly: this is the reason of the defeats we underwent".

Similarly, in general the revolutionary party is an outcome of oppressed masses' rebellion. However, owing to the conditions the communist movement reached, the oppressed masses' movement succeeds in

developing beyond an elementary level only thanks to the communist party's activity. The Communists did not succeed in building a communist party equal to its role and duty to promote and direct the protracted revolutionary people's war, (\*) and this prevented the establishment of socialism in imperialist country. It is not "the integration of the working class in the capitalist system", it is not "the incorporation of capitalist relations of production in the productive forces" (and therefore the end of the contradiction between relations of production and productive forces), as the Frankfurter School asserts (see note 75), what prevented the socialist revolution in imperialist countries. The missing link is the communist party adequate to its historical duty and role, and what mainly makes a communist party be like this is the conception of the world which is founded on and that guides its activity. So, the solution is in the struggle between two lines in the construction of the communist party. The bourgeoisie tries to prevent the construction of such a party with all its strength. It is an essential aspect of the preventive counter-revolution. It uses repression, if it couldn't do otherwise, but normally it tries to influence communists. In every communist party and in every its organism, facing any important passage and decision, there are a left and a right wing. The left wing reflects the position of the working class struggling for power, the right wing the position of bourgeoisie. The right personifies bourgeoisie's influence within the communist movement and spreads it. The bourgeoisie has the power for centuries and inherited very much from former exploiting classes. The working class struggles for power since only 150 years and exercised it only for short periods and only where capitalism was relatively not much developed. So, the bourgeoisie today has an experience of the power incomparably wider than the working class has. In superstructural field the bourgeoisie has a complete system of conceptions, lines and methods. Its conception of the world is consolidated in habits and prejudices. It got the force, the evidence and the obviousness of a platitude. That is why in communist parties the right wing has an easier life than the left. The right wing stands upon what is already existing, is evident, obvious, is a habit, "it has been ever done so", "everybody think so". The left wing has to elaborate, discover, enter the new, risk to make errors, correct the route until it finds the way to victory. The right wing does not need a revolutionary theory: the left cannot go on without so it has to elaborate it. The right wing can take advantage of left's mistakes and of the confusion of the contradiction between revolutionary theory and bourgeoisie's influence with the contradictions between right and wrong theory, between new and old. The right wing obstacles the creation of a revolutionary theory, the left promotes it and cannot direct without it. The party's mistakes in

understanding the situation are useful to the right wing, they damage the left. The left wing of PCI did not succeed in elaborating a theory of the socialist revolution in our country during the first general crisis of capitalism, even if the party meant to guide socialist revolution. That is why the right wing succeeded in prevailing within the party. Mao taught us that a party that does not apply a right line applies a wrong one, that if it does not consciously apply a policy it applies it blindly. It is very difficult that the communist party could get the victory with a line applied blindly; more probably a line applied blindly favours what already exists, that is bourgeoisie's direction, rather than what has to arise, that is working class' direction.

The Communist Party of Italy and the Red Briga-

#### **2.1.4. The Christian-Democratic regime and its putrefaction**

It was during the Seventies that the world capitalist system passed from the period of recovery of capital accumulation and economic development begun after the end of the Second World War to the second general crisis for absolute overproduction of capital. Also in our country this involved that the working class and the popular masses were no more able to wring out from the bourgeoisie with claiming struggles conquests progressive, long lasting and on large scale. The agreement of 1975 between Confindustria [the Confederation of the industrials – Translator's Note] and the trade unions about the cost of living, that increased lower salaries and shortened salary differences, was the last conquest of the series that marked the period of human faced capitalism. The ruling class began to cancel gradually, one by one, the conquests till then wrung out. The process has gone on until 1992 with the governments of the "historical compromise" [between the Christian Democracy and the PCI – Translator's Note] before, and then with the governments founded on the agreement among Craxi, Andreotti, Forlani [the first leader of Italian Socialist Party, the others leaders of Christian Democracy – Translator's Note]. Since then, with the crisis of Christian Democratic regime and the beginning of the phase of its putrefaction, the process of elimination of the conquests has been strongly accelerated. Since then the political role of reformist parties, currents and schools has changed: they became "reformists without reforms". Consequently, it began the unstoppable crisis of modern revisionists. Long since, the revisionists have subordinated to bourgeoisie the institutions they directed. In Italy as elsewhere those institutions used to have a real politic role thanks to the hegemony upon the popular masses the communist movement conquered during the first wave of world proletarian revolution. Subordinated to the bourgeoisie, they are the first to undergo the consequences of its crisis and

des did not understand that in order to advance it was necessary a balance of the first wave of proletarian revolution and of the construction of socialism that was synthesized at its highest level in the Maoism. They did not understand that modern revisionism did not only consist of renouncing revolution as mean for establishing socialism, but it also exploited the limits of Communists' conception of the world and method of work and action, the limits to be overcome for defeating modern revisionism. Finally, they did not understand that also in our country the capitalism was at the climax of a period of development and that the second general crisis of capitalism was just began. That is why their attempts to rebuild the communist party were defeated.

precede its destiny. The new phase of economic movement did no more allow combining political subjection to imperialist bourgeoisie and conquests of civilization and welfare for the masses. The PCI began in 1991 its ongoing dissolution.

The people nostalgic of the revisionist practice (Cossutta, Rossanda, Ingrao, Bertinotti) cover the collaboration with bourgeoisie with sacred principles and a communist phrasebook. Contrary to what they say, Occhetto, who disbanded the PCI in 1991, did not broke with his predecessors, but was the testamentary executor of the failure of the project to conciliate the classes and subordinate the working class to the imperialist bourgeoisie carried out by modern revisionists led firstly by Togliatti and then by Longo and Berlinguer. The attempts to continue that practice have been and are personified by the Party of Communist Re-foundation (PRC), the Party of Italian Communists (PdCI), and by minor parties and groups.

These attempts are failing one after the other, because there is not the material base which the revisionist PCI stood upon. Bourgeoisie's influence on worker aristocracy goes in doldrums with them. The worker aristocracy is useful to the bourgeoisie until it succeeds in manipulating the masses. It' useful to the masses until it translates the masses' demands in real reforms and grants, even if in the ambit of capitalist mode of production. With the crisis of Christian Democratic regime the worker aristocracy loses its side within the institutions and in the government. This and the disappointment spreading among the masses for the outcomes of its action wear away its power: masses' consensus and the capacity to manipulate them. Direct forms, times and effects of the failure of modern revisionists, of their would-be successors and of workers' aristocracy will be decided by the ongoing political struggle. It is during this struggle that the new Italian Communist Party can and has to gather, educate and

accumulate the revolutionary forces that will make Italy a new socialist country.

The Christian Democratic regime passes through a crisis, but the solution for replacement can come only from the struggles among imperialist groups and from the struggles between popular masses and imperialist bourgeoisie that are going on owing to the second general crisis of capitalism. Italy is a particular case of the general problem. The political crisis is not Italian, but general. Making Italy a new socialist country is the outcome we communists can, must and want to give to this crisis in Italy, so contributing to the second wave of world proletarian revolution: to the victory of socialist revolution or of the revolution of new democracy in other countries.

During this struggle we will solve once for all, for us and for the international communist movement, also the problem of Papacy, of its Church and of its counter-revolutionary and anticommunist role on the international level. In fact, thanks to the Christian Democratic regime, the Papacy and its Church have tied up their destiny to that of the State of imperialist bourgeoisie in Italy.

The Fascism, terrorist regime of the imperialist bourgeoisie, has been the Italian bourgeoisie's latest attempt to absorb in Public Administration and to manage in the ambit of a public regime, necessarily terrorist and extralegal, the various forms and aspects of its domination upon the masses: from charity, to intimidation, to the elimination and other opponents. Despite the great strain lavished by Italian bourgeoisie during the twenty years of fascist power, Fascism ended in a disastrous way for the bourgeoisie that promoted it: its State and armed forces dissolved, a strong working class, the country occupied. It saved itself only thanks to the limits of PCI, to the occupation by USA and to the Vatican. The outcome was the creation of an enlarged Papal State of new kind. The Vatican with Christian Democracy created a specifically Italian version of a preventive counter-revolution regime.

In its fifty years of life, the Christian Democratic regime further developed a particularity of Italian bourgeois society. It consists of the fact that the activities (financial and political) that are carried on outside and against the law officially in force, the State-controlled and private violence, the plots and intrigues that have become instruments of economical, commercial and financial imperialist groups' activity in every imperialist country (from where they overflow and are exported in dependent countries), these modern and vanguard imperialist bourgeoisie's characteristic, in Italy have bloomingly developed, combining themselves with the old criminal associations, the sects, the churches, the religious and cavalry orders, particularly with Church's organizations (ecclesiastic and laic congregations, convents, dioceses, parishes, charitable institutions, confra-

ternities). The synthesis of this particularity is the existence of a real government, the Vatican with its Church, which directs the official and legal government.

The Vatican and its Church are a medieval remnant in the modern society. What made medieval authorities functional and necessary has disappeared with medieval societies. From the medieval authorities' role, the Vatican and the Church inherited only the right to exact from the populations the resources necessary for their opulence and magnificence and to impose them the condition suitable to the exercise of their authority.

So, a simply parasitic role and conception of power that will not stand in front of the facts if Vatican and Church will directly assume the role to rule the country. This was already evident in the old Papal State. The indirect direction instead allows that this conception of the power concretely translates in a squid that parasitically sucks resources and imposes constrictions to the population of a modern country, while the legal and official authorities provide as well as they can for the other duties the State fulfils in a bourgeois society. On this condition the Vatican and Church can survive in the Papal State created with Christian Democratic regime. They exact complete freedom of action in all the fields they think related to the exercise of their "divine mission on earth" in Italy and all over the world, and draw from the country the resources they think to need. Regarding their subjects' personal behaviours, they tolerate everything, as long as the behaviours contrary to their precepts will be practiced without ostentation, discretely, with "no scandal", as long as they are not legitimated by laws and acts of the Public Administration, don't become sign of rebellion to their authority and exteriorly the subjects don't fail to express their homage to Church's magistracy.

So, the legal State may decree about everything as he wants, but not about what Vatican and Church believe belonging to their interests. Standing by their medieval conception of power, they are quit indifferent to population's material, moral and intellectual conditions, on the only condition that the revolt of the oppressed classes to the conditions imposed on them does not endanger the existing order.

Providing on the matter is duty of the legal State of Christian Democratic regime. US imperialists asked that same regime no more than this. So, that regime tolerated what the popular masses conquered with their victorious struggle against Fascism, and that no power would be able to cancel without resorting to terror and civil war, and saw to satisfy the claims the communist movement was carrying on a measure sufficient to not become a danger for the regime. For thirty years (1945-1975) it was helped in accomplishing this duty by the international economic conjuncture, as well as by the collaboration of the old PCI. In fact, this silently committed himself to not overcome the limits of the Chris-

tian Democratic regime.

On its turn, the bourgeoisie was satisfied with carrying on its business, under the protection of Christian Democratic regime. Obviously it had to understand them in a mean, petty and narrow-minded way. It had to leave to Vatican and its Church's parasitism all the freedom of action they wanted on material, moral and intellectual ground, and on its turn bourgeoisie shared it, as it was predisposed to it not only by bourgeoisie's specific general conditions of the imperialist era (decadent and parasitic capitalism) but also by its particular history. Its chronic weakness and subjection in international context come from here.

The modern character of Christian Democratic regime in our country history consisted of it: the bourgeoisie realized that is impossible to manage the repression of working class and popular masses in the ambit of Public Administration and of activity codified in laws.

It developed on a large scale the most various extra legal forms of repression: private and criminals, open and secret. The Christian Democratic regime masterly combined, with world revisionists' determinant connivance and support, the creation of "yellow" trade unions with the deeds of fascist gangs and with Mafia intimidation and ambush. The US imperialist bourgeoisie was its teacher. It was the first to create an effective regime of counter-preventive revolution. The old feudal associations (the Sicilian Mafia is the best example) developed bloomingly and assumed the most modern forms and get the present dresses, imperialist bourgeoisie's vanguards, in its triumphal march towards precipice.

The Mafia boss Luciano Liggio went to learn from Agnelli [the most important industrialist in Italy in those years, chief of FIAT – Translator's Note], surpassed him and gave rise to the new world global financial multinational. After the Fascism, Italy gave the entire world another name: Mafia.

So, in Christian Democratic regime the general characteristics were combined, common to all the political regimes expressions of imperialist bourgeoisie in the period after the Second World War, the period called of the "human faced capitalism", with specific characteristics of class composition of our country, of its history, of the political groups personifying the regime. They come from the catholic associations, from the parish organizations and, in the South, by the traditional intellectual excrescences of landlords' power.

So, the Christian Democratic regime had as features the favouritism, the assistentialism, the conservation of the conditions for reproduction of a certain kind of rural and urban bourgeoisie and of individual capitalist firms, the mitigation of the most traumatic effects of capitalism through the public economic sector, the public expenditure and the charity. The Christian Democratic regime dealt with popular masses' welfare only as far as the communist movement made it a prob-

lem of public order, and therefore a political problem. So it dealt it in a strained way, obliged to do it, in a petty and mean measure, the less possible, what was indispensable, dragged by the rest of the world. The society resources and its means for action have been never mobilized by the regime in order to find long lasting solutions for masses' problems.

Its resources were the buffer solutions, the private assistance and charity.

Anyhow, the peculiar features of Christian Democratic regime well combined with general characteristics of imperialist bourgeoisie's rule in the period of human faced capitalism. On the contrary, they make this regime unfit for managing the relations with the popular masses according to the needs of the new period characterized by the economic crisis began in the Seventies. The economic crisis drove to extremes the specific feature of Christian Democratic regime and so doing made them incompatible with imperialist bourgeoisie's rule: in a period of prosperity the assistance serves to adjust things and round off corners; in a lean period leads to "dilapidate the patrimony". The Public Expenditure, the budget deficit, the Public Debt, the financial imbalances, the corruption, the decay of public services grew exponentially in last years of governments of Craxi, Andreotti, Forlani. Craxi was the emblematic exponent of those years.

The Christian Democratic regime went in crisis when, owing to the general crisis, it became impossible for the imperialist bourgeoisie to keep on answering to masses' aspirations when they expressed themselves strongly, with patronage politics, utilizing the Public Administration and State or public economic sector.

Owing to the general crisis, the state-owned Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) was no more able to absorb and keep alive the firms in bankruptcy and it closed itself its firms.

Besides, in the context of the general crisis, the contrasts among Italian and stranger groups of imperialist bourgeoisie itself heightened when the French-German imperialist groups launched again on a great scale their offensive to create a "living space" for themselves, to be used in the international competition. The Europe of Maastricht was not able to take charge of the Christian Democratic regime.

Until 1992, the Christian Democratic regime used to proclaim to be able to solve the problem of work and in general of the life of the masses. In this sense, it accepted the "challenge of Communism", in the restrictive and mean guise, only claiming and passive, in which modern revisionists put it.

On the contrary, the Public Administration practiced and declared since 1992 the renounce to ensure a job to everybody and to solve the problems of survival of the popular masses and the delegation of this task to the capitalist enterprises, to entrepreneurs, to private initiati-

ve. This is the Christian Democratic regime's declaration of failure in front of the blind alley to which it leads the country; the new general crisis. In a certain sense, it is equivalent to the king's escape in 1943 in front of the blind alley that he had get into with Fascism.

The declared abdication of imperialist bourgeoisie's Public Administration and State to "create jobs" and generally to solve the problem of masses' life is hardly masked with the reintroduction of the notorious "poor people's list" whom they promised some alms, such as the "new welfare", the "flexible security" and similar institutions. This abdication is all the more grave

- because it arrives in a economic context where it is not possible that the overwhelming majority of the population could solve these problems individually. Today more than fifty years ago, the collective character already reached by the productive forces takes off the possibility that single individuals could individually solve the problems of their life. The bourgeoisie that rejects as "over assistance" the duty to deal with the solutions of the problems of masses' life by means of the public powers, sentences to die the masses themselves as redundancies, because the capitalists' private initiative does not provide for owing to the general crisis (this is the undeclared extermination war);

- because this abdication comes when in Europe all imperialist bourgeoisie adopt the same aptitude, compelled by the competition with US imperialist groups that, in the struggle created by the general crisis, besides upsetting the American society itself, throw all the weight of the world hegemony they inherited, of their role of furnishers of fiduciary money for all the world, of the network of their interests that like a squid crushes and sucks almost all countries, though more and more often for prevailing they need to exhume the gunboat politics that marked the end of British empire.

The Christian Democratic regime's crisis opens a wide space of action for the new Communist movement. The crisis reveals the limits of the regime and takes its antipopular characteristics to the extremes. It cannot count anymore on modern revisionists. It is no more able to ensure to the Vatican and its Church the resources and conditions they demand and that it ensured for almost fifty years. The bourgeoisie has to eliminate the conquests the popular masses wrung out, and has nothing to give anymore. It comes down to

### **2.1.5. The construction of the new Italian communist party**

The Public Administration of bourgeoisie retreats, relinquish the duty to provide to create work and generally to provide to the solutions of life elementary problems of the popular masses, neither in the petty, mean and vulgar way it has done it until now.

The working class with its new communist party accepts the challenge: the popular masses can find their

promise gain from the participation in the aggression and sacking of oppressed and former socialist countries under the banner of US imperialism. It is the only program the bourgeoisie can present: the common program of imperialist bourgeoisie. At this point all the ideas, the affirmations of rights and the promises the revisionists utilized for decades in order to mask the gloomy present times, the ideals they inscribed in Constitution hand in glove with clergy and altar boys and that the masses have largely assimilated, can become a material force against the regime that is not able to satisfy them, that has to disavow them imposing one sacrifice after another, if the new communist movement makes them its own banner. The outcomes of the first wave of proletarian revolution are able and have to become a force for the second wave.

The modern revisionists let carry out the fatuous petty theatre of bourgeois politics for decades. On the contrary, they participated in it playing in it a role indispensable to the success of the play. The new communist movement is able and has to lever on popular masses' participation to which this theatre is and must be open, almost in some measure because of the role it plays within the counter-preventive revolution regime. The communist movement must drive the popular masses to break in the scene under its direction.

So the popular masses will find out by direct experience that it is a performance but, first of all, they will prevent the play from continuing. So, the bourgeoisie itself will be obliged to turn the theatre upside down, to close it. Already today the country governability is a problem more and more difficult to be solved by bourgeoisie. In fact, the governability is the pretension to have the appearance to represent people for a play that must follow the script predisposed by Vatican, US imperialists, Confederation of Industry and the other smaller masters of the country. It will be a direct experience through which, if the party will be able to give a right direction, the popular masses will overcome the illusions that it is possible to get out from the present marasmus and nightmare without overthrow the old power, and the illusion that we could free ourselves from misery, from man's exploitation of man, from intellectual and moral decay, from ecologic crisis, without abolishing capitalist and commercial economy.

way and solve all the problems of their life and advance very further on; the working class can direct them in this enterprise, so that they could learn from their practical experience to organize themselves and solve their immediate problems and take their life in their hands. The main obstacle to the solution of masses' problems is just imperialist bourgeoisie's di-

rection, the regime that has its central axis in the Church. To eliminate imperialist bourgeoisie's direction and establish that of the working class is the communist party's historical duty for the next years.

The new communist party takes again in its hands the thesis stated by its first Congress of Lyon (January 1926), according to which Italy is an imperialist country and there is no possibility of popular revolution but the socialist revolution. There is no other way of progression for the working class, the proletariat and the popular masses but the socialist revolution. The modern revisionists of Togliatti and Berlinguer declared that socialist revolution was no more necessary to the working class and the popular masses of our country, that they could solve their main problems wringing out reforms after reforms until the creation of a socialist society, that the capitalist system will bring no more crises and wars. The reality has shown that their theses do not stand, that they served only for desegregate and corrupt the old party and drive it to rack and ruin.

The bourgeoisie eliminates under our eyes the conquests the masse wrung out by their sweat and blood in the period 1945-1975, and that the revisionists ensured they would continue until the creation of a socialist society; there are multiplying imperialist bourgeoisie's crimes against the popular masses of our country, against immigrant workers, the countries oppressed by imperialism and the former socialist countries. Only the elimination of imperialist bourgeoisie will allow the popular masses to use their energies for satisfying their elementary needs, to solve the problems of their life, to create that superior humanity corresponding to the possibility of present epoch, to popular masses' most advanced aspirations and feelings.

Only the working class can take off the power from the imperialist bourgeoisie and take the direction of the popular masses and of the entire society for leading them to realize their aims.

Against this withdrawal of the imperialist bourgeoisie dictated by the general crisis (the financial imbalances among the parts composing it, the competition and the mortal combat among imperialist groups, etc.), the communist party has to guide the mobilization of the large masses in every field, at every level and by all means.

The political and cultural crisis drives the masses to mobilization. The defence of the conquests wrung out in thirty years of human faced capitalism and the rebellion against the present regime until its elimination are the two components (defence and attack) of popular masses' resistance to the progression of the crisis.

All those who are available to struggle against the present regime have to find in the communist party the most sure and farseeing direction, whatever could be the reasons they declare for their fight.

The working class has to become the centre of masses'

mobilization, the guide of their resistance to the progression of the general crisis of capitalism. (109)

So, the general line of the new Italian communist party in the mass work is "to unite themselves closely and without reservations to the resistance the masses are opposing and will oppose to the progression of the general crisis of capitalism, to understand and apply the laws according to which this resistance develops, to support, promote and organize it and make prevail in it working class' direction until its transformation in struggle for making Italy a new socialist country, adopting the mass line as principal method of work and direction."

The first step to do on the road of this wide mass work for making Italy a new socialist country was the reconstruction of the communist party.

The principal duty in the reconstruction of the new party consisted of elaborating the strategy for seizing power, from the balance of the experience of nearly 150 of communist movement's struggles and from the concrete analysis of economic, political and cultural relations of our country and its international connections. The practice of party's general line, the analysis of the experience carried out by the light of dialectical materialist conception of the world and with the method of dialectical materialism (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) allowed the party to discover the way for collecting and accumulating the revolutionary forces until the relation of strength between imperialist bourgeoisie and working class will be overturned and the working class will be able to seize the power (the way to socialist revolution in our country).

Lenin and Mao taught us that a party must have a conception clear and based on a scrupulous examination of the reality of the way the party has to follow for leading the working class to seize the power. The opportunist of all kinds opposes this thesis.

To defend and apply this thesis, as a matter of fact, is particularly important in our country.

The movementism is a widespread trend, a historical illness of Italian communist movement: it is the trend to undervalue the role of revolutionary theory, to neglect it and deal with contempt and intolerance people and initiatives developing and propagandizing the revolutionary theory.

This trend is the specular reflex of the trend constituted of the "left" academic intellectuals, those who aren't part of revolutionary organizations, who deal with problems not concerning the practical movement and who do not care to verify their theories in that movement.

The movementism is a trend that is not practical at all, even if it appeals to practice.

- In the practice we need a cohesive, disciplined, strong party, and in the long run a revolutionary party can be cohesive and disciplined only if its members are united by an its own conception of the world (the movementists think that this means to be a sect, but

the communists have had often hear such an accusation) and if it personifies what unites workers beyond differences and contrasts of categories and trades, cultures, nationalities, sex, traditions and that constitutes them as new ruling class of the popular masses: the communist conception of the world and the objective to establish socialism.

- In the practice we need a party able to find its way in the turns and meanders of political struggle, and so able to orient the masses: the capacity of orientation of such a complex organism as the party is can't be improvised in front of the events. It comes out from the education of the party in order to consider and understand the objective and the context of our struggle.

- in the practice we need a party tied to the masses deeply and in thousand ways, so that the masses could nourish it and in its turn it could nourish the masses' movement. The connection between masses and party is mainly based on the political activity, but the party will never succeed in carrying out its educational duty towards the masses and collect from the masses not only followers of the politics of the moment but new communists, if it not based on a revolutionary theory.

This is also the universal teaching of the communist movement. But for us Italian communists the matter of the conception of the world and of the revolutionary theory has a particular importance owing to one our national particularity. When, in the Sixteenth century the feudal forces led by the Pope repressed the rising bourgeoisie, they repressed (with stake, prison, terror, torture and corruption) also the intellectual and moral reformation rising with bourgeoisie and that had as its last and greatest exponents Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galileo e Tommaso Campanella. Since then in our country, beyond appearances and some *ignis fatuus* as Benedetto Croce, the Catholic Church has kept the monopoly in the field of culture and conception of the world, of the theory. The Risorgimento did not substantially change the situation. The sons of the great Italian bourgeoisie have been educated in priests' schools, until when, after the war, they began to frequent those of US imperialists.

So, in order to carry out its own emancipation, our country's proletariat has the duty to make a very great leap in theoretical field and, first of all, to break with the indifference, renunciation and delegation to create in theory field: attitude and behaviours that have been Italian bourgeoisie's features and now have become a national characteristic. Already in the Theses of Lyon of the old PCI (1926) Antonio Gramsci stated that "the Communist Party of Italy...does not find ...in Italian working movement's history a vigorous and continuous current of Marxist thought to which refer." (Thesis 25) The concept is repeated in the first three theses of the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Theses of Lyon.

The purpose of a cultural and spiritual hegemony of proletariat in Italian society before the conquest of power that Togliatti and other modern revisionists of the old PCI brought up is unrealistic despite bourgeoisie's weakness in this field. In order to be the ruling culture proletariat's culture need the ruling class' instruments. Besides, the socialist countries' experience showed that the working class meets particular difficulties in conquering power in cultural field, just because the division between manual and intellectual labour is one of the class division that are eliminated only gradually. But the rational of the struggle Antonio Gramsci carried out for a moral and intellectual reformation and for proletariat's cultural and spiritual hegemony is in the fact that, in order to fulfil its political duty, the party of the Italian working class must carry out a revolutionary theory that breaks with the before clerical and after American tradition of our country ruling class.

Red Brigades' defeat in the Eighties is essentially due to the fact that they weren't able to get out of the hegemony of left bourgeois culture, to overcome their lacks in theoretical field. The indifference for the struggle in theoretical field, so diffuse and tenacious in Italian communist movement from its beginning to our days and in contrast with the richness of struggles and practical initiatives, comes out from the indifference and renunciation that have been Italian bourgeoisie's characteristic in this field starting from its defeat in Sixteenth century.

For us it is more difficult to overcome an obstacle become part of our national tradition. Just because of it, it is necessary that we dedicate to this field more energies than the comrades of other countries has to do, owing to the fact that "without revolutionary theory the revolutionary movement cannot develop until victory". The origin and dangerousness of those who deny the revolutionary theory are due just to this our national feature. Lotta Continua and Autonomia Operaia [Continuous Struggle and Worker Autonomy, leftist political groups of last decades of last century - Translator's Note] are the worst background of the movement we inherit.

The defeat of the movement of the Seventies demonstrated it.

The opposition to work for defining our strategy (to do nothing, inertia, passivity are forms of opposition) if refers to historical materialism, as a matter of fact refers to a caricature of it. The historical materialism teaches from where ideas come, but it also teaches that when ideas are become a guide for the masses, when they are assimilated by men, they become a material force that transforms the world. It teaches us the importance of ideas in men's practice and in classes' struggle. The working class needs right ideas, a conception of the world and a program.

Who does not care the work for defining the strategy or is contrary (or indifferent) to the reconstruction of the party or has a movementist conception of it, that is he conceives the party as a struggle organization as Lotta Continua, Autonomy or a fighting struggle organization. (\*) Many times Lenin, Mao and other prominent revolutionary communists stated that the revolutionary theory is an indispensable condition for the development of a revolutionary movement until victory. On the contrary, Bernstein, father of all the opportunists and promoter of the first revisionist movement, used to tell in 1899 that “movement is all, the end is nothing”. This one, and not the Communism, is also the conception of all those who oppose the definition of our strategy and in general of the elaboration of our revolutionary theory for the socialist revolution in our country.

On the base of these criteria, in the mid Eighties, in Italy some comrades coming from organization broadly adhering to Marxism- Leninism-Maoism and from the vast movement of struggle against repression, joined with the aim to create the four conditions for the reconstruction of the communist party: 1 to form comrades able to reconstruct the party so that it will be equal to the duty given it by the advancing of the second general crisis of capitalism and by the consequent developing revolutionary situation, and that takes thoroughly into account the experience of the first wave of proletarian

revolution; 2. to develop the work about the program of the party, its method of work, the analysis of the phase and party’s general line; 3 to connect to the work of reconstruction of the party the advanced labourers,, particularly the advanced workers, young people and women; 4 to create the financial base of the future communist party. Consequently, these comrades carried out a struggle among the best subjective forces of the socialist revolution of our country for the reconstruction of the communist party. So it is born the “caravan for the reconstruction of the new communist party”. The organizations and the comrades of the “caravan”, among which stand out the Coordination of the Committees against Repression, the editorial staff of the review *Rapporti Sociali* [*Social Relations*, Translator’s Note], the Committees to Support Resistance – for Communism, (CARC), the Association of Proletarian Solidarity and other mass organizations to them connected, were the field of the two lines struggle of the Italian communist movement.

Through this political, organizational and struggle experience, in 1999 a part of the communist movement of our country succeeded in building, in clandestinity, the Preparatory Commission of the Congress of the (new) Italian Communist Party, in constituting the first Party Committees and, in October 2004, in constituting the (new) Italian Communist Party.

## 2.2. Class analysis of Italian society

In economic field the ongoing general crisis divides and will more and more divide the population in two clearly distinct and opposed:

- on one side those who succeed in living only if they succeed in working: they constitute the field of the popular masses;

- on the other side the field of the imperialist bourgeoisie constituted by those who enjoy all advantages without working or, when they work, they do not do it for living but for increasing their richness. (110)

The work carried out by this party to gather and accumulate the revolutionary forces is aimed to make coincide as far as possible the opposition in political field with the opposition created by the general crisis in economic field. The more the political clash diverges from the economic one, the more “politics are dirty”, because it is greater the role within the political life of trick, corruption, threatening, brutishment, exertion, ignorance, isolation, favouritism, personal dependence and prejudice.

The more exactly the political clash reflects the economic one, the more the political struggle corresponds to the struggle between really opposed interests the progression of the general crisis makes antagonist, the more it will end “masses’ estrangement from politics” and the more generously the popular masses will give their energies to the political struggle.

The working class offer to all the people belonging to the popular masses a solution of work and life, the only one for somebody and the best for the others, adequate to modern society’s concrete conditions, corresponding to the possibilities created by the present productive forces when they are fully employed for everybody’s material and spiritual wellbeing and within a social system where “an association where everyone’s free development is the condition for all people’s free development”. (111)

Which is the consistence of the two fields and which are the relations within anyone of them?

### 2.2.1. Imperialist bourgeoisie

The communist party must distinguish strata and categories within rich people in order to carry out the struggle: entrepreneurs, managers, financiers, beneficiaries of incomes, high functionaries, high prelates, great profes-

sional men, superior level officers, etc. But in some measure, the financial capital unifies all the rich people: in the imperialist countries every patrimony, firm and activity can be transformed in financial patrimony bearing income.

Every high functionary and manager of Public Administration or private firms, every great professional man, every great successful artist, every high rate officer, every administrator of estates or institutes of a certain greatness, every high rank prelate, every successful politician, if it does not yet possess a personal patrimony thanks to inheritance or social state, accumulates it soon and enters to share the categories of rentiers or of capitalists and financiers of various sectors of capitalist economy (financial societies, banks, insurance companies, industry, commerce, agriculture, services, etc.). (112)

We think to be not very much mistaken considering that belong to this field all the individuals who possess a patrimony of not less than two millions of euros, from which they get or can get one hundred thousands net income a year, or those who carried out offices and activities which are connected to at any

## 2.2.2. Popular masses

The popular masses include the entire population except the imperialist bourgeoisie. The popular masses are that part of the population that must work for living, and so lives, at least for a part, thanks to its work and cannot live only exploiting others' work. The popular masses are the widest field to which the working class can aspire to extend its direction as the general crisis will go on, though it includes classes presently enemies to the working class. Including pensioners, invalid persons and relatives, in Italy on the whole the popular masses amount to 51 millions of people. (113)

### 2.2.2.1. Proletariat

Proletarians are people that must sell their labour force for living and who get their income at least for the main part from this selling. In Italy they amount 15 millions. With relatives and pensioners they are 36 millions.

#### 1. Working class

The workers are employed by capitalists for increasing in value their capital producing commodities (goods and services). (114) It is necessary that they are employed by a capitalist (industrial, agricultural, of the services, banker, financier, etc.) and that he employs them not for personal services or in foundations, no profit institutions, but in a firm which has to increase value of capital as its main purpose.

Among workers there are objective divisions politically important, as those between simple and qualified worker, between worker and clerk, city and countryside workers, divisions related to the possession of not from work incomes, to the size of the concern, to the sector the concern belongs to, to sex, nationality,

title incomes not inferior to one hundred thousands euros, or those who get such income combining work and capital profits.

Our country is an imperialist country, and moreover is the centre of the imperialist group of the Vatican and the Catholic Church with its congregations and orders. A little more than the 10 % of the population belongs to this field including also the relatives of owners of patrimony and activity, and then 6 millions of people.

This is the field of the enemies of socialist revolution for objective reasons and personal interests. They enjoy privileges that the present social order reserved for the members of the ruling classes. With certain exceptions they spontaneously think the present social order as the best world possible. Obviously, it is possible that some individuals "betray" their own class and pass to the part of the popular masses.

etc. They are not workers those employees of capitalist enterprises whose work, for an at least considerable part, is work of direction, organization, planning and control of others' work on behalf of the capitalist (with a rough but simple index, we can consider belonging to this category all the employees who get a year net salary superior to fifty thousands euro. (115)

In Italy, the workers above indicated are about 7 millions (almost 1 million of them work in great enterprises, with more than 500 hundred employees). Including relatives and pensioners they are 17 millions. This is the working class that will direct the socialist revolution. The communist party is its party.

#### 2. Other proletarian classes

The people belonging to the classes below indicated are the nearest and closest allies of the working class. Many labourers during their life pass from one of these classes into the working class and vice versa. This further strengthens the connections of these classes with the working class (and brings these classes' fine qualities and shortcomings within the working class).

In Italy they are about 8 millions. With relatives and pensioners they amount to 19 millions.

They are divided in the following three main classes:

- the employees (excluded the managers) of the central and local Public Administration and State-controlled institutions;

- the workers employees in not capitalist concerns (family, artisan or other concerns that the owners create and manage not for increasing capital in value, but for getting an income);

- the workers in charge of personal services (waiters, drivers, gardeners, etc.)

### 2.2.2.2. Not proletarian popular classes

The general crisis puts and will more and more put these classes to face the alternative between or accepting the direction of the working class or running the reactionary mobilization. They are classes rather different among themselves and internally heterogeneous, with connections with proletariat and with imperialist bourgeoisie.

We can distinguish two great groups within them. One is formed by autonomous workers (even if they are rapidly losing their autonomy). They own the means of their work (artisans, peasants, shopkeepers, conveyers, etc.). The other is formed by those workers formally employees but with high qualification who give services in which they're not easily replaceable. They have more the characteristic of sellers of services than of proletarians. Principally, the political struggle between working class and imperialist bourgeoisie will decide their future attitude. They are classes that tend to follow the strongest. Surely, in the future they will

not be able to continue to live as they did in the past. In Italy they are about six millions. With relative and pensioner they amount to 15 millions. They include the following seven classes:

- autonomous who don't employ other workers;
- owners of individual or family concerns who get their income in a prominent measure from their work and less from exploiting other workers;
- small professional people, members of production cooperatives and the like;
- employees who carry out work of lower level cadres and in part share the roles of capitalist (rough index: year income between 50 and 100 thousands euros);
- small savers and owners (with not work net yearly incomes less than 50 thousands euros
- people who adding work and capital incomes cash a sum between 50 and 100 thousands euros net every year;
- people who get by somehow (lumpen-proletarians, poor extra legal people, prostitutes, etc.)

## Conclusions about class analysis

This class analysis is approximate not only as regards figures (the state statistics do not allow to do much better), but also as regards categories. Party's work of inquiry will allow verifying, refining and correcting this analysis.

Among its work criteria the party counts also that of constantly and in any case defining in the best way possible the class of origin of every its member, and which class every member of mass

organization, collaborator, groups among which it carries out its work belong to. This practice will help both to carry out better the specific work, and to complete and improve the class analysis, which all party work is based upon, and to better understand the relation between the class objective condition and the political line-up and the laws according to which the first transforms itself in the second.

## Chapter III

### The communist party struggle for making Italy a new socialist country

#### 3.1. The lessons we draw from history of proletarian revolution - Guide principles of the (new) Italian Communist Party

We are facing a long lasting revolutionary situation. During such a situation it is fully possible to make Italy a new socialist country. The first step in socialism is the conquest of political power by the working class during a revolutionary movement. The success of this enterprise depends mainly on subjective factors, and then, finally, on the conception of the world that guides the Italian communist party, on its political line, on its organization's capacity and determination to apply its line and on the renewal of international communist movement.

Every purpose of reforming capitalism is unrealistic. The general crisis of capitalism has driven and drives bourgeoisie to carry out an undeclared extermination war against the popular masses in every part of the world, also in imperialist countries. There are only two ways in front of us: the popular masses' revolutionary mobilization against the imperialist bourgeoisie for carrying out the socialist revolution, or their reactionary mobilization for struggling against other popular masses, revolution or war.

The capitalism develops according to its laws. The claiming struggles and the popular masses' participation in bourgeois political struggle carried out with revolutionary orientation oblige capitalists to momentarily depart here and there from their objectives and wander off the laws of their social order. Besides satisfying in some measure their immediate needs, they are school of Communism for workers, and the direction of communist party makes them particularly formative. (31) But in a way or another, the capitalists get back on their way as soon as possible. Among bourgeoisie's ranks the right wing leads the entire class. Finally, masses' reactionary mobilization is the only way out from the crisis the bourgeoisie could enter. The left bourgeoisie follows the right, though hesitating, moderating and whimpering. The more the communist movement is weak, the more the left wing follows the right.

In this phase, the reformists are "reformists without reforms": that is why they are chronically in crisis and running after right bourgeoisie. When the communist movement will be become strong again, they will run after it for keeping bourgeoisie's influence upon the popular masses, for diverting them from revolution.

In the communist movement by many people and many times it has been upheld the thesis according to which the reformists and the bourgeois left are the worst enemies of the communist movement. (104) This

thesis is substantially wrong and politically weakens the communist movement. The reformists and the other bourgeois leftists are vehicle of bourgeoisie's influence within the ranks of the communist movement. They are a danger for our cause only as much as they succeed in influencing the communist party's conduct, in nourishing within our ranks opportunism and revisionism for imitation, ideological subjection or corruption or the sectarianism and dogmatism for defensive reaction: in short, in acting on our internal contradictions. That is to say they are a danger for us only as much the ideological, political and organizational independence of the communist party from the bourgeoisie is still uncertain. On the contrary, if the communist party succeeds in well defending its ranks from bourgeoisie's influence (that is, if its left wing deals rightly with the internal contradictions of the party and carries out rightly the two lines struggle within the party) the party is able and has to use reformists and generally the bourgeoisie widening its internal contradictions of which reformists and bourgeois left are expressions.

For the working class, the proletarian and the other popular masses, the only way out from the present crisis is the revolutionary mobilization, the socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. Every purpose to establish socialism without a revolution and without defeating the cutthroat and furious bourgeoisie's resistance (that is to say: without carry out a civil war) is an illusion or a trick. The working class and the other popular masses must be decided to crush bourgeoisie's resistance. The communist party has to educate them to this revolutionary resolution. Only with this resolution they will be able to get out from the marasmus which bourgeoisie throw them in and where it make them every day more sinking. When the popular masses establish their political power for creating a new social order, or they overwhelm every bourgeoisie's political opposition without hesitation, or the bourgeoisie crushes the popular masses. From the Paris Commune (1871), to the Red Biennium in Italy (1919-1920), to Spain (1936-39), Indonesia (1964), Chile (1973) and Nicaragua, history demonstrated us this truth many times. The present course of things confirms it.

1. In the modern society created by capital only two classes have a position that makes them able to take in their hands the principal economic activities and make

them work: therefore there are only two classes able to manage the process of production and reproduction of the material conditions of existence:

- the bourgeoisie in the ambit of the relation of capital on the base of the capitalist property of productive forces and of mercantile relations,

- the working class on the base of the public property of the productive forces by the workers organized in the communist party and in the masses organizations (Front) and of an unitary and planned management at least of the principal economic activities.

Therefore in modern society only imperialist bourgeoisie or working class' power are economically possible. Only these two classes can hold political power. In modern societies, save exceptional and short lasting circumstances, every State or government, every political regime is founded upon one of these two classes.

In the modern society the State is monopoly or of imperialist bourgeoisie (and then it is a bourgeoisie's dictatorship) or of the working class (and then its dictatorship, proletariat's dictatorship).

The forms by which the ruling class is organized, the institutions through which it elaborates its line of conducts, takes its decisions and carries them out, the forms by which it organizes its relations with other classes are various. They depend on concrete situations. Obviously imperialist bourgeoisie's ones are deeply different from those of the working class. The bourgeoisie is a class composed by groups and individuals in competition among themselves. It is a class exploiter and reactionary, opposed to the overwhelming majority of the population because of its practical interests and its social role. It constantly tries to transform the contradictions between itself and the popular masses in contradictions among the popular masses. The working class, instead, for its emancipation has to struggle for Communism, for putting an end to the division of humanity in classes, for the extinction of the State and for the self-government of organized popular masses, that is for a public power built by those organized masses. Therefore, proletariat's dictatorship has to mobilize and organize the popular masses as wider as possible, has to create the material, moral and intellectual conditions for their growing participation in exercising power, working class' political power has to mobilize all its resources for educating the popular masses to rule themselves through the practice of self-government. The communist party and the State of proletariat's dictatorship "do not gave fishes to the masses, but teach the masses how to fish". Nothing has to be done from the top, if the masses can be mobilized to do it by themselves. The communist party and the State of proletariat's dictatorship have to be master in mobilizing the masses to build in ever field the society they need and take growingly their destiny in their hands.

2. The experience of the first socialist countries (see chapter 7) demonstrated that the proletariat has to maintain its dictatorship for an indeterminate time. The weakening of proletariat's dictatorship in the name of the "State of all the people" has been one of the lines which bourgeoisie levered upon for sabotaging the first socialist countries and driving them to the ruin.

As regards the historical function it has to fulfil and the work it has to do, the State of proletariat's dictatorship is the repression of the old bourgeoisie and of its attempts to restoration from inside and outside; it is the struggle for the mass mobilization, organization and transformation of workers in ruling class; it is the struggle for popular masses' mobilization and organization so that they more and more could undertake the direction of their life and become protagonist of socialist society; it is the immediate rational reorganization of the existing productive forces in order to satisfy as wider as possible the popular masses' needs and give to the work the organization as more as possible respectful of workers integrity and dignity; it is the struggle for the transformation by steps of every form of private property of the productive forces in collective property of all the associated workers; it is the struggle against all social inequalities, against material and cultural privileges, against old social relations, against conceptions and feelings that reflect old class relations; it is the struggle against the consolidation in new ruling classes of the ruling and privileged strata that persist for a long time also in socialism and which the masses will be able to do without only gradually; it is the struggle for a growing international tie among all peoples and countries. In conclusion, it is the struggle in every country and on the world level for adjusting the relations of production, the other social relations, the conceptions and feelings to the collective character of the productive forces, and for the development of the collective character of the productive forces still not collective.

This is the content, the program of proletariat's dictatorship, the work it has to do. The proletariat's dictatorship will end only with the end of the division of humanity in classes. Then also the communist party will end. There will be no more need of a specific organization of workers' vanguard, of the communists. With the extinction of humanity's division in classes, the class struggle will end as well.

As regards the form of proletariat's dictatorship, that is to say which form is more proper to fulfil this work, the communist movement has already accumulated a rich experience, starting from the Paris Commune till the first socialist countries. Particularly these gave decisive teachings. (116)

The proletariat's dictatorship cannot have the form of the bourgeois democracy, either the form of the most perfect bourgeois democracy we can imagine. The bourgeoisie forms and selects its political leaders,

its organic intellectuals, notables, through the competition in its current dealing, in the relations of its civil society. The pluripartitism, electoral campaign every now and then, representative assemblies allow those leaders of the civil society to assert themselves as State rulers through the masses' vote. Even depurated from all the feudal encrustations and remnants and from all the imperialist degeneration that the firsts before and the seconds after have in reality gone with its concrete expressions, this method corresponds to the characters of bourgeois society, and not to those of socialist society. This method of formation and selection of political leaders implies the class division, the opposition of interests among the classes, among groups and individuals, the private property, the mercantile and capitalist relations. The pluripartitism is not possible without private property. For the bourgeoisie a regime is the more democratic the more it allows to entrepreneurs, bankers, professional people, most capable intellectuals and in general to the individuals most talented, energetic, ambitious and determined to do their social climbing, to emerge, to get on, create a range of personal relations, to enrich, to propose themselves to the masses as political leaders, the more it incites and allows to every individual to go on along this route. Even at the best we could imagine, even if it could be quite open to social mobility, by its nature the bourgeois society is elitist.

Within the bourgeois society the proletariat forms and selects its political leaders, its organic intellectuals in the course of class struggle: and so, through its communist party, its mass organizations, its struggles and movements.

During socialism, regime of transition from capitalism to Communism, besides the old type of bourgeoisie (the exponents of the old bourgeois relations and institutions and of the old liberal professions as they still persist), there is a new type of bourgeoisie: it is constituted by those leaders of the communist party, of mass organizations, economic organs, public institutions and State organs who use their power for preventing or hindering the growing of workers and other popular masses' participation in exercising power, who oppose the new possible steps on in the transformation of relations of production and the other social relations. This new type of bourgeoisie will exist for a long time, during the period of transition from capitalism to Communism.

For the proletariat and the other popular masses the regime of the socialist society is the more democratic the more and better the resources of the entire society are employed to enlarge in a growing measure the participation of the mass of population in the material, moral and intellectual conditions of a civil life and in exercising power. The resources intended to enlarge the participation of the mass of population have to be the greater the more are the inequalities in material,

moral and intellectual development persisting between directors and directed, between intellectual and manual workers, men and women, adults and young people, city and countryside, backward and advanced sectors, regions and nations: that is to say, the more are still the class inequalities and the inequalities with class character. (76) In socialism the workers and other labourers exercise power participating in the activity of the communist party and of the mass organizations and, as members of concern or territorial collectives, electing their delegates, testing and forming them through the exercise of power, revoking them. The system of proletariat's dictatorship is formed:

1. by the grass roots collectives, constituted in work and territorial places: they elect, control and revoke their delegates,

2. by the mass organization which anyone who has a least bit of will may share in and which everybody is solicited to share in,

3. by the communist party, which the more strenuous and generous share in with their support and the control of their work and dwelling comrades.

The experience of the first socialist countries showed that in this system two different structures of power live and must live together. 1. One structure is formed by the grass roots collectives, by the mass organizations and by the communist party and has its own institutions in accordance with the social division of work. Popular masses' direct sharing in this structure is encouraged in every way. The field of competence of this structure spreads as much the march towards Communism advances. The wideness of this field and the quota of popular masses actively sharing in this structure are rather the indexes of how much the society of a country has advanced towards Communism. 2. The other structure is formed by an actual State in the traditional sense of the word. It is constituted by public institutions apparently similar from many points of view to those existing in capitalist countries: a government, a Public Administration, a magistracy with its own prisons and tribunals, State armed forces, polices and secret polices, State secret upon decisive activities. The organs of this structure are corps separate from the rest of the society. They are constituted by professionals separated by the normal work collectives and bound by their own discipline and hierarchy. Each corps acts not depending on the popular mobilization it arouses, but depending on the force and means it has and according to criteria and orders from above. This second structure constitutes a voluntary, recognized and necessary limitation of popular masses' democracy. The extension of its duties is greater the more backward is the country and the more it is pressed by the external. It is dedicated

to guarantee country defence, public order, justice and other state function as much the first structure is not able to face them.

Between the two structures there is interpenetration and relation of unity and struggle that reflect the state of class relations of the country and develops as much the transition advances. After all the second structure acts by proxy of the first that takes directly in its hands the functions of the first as it is able to do it.

In socialist countries the bourgeois political system (pluripartitism, electoral campaign, representative assemblies) would allow the leaders to compete among them for conquering masses' favour and vote. But it would not allow any channel for promoting the widest possible mass participation in the exercise of power. It would not allow the mass to get an experience of exercise of power exercising it. It would not allow any real and effective control and with fully cognition of facts upon the leaders. It would maintain (or keep back) the masses at the borders of power. It would consolidate the ruling stratum and favour the transformation of rulers in a new class, the specific bourgeoisie of socialist countries. This is what the revisionists succeeded in doing in the first socialist countries and that firstly politically weakened and then drove them to the ruin. (116)

So, we communists struggle for establishing a political system founded 1. upon base collectives (councils), formed in work and territorial places; 2. upon delegates elected, controlled and revocable by the base collectives; 3. upon the wider possible and growing participation in the activities of mass organizations; 4. upon the participation in communist party's activity by the most advanced and generous elements. All the system has to work according to the principle of democratic centralism: electivity of all bodies from below to above, obligation of any delegate and body to periodically account of its activity to the body that elected him and to the superior body, severe discipline and subordination of minority to majority, superior organs' decisions are unconditionally obligatory for inferior organs. The class struggle in the entire country and the two lines struggle within the communist party offer the only real guarantees that in the ambit of such a system the work of proletariat's dictatorship could be carried out. The communist party has to promote the class struggle in the society and the two lines struggle within the party.

3. The working class is constituted by the collectives of the capitalist productive unities. It has subjectively formed first in economic and political claiming struggle, in which the workers opposed the bourgeoisie, then in the struggle for power. It will complete its formation as ruling class by exercising power. The working class is able and has to direct the other classes of the popular masses to struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie, to establish socialism and carry out the transformation of

them and of the entire society until Communism.

The experience of all the proletarian revolutions (from the Paris Commune in 1871 on) teaches us that the revolutionary movement can develop beyond an elementary level and get victory only if it is directed by a communist party and if the working class, the proletariat and the other popular masses are organized in an articulated system of mass organizations. The working class constituted itself as ruling class constituting the communist party. The communist party is the instrument most difficult to be done and decisive of constituting the working class as ruling class and of the fulfilment of this transformation as well.

4. The communist party has to be, and succeeds in fulfilling its duty only if it is:

- the vanguard and organized part of the working class, embodies and elaborates working class' consciousness struggling for power and is the instrument of its direction upon the proletariat and the other popular masses;

- the working class' party, in the sense that it struggles for working class' power and for Communism;

- the vanguard working class department, in the sense that it is working class' consciousness of a process especially at its beginning mostly spontaneous, and knows the laws of revolution without which it would not be able to direct working class' struggle;

- a part of the working class, in the sense that within the party there are the better elements of that class, the most devoted to the cause of Communism, the most combative, the richest in experience of struggle and initiative, the most influential and disciplined: in the party there can be elements of other classes who take up the cause of Communism, but the workers are its indispensable component;

- an organized department, in the sense that it is a disciplined whole of organizations that have their head in a centre whose directives they follow with absolute discipline, to which they are tied according to the principles of democratic centralism;

- the highest form of working class' organization, in the sense that it promotes and directs all the others organization of the class itself and is the instrument of its direction on the rest of proletariat and popular masses, promoter and director of the most various masses' organizations, that it gets together and addresses toward the common objective gathering them in front;

- the instrument of working class' dictatorship: firstly for establishing this dictatorship and then for consolidating and widening it and making sure it could develop the transition toward Communism.

The basic, principal and decisive form of communist party's organization is the cell in the work place, whose members orient, mobilize and direct their work comrades: the communist party is really such, it is really the

Staff of the working class struggling for power only when within its ranks it has organized all or at least a great part of the advanced workers, who morally, directly and practically direct all the other workers. (117)

Among these characters of the communist party, given our country traditions, first Italian communist party's experience and the situation in which the new party is forming, we have to give particular prominence to the fact that the party is the consciousness of the working class struggling for power, conscious interpreter of a process in a great measure spontaneous.

In order to direct the revolution to victory the communist party must have enough assimilated the dialectical materialism as conception of the world and thought and action method, expressed in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and it must be able to apply it at the concrete examination of the concrete situation of socialist revolution in our country for drawing the general line, the particular lines, methods and measures of its activity. (118) The party has to have a good understanding of the economic and political movement of the society, of the objective tendencies into action, of the classes in which society is divided, of the motive – powers of society's transformation, of the possible outcomes of the single passages that the ongoing transformation consists of. So, the enquiry is an important and indispensable component of its work. In order to win, the revolutionary movement has to be directed by a communist party that creatively applies the balance of past experience (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) to the concrete revolutionizing movement of our country. The history of our country's communist movement is full of episodes of struggle in which the popular masses and single militants lavished revolutionary heroism and initiative, but did not get victory because it lacked a direction (a communist party) based on a just theory of socialist revolution in our country. So it is a matter of responsibility today for us communists to deal with drawing this theory from experience. If the party has a right line, it will conquer all what it still has not and will overcome every difficulty. Only if the party has a revolutionary theory it is able to direct a revolutionary movement that unavoidably is in a great part spontaneous and without consciousness, owing to the conditions to which the present ruling class confine the popular masses. Only with a right direction of the party the revolutionary movement can develop and get victory.

The socialist revolution is done by the working class, the proletariat and the popular masses: the communist party is the direction and the Staff of his struggle. It is a party of cadres that directs a mass struggle. So it is part of the masses and it is deeply tied to the masses for being able to understand their tendencies and to develop the positive ones.

The communist party is built through stages. The first stage is the constitution of the communists on

the base of their ideological unity and of joining together the minimum indispensable organizational conditions. The second stage is the consolidation and strengthening of the communist party through the conquest of the advanced workers to the communist party: so, the party becomes the organized vanguard of the working class. The third stage is the transformation of the communist party in effective Staff of the working class, able to drive the working class to realize the line for seizing power the communist party has elaborated from the experience of the working class itself. Every stage develops in the following. The verification and confirmation of the rightness of the line the party is following are given by reaching the superior stage.

The practical movement consists of thousands initiatives, thousands organizations and organizational relations, thousands claiming struggles, protests, rebellions, revolts. The party has to understand the fundamental and unitary reasons of them and make everyone them a school of Communism. (31) So, the party has to acquire that consciousness that allows to whom gets it to work in a systematic way for developing and strengthening them, freeing them from obstacles and limits produced by the influence over them by the old world of ruling class' relations and culture, uniting them in a victorious force able to eliminate bourgeoisie's old world and to start the construction of the new communist world. This is the consciousness upon which the unity of the party is founded and thanks to which the party succeeds in leading the mass movement toward the victory of socialist revolution.

The party must be united upon the political line and the conception of the world and the method of action and knowledge of proletariat, the dialectical materialism, that allows drawing the right line from the analysis of experience of the concrete struggle that it is carrying out and of the concrete situation.

On this base it carries out successfully the struggle against bourgeoisie's influence within its ranks (two lines struggle), cements its unity, creates and strengthens its tie with the masses.

The unity of the party consolidates with the rigorous application of democratic centralism, the verification of the ideas in the practice, the unity with the masses, the practice of criticism – self-criticism – transformation, the formation of cadres, the two lines struggle, the expulsions. The communist party is the party of the working class, but also the bourgeoisie exercises its influence on it. The life of the party is unavoidably influenced by the class contradictions (two lines struggle), by the contradictions between the new and the old and between the true and the false. This is an objective fact: only recognizing it, we can understand and face it effectively.

Transformation means to programmatically and

systematically carry out certain actions, oblige us to repeat some behaviours until they will produce a new way of being.

Every qualitative transformation is the outcome of a process of quantitative accumulation, multiplication, growth. In order to reach a qualitative transformation it needs 1. to individuate what has to be multiplied and 2. to do this process of multiplication for all the necessary time.

To the purposes of party activities, the collective is more important than the individual. The functioning of the collective, its orientation, its assimilation of dialectical materialism, its ability to take the experience and to elaborate it, its effectiveness in fulfilment of its institutional duties determine the action of the party. But every collective consists of individuals or of lower grade collectives. It would be wrong to request to every one of them the ability of synthesis and action requested to the collective: the important is that they be complementary. But every one of them has to be pushed to grow and put in the best conditions for doing it.

The principal method the party employs for fulfil its duty to direct the working class, the rest of proletariat and the popular masses is the mass line. (119)

The party carries out its work of agitation and propaganda and its work of organization among the masses on the base of its political line. It orients and directs the mass movement so as to develop the forces of revolution, strengthen and gather them under working class' direction. Its objective is not to get consent, or to make accept its conceptions by the masses, but to direct the mass movement to struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie for establishing working class' dictatorship. In the claiming struggles of the popular masses, of proletariat and working class, the party always pursues the aim to make them schools of Communism and to gather and accumulate revolutionary forces. In the defence of masses' conquests, the party prepares the conditions for the attack.

The party carries on the agitation among the masses, but clearly distinguish itself from the adventurers, the intriguers and the individuals who use that agitation as good for exchange for their climb in bourgeois regime hierarchies: they "agitate the masses" with no idea where to go, with no care about assimilating past experience, without putting to themselves the problem to individuate and overcome the reasons why in our country in the first half of latest century the proletariat did not succeed in seizing power. Today these movementists and profiteers of masses' struggles converge with those old opportunists that facing the modern revisionists' collapse propose themselves as "preservers of Communism" (the Party of Communist Refoundation, the Party of Italian Communists, etc.) and whose real role is to paralyze the energies liberated by that collapse in the quagmire of politics producing no revolutionary results but making

display of communist phraseology.

The communist party goes to the school of the masses, learns to direct the struggle the masses are carrying out against the imperialist bourgeoisie in the ambit of the second general crisis of capitalism. But the party goes to the school of the masses not in the sense to mingle with the masses or to "agitate the masses" as subjectivists and economists do, but in the sense to learn

- from the experience of the first "assault to the sky": the October Revolution, the experience of the first socialist countries, the Communist International, the struggle against fascism and the Resistance, the antimperialist revolutions, the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution;

- from the negative experience of the regimes of modern revisionists: for advancing we need to learn also by the mistakes that bourgeoisie and its spokespersons instead try to use against us;

- from the experience of the mass and revolutionary movement of our country, from working class' struggle and the resistance the popular masses are opposing to the progression of the general crisis of capitalism.

The party draws from those experience a conception of the world, a theory of the revolution, a program, a political and organizational line on whose base it, in the ambit of working class, proletariat and the rest of the popular masses and the whole society, weaves the consequent organizational relations of direction and influence. For a communist today the main crux of the problem is not how much the masses "are in agitation", because given the revolutionary situation in development, the masses are and unavoidably will be a ground more and more favourable to communists' action, but how much the party has learned to fulfil the duties that make it able to direct the mass movement until the victory of socialist revolution. (120)

The communist party is tied to the popular masses, but not in the sense that it dissolves itself within the popular masses, puts itself at their levels, and follows trends and opinions. It is tied to them in the precise sense that it addresses the advanced workers, recruits the best ones, the most available to become communists and through them it directs the rest of the working class and draws from its experience for elaborating its own line and conception. It addresses the most advanced exponents of the other classes of the popular masses, recruits those who demonstrate to be able to transform themselves and become communists and through the working class directs the rest of the popular masses.

The specific role of the initiative of the party in every given situation is in gathering and mobilizing the motive forces of one of the possible solutions opposed to the others. But it is the practical and, in particular, economical movement of society that in its course in every concrete situation generates both the possible objectives of communists' political activity and the

forces by which it get them. To achieve the material conditions for existence is also today the main occupation and the motive force of the overwhelming majority of men: the interlacement of activities aimed to it is the ambit in which the life of all individuals and the becoming of all society is been developing. The subjectivist trends of the proletarian aristocracy bringing bourgeoisie's influence within the masses have often make forget also to the communists these fundamental theses of the materialistic conception of history. The consequence was and is the swarming of conceptions, lines and political objectives arbitrary and then loser.

It is the practical, organized and spontaneous movement of the masses that transforms the entire society. A theory becomes a force transforming the society only if it embodies in a practical movement, as orientation for its action. A revolutionary theory rises only as elaboration and synthesis of the experience of a practical movement. So, the party recognizes and asserts the primacy of the practical movement as source of knowledge, as operator of the transformation of society and measure of final appeal of the truth of every theory of revolution. The party does not present itself to the masses in a doctrinarian way, proclaiming a new truth it asks for being accepted, nor it asks to unite to itself for professing a new theory. The party tries to draw from the common experience of the mass movement the reason that is in the events that constitute it. So it never says to the masses: "What you're doing is useless; you must first have a consciousness and a theory." On the contrary, it tries to understand which is the true reason why the masses are fighting, and which is the true source of their strength and to draw from it a line for going towards victory. The line is what the masses have to take possession of and carry out for advancing. The party has only to find the effective way for bringing it them. (121)

5. In its mass work the party has to lever upon the positive trends developing among the popular masses, upon the progressive conceptions and feelings the first wave of the proletarian revolution and the untruthful propaganda of the leftist bourgeoisie rooted in the popular masses and upon the weak points of preventive counter-revolution. The progression of the general crisis of capitalism and the realization of imperialist bourgeoisie's common program discover these weak points.

In every imperialist country the repression plays a growing role among the imperialist bourgeoisie's instruments. We have to mobilize the popular masses on this front, developing the denunciation, the initiatives of solidarity and the resistance against repression. The growing development of repression and, on the other side, of the resistance, struggle and solidarity against repression gradually move the battlefield between bourgeoisie and popular masses towards the civil war,

educate the popular masses to distinguish what is in their own interests and therefore is legitimate from what is legal, educate them to illegality, to recognize by their direct experience the State as a ruling class' instrument, as an enemy body to be destroyed.

In every imperialist country the political crisis makes more and more difficult for the bourgeoisie to keep the appearance of popular representation and the participation of popular masses in bourgeois political struggle. We have to make it even more difficult following hard on its heels, driving the popular masses to break into the petty theatre of bourgeois politics, unmasking all what is going on behind the scenes and oblige the bourgeoisie to close that theatre and to violate its itself legality.

In every imperialist country the organizations of the popular masses, firstly the great trade unions and secondly the wide network of associations, are less and less able to satisfy best popular masses' aspirations and feelings and their elementary requests for a life dignified for all and dignified conditions of work. In every organization we need to support the left wing so that it could isolate the right and take the direction in its hands. We have not to create separate associations unless when this is necessary for not scattering the people expelled by the great mass organizations. Our aim is not to infiltrate party members for making them direct these great organizations. Our aim is to mobilize the left, strengthen it so that it could isolate the right and take the direction, conquer to Communism the most advanced elements, recruit the best elements in the party.

The party has to direct and promote the popular masses' mobilization in defence of every conquest the bourgeoisie want to eliminate: it has to support every group of workers (no matter if it is great or little) that defends one of its conquests (whatever it is) from the bourgeoisie that tries to eliminate it: from the freedom of strike, to the security of employment, to the safety at work, pensions, home, education, health care, services. In the struggle for the defence, the masses learn by their direct experience that every sacrifice the bourgeoisie succeeds in imposing calls for other sacrifices; that for winning it is necessary to enlarge the struggle and transform it in a problem of public order; that the difficult that rise within a single firm, within the single institution, can be solved only on a political level. In conclusion, they learn that the private property and initiatives upon which the capitalism is founded are in contrast with the reality of things, drive the masses to inextricable difficulties and growing sufferings. The single concerns are in crisis because the society as a whole is in crisis. In general, the crisis of a single concern cannot be solved within it, but only with the political action.

The party has to direct and promote the masses mobilization to directly provide for the solution of the problems of their life, to aggregate and construct its

own institutions and defend it, to develop production for satisfying their needs, to give a revolutionary turn also to the initiatives today called of the “third sector”, to the “no profit” sector, the voluntary service, the “fair and solid trade”, the Social Centres, etc., beating the bourgeois trends to make them ghettos, to make them concerns for exploiting precarious, underpaid and moonlighting work, to make them an instrument for corruption and formation of new bourgeois leaders, to make them an outlet for desperation.

The party has to direct and promote the mobilization of the masses for getting and making the imperialist bourgeoisie give them the necessary resources to directly provide to the solution of the problems of their life (money, buildings, means of production, transport, etc.), resources the bourgeoisie wastes on a great scale.

The party has to draw and generalize the teachings of the struggles of defence, learn and generalize the laws by which they develop. A victory on a large scale and long lasting is not possible owing to the crisis, but anyway it is possible to win, prevent, delay or reduce the imperialist bourgeoisie’s attack. In any struggle of defence the party has to favour masses’ organization, recognize the left wing, strengthen and organize it so that it could learn to conquer the centre and isolate the right.

All this is closely tied to the struggle for power, to the struggle for establish a new social order. Only the prospect of a new social order allows the popular masses to get out the blackmail of masters and their politicians. In fact, facing any particular problem they systematically try to prospect its solution in the struggle and competition with the other popular masses. Only the struggle for power can give continuity, expand and ensure success to the struggle of the popular masses for the defence of their conquests and for their survival, for putting an end to the condition of redundancy in which the imperialist bourgeoisie relegates a growing part of the masses, for developing their energies and satisfy their needs.

In every struggle for defence the party has to gather the forces for the attack. If it does not develop the attack, it is not possible to develop the defence on a great scale and improve the possibilities of victory. The lack of attack restrains the masses also in the defence.

Gathering the forces for the attack means to understand and make emerge the reasons of victories and defeats, generalize the methods that lead on to victory and fight the ones that lead on to defeat, to raise by all means masses’ combativeness and their trust in themselves, to drive the most combative part to realize a greater mobilization of the others, to recruit in the mass organizations and in the party, to promote masses’ aggregation and organization, to unite them in a front directed by the party and employ the forces available in

the tactical duties of attack, in order to make experience and develop a winning line from gathering and accumulation of the revolutionary forces.

6. Though the nations still survive and many single States still exist, the capitalism has already unified the entire world on the economic plan and in a certain measure also on the political and cultural plan. Therefore, socialism cannot definitively assert but as a world system. On its turn, every wave of proletarian revolution unifies more the world, bring nearer countries and nations. The stable and open-ended return to a world broken into many self-sufficient islands is an aim not only reactionary, but unrealistic.

The general crises of capitalism are world crises and such is also the long lasting revolutionary situation following from them. Anyway, the proletarian revolution (socialist or new democracy revolution) can win in some countries and not develop or be defeated in others. Its success depends on particular factors specific of every country.

The first step of socialist revolution in every country is the destruction of the existing State and the creation of a new State. In every country today the imperialist bourgeoisie has its State and that is the one we have to destroy.

All this confirms both the necessity to form communist parties in every country, and the necessity of their internationalist collaboration, of the creation of a new Communist International. Besides, where the countries are multinationals, the communist party has to promote with particular force the struggle against the national oppression and nationalist chauvinism, support the right of every nation to dispose of itself even to secession and unite the workers and the popular masses of all the nationalities in the common struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie and its State.

In order to win their respective enemies, the various “national departments” of the working class has to learn one from each other and mutually support. This is what we have seen happen during the 150 years of the communist movement, in forms more or less developed according to the various phases: in an organized form in the Communists’ League (1847-1852), in the First International (1864-1876), in the II International (1889-1914), in the Communist International (1919-1943), in the Cominform (1947-1956), in an informal way in the other periods in which an international organization did not exist.

The bourgeoisie realizes the economic unity of the world in the ambit of the capitalist relation of production and of bourgeois relations. So, this unity has the form of the world market and of the exportation of capitals, of competition, of unequal development, of oppression and exploitation of the weaker countries by the stronger ones, of the formation of huge worker

aristocracies in some countries and of the exploitation of workers until exhaustion in others, of the division of the entire world among few imperialist groups, of the overwhelming of weaker imperialist groups by stronger ones, of the extermination of population unable to resist to capitalists' invasion, of the fierce capitalist domination, of the world wars, of the world overpopulation that condemns entire populations to extinction, of the struggle among nations for surviving, for the "living space", for a "place in the sun" (undeclared extermination war). (122)

On the contrary, as the proletarian revolution advances, gradually, by leaps, by steps on and steps back, the world economic unity is going to find its proper form on a superstructural level in the formation of communist parties in every country, in their more or less close and organized collaboration, in the creation of international mass organizations, in the creation of the socialist camp. In the future it will find other most advanced forms.

### **3.2. The State of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the struggle for establishing socialism**

The party has to fight among its members the tendency to base its existence and freedom of action on the freedoms (of thought, propaganda, agitation, organization, demonstration, reunion, strike, protest, etc.) that with the victory of the Resistance have been introduced in our country in some measure, and that in part still survive to the elimination of the conquests wrung out by the working class and by the popular masses that the imperialist bourgeoisie is systematically carrying out since the half of the Seventies until today. At the same time it has to lead the masses to draw a right balance of the experience that day after day they are doing of the limits in which the ruling class always kept these freedoms and of the further restrictions it is going to put because of the progression of the general crisis of capitalism. The masses need to carry out in every field and on every ground a practical movement of struggle because only through it they can learn, develop their consciousness, create and strengthen their organization and pass to higher levels of struggle.

With the beginning of the imperialist phase the bourgeoisie ceased to struggle for an even bourgeois democracy, that is a democracy in theory for all, but in facts limited to the owners' classes.

"In general imperialism tends to substitute democracy with oligarchy", "imperialism contradicts ...all the whole of political democracy". "Imperialism does not restrain the extension of capitalism and the strengthening of democratic tendencies among the masses of the population, but sharpens the antagonism between these aspirations and the antidemocratic

The working class of every country learns from that of the others countries and teaches to them. The development of its struggle depends on the course of world economy, on the international relations system, etc. The ruling class of a country collaborates with that of the others or clashes with them. These are as many aspects of the internationalist character of the communist movement in a country. It is an objective character, existing independently from how much it is understood by any single national communist movement and from the conscious activity any single movement exercises in this field through its communist party and its mass organizations. The communist party must be aware of this international connection, develop, exercise, set it off in its activity, and translate it in organizational forms.

The communist party of every country has the duty to drive to success the revolution in its own country, to collaborate with the communist parties of other countries and so to contribute to the success of the revolution on a world level.

tendencies of the monopolies". (123)

All the times the working class has founded its struggle upon the bourgeois democracy, the imperialist bourgeoisie reminded that the power belongs to itself, with mass slaughters and repressions, coups d'état, provocations and scissions against working class' organizations and imposed its power: from Spain, to Indonesia, to Chile. It confirms what Engels already indicated in 1895: the bourgeoisie itself, facing the political maturity of the working class, would be the first to violate its own legality. (124) There will not be an accumulation of the revolutionary forces adequate to seize power and establish socialism subordinating us to the procedures and liberties written in bourgeoisie's constitution. In reality these are worth only in the limits in which they consent to the bourgeoisie to maintain its power. They are not common rules regulating the struggle of all the classes, to which all the classes subordinate themselves. They are measures to keep subjected the working class and the other exploited and oppressed classes. The bourgeoisie could remain democratic only until the working class was far from exercising in practice the rights that were recognized to it only formally. The reality denied the illusions that it would continue the epoch in which the bourgeoisie played a progressive role, that the fascism would be an interval or a deviation in the course of life of bourgeois society, that after the fascism the bourgeoisie could return to the old forms of power. The modern revisionists propagandized these illusions all around the world and drove the masses in the blind alley of parliamen-

tarianism, participation, reforms of structure and the like, that were chatters and so they are remained. These illusions were a negative burden upon the working class struggle and upon the ability of direction of its party. But they still exist and will continue to exist for some time, particularly in imperialist countries like our. Only the practical experience will sweep them away on a large scale.

The counter preventive revolution is the political regime of our and other imperialist countries. When this regime is no more enough effective to prevent the growth of popular masses' consciousness and organization, the bourgeoisie resorts to popular masses' reactionary mobilization, to terror, fascism and war. If the communist party has well directed the accumulation of the revolutionary forces, then the bourgeoisie drives the class struggle on the ground of the civil war, the resolute ground of the clash between the popular masses and the imperialist bourgeoisie. The communist party has to educate the popular masses not to fear the civil war the bourgeois prepares and sooner or later will rouse. It has to educate them to fight it for victory: it is also the only way to avoid it, if such a way exists.

The progression of the general crisis of capitalism obliges the bourgeoisie to increase the repressive, militarist, secret character of its regime in the relations with the popular masses and in the relations within the imperialist groups themselves. The disinformation, confusion, diversion, intoxication, provocation, control, infiltration, intimidation, blackmail, elimination, repression are currently practice of political struggle by

### 3.3. Our strategy: the revolutionary protracted people's war

Our strategy, the way for making Italy a new socialist country, is the revolutionary protracted people's war. This is the conclusion of the balance of the experience of the communist movement, of the struggle of the working class against the imperialist bourgeoisie, in particular during the first wave of the proletarian revolution. By its nature the struggle of the working class against the imperialist bourgeoisie for establishing socialism is a revolutionary protracted people's war. The communist party has to recognize this reality, understand it through the end and utilize this consciousness for directing the revolution. At the conclusion of the balance of the experience of the struggles the communist movement carried out against imperialist bourgeoisie in the last 130 years we have to repeat, paraphrasing what Mao said in 1940 regarding the proletarian revolution in China: "For more than hundred years we used to do the revolution without having a clear and right conception of it. We acted blindly: this is the reason of our defeat". (127)

Mao Tse-tung elaborated in every detail the theory of

the ruling class and they will become so even more than they have been in the latest fifty years.

With the beginning of the imperialist epoch and even more with the first general crisis of capitalism the State of imperialist bourgeoisie is become police, militarist and deeply reactionary State. It ceased to be the State of bourgeois democracy and has become the State of the organized preventive counter-revolution, instrument of the repression and war of imperialist bourgeoisie against the working class and the popular masses. (125)

The experience of the first general crisis of capitalism demonstrated that the struggle between imperialist bourgeoisie and popular masses unavoidably becomes civil war or war among states as the crisis goes on. Everywhere the working class was not able to head popular masses' revolutionary mobilization, the mobilization has become reactionary, the working class underwent the war imposed by the bourgeoisie and all the popular masses took the consequences of it. (126)

The party has to build itself taking in account these aspects and at the same time taking in account the weakness and unsteadiness of imperialist bourgeoisie's regime, corroded by the growing opposition of the popular masses, by the growth of the contradictions among the imperialist groups and by the development of the revolutionary and reactionary mobilization of the popular masses, in contrast and struggle between them.

On the base of the analysis of the concrete situation and of the duties it has to fulfil for carrying out the working class to seize the power, the new communist party defined its strategy for making Italy a new socialist country and its nature and characteristics.

the revolutionary protracted people's war. (128) This theory is one of the main contributions of Maoism to communist thought. (129) Mao Tse-tung, however, was referring to the concrete case of the revolution of new democracy in China. So, in its elaboration there are combined the universal laws of revolutionary protracted people's war valid for every place and time, and the particular laws valid for the revolution carried out in China in the first half of the last century. (130) So, it needs that every party learns from Maoism the universal laws of the revolutionary protracted people's war and elaborate the particular laws for its country and time.

The question of how the working class would arrive to seize power was clearly posed for the first time by F. Engels in 1895, in its *Introduction* of the reprint of K. Marx's articles *Class struggles in France from 1848 to 1850*.

At the end of the XIX century, at the beginning of the imperialist era of capitalism, in the most advanced countries the social democratic parties had already carried out their historical work to constitute the work-

ing class as a class politically autonomous from the other. They had put an end to the era when many people talented or inept, honest or not, attracted by the struggle for political freedom, by the struggle against king, police and priests' absolute power, did not see the contrast between bourgeoisie and proletariat's interests. They did not conceive even for a moment that workers could act as an autonomous social force. The social democratic parties had put an end to the era in which many dreamers, sometimes brilliants, believed that it would be enough to convince the rulers and the ruling classes of injustice and precariousness of existing social order for easily establishing universal peace and welfare on the earth. They dreamed to realize socialism without working class' struggle against bourgeoisie. The social democratic parties put an end to the era in which almost all the socialist and in general working class' friends saw the proletariat only as a social evil and get frightened noticing that with industry development also this evil was developing. So they thought how to restrain industry and proletariat's development, to stop "the wheel of history". (131) Thanks to Marx and Engels' direction, the social democratic parties instead creates in the most advanced countries a political movement, headed by the working class, that placed its fortunes just in proletariat's growth and in its struggle for establishing socialism and for the socialist transformation of the entire society.

The era of proletarian revolution was beginning. (132) Working class' political movement was the subjective, superstructural side of the proletarian maturation, while the passage of capitalism to its imperialist phase was its objective and structural side.

The working class had already carried out some attempts to seize the power: in France in 1848-50 (133) and in 1871 with the Paris Commune, (134) in Germany with the participation on a large scale in political elections. (135) By then it was possible and necessary to realize how the working class would succeed to seize the power and start the socialist transformation of society. The conditions for facing the problem of the form of the proletarian revolution were gathered. In the *Introduction* of 1985 F. Engels draw the balance of the experiences till then carried out by he working class and clearly expressed the thesis according to which "the proletarian revolution has not the form of an insurrection of the popular masses that overthrows the existing government, during which the communists, participating in it with the other parties, seize the power". The proletarian revolution has the form of a gradual accumulation of the forces around the communist party, until reversing the relation of force: the working class has to prepare until a certain point "already within the bourgeois society instruments and conditions of its power". Marx already explained that it was an illusion to believe to be able

to establish a new social order taking possession of the bourgeois State and using it for carrying out that work. Engels added that was an illusion to believe to succeed in taking possession of the bourgeois State winning the elections: as this possibility was near to be realized, the bourgeoisie itself would have broken its legality. So the communist party had to work already then taking account of this sure event, had to prepare the masses to face it, to take advantage from it for definitively reckoning with the bourgeoisie. Adventurists, opportunists, reformists and movementists joined this point: they did not take in account already then that sure event, deterred the masses for preparing already then to it. The development of revolution in the latest century confirmed, specified and enriched all these theses of F. Engels. (136)

Opposing to Engels' thesis according to which the working class can get the seizure of power only through a gradual accumulation of the revolutionary forces, some comrades present the Russian revolution of 1917 as a popular insurrection ("assault to the Winter Palace") begun by the Party on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1917 during which the bolsheviks seized the power. As a matter of fact the establishment of Soviet government in November 1917 had been preceded by a systematic work aimed to accumulate revolutionary forces around the communist party. Starting from 1905, this constituted itself as a free political force, existing and operating with continuity in view of seizing power, despite the Czarist wanted to destroy it, and so as a force the enemy was not able to destroy. So, the struggle carried out by the communist party from 1903 to 1917 can teach us something about how accumulating the revolutionary forces within the society dominated by the enemy, on condition to take in account in the right measure that Czarist Russia was an imperialist country but still semi feudal, that the revolution to be done was a revolution of new democracy, that in Russia did not yet exist a regime of preventive counter-revolution.

The establishment of Soviet government in November 1917 was preceded by the more specific work done from February to October 1917 in conditions of double power, of equilibrium between the two opposed fields, when the revolution already commanded military forces obeying only to the Soviets. It was followed by a civil war that had also to face the imperialist aggression that lasted three years until the end of 1920. As a matter of fact it ended only in a certain sense: in fact, considering the matter on the international level, not from the point of view of the revolution in Russia but from that of the world proletarian revolution, the effort of the imperialist bourgeoisie for suppressing the Soviet Union (become the red base of world proletarian revolution) went on with the long and many anti Soviet manoeuvres of the Twenties and Thirties and with the Nazi aggression in 1941-1945. (137)

In reality the history of Russian revolution is a brilliant confirmation of Engels' thesis, the more brilliant because in this case the revolutionary popular war was successfully carried out without having elaborated its theory before. If we consider the course of revolutions followed one another since then in single countries and also the course of the revolution on a world level we see that the theory of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War comes out confirmed, both when revolution has been carried out until the establishment of the new power and also when it has been defeated. By the light of the theory of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War, in fact, also the reason of the defeats the communist movement of imperialist countries underwent becomes clear. (138) The experience confirmed that the popular insurrection, in determinate circumstances, is a useful and necessary manoeuvre within a war. But when it is assumed as a strategy of revolution, the communist are necessarily obliged to oscillate between adventurism and inertia.

The theory of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War indicates the course the communist movement has to do for overthrow the existing power and establish the working class' power. This theory is an experimental science: it has been constructed elaborating the experience of the struggle carried out till now by the communist movement and it is verified and confirmed in the results the communist movement gets applying it in the class struggle. It is the synthesis of the experience carried out, translated in indications, criteria, lines, methods and rules for the revolution we have still to do. It is an open science, in the sense that it is going to be enriched, specified, and developed as the proletarian revolution advances in the world. It is a science that includes general principles and laws, valid in every country and time, and particular principles and laws that reflect the particularity of every country.

First of all the socialist revolution is a unitary process. The types of struggle composing this process and the episodes through which it develops are thousands, but they compose only one process. Every one of them is worth as long as it makes advance the entire process: this is the criterion for deciding the line to follow in every episode and in every particular field and through which evaluate the result of our action. For directing in a right way the entire process and in every single passage and component, we have to understand the connection among all the various kinds of struggle and episodes, we have to direct everyone of them taking in due account its universal and its particular character and using the particular to realize the universal. We have to understand how a phase prepares and generates the next one. To direct the struggle in a right way in a stage means to make it generate the next stage. We need to take in account the tie connecting all clashes

and events one another; we need to take in account that every event generates another, that the qualitative result is generated by the quantitative accumulation. Every particular struggle must contribute to realize the final victory: concretely, it must contribute to widen the struggle, to take it at a higher level, to develop new forces, to open new struggle front, and to strengthen the forces that carried it out. Every phase has to prepare the ground and the forces for the next. On the other side in order to lead a clash to victory, we have to carefully take in account of the greater number possible of its particular aspects.

So the communist party must have a plan that includes all the aspects of popular masses' struggle and the whole process of socialist revolution, until the establishment of socialism. The opportunists oppose systematically the elaboration of a plan. They scream against the "theoretical plan". They play by ear, do "what is possible to do" from time to time, avail themselves of the circumstances. So they feel good with the spontaneists. The both personifies the characters of the most backward strata of our movement, acting spontaneously, they lay down on it. We want to elaborate and realize a plan, for leading in the right way every spontaneous movement for making it develop and reach a superior level, for strengthening the positive and fighting the negative trend in every spontaneous movement. Only the strategic plan allows to understand which is the positive and which the negative tendency. Surely it is not an arbitrary plan. It as to be a well founded conception and a clear line of action: a historical prospect scientifically build, with scrupulous seriousness, founding on all the past course of things the aims to get in the future and that we propose to the popular masses because they are aims they need and they have to consciously get. It implies a method consisting of evaluating the outcomes of past struggles for defining precisely the aims of future ones.

On the other side the party has to have a method of action and knowledge that allows it to lead successfully every single step and clash, in every field and ground. The struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie does not go on at random. As every process it has its laws. The party has to discover, understand, apply them in every struggle field and ground, step-by-step, phase after phase.

In the modern society, in the last resort the power is the direction of the practical activity of the popular masses. The direction combines the conquest of heart and mind of the popular masses with the exercise of coercion and of organization of everyday life in all his aspects. The essence of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War consists of constituting the communist party as centre of the new popular power of the working class; in the growing mobilization and aggregation of all the revolutionary forces around the communist

party; in the elevation of the level of the revolutionary forces; in their utilization according to a plan for developing a succession of initiatives that put the class conflict at the centre of country political life so that to recruit new forces, to weaken imperialist bourgeoisie's power and to strengthen the new power, in succeeding to construct the armed forces of the revolution, in directing them in the war against bourgeoisie, until turning the relations of force upside down, eliminate the State of imperialist bourgeoisie and establish the State of proletariat's dictatorship.

The communist party is the propelling centre of the new power. Since its foundation, it sets itself as a power autonomous from that of bourgeoisie and in competition with it. Its expansion and strengthening go in parallel with the reduction and weakening of bourgeoisie's power. The bourgeoisie tries to stifle the new power, eliminating the communist party or corrupting it till it is transformed in a party "like the others", a bourgeois party. The simple resistance, continuing to exist, without be stifled or corrupted, is already a victory for the party, the first victory of the new power.

The growth and strengthening of the new power, from its birth to its victory, passes through three great phases:

1. Strategically, the first phase is defensive (the strategic defensive). The superiority of the bourgeoisie is overwhelming. The party has to accumulate the revolutionary forces. It has to gather the revolutionary forces around itself (in the mass organizations and in the front) and within itself (in the party organizations), extend its presence and influence, educate the revolutionary forces to the struggle leading them to struggle. The progression of the new power is measured by the quantity of revolutionary forces gathered in the front and by their level. In this phase the main aim is not the elimination of the enemy forces, but to extend influence and direction of the communist party, gather revolutionary forces among the popular masses, elevate their level, that is to strengthen their consciousness and organization, to make them able to fight, to make their struggle against bourgeoisie more effective, to elevate their level of pugnacity.

2. The second phase is that of strategic equilibrium. The contrast between the revolutionary forces gathered around the communist party and the bourgeoisie has gone so far as the class struggle becomes civil war and the new power forms its own armed forces opposed to those of the bourgeoisie, militarily organizing part of the popular masses and through the passage to revolution by part of enemy armed forces. The first phase generates the second. Without preventive accumulation of the revolutionary forces there is no second phase. In the history of the communist movement we even saw bourgeois States dissolve (Germany, Austria and Hungary in 1918, Italy in 1943, Germany in 1945) without the communist movement passing to the second phase because of it. In the history of communist movement

we saw the passage from the first to the second phase occurring in many ways. In some cases the bourgeoisie was no more able to bear the situation created by the new power and so broke its own legality and entered the field of civil war. The case of Spain in 1936 is classic. It could have been also the case of Indonesia in 1964 and Chile in 1973 if the communist movement wouldn't yet be corroded by modern revisionists and by their conception and politics of "peaceful transition". In other cases it was the communist movement that took the initiative to lead the class struggle on the ground of civil war. It is the case of Russia in 1905 and Italy in the Seventies. In other cases the passages occurred during a general war. It is the case of the coup d'état of February 1917 in Russia, of the revolution of 1918 in Germany, Austria and many other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, of the Resistance of 1940 in France and the Resistance of 1943 in Italy. This passage could be occurred in other cases if the communist movement wouldn't had shamefully withdrawn, because it was not prepared to the clash, facing the challenge, the threats and the blackmail of the bourgeoisie of entering the ground of civil war: in 1914 in many European countries, in the Red Biennium in Italy (1919-1920), in 1936 in France, etc. Once its own armed forces are formed, the new power has to succeed in keeping them on the battleground and strengthen them, against the furious attack of the bourgeoisie. To prevent their fast destruction is already a victory. This is what the communist movement realized, considering the things by the point of view of the world revolution, with the defeat of imperialist aggression to Soviet Russia in 1920 and then again in 1945. The strategic aim in this phase is to prevent the destruction of our own armed forces, to succeed in getting them continuing to exist, preventing the enemy from destroying them. As a rule, anyway, conquering this victory is more a political matter (to prevent the bourgeoisie from completely disposing its forces and asserting its military superiority) than a military matter in the strict sense.

3. The third phase is that of strategic offensive. The new power is by then able to launch its forces an attack, both in strictly military terms, and in general political terms, for destroying the enemy forces. The progression of the revolution is measured by how many enemy forces, military in a sense strict and politic in general, it eliminates or dissolves. The strategic aim in this phase is the establishment of the new power in all the country. Its realization ends this phase of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War and ends the war itself.

So, the whole process sets up as a war: it is directed towards and concludes with the elimination of the State of bourgeoisie through an armed clash, because the armed forces are the protection of last resort of its power.

A popular war: because its core is the mobilization

and organization of the popular masses around the communist party, it is fought by the popular masses and can be finally won only by the popular masses.

A revolutionary war: because of its aim (to establish the power of the working class and to open the way for building a new social order), because of its nature (it is not the conflict among States and opposed armed forces, but between an oppressed class that gradually assumes the direction of the popular masses, conquers their heart and mind and builds its new power against a class of oppressors that already has its State and its armed forces and has inherited from history the hegemony upon the popular masses), because of its method (the revolutionary class has the initiative and through its initiative obliges the ruling class to enter the field of struggle more favourable to the oppressed class).

It is a protracted war because in any case, carrying out the whole process above indicated requests a time that cannot be established a priori. In order to win, it needs to be disposed to fight for all the time that will be necessary, to organize and direct our own forces according to this imperative, to manoeuvre. Wanting to end the war in a short time at all costs is lethal for the working class; it leads to defeat and surrender. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie tries desperately to close it in a short time, because the more the war prolongs, the more its victory becomes difficult. Not to succeed in stifling the revolutionary popular war in a short time is already a defeat for the bourgeoisie.

The process of socialist revolution has its laws and develops along a certain time. We communists have a limited knowledge of it and so we think it is a complex process. As we gradually learn to carry this process out with success we shall see it simpler. So, we need time.

The working class will surely win. Who says that the working class cannot win, overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisie and seize the power is wrong (pessimists and opportunists are wrong). The successes got by the communist movement during the first wave of proletarian revolution (1900-1950) practically confirmed what Marx and Engel theoretically deduced by the analysis of the bourgeois society.

Who says that the working class can win, overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize the power easily and in a short time is wrong (the adventurists are wrong: in Italy we have seen subjectivists and militarists at work). The defeats the communist movement underwent during the first wave of proletarian revolution (firstly in the Red Biennium in 1919-1920 and after the victories of Resistance in the Forties), the ruins produced by modern revisionism after it took the direction of the communist movement in the Fifties and the defeat the Red Brigades underwent at the beginning of the Eighties practically confirms this thesis as well.

The working class can win, overthrow the imperi-

alist bourgeoisie and seize the power, but through a long period of apprenticeship, hard and most various struggles and accumulation of every kind of revolutionary forces, in the course of the process of civil and imperialist wars that during the general crisis of capitalism upset the world until they transform it. For carrying out successfully this struggle and reducing the mistakes done, it needs to understand the nature of the process, the contradictions determining it and the laws of its development.

Not by choice of us communists, but because of the proper characteristics of capitalism, the process of development of capitalism has set itself on these terms: or wars among parts of the popular masses directed by imperialist groups (wars among imperialist groups and States) or wars of the popular masses directed by the working class against the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is a matter of fact, and we cannot avoid it by means of our desires or will but putting an end to imperialist era. (139) It is a fact more cleared by the study of the more than hundred years of imperialist era already past and by the study of present trends of society. The situation is made even more complex by the fact that in its war against imperialist bourgeoisie the working class has to take advantage from the contradictions among imperialist groups. In substance, both the two kinds of war (the war of the working class against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the wars among imperialist groups) develop and interlace. (140) Which will prevail is the point at issue. The communists have to do so that the antagonists in war, the two poles of the fields facing one another, are the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie. With their initiative, manoeuvring the forces they already have, they have to make the classes' struggle become the core of the political conflict. Only so the working class will succeed in imposing itself as new ruling class at the end of the clash, as the class that won the war. On the other side they have to carry on the war so that the imperialist groups come to blows among themselves and not unite and concentrate their forces, at the beginning prevailing, against the working class. This is a problem of the relation between strategy and tactics in proletarian revolution.

In order to direct a protracted revolutionary people's war, with less defeats, losses, suffering for the popular masses, it is essential that the party is conscious of the strategy is carrying out and learns from its experience. To have a right strategy is the first condition for a sure victory. There is no sense in talking about tactics, about the rightness of single tactical manoeuvres and operations, if the party has no strategy. Once it has a right strategy, the party has to combine the absolute strategic firmness with the greatest tactical flexibility. The experience demonstrated that if the party gets this condition, the bourgeoisie unlikely succeeds to defeat the proletarian revolution.

### 3.4. The clandestine party

The working class needs the communist party. This is the first lesson that has to be clear and derives both from the historical experience and from the analysis of the capitalist society. The working class needs the communist party because the role of the party cannot be fulfilled by the class as a whole. Only the vanguard of the working class organizes itself in the party. The bourgeoisie selects and tests its political leaders in the course of the traffics of the “civil society”; on the contrary, the working class has no possibility but to select, form and verify them in the course of the activity of the communist party and the organizations to it connected.

The crisis of the party-form, which bourgeois sociologists and political experts talks so much about, is the crisis of reformist and bourgeois parties of the old regime, is an aspect of the crisis of the old regime. The reformist parties are in crisis because the general crisis prevents the masses from wringing out any new conquests of civilization and welfare. They can do it only with a revolutionary movement that the reformist parties are unable to perform or share, and because of it they are in crisis. They lost the objective ground (the real conquests the popular masses actually wrung out from the bourgeoisie during the period of human faced capitalism despite they were directed by reformist parties) upon which their fortunes were built. The other parties of the Christian Democratic regime are in crisis because the entire regime is in crisis. It was the regime of the arrangement of interests. It entered in crisis as in all imperialist countries there entered in crisis the regimes of preventive counter-revolution that even effectively personified bourgeoisie’s domination in the period of recovery and development, the regimes imposed at the end of the Second World War. Today is the turn of the bourgeois candidates to promote the reactionary mobilization of the masses, though there are still opposed to their fortunes both revolutionary forces’ backwardness (it is their initiative that arouses a powerful counter revolution overcoming which the revolutionary forces seize the power) and the fear the bourgeoisie has of masses’ reactionary mobilization: the bourgeoisie repeatedly had the experience that it can transform in revolutionary mobilization.

The nature of the communist party is dictated by the strategy it has to follow for the socialist revolution. The strategy of the protracted revolutionary people’s war requests a clandestine party. It is born in clandestinity and from clandestinity constructs its relations, its public or not public mass organizations, develops its activities, also the public and legal one. People dreaming about a communist party constituted by the convergence of movements and mass organizations mistake

the present times for the origins of the communist movement. They deny one of the three main contributions of Leninism to communist thought. (see note 40) We have to learn from the past, not waste force in the vain attempt to repeat it. The present is the fruit of the past, not its repetition.

In the revolutionary people’s war, the communist party has the strategic duty to be the centre of aggregation, formation and accumulation of the revolutionary forces: party, front, armed forces. In this triad the party is the direction. Its duty is to gather and employ the proletarian forces: firstly in the run for popular masses’ revolutionary mobilization, for overcoming popular masses’ reactionary mobilization or transforming it in revolutionary mobilization; then in the civil war that is the synthesis and the conclusion of the struggle of the popular masses against the imperialist bourgeoisie. In fact the working class, in order to be a class struggling on its own account for the power, has to set itself as antagonist, political force on the ground of the civil war, both if the situation we have to face has the simple form of a civil war, and if it has the form of a war among imperialist States and groups.

So, the party has to be free from bourgeoisie’s control. It cannot live or operate in the limits the bourgeoisie allows, as one of the many parties of bourgeois society. The relations among imperialist groups (and respective political forces) belong to a category different from that which the relations between popular masses (and the working class that is its only potential ruling class) and the imperialist bourgeoisie belong to. They are relations of a different nature and develop according to different laws. Those who in one way or another keep on considering these as the same kind of relations, subject to the same laws, or fall in the bourgeois political deal (parliamentary or the like) or fall in militarism: in fact, the agreement at the back of the masses and the imperialist war are the two alternate forms by which the imperialist groups treat the relations among them.

Does this mean that the working class (and its political expression, the communist party) is not anyway conditioned by the bourgeoisie? Not at all. This means that the party does not found its possibility to work upon the tolerance of bourgeoisie, that the party ensures its possibility of living and working *despite* the bourgeoisie tries to eliminate it or at least to limit and prevent its activity. It means that the party, thanks to its materialistic-dialectic analysis of the situation and its ties to the masses, precedes the measures of the preventive counter-revolution turning them in its own favour. It means that the party is conditioned by the bourgeois-

sie as in a war each antagonist is conditioned by the other according to the relation of the forces in the field (strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium, strategic offensive). But the communist party is not subject to bourgeoisie's laws and to its State, as instead are the masses in normal times. From the beginning of its construction, the communist party is what the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses will gradually become during the protracted revolutionary people's war.

This is the only realistic solution. One after another all the statements of socialists and revisionists about the peaceful, democratic, parliamentary way to socialism are being denied on facts by the bourgeoisie itself. As Engels already well said in 1885, the bourgeoisie have never had any scruple in subverting its own legality, every time this was no more able to guarantee the continuity of its power. The participation in the election and in general in a series of other normal activities, which the worker organizations participate in as free association among the others, has been a way useful to affirm working class' autonomy. But, since the beginning of the era of proletarian revolution, every time the communists took it as a way for seizing power, it transformed in a counter-revolutionary chain. (141)

The practice also demonstrated the utopian nature of the strategy consisting of passing from an activity legal or mainly legal to the insurrection. In the practice this strategy always put the communist parties to face the dilemma: or to risk to lose everything or to do nothing. In the entire history of the communist movement never and no insurrection roused by the party out of an already ongoing war has been victorious. The communists carried out victorious insurrections only as particular manoeuvres within an already ongoing wider war, and so when revolutionary military forces already under way supported the insurrectional movement. So was in April 1945 in Italy, and so was in October 1917 in Petersburg.

The preventive counter-revolution made systematic the engagement of bourgeoisie to precede and prevent the development of communist movement, before to be obliged to repress its success. This made more clear that, since the seizure of power by the working class is historically on the agenda, the direction of its struggle for power, that is the communist party, has to be a structure free from bourgeoisie's control and saved from its systems of repression, that is to say it has to be a clandestine party.

The working class cannot fight victoriously against the imperialist bourgeoisie, cannot put itself as antagonist in its struggle for power, cannot carry out the accumulation of the revolutionary forces until upsetting the present unfavourable relation of forces with the forces of reaction, if it has a direction subordinate to bourgeoisie's laws and power.

It is not the matter to have *only* a clandestine appara-

tus. All the parties of the first Communist International had such an apparatus: it was one of the conditions requested to be admitted within the Communist International, the third of the 21 conditions approved by the II Congress (17<sup>th</sup> July – 7<sup>th</sup> August 1920). It said: "In almost all the countries of Europe and America the class struggle enters a period of civil war. In these conditions the communists cannot rely upon the bourgeois legality. They have to create everywhere, near the legal organization, a clandestine organism, able to fulfil *at the decisive moment* its duty towards revolution. In all the countries where, owing to state of siege and special laws, the communists cannot carry out legally *all* their work, they have to combine the legal with the illegal activity with no hesitation."

The experience of the proletarian revolution during the first general crisis of capitalism (1900-1945) showed that the countries where the communist parties can carry out *all* their work legally, if that work is successful despite the preventive counter-revolution, change into countries where the communist parties can no more carry out their work legally and at that point they run up against insurmountable difficulties to face the new situation. In the countries where the bourgeoisie had not the force to carry out autonomously this operation (for example, France) it preferred the foreign aggression and occupation as long as this change could be realized.

The class struggle entered a period of potential or deployed civil war everywhere the working class does not renounce the struggle for power. So, it has to carry out its struggle for power as a civil war and the communist parties, if they want to be so, cannot and must not "rely on bourgeois legality". The communist parties carry out legally and openly *all* their work only where the working class already has in power: in socialist countries and in red bases. The force of the facts has been always stronger of the ideas that are not founded on facts. It obliged the communist parties to carry out activity not openly. The difference is between carry them out consciously, systematically, giving the role the laws of real movement request, or carry them out as spontaneists, dilettantes, blindly.

The experience showed that to have a clandestine organism going into action "at the decisive moment" is not enough to make the communist parties able to direct the masses successfully. It is not enough to avoid decapitation and decimation of the communist party. It leaves the masses without direction when they particularly need it, when their struggle can and must do a leap of quality.

The accumulation and formation of revolutionary forces has to be done "within the bourgeois society", but it has necessarily to occur gradually. So, it cannot occur within the limits defined by the bourgeois law. This is elaborated and applied to prevent the communist party from accumulating forces. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie doesn't hesitate to precede the law in re-

pressive action and also to violate it openly when this is an obstacle to an effective containment of the communist forces. On the contrary, the party has to avoid, with a suitable tactical direction, to be obliged to a decisive clash (as an insurrection), until the revolutionary forces are not accumulated till they are superior to those of imperialist bourgeoisie.

So, it is not enough to create a clandestine organization “near the legal one”. It is the party that has to be clandestine. It is the clandestine organizations that direct the legal organizations and anyhow guarantees the continuity and freedom of action of the party. The communist party has to be a clandestine party and it has to promote or support, direct, orient and influence all the legal movements that are necessary and useful to the working class, the proletariat and the popular masses from clandestinity. The clandestine party must make known among the working class and the popular masses in the widest way its existence, its conception, its analysis of the situation, its line, and must instead hide its structure, its functioning and its members to the bourgeoisie. This is the lesson of the first wave of the proletarian revolution for the imperialist countries.

The experience demonstrated that, in order to fulfil successfully their duty in the imperialist countries, the communist parties have to combine legal with illegal activity, in the exact sense that the illegal activity is direction, foundation and direction of the legal one, that the illegal activity is principal and the legal subordinate, that the illegal is absolute and the legal conditioned, related to the relation of forces between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie and to other concrete situations, that the legal activity is related to the overall plan of war of the communist party and to the decision the ruling class think good for itself. (142) The experience besides demonstrated that this precise kind of combination of illegal and legal activity has not to be done by the communist parties only in the countries where, “owing to the state of siege and the special laws”, the bourgeoisie limited the legal activity: it has to be done in every country, before the bourgeoisie adopt states of siege or special laws, before it could impose to proletariat’s political activity legal limits more narrow than those it imposes to the single groups of the ruling class or anyway before it could impose limits more narrow than those in force.

The third of the 21 conditions for being admitted within the Communist International was formulated for starting the transformation in Bolshevik parties (Bolshevization) of the old socialist parties as the Italian Socialist Party, that adhered to the International for swimming with the tide ongoing among the masses, but were absolutely inadequate to carry out the function of direction of the masses in the revolutionary movement of their country. (143) It was introduced to correct the “revolutionary insufficiency” made clear by the events

of 1914 of the old socialist parties that queued for joining the Communist International. However, it was formulated in conciliatory terms, to meet the resistances these parties have to transform themselves in parties adequate to the duties the times requested. In conclusion, the experience demonstrated that the third condition for joining the Communist International was inadequate. In the imperialist countries, the communist parties born after the First World War that accepted it show themselves unable to face their own duties, also because of the limited and subordinate conception of the clandestine activity that they had and that was received by the third condition.

It follows that to conceive the activity of the communist party as an activity strategically legal, considering the legality as a rule and the clandestinity as the exception going into action at the moments of emergency, not to prevent the moment when the bourgeoisie tries to break off the party, not to build the party in view and in function of the civil war, means not to abide the laws of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries. The communist parties that did so paid hard lessons: we have only to think to the history of Italian, German, Spanish, French; Japanese, United States parties, etc.

Clandestinity does not prevent to develop a wide legal activity, taking advantage of all conditions. On the contrary, it makes possible any kind of legal action. It makes possible legal activities a legal communist party is not able to do. It makes also possible the less “revolutionary” activities that become means for connecting organizationally to the field of revolution and influencing also the most backwards parts of the popular masses, that become instruments to strengthen clandestinity.

On the other side, the clandestinity cannot be improvised. A party built for legal activity or mainly for it and that underwent bourgeoisie’s initiative, is hardly able to react to the action of the bourgeoisie that outlaws and persecutes it. Besides, a legal party is not able to resist effectively to corruption, threats, blackmails, terrorist actions of counter-preventive revolution, of the “dirty war”, of the “low intensity war” and the rest of the arsenal with which the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries supplied itself for opposing the progression of the proletarian revolution. A legal party is not able to gather and form the revolutionary forces the movement of society gradually generates and, as this happens, to commit those forces in the struggle to further open the road to the revolutionary process, so training and forming them. A legal party is not able to debate through the end the balance of the experience and its watchwords and so to elaborate a right strategy and tactics and to bring them to the popular masses. (144)

The communist party, therefore, has to be a clandestine direction of the entire movement of the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses.

The mass line is the method for directing the movements that still do not want to be directed by the party. The communist party has to be a party that is built in clandestinity and that from clandestinity weaves its cobweb and moves its multiform activity in every field. It has to be a strategically clandestine party (that therefore has in clandestinity its strategic background), but it sets part of its clandestine members to perform duties in legal political struggle, in legal work of mass mobilization and it creates all the legal structures the situations allows to create. The numerical relation between the two parts, the comrades dedicated only to the clandestine activity and the ones dedicated to legal activities varies according to the concrete situations. Presently and for a time still undetermined in our country the relation will be decidedly in favour of the clandestine comrades dedicated to legal work.

The new Italian communist party has to be a clandestine strategic direction. Anyway, presently in our country the working class and the popular masses carry out the huge majority of their political, economic and cultural activity not clandestinely. They avail themselves of the political freedom of action the communist movement imposed to the bourgeoisie with the victory of antifascist Resistance. It is a political freedom of action that the bourgeoisie limited and limits, but that it hasn't yet dared to suppress. So, only few workers are available today to commit themselves in a clandestine work. Today, the activity of defence and attack of the workers is carried out mainly openly, with activities tolerated by the bourgeoisie. It discourages and hinders them, but do not dare yet to forbid them openly. The working class must exploit and must lead the popular masses to exploit to the end the space of political freedom conquered by the Resistance and by the struggles of the following years and, also on this field, it must push the bourgeoisie to unmask itself, to restrict these freedoms, revealing its interests. The practice taught and teaches that every attempt (done with the example or with the propaganda) to induce workers and popular masses to leave this ground is completely flimsy. In their militarist deviation the Red Brigades made also this vain attempt, and so do the secret societies\* that proclaim themselves their heirs and imitate them in this and other deviations, as the situation does not allow to imitate them in their positive role. Every attempt in this sense leads only to let freedom of action to revisionists, economists and bourgeoisies. The bourgeoisie will gradually prevent the masses from performing legally political and cultural activities as they do from the victory of the Resistance till now, and will outlaw, persecute, etc. who will keep on doing them legally. There is no doubt that it will do it: it is enough to see the "progresses" already done on this way as regards the freedom of strike, the freedom of thought and propaganda, the representation in elective assemblies:

the bourgeoisie has no other way but this one, though it knows by experience how dangerous it is and therefore strain itself so much for not entering it. Besides, the progresses of the communist party, of the working class and the popular masses, their organized resistance to the progression of the crisis and to the extermination war the bourgeoisie is carrying out against the popular masses, their irruption in the bourgeois political struggle that will prevent the cheating performance the bourgeoisie presents to the masses, will raise a powerful counter-revolution that however the communist party will be able to face. Only when all this will gradually happen then, on the base of their experience, the working class, the proletariat and the popular masses will move a growing part of their forces in the war, that only then will become the main form in which they will express themselves and the party will be able to lead them victoriously.

The Communist Party of Italy of the first Twenties had a clandestine apparatus, but not the clandestine direction; in 1926 it was outlawed; it became clandestine because it was obliged to do it and succeeded in doing it enough easily only thanks the support of Communist International; it lost its direction (Antonio Gramsci); still in July 1943 it did not avail itself of the collapse of fascism for constructing an army; it founded itself on the alliance with the democratic parties for a peaceful passage to a new bourgeois regime; in September 1943 it let scatter most of the army constituted by armed proletarians because it was not still able to give them a concrete direction and did not avail itself of the power vacuum and of the military materials the escape of king and most of the high officers made available to everybody willing to use it. Only in the following months it put the war at the first place, created its own military formations against Nazis and fascists and obliged all the other political forces unwilling to lose contacts with the masses and longing for having a role after the war to follow it on its ground. (103)

The KPD (German Communist Party) during the Twenties attempted many insurrections (not by chance failed) and in 1933 let arrest its direction (Ernst Thaelmann), kept clandestine organizations but did not succeed in mobilizing on the plan of war nor the communist workers (though the KPD had 5 millions of votes in latest elections in 1933) nor the social democratic workers, the Hebrews or other part of the population that yet were persecuted to death by Nazis.

The French government declared war on Germany on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939. The PCF (French Communist Party) was in such conditions that thousands of its members together with thousands of other antifascists were arrested by the government and the organization of the party broke almost completely. M. Thorez, secretary of the PCF, answered to the call to arms of the

bourgeois government! At the beginning of June 1940 the PCF asked the government Reynaud to arm the people against the Nazi armies spreading in France since 10<sup>th</sup> May and the obvious answer was the “French” government decree that intimated to every “French” owning firearms to give them to the commissariats. Only thanks to the help of the Communist International from July 1940 on, after that the contrasts among French imperialist groups resulted in a civil war among them (the De Gaulle’s proclamation from London is of the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1940), the PCF heroically and tenaciously reconstructed its organization and only starting from 1941, little by little, it undertook the revolutionary war as principal form of activity.

Which lesson do we have to draw from this historical experience? That we have to build the party starting from clandestinity. The clandestinity is not a tactic but a strategic matter. It is a decision we have to take today so as to be able to face rightly our today duties and to face our tomorrow duties. The protracted revolutionary people’s war is the strategy of the new communist movement and already today leads our activity. The peaceful struggles are an aspect of communist movement tactics and today are the more widespread aspect of popular masses’ activity. We have not to undergo bourgeoisie’s initiative, nor to wait for masses’ mobilization preceding us. We have to take the initiative, to precede the bourgeoisie and to predispose our present little forces so as they could be able to receive, organize, form and direct to the struggle the forces that the course of capitalism general crisis produces *in itself* among the masses, a production whose fertility is and will be increased by the mass work of the communist party.

The communist party is clandestine, but it is not a secret society. It is different from the many secret societies living and operating in our country. After the defeat of the Red Brigades at the beginning of the Eighties, some comrades, instead of criticizing the militarist deviation that generated the defeat and therefore gathering the remnant forces and committing them in the building of the communist party, constituted a number of “secret societies”. (145) At that time the bourgeoisie was attempting to consolidate its victory and the right wing of the movement (Toni Negri & co.), who represented its interests, was for the liquidation of the revolutionary organization and the return to the “legal struggle”: What the bourgeoisie was trying to get with persecutions, tortures, special prison regime and rewards to spies (“repented”, “dissociated” people), the right wing strengthened with the line of dissociation. We have to acknowledge that the comrades who constituted the secret societies opposed the right wing and the liquidation of the revolutionary organization. This is the positive side of their action. The negative side is that

they tried and are trying to revive what the practice demonstrated to be not vital. The secret societies pretend to substitute the working class with Fighting Communist Organizations, some for a determined, other for an undetermined time. They try to do by themselves what the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses are not disposed to do. They do not understand nor the reasons of Red Brigades’ successes, nor those of their defeat. The theory of “substitution” is fruit of the mistrust in the revolutionary capacity of the masses, and the practice of the secret societies, as long as it has political effect, feeds that mistrust.

The communist party does not undertake the quixotic duty to carry out the civil war against the bourgeoisie in the place of the working class, of the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses, to “substitute” their “lack of revolutionary energy”. The experience of the revolutionary movement had many times showed that the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses, and not the communist party, carry out and are able to carry out a victorious civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. The duty of the communist party is to gather, form, organize, and direct the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses to make the revolution. Its mass work today consists of mobilizing the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses to carry out a practical movement that will lead them to a victorious civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie, within the second wave of the proletarian revolution advancing all over the world.

Is it possible to build a clandestine party in the present conditions of preventive counter-revolution and out of the conditions of a general war? Is not it fatal that the bourgeoisie succeeds in preventing it from existing, in cutting off any strain to build it?

The building of the communist party in the clandestinity is a task necessary and possible, even if difficult, because it is new and because for it, owing to the damage done by modern revisionists, we cannot avail ourselves but for the least part of the patrimony of experiences accumulated by the first Communist International. However, in our country we can avail also of the experience of the Red Brigades and of the secret societies themselves. Anyway, setbacks and defeats are possible, probable, and we have to take them in account. We cannot and we will not be able to avoid them completely. Our victory consist of rising again after every defeat, of never letting us be completely eliminated, of learning from the mistakes we have done.

In the past the working class had clandestine parties in many circumstances: in Czarist Russia, in nationalist China, in fascist Italy and in many other countries. The modern revisionists fed and feed the

terrorist image of the almighty bourgeoisie for taking off an instrument indispensable to working class' struggle. "God is everywhere", "God sees everything", "God is almighty" say the priests; the bourgeoisie's spokes persons and the revisionists changed this old threatening priests' sentences with "The CIA sees everything, is everywhere, can do everything", "not a leaf stirs but the CIA wills it", and promoted a tumbledown caravan of murderers, sneaks and mercenaries thirsty for blood and career to the role of almighty God! According to them, the revolutionary movements in USA had not been able to develop because of CIA and FBI. The Red Brigades had been defeated "thanks to the State, that at a certain point began to fight them seriously". And so on. Ruling class' almightiness has always been a topic of terrorist propaganda of this class itself, and an excuse both of opportunists and of the defeated people who do not want to recognize their errors and make self-criticism. If ruling classes' fierceness and intelligence has ever been able to stop the movement of emancipation of the oppressed classes, history would be still at slavery. The bourgeois society is full of contradictions, has many factors of instability, its functioning is constituted by an unlimited number of traffics and movements and, in order to make it working, the bourgeoisie is obliged to make use of the masses

that at the same time it oppresses: in conclusion it is a society that more than the former class societies presents sides favourable for the activity of the oppressed classes that are determined to fight. The clandestine activity that all the revolutionary parties had and have to carry out also in the imperialist countries (even if they declare themselves legal, condemn the clandestinity and so carry it out as dilettantes and in an auxiliary way), so as the experience of the Red Brigades and of the secret societies confirm that a clandestine organization can exist also in imperialist countries despite the regime of preventive counter-revolution, also in the countries not involved in an external war, in a period of "peace".

After all, the possibility a communist party has to constitute and work clandestinely depends on its tie with the masses and this on its turn depends on the political line of the party, if it corresponds or not to the concrete real conditions of the clash the masses are living even if they have a limited consciousness of it. This is the key of success or defeat of a communist party. However fierce and capillary the repression is, it never has succeeded in preventing life and work of a party that had a right line and, on the base of it, it drew from the inexhaustible tank of energies and resources of every kind constituted by the working class, the proletariat and the popular masses.

### **3.5. The General Plan of Work (GPW)**

The (new) Italian Communist Party has the duty to lead the working class to make Italy a new socialist country and, starting from this outcome, to direct the rest of the popular masses in the transition from capitalism to Communism. The (new) Italian Communist Party carries out this duty so contributing to world proletarian revolution.

The strategy of the party is the protracted revolutionary people's war. Now we are carrying out the first phase, that is the phase of strategic defensive. Our duty in this phase consists of the accumulation of the revolutionary forces. In this phase our work is subdivided in two fundamental fields:

#### **1. The consolidation and strengthening of the party.**

The party has to enable itself to keep on existing, whatever be the strains of bourgeoisie for destroying it or limiting its activity; it has to keep on multiplying quantity and quality of its organizations and activities; to unite the masses, mobilize and organize them (to make every mass struggle a school of Communism); to build, consolidate and strengthen mass organizations; to take the direction, through the mass line, of the existing mass organizations, particularly of present re-

gime trade unions, mainly levering upon interests and aspirations of the mass of their members, mobilizing the left wing so as it isolates the right, unites the centre to itself and dares to direct. Whatever may be the strains of bourgeoisie to destroy it or limit its activity, the party has to enable itself to keep on gathering experience, ideas and feeling of the masses, elaborating them with growing cleverness in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and translate them in lines, passwords, directives, methods that it brings to the masses so that they assimilate and carry them out; to keep on carrying out the wider activity of orientation, organization and direction of the popular masses; to keep on exercising and widening its influence over the masses and the entire society.

So, the party has to constantly direct the forces it gathers so as it could strengthen its central clandestine structure, improving the division of work, creating reserves (of means, instruments, money any kind of resources) and forming a growing number of comrades on every ground of clandestine work.

The strengthening of the central clandestine structure goes on together with the multiplication of the base and intermediate Party Committees (cells), par-

ticularly cells in concerns. The call to “build a clandestine Party Committee in every concern, living zone, mass organization” indicates the work we have to do in these years. The (new) Italian communist Party will be the real Staff of the working class that struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie when it will be able to orient and direct the practical movement of the working class. In order to do it at least an important part of the advanced workers will have to be members of the Party Committees: the number of the advanced workers members of the party is the measure of the party progress towards getting the role of Staff of the working class struggling against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In this phase the main duties of each Party Committee are: to work in a clandestine way, to keep connection with the centre, to form its members, to recruit new members, to do mass work, firstly the orientation and direction of mass organizations.

## **2. The mass work of the party.**

In these years the party will carry out, through its central activities and that of the Party Committees, the mass work consisting of promoting, organizing, orienting and directing the struggle of the popular masses on four fronts. They are four fronts connected, that develop dialectically among them: the development of a front favours the develop of the others; a front cannot develop without the development in some measure of the others.

First front: the resistance to repression, the struggle against repression and the solidarity. Mobilization of the popular masses in the struggle against repression and in the solidarity with organizations and individuals target of the repressive measures of bourgeoisie, with the main aim to strengthen the ability of the popular masses and organizations to resist to repression, to strengthen moral and intellectual resistance to repression, to develop the class consciousness, the consciousness of antagonist contrast of interests and the consciousness of the struggle that opposes the popular masses to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and secondly, with the aim of hinder and prevent the repressive activity of the bourgeoisie. The party has to support all the organization that set themselves these objectives and make flow all their particular struggles in one only flood able to unite and strengthen the popular masses.

Second front: the mobilization of the popular masses

to intervene in the bourgeois political struggle with the main objective to favour the accumulation of revolutionary forces and secondly with the aim to improve the living and work conditions of the popular masses and extend their right, sharpen and take advantage of the contradiction among groups and forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The quickest and most effective way to destroy in the popular masses every trust and illusion about the seriousness and utility of the performance of the petty theatre of bourgeois politics, is to mobilize the masses to rush into that scene.

Third front: the mobilization of the popular masses in claiming struggles, in the defence without reservation of the conquests wrung out from the bourgeoisie in the ambit of the first wave of proletarian revolution, in the struggles for extending their rights and improving work and living conditions of the popular masses. The main guide principle on this work is “to make every struggle a school of Communism”.

Fourth front: the mobilization of the popular masses to build the means and organs autonomous from bourgeoisie (People’s Houses, social centres, cooperatives, cultural circles, mutual aid societies, sporting and recreative associations, etc.) useful to directly satisfy, without depending on the market of imperialist bourgeoisie and on its public administration, their needs and extend their participation in enjoying and developing the cultural patrimony of the society. The main guide principle on this front is “to make every initiative a school of Communism”.

The party work on these four fronts, combining with the progression of the general crisis of capitalism, with the activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the renewal of the communist movement on the international level, will get the result to gather the revolutionary forces in the Front of the revolutionary organizations and classes, the raising of the quality of working class’ revolutionary forces that will learn to lead the proletariat and the other popular masses. This will made wider and more acute the struggle of the oppressed classes against the imperialist bourgeoisie and will determine their growing lining up in a front that will oppose the field of imperialist bourgeoisie, will enable the direction of the working class to assert itself in every field of the popular masses’ movement, will create the conditions for the passage from the first to the second phase of the protracted revolutionary people’s war.



# Chapter IV

## Program for the socialist phase

In the course of the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie the working class will adopt all the possible measures to promote the greatest anticapitalist mobilization and the greatest organization of the popular masses in the ambit of the anticapitalist front, all the measures to promote the greatest deployment of popular masses' energy in the struggle to solve the current problems of their life and to eliminate imperialist bourgeoisie's domination, all the measures to promote a greater education of the masses, through the experience, to solve their problem by themselves and rule themselves. (146)

Once the power will be seized, the working class will use it to start the transformations that will allow the richest possible deployment of popular masses' initiative and to start it to transform the relations of production, the other social relations and the conceptions and feelings derived from old relations. The quickest, most effective, less painful and destructive way by which the masses could learn to rule themselves is to begin to rule. The working class and its communist party have to support and promote their mobilization, organize and direct them to this objective. (147)

Whatever difficult is their apprenticeship and despite all the errors they could make, the masses the bourgeois domination kept away from the "serious and delicate business" that decide their life, the masses the bourgeoisie tried in every way to brutish

and corrupt, have no other way to take their destiny in their hands.

Nor the working class can count upon anything but this to advance in its emancipation and put an end to any exploitation of man over man, to the division in classes of exploiters and exploited and to the existence of the State. The history of socialist countries demonstrated that the masses organized and directed by the working class learn quickly and manage their business better than any bunch of bourgeois functionaries. (148)

Here they are the principal measures the party fights to realize immediately after working class' seizure of power: they are not arbitrary or random aspirations. They are objectively necessary transformations and positive trend of present society, means to start the solution of its present piercing contradictions. Our program do not order what the popular masses have to do: its aim is to make the party able to help the working class, the proletariat and the rest of the popular masses to draw right lessons from the experience of their practical movement. It contains principles, criteria and measures to rationally reorganize the already now existing material and spiritual productive forces at the service of the popular masses, to immediately make the labour necessary and obligatory for everybody the most respectful of integrity and dignity of workers, to create the premises of the following gradual transition from capitalism to Communism. (149)

### 4.1. Proletariat's dictatorship

1. On every level (central, regional, provincial, communal, of zone, productive unity, concern, school, institution, etc.) all the power (legislative, executive, judiciary, economic, military, of police, culture, education, etc.) belong to one only Council (assembly, chamber) composed by elected delegates revocable in every moment and without exception by their electors. Every Council will appoint and revoke its work organs.

2. Electoral constituencies are the working units, the concerns, schools, institution, etc. Where these are too little to express a delegate, they are grouped on territorial base. All those who make a work recognized socially useful by the collectivity, independently from age, sex, nationality, religion, language, etc. have right to vote. Only the ones that have been recognized as class enemies, and therefore have been expressly deprived of political rights by the masses, have no right to vote.

3. Self-government on every level (regional, provincial, communal, of zone, productive unit, concern, school, institution, etc.). Elimination of every local authority designated from above. The Councils of inferior level elect their delegates (revocable) for the Council of superior levels, until the central government. The system of Councils works according to the principle of democratic centralism.

4. General organization of the masses and direct fulfilment by the mass organizations of the duties to organize and manage growing aspects of local life: economy, culture, health, education administration of justice, public order, defence of territory, struggle to counter-revolution, territorial militia, politics, etc.

5. Election and revocability on every level of judges, functionaries of public administration, armed forces

and police, managers, teachers and every people charged with carrying out public offices.

6. The entire population that has political rights performs the functions of police and armed forces. Special and professional bodies will be constituted only for fighting reaction and counter-revolution and for defending country from aggressions. They work in support to the masses and give them account for their actions.

7. Everyone who is delegate to carry out a public function is paid for it. The salary of the delegates of every order and degree, so as that of the public functionaries, does not exceed that of a worker of superior level. All the attributions of premises, transport means and other connected with the exercise of delegates' function are public and connected to the function and can in no way become their own property of the functionary. The delegates enjoy no immunity: every citizen can put them on charge in front of their electors or of the Council that elected them.

8. Dissolution of every body of the present State, of its public administration on every level (government, local councils, committees, school, health, social security, welfare structures, etc.), of its armed forces, any kind of police bodies, arm associations, chivalry orders, associations of the present ruling class, its professional associations and every its form of aggregation.

Abolition of nobiliary titles and apanages, immunity and privileges to them connected.

Abolition of all feudal institutions and privileges survived (Vatican, Churches, bishop's revenues, charitable institutions, freemasonries (freemasonic Lodges, Rotary Clubs, Lyon's Clubs and similar associations of

the ruling class), orders, etc. Annulment of Concordat and of pacts by which in the name of the imperialist bourgeoisie the fascism constituted and the Christian Democratic regime renewed the Vatican.

To the people who worked as office-workers in these dissolved bodies is ensured the living and they are employed in works fit with their aptitudes and the needs of the society.

9. Revocation of every political and civil right to all the members of the old ruling class. Repression of every attempt by the bourgeoisie to restore its power and privileges, to use its moral authority and its means for influencing the masses and the social life.

10. Absolute separation of State and public administration from the churches. Equality of rights of all cults. Freedom to profess every cult and religion. Freedom to not profess anyone and to propagandize atheism.

11. Elimination of all the foreign bases and of the presence of armed forces and foreign police and spy bodies (USA, NATO, Israel, etc.). Annulment of all the treaties stipulated by the old regime, included those creating the new "living space" of French-German imperialist groups (EU, EUM, etc.). Expulsion of all the official representative and exponents by any way of foreign States who not hold to new authorities' directions, who try in any way to influence the masses and the social life, or whose presence is no more necessary. Prohibition to every Italian citizen to maintain relations with foreign States or public administration without make it public.

Collaboration with revolutionary and progressive movement of the entire world.

## 4.2. Structure of the society

12. Destruction of the network of financial relations that, combining the savings of millions of people with the financial capital of the imperialist bourgeoisie, stifles the practical economic activities. Annulment of mortgages, loans and debts towards banks, State and imperialist bourgeoisie.

Annulment of interests on debts contracted among members of the popular masses. Annulment of foreign debts and credits. Annulment of financial properties of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Transformation of middle bourgeoisie and workers' financial patrimonies in not interest-bearing savings that the holders can use as additional or deferred income, at constant buying power. Protection of workers' savings, of pensions and any other mean of subsistence and warranty constituted by workers.

Change of the money and commitment of its issue

to one only bank. Reduction of money to means of exchange and measure of individual consumption. Nationalization of the entire artistic patrimony, of immovable and movables properties, of land, subsoil and waters. Utmost valorization of everything for improving material and spiritual conditions of the popular masses.

13. Elimination without indemnity of great capitalists' property in industry, agriculture, commerce, transports, research, etc. Constitution in every expropriated productive unit of a direction that combines workers' initiative with general working class' direction in the country, the particular with the general. Management of concerns according to a national plan and local plans that assign duties and resources and determine destination of products.

14. Selection and replacement of public functionaries and employees on the base of collective and individual ability to satisfy popular masses' needs and to mobilize them to improve their conditions.

Protection of individual property of autonomous workers, support of the application of most advanced, hygienic, productive, surest and less polluting technologies. Work orders and supply planned for individual firms and assurance of outlets.

Gradual and voluntary transformation of familiar and individual economic enterprises and of the other one still having scarce collective character in cooperative enterprises.

15. National planning of the employment of resources, of care and formation of natural resources, of the production of every productive unit, of the distribution of products and of foreign exchange. Economic exchanges with all countries on the base of mutual interests and of respect of national independence.

Mobilization of the popular masses against environmental pollution, energetic waste and waste of material resources and for improving hygienic and functional quality of products.

16. Every people has to carry out a socially useful work, excluded those recognized unable to work because of age, ill, invalidity. At the same time it needs to develop all the conditions (technical, organizational, scientific) so that the disabled could perform a socially useful work, despite the handicap they have. Domestic work has to be dealt as social useful work, made as more as possible collective (canteens, laundries, domestic repair, etc.) and carried out also by men, everything with the purpose to put an end to women's isolation and marginalization.

Every people gets an income as individual title, according to measures determined in proportion to quantity and quality of the work done, valued by work collective and workers' conferences on local, regional and national level. The people who, because of valid reasons, do not carry out a socially useful work (children, students, elders, invalids, etc.) will have an income that will constitute the material base for emancipation of women from men, children and young people from parents, etc.

On this base, by the work of the population itself, it will be easy the elimination of every criminal activity, speculation, corruption, plot, etc.

17. Limitation of the obligatory workday, realizing the general obligation to work. Today more than a half of population's working ability is wasted: unused, used in activities not socially useful or low used.

Prohibition of extraordinary and night work excluded the cases in which it is technically necessary. Limitation

of the number of years that people could be employed in harmful works. Rotation in harmful, wearing and painful works. Prohibition of works not publicly declared.

Valorisation in every field of voluntary work, developing on a great scale what the masses have already begun to do in bourgeois society. Distinction of the voluntary work from the obligatory one, to which everybody has to contribute.

As the concrete situation allows it and the production grows, to trend to the distribution "to every body according to his needs".

To trend to transform every activity in voluntary work, free expression of the creativity and physical and spiritual energy of every individual in the ambit of social organization. Consequent reduction of the obligatory work, until its elimination.

18. Prohibition to employ women in condition harmful for female organism. Paid leave for maternity and children care.

19. Institution in every concern, complex of concerns and building complex of crèches, infant schools and everything is necessary to life and sociality of children and adults. Maintenance, care and education of children have not to burden upon single families nor women. The society assigns an income to every child. Parents have to be supported and helped when children are not self-sufficient.

20. Assurance on charge of society of all cases of temporary or permanent inability to work. The guide principle to define the practical measures is that security and dignity of every individual are ensured by the society as a whole: therefore, they have not to rest as a disgrace or an obligation upon its parents or neighbours.

21. Institution of work inspectors elected and revocable by workers, with the authority to dispose interventions and measures necessary for hygiene and security of work and prevention of pollution. Hygiene and security of work and prevention of pollution have to be indexes of valuation of every productive unit.

22. Creation of employment office charged with distributing manpower rationally in all necessary work and in ensuring full employment of the entire population. The working ability is the most precious resource and has to be constantly improved and valorised. In the ambit of school programs, it has to be provided the participation in production and elders must be able to give voluntarily all the contribution their forces allow.

23. Measures to make easier workers' professional formation and collaboration with concerns with the

aim to reduce the division between manual and intellectual work, among executive and directive, organizational, control work. Conferences of work collectives. Exchange of experiences with collective of other concerns.

24. Measures to make easier the combination between cities and countryside, exchanges, stays, etc. Industrialization and urbanization of countryside, in

### 4.3. Superstructure of society

26. General reorganization of services (education, health, culture, recreation, canteens, etc.) putting them at the service of the promotion of welfare for the oppressed classes of the present societies. Mobilization of the masses for directly managing the services on the various levels, reducing central direction to the minimum indispensable. Struggle to transform sport, culture, creative and recreative activities from professional activities in activities freely practiced by the masses.

27. National health care. Every citizen has the right to the best cures and health care the science can put at disposal. Public recovery and valorization of all ancient and modern, foreign and Italian practices that demonstrate to be valid for improving health and welfare. Universal sanitary education and struggle against the private property of medicine by doctors. Mobilization of the masses for improving physical and mental conditions.

28. Maternity and children care will be considered as socially useful activity, not as private matter. Universal education to maternity, paternity and physical, moral and intellectual care of new generations as task and duty of the entire society. Material and moral protection of pregnant women, of birth and of the period immediately following so that pregnancy, birth, child-care and mother's physical and moral recovery will be carried out in the best conditions.

29. Care, education and physical, moral and intellectual formation of children, boys and girls are a duty of society. Associations of parents, work units, public administration and mass organization have to be actively involved in it. To develop as far as possible the relations among generations, to break the personal dependence on material and psychological plan of boys, girls and young people from any single family.

30. Universal sexual education and care of sexual health and happiness of every individual as duty of society. Mobilization of the masses for struggling against violence on women and children, against enslavement and subjection of women to men.

order to break the isolation of countryside and the overcrowding of urban areas. (150)

25. Measures that ensure a dignified life to elders, the possibility to put their experience at the service of society in the forms and measures allowed by their forces. To promote the use of what they can give so that they could be and feel themselves useful and enjoy the prestige and love due to them.

31. To adopt measures to promote participation of young generations to all the social functions which they can participate in, as far as they forces allow it and with formation, not production, as principal aim. To favour in all ways experiences, knowledge and formative relations.

32. General polytechnic education (for the theoretical and practical knowledge of the main branches of production, social and cultural activities) free and obligatory for everyone until 16 years. Close connection of education with productive social work. To favour with proper measures education on every level and at every age. Passage of public education to organs of self government bodies, suppression of every coercive intervention of central power in the elaboration of school programs and in the choice of teaching staff. Election of the teachers by the local population and revocability of undesirable teachers by the population itself. Distribution of food, lodging and school objects to schoolboys and students by the public administration, taking care to form young people to taste, choice, emulation, collaboration, etc.

To promote with the education the elimination of the differences and of the prejudices, fight backwardness and isolation. Education to respect and defence of public property and individual rights.

Use of didactic patrimony of society in favour of most backward and excluded sectors, of suburbs and countryside.

33. The service networks (telephone, mail, internet, railways, urban services, highways, roads, health services, schools, museums, etc.) have to be freely enjoyable, generally speaking, so that they contribute as more as possible to welfare, rest, amusement, cultural growth and development of social relations. Limitations are accepted only if they are necessary to not exclude anybody.

34. Nationalization of urban building patrimony and free ownership of house by every family or autonomous group, protection of popular masses' property of their house. Mobilization of the masses for mainte-

nance and hygienic improvement of houses. Mass education about the safe use of domestic networks (light electrical energy , gas, etc.)

Connection of all houses to service networks. Free availability of building space and patrimony for social activities on the level of local communities.

35. Total freedom of language and culture for national and linguistic minorities. Measures for developing traditional culture and assurance of minorities' life in every field. To use systematically the cultural differences for elaborating the general culture.

36. Development of a culture that helps the popular masses to understand their material and spiritual problems

and find proper solutions. Freedom of religion, of thought and propaganda. Every organized group of the popular masses will have the right to use the necessary material means for its spiritual life (press, radio, TV, informatics and local networks, other material).

All cognitive and scientific patrimony of society has to be employed at the service of the masses, to improve material, moral and cultural conditions of every individual. Abolition of the property of discoveries and artistic works, of copyright, patents, etc.

Mobilization of intellectuals to make them use the social patrimony of which they are depository to help the masses to better understand themselves, their material conditions, feelings, moods, relations and direct them in the better way.





# Chapter V

## Principal objection to our Manifesto Program

Surely, many objections will be raised to this Programme Manifesto. Partly, they are the intellectual reflection of the influence and hegemony the bourgeoisie, clergy and other ruling classes of the past still have upon the popular masses; partly, they are the intellectual reflection of the ongoing popular masses' transformation: of the struggle for a righter understanding of the existing and coming world. To examine deeply each objection is an important aspect of our struggle in intellectual field.

Let's see the main ones.

*1. To those who mistrust the masses will flow again on to the flag of Communism and under the direction of the communist party,*

we answer that is wrong to think to the future as the same of the present. What in the present is just in germ is that will be great tomorrow. What today is only possible will be the reality of tomorrow. The imperialist bourgeoisie does not offer the popular masses any progress perspective, does not either offer the popular masses the possibility of keep living in the present conditions. The bourgeoisie itself have to overthrow and it is overthrowing the current order, forcing the masses to mobilize for finding new solutions for their life. This, and not sermons and ideas, is what is bringing and will bring the masses to get out from usual habits and to do things they have not done for years (the most horrible episodes of current news confirm it negatively).

The proper trend of capitalism (in spite of what the exponents of left-wing bourgeois culture, the Keynesians, the operaists, etc. say) is not to grant income in order to "increasing the market", bringing in the world aids, "human rights" and democracy: capitalism mainly tends to divide and set masses against masses, to feed poverty, exploitation, brutalization and subjection. The bourgeoisie have showed it even in the years of development and recovery (1945-1975), in the countries where it did not feel itself pressed by the presence of the communist movement, and demonstrate it now "everywhere": everywhere where this trend is not obstructed by popular masses' struggle, that only the working-class with its party can develop on a large scale and run with success.

In the course of the general crisis and in absence of a strong revolutionary movement this bourgeoisie's trend come off on a large scale and above all in a proportion deep, odious and repulsive. Therefore it becomes a factor of mobilization (revolutionary or reactionary) of the wide popular masses.

*2. To the Subjective Forces of the Socialist Revolution and to the advanced workers made shy, unsteady and, sometimes, prey to discouragement and disappointment and tried by giving up by the indifference of the masses to their calls,*

we answer that there are their mistakes of conception and method, their deviation from the conception and method that the experience of the communist movement indicates as right, necessary and effective, that there are their limits that make their calls vain, that make the masses deaf to them. Sometimes the masses are driven back by the opportunism of some "vanguards" who firstly they refuse to take the role and responsibilities consistent to their calls and that the masses need for carrying out their activism; they are driven back by the opportunism that brings some "vanguards" to ask the masses to perform roles they cannot directly perform. Today there belong to this rank those who want the masses to carry out claiming struggles on a large scale without a communist party, those who want the "acknowledgement of the masses" for their party still before having built it and before it had showed to the masses to deserve their trust, those who propagandize among the masses the necessity of the rebuilding of the party without directly commit themselves in the rebuilding.

*3. To people sceptical and contrary to the existence of the communist party,*

we, using the experience of the 150 years of communist movement, answer that both victories and defeats of the working class demonstrate that the communist party is indispensable. The working class never conquered power where it did not have a party expressly built for this objective. It conquered it only where it had such a party. The demolition of socialist countries and of socialist field began when the right wing took the direction of communist parties.

On the other side, the victory of deviation in the party is not unavoidable. The communist movement is learning to struggle effectively against deviations in the party. It has already accumulated experience in the field of prevention and struggle against such deviations: the understanding of the unavoidable reflections of the struggle between the two classes within the party, the two lines struggle in the party, the objective tendency of popular masses to Communism, the mass line. These are the contributions of Maoism to the theory of the party. (152)

4. *To sceptical people and to those who give a negative evaluation about the experience of construction of socialism (transition from capitalism to Communism) carried out in the first socialist countries,*

we show the great outcome get by the communist movement during the first wave of proletarian revolution (the first general crisis of capitalism): a socialist camp from Europe (Elbe-Adriatic Sea) to Southern Pacific Sea with a third of world population at that time. We indicate the great economic, political, cultural conquests realized in short time by the most oppressed and backward popular masses of the planet. Even the most backward masses, once liberated by the oppression of bourgeoisie, on base of their experience quickly learn to settle peacefully and in a progressive way the relations among them and find progressive solutions for the contradictions within the people. Marx already noted that man forms every knowledge, perception, etc. from sensible world and from the experience of it; so, what matters is to order the empirical world so that the man within it makes experience of - and take the habit of - what is really human (that is what differentiates the human species from the other animal species) - so that man experiences himself as man. If man is not free, that is it has not the power to develop, enrich and exercise its true individuality, it has to be punished not the single's crime, but it has to be destroyed the antisocial hotbeds of crime and given to everybody the social space for the expression of the essential aspects of his life. If man is shaped by circumstances, we have to humanly shape circumstances. (153) The purpose to change en masse individuals before changing society, that is before eliminating the oppression that makes them as they are, is a fantasy convenient only for people who want to divert forces from the struggle for eliminating oppression. In reality, the society creates the forces that will change it. From this change and during it, little by little it will rise also the transformation en masse of feelings, habits and consciousness of single individuals.

5. *To those who object that the first socialist countries did not succeed to stand, while the capitalist countries do it, even if they are wicked,*

we indicate the reasons why from a certain point onwards it began the decline of the first socialist countries, their approach to the capitalist countries, their new subjection (financial, technological, cultural political) to the world imperialist system. What happens today in socialist countries, the fierce exploitation of women, children and workers, the most dreadful crimes, the nationalist slaughters, demonstrates that the conquests of yesterday weren't fruit of the "nature" of the people that were protagonists or of their historical inheritance. They were fruit of the system and only of the socialist social system.

The Paris Commune, though defeated, was a step that allowed the working class and the popular masses of the entire world, to do a greater step on some decades later. Also the first socialist countries, though defeated, will be a step that will allow workers, women, children, elders, members of oppressed races and nationalities, today crushed by the "triumph" of imperialist groups and States over the first socialist countries beyond the limits our generation have known, to carry out a vaster improvement in the course of the second wave of proletarian revolution rising all over the world.

We have to fight the historicist conception according to which "if modern revisionists prevailed in the socialist countries after 1956 (or after 1976), this means that already before in socialist countries there was something wrong" (or even, the most "bold" - the followers of Bordiga, the trotskyites and their fellows of the left bourgeois culture - say, "already before the socialist countries were rotten"). In this "reasoning", in this "demonstration", in this conception there are combined the misunderstanding of dialectics and the reactionary spirit.

Misunderstanding of dialectics: something that is been carrying out, is that just because it is not yet carried out. It is and it is not. It is as was before, but yet it is not so. It is not what will be, but somehow it is so. Within this there it is implied the possibility of arrest and regression. So it is not as an ill, a defect, a mistake, but it is as an aspect ingrained to the thing itself and to its movement. They instead oppose the thing that is to the thing that is and yet it is not, that no more is and yet it is not. If it will be rotten tomorrow, so it is today and so it was yesterday. This is not true for the fruit, so how much do we think it could be true for such more complex phenomenon as a society?

Reactionary spirit: this conception condemns not only the socialist countries, but also the revolution that produced them (and here it joins all the social democratic and bourgeois filth that was against the October Revolution, that told it had not to be done and that fought it fiercely with no limits of shame and crimes). On the same wave, coherently, it has to condemn also what led to October Revolution, that is the communist movement. Furthermore it has to condemn what generated the communist movement and the birth of proletariat: the bourgeois revolution, the French Revolution of 1789. As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie already reached this! The bad company they get to should make think the deniers of the experience of the first socialist countries!

6. *To those who object that if every individual has according to its needs, so the prick of need and the incentive of individual interest are got out and every creativity and activism in production will die out,*

we show that the reality of bourgeois society itself denies their affirmation. (72)

Millions of simple wage-earning workers carry out with passion and initiative their work, despite the misery of the salary and the conditions of subjection, mortification of creativity and precariousness which the masters obliged them to work within. Millions of women look after son and daughters, families and homes with passion and devotion, though in bourgeois society their activity is neither considered a work. Thousands of artists, scientists, and researchers have made and make great efforts to create great works, often without be recognized.

Millions of people carry out a voluntary unpaid work, often in very difficult conditions, a work the ruling class celebrates against the workers who are fighting for a salary, but at the same time relegates at the margins of the “real economy” and corrupts, exploits and makes hateful to the masses with the enterprises of the “third sector”, of no-profit and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO), promoted, financed and manipulated by the imperialist governments. The bourgeoisie succeeds in dealing many of the most acute and upsetting manifestations of the bourgeois society just and only thanks to the voluntary work.

Besides, let's see how many efforts and crimes the ruling class has to do to oblige young people to adapt themselves to work only for money, denying the best aspirations of their life. How many disillusion and frustration, how much waste of physical, intellectual and moral energies!

Let's see the history of the past: for how much time did men work and build the bases of the civilization of which we enjoy fruits, without being moved by an individual interest?

Let's see the present: millions of workers gave and give resources, sweat and blood in the struggle for socialism and in the antimperialist struggles for the national liberation.

Let's see the dawn our future announced, the first socialist countries: hundred of millions of men and women demonstrated what the masses are able to do without being moved by individual interest. Once liberated by restraints and obstacles put by the law of value and by capitalist exploitation, the popular masses developed their productive forces and multiplied the material and spiritual richness of society and of single individuals, despite they had constantly to defend themselves from aggressions, sabotages and economic blocks raised by imperialist bourgeoisie, which was always the ruling class on the world level. For a short time and despite all the traces of the bourgeois society they drag with themselves, the popular masses of the first socialist countries showed what “an association where everyone's free development is the condition for all people's free development” will be able of, while in the bourgeois society the free initiative of some few individuals has the enslavement

and brutishment of the huge majority of the population as its necessary condition.

What else does remain of this objection, but the mean shadow the bourgeoisie casts on our minds? It is the capitalist who does nothing but for individual interest and money and for interest and money gets to every crime. The exploiting classes have made work the mass of the population with the constriction of force and need. They do not conceive other way of life for the workers. Sometimes the bourgeoisie succeeds in making believe that its mentality and conception are natural. On the contrary they reflect social relations that are destroying the conditions of life and the environment we live in, and strangle millions of human beings all around the world. And are you going to talk them (that is, to the million of victims of this system) of this system which they would share for individual interest?

*7. To those who object that nor the oppression the women today undergo, nor the oppression of nationalities and races, nor the subjection of young people to adults, nor the many other contradictions that divide the popular masses will be automatically solved in socialism,*

we answer that is quite true. It will need a specific struggle in each on these fronts. We shall carry it out. Shall we be able to win it? We make observe that due to the objective evolution of things the bourgeoisie has become the point of coagulation of every overwhelming and violence, of all oppressors. (76) Let's see at the condition of women and children in the present society, at the destiny the imperialist groups reserve for women and children in the most civil countries the bourgeoisie succeeded in creating. On the other side the working class will not succeed in escaping from its condition of oppression, exploitation and precariousness if it doesn't transforms the condition of all the oppressed people, if it doesn't put an end to any oppression. There will no Communism without putting an end to women's oppression and to marginalization and to any other kind of oppression. The socialism gathers all the necessary conditions for doing it and the working class will do it.

If we do not get the power out from the bourgeoisie, every attempt and effort to solve the single contradictions will be vain, because the ruling class, its relation and the necessity to defend its domination prevent from doing it, oblige the mass of individuals to reproduce the condition that oppress them.

The bourgeoisie perpetuates and generates contradiction within the people. It systematically transforms the contradiction that opposes itself to the people, in contradictions among the people. The contradictions within the people can be definitively solved only if it is solved the main contradiction, that opposes the popular masses to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Only in socialism the root of the practical life condition generating

misery, brutishment, egoism and violence is taken away. Therefore it is possible to fight effectively and successfully also their manifestations in the relations among the popular masses. The even short experience of the first socialist countries provided thousands elements that confirm it.

**8.** *To all those who object that the State cannot extinguish because men will ever need of social cohesion and therefore of institutions that make it possible, even more in communist than in bourgeois society.*

We say that they are right, but they do not distinguish between two very distinct and even contrasting functions that the State today performs. Let's consider the society of State monopolistic capitalism. On one side we have the old State instrument of oppression and constriction, an extraneous body of functionaries weighing upon the mass of population. On the other side we have the State that organizes the associated life with its bodies of functionaries. And often it only pretends to organize it, because the main function the bourgeoisie assigns to it is the first, because the bourgeoisie makes the State an organ of its interests opposed to those of the popular masses. In the course of socialism the first function will extinguish and with it the necessity to make carry out the second by bodies of functionaries professionally and systematically separated by the mass of the population. The organized popular masses will gradually assume the management of their own associated life and they themselves will repress possible antisocial behaviours: directly or through revocable delegates. No more professional politicians, no more lifelong professional political bodies (magistrates, policemen, diplomatists, functionaries), no more State secrets. This is the extinction of the State (see also the chapter 1.1 of this MP) (111)

**9.** *To those who object that we communists are contrary to the equality of political rights,*

we make observe that the bourgeoisie proclaims and has always proclaimed this equality of political rights, but it have never realized it. Nor it could realize it because the conditions of life to which it compels the mass of the population exclude it from the real exercise of the political rights the law proclaims. The nature itself of bourgeois political order and the nature itself of the bourgeois State, with their State secrets and their bodies of professional politicians and functionaries confirm it.

We communists always start from the real inequality, mobilize and organize the vanguard of the oppressed classes, together with it we create a new political order that favours the participation of the masses in the political activity and reserve the political rights to the classes now oppressed, we indicate them the way of organization and cultural elevation for really exercising the political rights and create the material, spiritual and

political conditions to really exercise them. On this way we shall arrive to a society governed by the organized population itself. This is the real democracy which we are struggling for. In this sense we carry out the democracy the bourgeoisie only proclaimed. (111)

**10.** *Is it possible that the socialist revolution triumphs in only one country?*

It is not only possible, but it has already happened and probably also in the future the revolution (socialist or of new democracy) will not triumph at the same time in all countries. Despite the unity created by the bourgeoisie in the world, the material and spiritual development of the various countries is much differentiated, the construction and strength of communist movement and parties are very different. Besides, the general crisis of capitalism differentiates them even more.

What will prevent the bourgeoisie from stifling the birth of revolution developing in one or some countries, using the force and arrogance of its weapons and richness, mobilizing all backwardness persisting among the popular masses, using the influence and hegemony it inherits from history? The fact that the revolutionary situation is universal. The imperialist bourgeoisie regimes in single countries are unsteady, stricken by any kind of convulsions. The popular masses are in turmoil in every country. The system of international relations among imperialist States, institutions and groups is more and more upset by contrasts and struggles. The imperialist groups struggle among themselves. Hotbeds of revolutions are more and more diffused. Imperialist bourgeoisie, particularly the US one, has many enemies all around the world and they will be our allies, if we shall demonstrate to be able to impose ourselves and hold our own with reaction. If we shall be strong, we shall have many allies.

This prevented the bourgeoisie from concentrating successfully its forces against the first Soviet republic. This will prevent the bourgeoisie from nipping the next revolutions in the bud. Vietnam was a great lesson, though Vietnamese people carried out their struggle in a period during which the world imperialist system was relatively steady. The force of the popular masses led by the working class and its communist party, the revolutionary turmoil growing in all countries, the contradictions and wars among imperialist contradictions and groups, the internationalist solidarity of the popular masses: these are in this order the factors that allow the victory of socialist revolution in a country or in a group of countries, despite the force and arrogance of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

**11.** *To people sceptical and to those who deny the possibility that socialist revolution triumphs in Italy,*

we indicate the reasons why the old Italian Communist Party realized the great advancements it did,

led the working class to the higher point and to the conquests. We also indicate the reason why the old PCI did not get the victory (and it could not do it because of the mistakes it did and of the limits it did not overcome).

The Subjective Forces of Socialist Revolution who assume as their general point of reference the left wing of the old PCI (some identifying it with Pietro Secchia) essentially aim to refuse Maoism as third higher stage of communist thought.

Our Manifesto Program includes a balance of the experiences of communist movement in Italy. Particu-

larly it indicates the positive that communists, workers and popular masses have carried out and that we make our own. Secondly, we try to understand and will better and better understand the mistakes of the old PCI (analyses, lines, wrong methods that deviated from what the communist movement already acquired with Marxism-Leninism, that is Bolshevism) and its limits (analyses, lines, wrong methods that requested the development of the patrimony of communist movement carried out in Maoism). Only doing so we are worthy successors of who preceded us in the struggle for establish socialism in our country.



## Notes for the study of the Manifesto Program

*With these notes we want to get three aims.*

- *To offer a guide to the comrades that will be called to teach and explain this MP to the candidates and the public.*
- *To offer reflection and references to the comrades who in the schools for directing cadres will have to deepen the theses exposed in the MP.*
- *To show that our conception is founded on theoretical patrimony of communist movement, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and develops it.*

### 1.

K. Marx (1818-1883) and F. Engels (1820-1895) collected and elaborated the experience of the struggles of the working class. For doing it they used the more advanced means for knowledge the humanity has accumulated until their times:

1 - the dialectical philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831),

2 - the political economy of A. Smith (1723-1790) and D. Ricardo (1778-1823),

3 - the materialism of French Enlightenment thinkers of XVIII century.

References:

V. I. Lenin *Three sources and integrant parts of Marxism* (1913), in *Works* vol. 19.

V. I. Lenin, *Karl Marx* (1914), in *Works* vol. 21.

F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878), in *Complete Works* vol. 25.

F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the landing place of German classical philosophy*, (1883).

### 2.

A process of natural history

With this affirmation we want to indicate a process that has in it and in circumstances the reasons of its self-development. This is not fruit of metaphysical, mysterious, divine interventions. Every transformation is result of the action of forces internal to the thing that is transforming itself and of external forces (conditions, circumstances). The ones and the others, so as the mutual relations, could be known through an adequate research. The reasons of rising and nature of every new stage of the process can be found in the previous stage and in the circumstances in which the new stage has risen.

According to dialectical materialism, every phenomenon and event, the ones we perceive with our senses and the ones we know through other ways, the ones that are object of the natural sciences traditional or anyhow constituted and recognized and the others, included thoughts, behaviours, feelings, have to be studied as processes of natural history everyone developing according to its own laws. We can discover these laws through empirical observation, experimental study

and elaboration of data of the one and the other. Many things are still unknown and we have not yet discovered the source and laws of development, but nothing is unknowable by its nature. What is human in the proper sense, what distinguishes the human kind from the others animal kinds, is 1. the ability to know and verify and use knowledge in the action that transform the world and the man itself. 2. the capacities to elaborate from the relations with nature and from the relations among social groups and individuals, rules and criteria of behaviour that transform society and individuals. These capacities produced the spiritual side of human species: a whole of reality and activity that during humanity's history more and more overcomes and conditions his animal side.

These are the "specifically human" activities. The ruling class have precluded and still preclude a great part of these activities to the oppressed and exploited classes: they make it a separate world, reserved to the ruling classes. Communism will be the society constituted by the till now exploited and oppressed classes that finally accede en masse to these "specifically human" activities.

### 3.

Historical materialism

The knowledge of human society and of the individuals who compose it regards and has to regard many aspects lying outside the ambit of economical activity: politics, moral, psychology, sciences, art, religion, etc. The development of these aspects along the time ceases to be a succession more or less accidental and arbitrary of facts (where chance and arbitrariness are moderated or even masked recurring to divine intervention) and their internal concatenation becomes instead understandable combining it with the history of the modes of production. The theory of historical materialism has had for the social and human sciences an importance similar to that the theory of the evolution of the species had for the biological science.

References:

K. Marx, Introduction to the *Criticism of Political Economy* (1859).

F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878),

in *Complete Works* vol. 25.

F. Engels, *Letter to K. Schmidt of 27<sup>th</sup> October 1890*, in *Complete Works* vol. 48.

V. I. Lenin, *Who are the "Friends of the People" and how do they struggle against social democrats?* (1894), in *Works* vol. 2..

#### 4.

The classes

Presently, everybody tries to outline how society works, sees that it is divided in great groups called classes. Every class occupies a determinate and distinct place in society and carries out its proper role. Roughly speaking, the characteristics of every class and its relations with the others depend on its relation with the means of production and the other productive forces (ownership or property), on its role in the social division of work, on the part it gets in the division of social product (the three aspects of the relations of production – see also the note 19. Relations of production).

According to the classical definition of Lenin: "They are called classes those great groups of people who differentiate themselves for the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, for their relations (mostly ratified and fixed by laws) with the means of production, for their function in the social organization of work and, therefore, for how much they have of social richness and the way they get and enjoy it. Classes are groups of people each one of which can take possession of the work of the other, according to the different place he occupies in a determinate system of social economy".

V. I. Lenin. *The Great Initiative* (1919) in *Works* vol. 19.

See also the chapter 2.2. of this MP.

#### 5.

The productive forces of society include:

- the working ability of individual workers (labour force),
- animals, vegetables, mineral and other natural resources employed in production,
- the social organization and the knowledge employed in working process (professionalism, technique and science),
- tools, machines, plants and installations the workers use in working process,
- infrastructures (harbours, channels, roads, etc. ) and networks (electric lines, oil pipelines, etc.) used in production.

#### 6.

The division of society in classes

The division of society in classes of exploited and exploiters on one side obliged and accustomed men to work and produce more than the necessary to their

immediate life (surplus work and surplus product) and to produce for individuals not belonging to their family or herd. All in all, it was a decisive step on in the process of distinction of human kind from other kinds of animals. On the other side it allowed some of them to dedicate themselves to activities not necessary to their immediate life, so that to give rise to activities qualitatively superior (quantity-quality). The cultural, scientific and artistic patrimony and, in general, the richness of society have been for millenniums the result of surplus work and product imposed by the division of society in classes of exploited and exploiters and have been exclusive patrimony of exploiters and oppressors.

#### 7.

The State

In the course of history, every society created for itself an organ for the defence of its common interests from internal and external attacks. With the development of the division of the society in classes, this organ has become a power independent from society, in the hands of the class ruling the entire society. It is the State.

The State carried out a historical process of development. Roughly speaking, the fundamental steps were: 1. the State as organ-function of the society (the armed people, the violence as social function), 2. the State as organ-function of the ruling class (the corporative State), 3. the State as organ-function "above the classes", distinct also from the ruling class, not directly coincident with it, apart from it, but with the defence of its social order as supreme duty. This is the capitalist State, the modern State. About the matter see the chapter V - Objection 8 of this MP.

#### 8.

Productivity of human work

The quantity of goods and services produced by a worker in the unit of time is the productivity of its work. When the work becomes collective, as in modern farms and concerns, in general it is not possible to distinguish the contribution of every single worker to the production. The slogan "To everyone the fruit of his work" loses its meaning. In these cases the productivity of work is given by the quantity of good and services produced by a given collective of workers in a unit of time.

#### 9.

Collective character of the productive forces

To make grow the productivity of the work of its workers, the bourgeoisie has had to make the productive forces more and more collective, so that quantity and quality of produced richness less and less depend on ability, quality and characteristics of the single worker and on his personal efforts (his dedication to work, the duration of its work, its intelligence, force,

etc.). They instead depend on the organized whole of workers (the collective of production), on the collective within which the individual works, on the means of production it has, on the combination of the various collectives of workers, on the scientific and technical patrimony the society employs in production and on other social elements. Owing to it the isolated worker is reduced to impotence: it is able to produce only if is inserted in a collective of production (concern, productive unit). But at the same time there have been created the conditions for the growth of the work productivity, the consciousness of the mass of workers, their ability and aptitude to organize themselves, that is to constitute as a collective and to direct themselves, their aptitude to carry out human activities intellectually and morally superior, the "specifically human" activities (see note 2.).

#### 10.

The objective and subjective conditions of Communism  
The objective conditions for establishment of socialism, inferior phase of Communism, consist of a certain grade of economical development. That is, a certain grade of concentration of capital (and therefore also of workers) and of proletarianization of workers and, consequently, a certain level of work productivity and of the production of the means necessary for the existence. Men forever have struggled against nature to wring out from it what is necessary for living. For centuries what a society succeeded in producing was not enough to satisfy all the members of society according to the most advanced criteria of the society itself. Only the exploiter and ruling classes were living at this level. In capitalism this obstacle has been gradually eliminated. Already in XIX century the periodical crises of overproduction of goods showed that that obstacle had been overcome. By then it was the social order that prevented all the members of the society from disposing of the necessary means and conditions for a life in accordance with the most advanced criteria of the society itself.

The subjective conditions of Communism consist of such a grade of organisation and a level of consciousness of the mass of proletariat that it is able to operate as a class distinct by the rest of society and opposed to the ruling class. These conditions were got in Great Britain by the Cartist movement (1838-1850). In the rest of the present imperialist countries (except Japan - see note 43.) they were got in the second half of XIX century.

#### 11.

The proletariat's dictatorship

The States that rule capitalist countries are organs of direction of imperialist bourgeoisie over the entire society. This class has the monopoly of power. It is economically impossible (see note 26.) that the imperialist countries are ruled by other classes, whatever be

the forms (democratic or authoritarian, monarchic or republican) by which the ruling class regulates the relations among the groups that compose it and its relations with the other classes. In this sense and because of it all the States of the capitalist countries are dictatorships of the bourgeoisie. Definitively, in these countries the government is able to work only if it has the support of the decisive part of the bourgeoisie and if it perpetuates and favours its social order.

Likewise, in socialist countries the power will be monopoly of the working class. So, the State of socialist countries will be the State of dictatorship of the working class (dictatorship of proletariat). However, because of the peculiar nature of socialism, the overwhelming majority of population will gradually acquire and exercise a power the workers have never had in any other society, nor in the most democratic bourgeois societies ever existed. Their consciousness, organization and role in political and cultural life, and in general in social life, will continuously increase through the mass organizations and through this way we shall arrive to the extinction of the State (about the matter see also the chapter 3.1. - point 2 of this MP).

References:

K. Marx, *For Criticism of Gotha Program* (1875).

V. I. Lenin, *State and revolution* (1917),  
in *Works* vol. 25,

Marco Martinengo, *The First Socialist Countries*,  
(2003), Editions Rapporti Sociali.

#### 12.

The social orders

All the idealists of the various schools, even if with different arguments, assert that the social orders were first thought and then created. This is the case of the many legends of the ancient times that involve Gods or legislative personalities (Moses, Solon, etc.). This is the case of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and its theory of the "social contract" the individuals would have stipulated for constituting the society (however, this theory had the merit of stating that men create the social order for satisfying their necessities). It is the case of the various "robinsonades" (from the novel of Robinson Crusoe), theories according to which the bourgeois society would have been built by any sensible (because "natural") individual. All these theories, each one by its way, follow the religious theory of God who would had create man, of the spirit who creates the world, of the thought that precedes the action.

In the history of the human kind the first social order first thought and then created will be the Communism. It will be the beginning of a new phase in the history of human kind, in which the relation between thought and being will assume a content it has never had in history.

### 13.

#### Communism

“For us Communism is not a state of thing that has to be established, an ideal to which reality has to adjust itself. We call Communism the real movement that abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the presupposition now existing”.

So, we distinguish the communist movement as objective process (the transformation of the social relations) towards Communism that capitalist society is carrying out and that will be completed during socialism, by the conscious and organized communist movement: the whole of parties and organizations that set themselves the march towards Communism as their aim, with the respective patrimony of conceptions and analyses, lines and methods for realizing their aim, with a complex of relations and the corresponding divisions of duties (mass organizations, communist party).

#### References:

K. Marx - F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1845-1846), chapter 1 (Feuerbach), part 2, in *Complete Works* vol. 5.

Tonia N., *Two Ways Towards Communism* (2003), in *La Voce* n. 15.

### 14.

#### Value is a social relation

In the barter (exchange of products with products), the two actors of the exchange agree on the base of the fact that each one of them voluntarily gives the other something that is product of his work. So, each one recognizes that the work of the other is necessary to him as his one is necessary to the other, that is to say he attributes equal social dignity to his and other's work. This is the base of their relation, not the natural bond (of blood, kinship, clan, neighbourhood, etc.) nor the social relation of worship or personal subjection, because of which an individual gives the product of its work to another. But all this occurs implicitly and unconsciously. As it happened and happens in many other fields of life, first we do and then, little by little, the action modify those who do them, their behaviours, tastes, aspirations, feelings: in short, their nature. All what the protagonists of the exchange are talking about, are conscious of and expressly deal with, regards the common will to exchange and the agreement about the quantity of the two goods to exchange (the exchange value of their products). There is no mutual agreement preliminary to production nor understanding of the nature of the ongoing relation. So, there could not be conscious direction of the relation. If for whatever reason the one or the other has not what is necessary for an equal exchange, the relation does not occur, to the detriment of both them.

Everybody is owner of the product of its work, that is to say he disposes of it as he wants. Exchanging it, he

gets a product of equal value. “To each one according to his work”, therefore, is an aspect implicit in mercantile production. The utopian socialists (as Proudhon) wanted to elevate it at rule of the bourgeois society without abolishing the commercial relations that by their nature exclude any regulation a priori of the exchange. This rule will be elevated to conscious criterion of the distribution (one of the aspect of the relations of production: see note 20.) only at the beginning of socialist society and in a sense specific to it. In order to arrive to this, anyway, there will be necessary social conditions very different both from those in which the mercantile production was born and from those dictated by its universalization as capitalist mercantile production. Objective conditions (a social context constituted of the planned production directed by the working class, instead of the slave, feudal, Asiatic, etc. production, to which the mercantile production at its birth is auxiliary), and subjective conditions (a relatively high level of consciousness and organization of the great masses of proletariat and population).

### 15.

#### Value and exchange value

The value is related to a product of the work likewise the weight is related to a mass. This is a grave body, that is to say it has a weight, only if it is in a gravitational field. Likewise, kingship is a quality an individual has because his subjects recognize it and live in a monarchic regime; sacredness is a quality a priest has because his believers recognize it: that is, they are religious and are part of a monarchic regime; etc. Out of these contexts, a king, a priest, etc., do not distinguish themselves at all from other men. A product of work is a value only in the ambit of a society practicing the mercantile economy.

The socially necessary work to product a good is the time and kind of work that has to be employed for producing it, on the base of the normal productivity of the work in the society under examination. It is the exchange value of that good. It may greatly vary from a country to another, according to the natural conditions and the development of the productive forces. So, in one country the same product may have an exchange value different from that it has in another. Likewise the same mass has different weights according to the gravitational field where it is. Likewise the sacredness of a priest, or of a king, varies according to the force of the faith respectively of believers and subjects, of the stability of clerical regimes, etc.

### 16.

#### Exchange value and price

Silly and fraudulent critics of the theory of value-labour confound the exchange value with the current price (the markets price, etc). The coincidence between

the two, according to the Marxist conception, is a case and an exception. Many factors converge to define the current price, besides the exchange value: the medium rate of profit, the income, the supply and demand, the monopoly, the patents, the advertising and others more. But to deny the value and the exchange value because it does not coincide with the price, has sense as to deny the atomic theory, the force of gravity, the electromagnetic fields and thousand other things that are on the ground of natural phenomena and of natural sciences, only because they aren't directly perceptible by any of our senses.

**17.**

The labour-force

The labour force is the whole of qualities and resources that belong to the living personality of an individual and that he moves to produce goods and services: products of every kind.

**18.**

“What does distinguish the proletarian from the slave?”

The slave is sold once and for all, the proletarian has to sell himself day by day, hour by hour. The single slave, property of one only master, has his existence, whatever miserable it is, ensured by this masters' interest. The single proletarian, property, so to speak, of the whole class of bourgeois and whose work is acquired only if somebody needs it, it has not the existence ensured. This existence is ensured only to the class of proletarian as a whole. The slave is out of the competition; the proletarian is in the middle of it and feels the effect of all its fluctuations. The slave is considered an object, not a member of civil society; the proletarian is recognized as a person, as a member of civil society. So, the slave may have a better existence than the proletarian, but the proletarian belongs to a superior stage of development of society and he himself is at a higher stage than the slave. The slave set himself free abolishing only the relation of slavery among all the relations of private property, and so becoming, firstly, himself a proletarian; the proletarian can set himself free only abolishing the private property [of the means of production] in general.”

F. Engels, *Principles of Communism* (1847), in *Complete Works*, volume 6.

**19.**

*The Capital* of Karl Marx

The nature and laws of capitalist mode of production have been exposed by Karl Marx in his masterwork *The Capital*. The first volume was published in 1867, the second and the third were published posthumous respectively in 1885 and 1894. In this work Marx described also the birth of the mode of capitalist production and the development of bourgeois society until the half of the XIX century.

**20.**

Relations of production

In order to produce, men and women enter determined relations among them: the relations of production. For understanding the questions about the passage from capitalism to Communism, we need to distinguish three aspects in the relations of production:

- the property (or even the simple possess, the freedom to dispose) of the means and conditions of production, that is, of the productive forces, included the labour force (see notes 5. and 17.);

- the relations among men in work (in working process): the division between manual and intellectual work, between men and women, grown up and young people, executive and directive work, city and countryside, advanced and backward countries, regions and sectors, etc.

- distribution of the product.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *The Great Initiative* (1919), in *Works*, vol. 29.

Mao Tse-tung, *Notes about the “Manual of political economy* (1960), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 18.

**21.**

The first English worker society was founded by the shoemaker Thomas Hardy (1752-1832). Besides making political agitation, it promoted many revolts among the industrial people in London and Midlands. The State suppressed it in 1799, within a plan of general repressive measures. But movements extended in the illegality and with bloody struggles until 1824-1825, when the State attenuated the laws that forbidden the workers to organize themselves.

In 1811 around Nottingham and the near districts, groups of workers began to destroy the new machines (Luddism). After 1814 the movement extended to all English districts and was repressed with terrorist measures.

Starting from the years around the 1830 the English workers actively participated with the bourgeoisie in the struggle for the reformation of Parliament, laying their own demands (Chartism) and in 1847 they wrung out the law limiting the working day to 10 hours.

**22.**

In the period of its ascent the bourgeoisie produced a theory of the economic relations and in general of the social relations that was scientific as far as the horizon of bourgeois interests allowed it: the classical political economy. Its major exponents were Adam Smith (1723-1790), David Ricardo (1778-1823), Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). When the bourgeoisie entered the phase of its decline and has to struggle no more against the surviving feudal forces, but against the rising working class, its production in

the field of the social sciences dried up. Its “social science” was reduced to empirical description, theory of management of concerns and markets, glorification or disapproval of the existing society and masking of the real social relations: vulgar political economy, marginalist political economy, sociology, etc. The bourgeoisie could not go deeper in asking for the reasons of the existing state of things.

**23.**

The scientific research

The technological and scientific research has by now constituted as sector of specific activities, systematically carried out and aimed to increase knowledge and its applications. They constitute a new sector of activity, which expansion is potentially unlimited. However, the conservation of the capitalist mode of production puts economic, cultural and moral restrictions to their development. They will constitute an increasing part of future human activity: they are a part of the activities “specifically human”(see note 2.) that will constitute the great part of humanity’s future activity.

Karl Marx, *Fundamental Outlines of Criticism of Political Economy (Grundrisse)*, book VII, in *Complete Works* vol. 30 (page 716 and followings, Einaudi Editions (1976)).

**24.**

The social division of work and the mercantile production

The division of work among groups and individuals, the social division of work, is by far prior to the division in classes and, all the more reason, it is prior to the exchange (mercantile economy). It is a presupposition for the one and the other. But it transforms itself in class division and in exchange only in particular conditions. These are more progressive social forms. In particular, exchange belongs only to mercantile economy. Individuals of a family, of a community or of a village who consummate in common, even if permanently given up to different works, do not exchange among them the products of the respective work. Likewise, it does not exist exchange among departments of the same concern one of which passes its product to another for a following working.

The end of class division is not absolutely related to the end of social division of work and even less to the end of the technical division of the work (the division of the functions within a productive unit or a team of workers). What will end with the class division will be the subjection of individuals to the social or technical division of the work. This indissolubly ties and limits an individual to a function, therefore deforms him physically, intellectually and morally conforming it to the job he does. It is an aspect of the general constriction to which the limited

productive forces have till now condemned men and women and to which the capitalist mode of production continues to condemn them.

**25.**

State monopoly of violence

The reduction of violence to public monopoly of society, subtracting the use of it to the single individuals, constituted a great intellectual, material and moral progress in the primitive societies. Violence ceased to be an arbitrary aspect of the relation among individuals, expression of individual moods and needs. Its use became object of though primitive reflections, of the moral, of laws and a social function.

**26.**

There are “economically unrealizable” the demands, institutions and conceptions not compatible with dominant mode of production

V. I. Lenin, *About a Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 23.

**27.**

The origin of the State and the division in classes

The essence of the State is the monopoly of violence that the State takes upon itself. Fundamentally, the State is constituted by the whole of the organs appointed to exercise it (armed forces, police, magistracy, prisons, etc.). However, the exploiting class does not become as such thanks to violence, but thanks to the role its members carry out in social life. F. Engels explains it well in *AntiDühring*, (*Complete Works* vol. 25): the ruling class does not keep its domination only thanks the monopoly of violence. The steadiness and strength of its power lay upon the fact that it solves the problems of the material and spiritual life of the society, upon the fact that the exploited classes do not have or conceive other way to solve them, upon the fact that it personifies the cohesion of the entire society, presides over it and protects it, and upon its ideological predominance. The monopoly of violence is its last and extreme resource. This becomes the more decisive the more its role has become superfluous or even negative, and then the more the antagonism of the exploited classes has developed and the more its social order is historically outdated.

The most systematic exposition of the Marxist theory of the State is in V. I. Lenin’s pamphlet, *State and Revolution* (1917), in *Works* vol. 25. The conceptions of the State the opportunists and the revisionists put forward after Lenin, until the “State of all people” proposed by Kruscev in 1961, at the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, do not present theoretical newness compared with the ones Lenin already unmasked and confuted.

The origin of the State is described in Engels’ work

*The Origin of Family, Private Property and State* (1884). In many of his works, A Gramsci highlighted the sources of steadiness and strength of the bourgeoisie not controlled by State in our country.

## 28.

The non-violence

Who attributes the success of Ghandi in the struggle for the end of British domination over India to the non-violence rather than to the communist movement and the first proletarian revolution not only distorts reality but also contributes to maintain the subjection of the popular masses to the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is true also for every praises of non-violence that is not condemnation of the violence the ruling classes and their Authorities exercise upon the oppressed classes and peoples and they make dominate in internal and international relations. The use of violence by the oppressed classes to emancipate themselves is the decisive factor of the development of civilization: "Violence is the midwife of history" Marx and Engels proclaimed.

## 29.

Proletarian and workers

In the first centuries of the life of the capitalist mode of production the proletariat was practically composed only by the manual labourers of some sectors of the industry, because only the production of those sectors has been absorbed (subsumed, see note 34.) in the capitalist mode of production. It comes from here the habit to consider workers only the manual labourers of the industry (a habit that is been dragging along through inertia, particularly by the authors who proclaim the "end of the working class"). As a matter of fact, the capitalist mode of production has reached also the other productive sectors, has created new ones and has deepened the division of the work within the concerns and in the society. In the modern capitalist societies, the capitalist production of services has overcome the capitalist production of goods as to the number of workers employed. Consequently, also labourers of other sectors and not manual labourers have become a part of the working class: they are labourers who sell their labour-force to capitalists who buy it for increasing in value their capital producing commodities. The percentage of workers among the labourers has then increased greatly. The supporters of the "end of the working class" or are dogmatists ("only the workers of the traditional industrial sectors are true workers") or confound the social state of worker with the level of consciousness and organization the workers of the traditional sectors have already got thanks to the experience of the class struggle and that the workers of the new sectors have still to get, or are simply people who want to coax the workers on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Until the second half of the XIX century, however, working class and proletariat were roughly still the same thing. "Proletariat is the class of the modern wage-earning workers that do not have any means of production and so are compelled to sell their labour-force for living" (Engels). In the imperialist phase of the bourgeois society, the proletarianization of society extended beyond workers. Presently the working class is only a component of the proletariat. Other labourers have been reduced to the state of proletarians (that is, of labourers that have to sell their labour-force for living), even if they do not work in capitalists' service for valorising his capital. So there are born new proletarian classes, different from the working class: the public employees (of the State, the local administrations, the public services) and the employees of no profit institutions, of not capitalists concerns (artisan, familiar, cooperatives, etc.), the employees assumed for the personal service of rich people. For a better understanding of the matter see the chapter 2.2. of this Manifesto Program.

## 30.

School of Communism

Every concrete struggle regards a particular problem, is a clash upon a particular aspect of the social order and has a determinate social group as promoter and protagonist. So every concrete struggle is unilateral. But anyway it is already in itself a school of Communism for those who share it. It teaches to organize us, to establish and strengthen relations, to individuate the enemies, to struggle, to discover and to enrich means and forms of struggle, it feeds consciousness and knowledge. It educates en masse the workers to carry out a common struggle and, in order to do it, to organize themselves. It is the more effective, and the more highly it becomes school of Communism, the more it is carried out with methods and criteria not unilateral and not corporative; the more it unites the direct protagonists to the other workers and let them understand the support their direct exploiters gets from its class, from the State, from the clergy and from other social institutions; the more it lets the direct protagonists understand the social conditions of their particular situation and unite themselves to the other workers for establishing a new and superior social order; the more it educates and selects the most generous and active individuals and set them becoming communists. The action of communists strengthens this character, makes and has to make of every struggle a school of Communism superior for its level and effectiveness. School of Communism does not mean only and sometimes it does not mean at all recruiting to the Party, sharing of the program and conception, sympathy for communists. These are results that mature in times and ways different according to the classes, the environments and

the individuals. School of Communism means first of all to bring a right orientation upon the ongoing struggle and in every aspect of the social and individual life that the struggle makes emerge: in every clash to mobilize the left so that it unites the centre and isolates the right; to deal, learn and teach to deal the contradiction within the people in order to unite the masses and mobilize them against the imperialist bourgeoisie; to favour the ties with the ongoing struggle with the others; to enlarge and mobilize the solidarity beyond the circle of the direct protagonists of the ongoing struggle; to take advantage of any occasion and aspect the struggle offers to favour the elevation of the class consciousness; to mobilize all the favourable factors and neutralize the unfavourables to the victory of the ongoing struggle; to favour the greatest possible participation in every level of planning, projecting, direction and balance; to individuate the most advanced elements and drive them onwards; to favour the growth of every advanced element at the highest level he is able to reach; to make emerge the tie among the various struggles and the various aspects of the struggle; to teach the dialectical materialism in the struggle; to teach to become communists; and so on. The matter is to improve the orientation of every mass organization already existing, to strengthen the autonomy from bourgeoisie of its orientation and aims, to silence and to emarginate the leaders corrupted and dominated by the bourgeoisie, to strengthen the autonomy of the others from the bourgeoisie. Then, on this base, we have to create and strengthen the relation of the communist party with those who are more advancing, until the recruitment of those able to do a party work.

### 31.

#### The State monopolistic capitalism

The State monopolistic capitalism is the combination of the monopolies and the financial capital (and so not generically of the entire bourgeois class, - as already was, but of the monopolists and kings of finance) with the State. This combination rose in the imperialist era. It is one of its characteristics and of its constitutive factors. It has a particular fast growth with the First World War. In the State monopolistic capitalist societies, the State and the public administration directly assume a determinant role in the economic life for imposing the interests of the restricted oligarchy of monopolist capitalist and kings of finance to the rest of the society, included the rest of the bourgeoisie (so ends the bourgeois democracy also in bourgeoisie's internal relations). The State monopolistic capitalism is the maximum result of the efforts the bourgeoisie does in order to regulate the economical movement of the society though staying in the ambit of the private property and the free individual initiative of capitalists (see note 46., AFSU).

### 32.

#### Socially objective laws

The transformation of society is regulated by objective laws in the sense that the experience practical, common to a wide number of individuals, generates sensations, feelings and conceptions in each one of them that move them all to carry out the necessary actions to realize the transformation the society is going to giving rise. In this way men and women realize the objective laws of the development of society on their own initiative, of their own free will, even if they do not know them. In this sense a social law is an objective law. So it is not in the caricatural sense sometimes given to our affirmation by some opponents of ours or by some dangerous friends of ours (the dogmatists, the determinists): that is, in the sense of a law that would be realized without the activity of the masses and of men in general (theory of the collapse of capitalism and the like). The free activity of millions of individuals and their organization gives rise to a process which develops according to own laws, so as the free research of many scientists gives rise to a one science developing according the criteria of its own object. The realization of the objective laws present itself as realization of men' aspirations because those aspirations reflect those objective laws, as it is well said by Engels (*AntiDhüring*), (*Complete Works vol. 25*). So, working class' consciousness and its ideological and political orientation constitute a decisive factor for the victory of socialist revolution: in order to change the society it is firstly necessary to change the public opinion of its decisive class, to make rise a revolutionary orientation in the working class and organize it in a revolutionary political force (accumulation of revolutionary forces) in view of the seizure of power.

The transformation of the capitalist in communist society, as every transformation, is a leap of quality. Society changes its nature, a society with characteristics substantially different take the place of the capitalist society. As every leap of quality, this is the result of the quantitative accumulation of elementary transformation. Gradually, one after another, in every sector, the elementary components of society change. For instance, some workers become communist, and they join the communist party. These little elementary transformations, workers becoming communists and carrying out their activity of communists, firstly do not change the nature of capitalist society in a perceptible measure, do not trouble its functioning. But sooner or later the number of workers reaches a determinate level and, coinciding with other circumstances, the effect of their activity over the other workers and the rest of the popular masses becomes such that capitalist society no more succeeds or has more and more difficulties in working as he did before. A revolutionary crisis has matured: or the communist movement suppresses bourgeoisie's direction and establishes socialism or the

bourgeoisie temporarily breaks off the communist movement. A similar process of accumulation of elementary transformations occurs in any sector of society: centralization of economical activity in few great concerns, unification and standardization of the markets, universal availability of services, general education and culture, organization of the masses, etc. We can observe those little transformations and study them analytically sector by sector of the society, with a precision like that by which we observe and study the natural processes of mineral, vegetal and animal world. In every sector the number of changed elementary constituents increases: it increases the medium level of productive concentration, of education, etc. These quantitative increases in single sectors join together and influence one another. Together they constitute the quantitative progression toward the qualitative transformation of society. When they get to some level of development they lead to the qualitative transformation of the society breaking the old wrapping they are grown within until then.

Abstracting from the particulars and the concrete situation, we are dealing with the passage from quantity to quality, the combination between internal and external causes, the relation connecting one thing to all the others, etc.: the laws we observe in any natural and social transformation. The study of the most general laws of natural and social transformation is object of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism offers the communists important instruments to understand and carry out consciously the transformation of the capitalist in communist society. It has been and is fed by the balance of the experience of this transformation. The dialectical materialism is the philosophy of the communist party

### 33.

The first immediate measures in economic field of the proletariat victorious rearrange rationally the existing productive forces so that they could be used in the most effective way possible to satisfy the needs of the mass of population, and regulate the working activity so that it could develop in the most effective way for the satisfaction of individual and collective needs of the workers themselves and in the way most respectful of workers' integrity and dignity. On the matter, see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, the measures taken by the Paris Commune, in Lenin's *Works*, the first decrees of the Soviet government between 1917 and 1918.

See also Marco Martinengo and Elvira Mensi, *A Possible Future* (2006), Editions Rapporti Sociali.

### 34.

Formal and real subsumption in capital

Firstly the bourgeoisie took possession of the productive activities that have been developed within the old society and developed its own social relations in the

scopes that society allowed. Marxists call this process "formal subsumption in capital": the relations within which an activity is carried out change, but the activity and the social background remain substantially the same the bourgeoisie has met. Subsequently, the bourgeoisie modifies the content of the activity, so that it becomes more productive and suitable for the extraction of absolute surplus value (extension of the working day) and of relative surplus value (reduction of the "necessary work", placing to work women and minors). At the same time it modifies the complex of social relations, so that it makes them more favourable to the increase in value of capital. Marxists call this process "real subsumption of society in capital".

### 35.

The limits of bourgeois revolution in Europe

Lenin has done the exhaustive balance of the results of bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe in view of the bourgeois revolution in Russian Empire in the years 1905-1906. It has been exposed in various writings of the volume 9 of its *Works* as *Two Lines of Social Democracy in Democratic Revolution, Towed by Monarchic Bourgeoisie*, etc.

### 36.

References:

K. Marx, F. Engels, *Address to the CC of the League of Communists* (March 1850), in *Complete Works* vol. 10.

K. Marx, *Speech of The Hague* (1872).

F. Engels, Introduction (1895) to *Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850*, in *Complete Works* vol. 10.

### 37.

The laws according to dialectical materialism

As the natural sciences, also the laws of the social sciences have to be understood according to dialectical materialism. Every law, considered in itself, is an abstraction. It considers only one aspect of reality in an unilateral way, separates it from the other which it is instead connected to indissolubly in the reality. It considers the phenomenon as we try to reproduce it in experiments of laboratory, that is, excluding the interference of many factors that, in the reality, condition its development. Considered by itself, as metaphysics do, every law, that of universal gravitation as well, is denied by reality: many bodies stay distant on from another even if they attracted themselves from time immemorial. It is impossible to know reality without analyzing it, without separating its various aspects one from another. It is impossible to formulate and consider laws without abstracting from the context. Every law (for instance, the growing impoverishment of workers in capitalism) is therefore an abstraction that we must do for knowing

reality. In the reality, no law acts by itself, uncontested. A law able to act uncontested in the reality would have long ago completed its role. Every law is operative just because other laws that drive reality in the opposed sense contrast its action, just because it is not realized in an absolute sense. In the natural and social reality, every law acts combined with others that contrast its action. In the scientific research, in order to demonstrate a law, there are created artificial conditions, where entirely or in part it is eliminated the influence of the laws that in the reality contrast the action of that we want to point out. By its nature, capitalism drives to workers' increasing impoverishment. In fact, under the same conditions, the less every capitalist pays his workers the more he gains profits and the more easily he double-crosses his competitors. Who denies these laws finds mysterious many phenomena of the history of the latest three centuries and he has to resort to occult forces for explaining them. But the struggle of the working class opposes this law and even the struggles of other classes oppose it (not by chance there existed – see the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848 – a “feudal socialism”, a “bourgeois conservative socialism” and many other movements that opposed the law of the progressive impoverishment of the working class). In the first part of the XX century the working class, with its struggle and thanks to the more general development of the communist movement, wrung out from bourgeoisie many improvements (reduction of hours of work, legislation of work, social security, insurances and public assistance, wage improvements, public services, etc.) The bourgeoisie tries to limit or liquidate each one of these conquests every time the relations or forces are favourable to itself, as it is happening from the Seventies till now. This one, as all the other laws of the capitalist mode of production Marx enlightened, has been confirmed by history, on the condition that we consider them and history according to the conception of dialectical materialism.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *Socialism and Peasants* (1905), in *Works* vol. 9.

Umberto C., *The Establishment of Socialism in Imperialist Countries* (2005), in *La Voce* n. 21.

### 38.

References:

Tonia N., *The Two Ways to Communism* (2003), in *La Voce* n. 15.

Preparatory Commission of the Congress of the New Italian Communist Party, *Let the Communists of the Imperialist Countries Unite their Forces for the Renewal of Communist Movement!*, in *La Voce* n. 12 (2002).

### 39.

Revolution of new democracy

After that capitalism entered in its imperialist phase, the bourgeoisie has become unable to direct the democratic- bourgeois revolution (which content is the overcoming of the relations of personal dependence: patriarchal, slave, feudal, religious, etc.) that was developing or had to develop in backward countries. So, it is called revolution of new democracy for distinguish it from the old democratic-bourgeois revolution directed by the bourgeoisie. The theory of the revolution of new democracy is one of the contributions of Maoism to communist thought.

The countries where the revolution of new democracy has won, in order to consolidate or even only maintain the conquests of the democratic revolution and the independence from the world imperialist system, had necessarily to nationalize the foreign trade, to plan the economical activity, to collectivize the main productive forces, to fight without hesitation and reservation the internal forces allied of imperialism (the old ruling classes and the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie) and supported by imperialism by all means and in every field. In other words, they had to take the road of socialism. The revolution of new democracy passes to socialist revolution. This happened not only in Russia, but also in China in a way even more exemplary.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *Two Lines of Social Democracy in Democratic Revolution* (1905), in *Works* vol. 9.

Mao Tse-tung, *About New Democracy* (1940), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 7.

### 40.

The main contribution of Leninism to the communist thought were about:

1. the nature of the communist party and its role in preparing and carrying out the proletarian revolution,
2. the economic and political characteristics of imperialism and proletarian revolution,
3. the direction of the working class over the other popular masses in socialist revolution and the alliance of the proletariat of the imperialist countries with the peoples oppressed by imperialism

J. V. Stalin, *Principles of Leninism* (1924).

### 41.

Tendential fall of profit rate and absolute overproduction of capital

In order to increase in value his capital, besides the other measures, the capitalist has also to increase the productivity of work. In order to do it, it has to increase the organic composition of capital: that is to say, as capital increases, the value of means and conditions of production (the so-called constant capital) has to increase more quickly of the value of the labour force

employed in production (the so-called variable capital). So, in the "language of capital," it is expressed the fact that the quantity of the means of productions grows more quickly than the number of workers employed in the production for moving those means. The quantity of surplus work the workers are compelled to do by capitalists, no matter how great and increasing, grows less quickly than the quantity of past work ("dead work") objectified in the means and conditions of the production they utilize and that capitalists have accumulated as capital.

In the ambit of the capitalist mode of production, the richness of society typically presents itself as capital. So, the greater becomes the comprehensive richness of society, the greater is the quantity of capital to valorise. Therefore the greater become the surplus value the workers should produce to valorise it. Then the greater become the surplus work they should do (extension of working day, overtime, rising of the age for retiring, reduction of festivities and vacations, etc.). But the quantity of surplus value the capitalists can extort from a worker is objectively limited to the surplus work they can oblige him to do, and by the struggles of the workers and by other social conditions.

The contrast between these two factors (unlimited increasing of capital, physical and social limits of the super work) creates a tendency of the profit rate (relation between the surplus value extorted and the mass of capital employed in production) to diminish (tendential fall of the profit rate). When the capital accumulated has grown beyond certain limits (determined by the condition of increasing in value), that contrast even brings to diminish the mass of surplus value that capitalists could extort employing it as productive or financial capital (see note 42.) all the accumulated capital: in these conditions there is absolute overproduction of capital. The capitalists do not employ all the capital accumulated in production or in its direct service. Then it creates a growing mass of richness that cannot exist as productive capital nor as financial capital. It assumes the form of speculative capital.

References:

K. Marx, *The Capital*, book III, chapters 13, 14, 15.

*The Present Crisis: Crisis for Overproduction of Capital*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 0 (1985).

*Crack of Stock Exchange and Financial Capital*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 1 (1987).

*About the Crisis for Absolute Overproduction of Capital Again*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 5/6 (1990).

*Marx and the Crisis for Overproduction of Capital*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 8 (1990).

*About the Revolutionary Situation in Development*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 9/10 (1991).

*The Second General Crisis for Overproduction of Capital*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 12/13 (1992).

*The Present Situation and our Duties*,

in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 16 (1994-1995).

*For the Debate upon Origin and Nature of Present Crisis*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 17/18 (1996).

#### 42.

Productive capital, financial capital, speculative capital. These three forms of capital are both a historical succession of dominant (leading) forms that capital took time after time, and three different figures of capitalists operating simultaneously, and three different souls of the same capitalist. It is therefore necessary both to consider each of them its pure form, and the historical genesis of a form from the other, and the combination of various forms among them.

The productive capital is the capital that increases going along and again the process Money - Commodities (means of production, raw materials, workers' labour) - Working - New Commodities - More Money (M - C - W - NC - MM). This process is the basis of the capitalist mode of production, which the capitalist society stands upon. The following dominant forms of capital are born and develop as excrescences of this base. They are both healthy, necessary and auxiliary outbreaks of it, and a superstructure that stifles it. This base emerges whenever the superstructure will crumble, as conclusively Lenin argued in 1919, at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) against Bukharin and others who asserted that imperialism was a new mode of production rather than a superstructure of capitalism (see note 73.). Its environment is the production, also called real economy.

The capitalist involved in the production (the entrepreneur) operates in a mercantile economy. He purchase with money buildings, machinery and equipment of his company, the workers, the raw and auxiliary materials. He then blocks money in "fixed capital" (fixed installations and machinery) and "circulating capital" (raw and auxiliary materials, commodities going to be sold and wages). The money comes back just a little at a time through the sale of commodities produced.

In addition, at fixed time limits he pays incomes to the owners of land and other natural conditions of production (mines, forests, etc.), and periodically he pays taxes to the State and other public authorities. He therefore needs money both as a means of exchange and as a means of payment.

Apart from the money he has, the capitalist entrepreneur resorts to loan (from banks, rich people, individual savers) and pays the related interest, as well as he repays the loan at maturity. Since the beginning of the capitalist mode of production, capitalist entrepreneurs have borrowed money from banks. These were providing their own money and simultaneously acted as intermediary between owners of money and entrepreneurs. Those with money borrowed constituted part or all of their productive capital. With the circulation of money, the

fiduciary money was born: money no longer consisting of a commodity with an intrinsic value (gold, silver, etc.), but of a written commitment (paper money, letter of deposit, bill of exchange, letter of credit, etc.) made by a person or institution that enjoys confidence, to turn upon request the paper in a defined amount of money of intrinsic value. With the birth of fiduciary money, the mass of money in circulation was no longer subject to the limits of mining and metallurgical industry and of mint. It was governed by banks (by the credit system) in the forms and the extent of its own laws. The fiduciary money multiplied the means available to the banks and their social role. Its development was therefore a great help to productive capital.

Another way by which from the beginning of the capitalist mode of production entrepreneurs got money, was to other holders of money a share in the profit that the company would have produced or even in the property of the concern. So were born the financial titles at variable income (titles participating in profits and in properties of concerns) and companies limited by shares.

In this context were born and developed the financial titles at fixed income (bonds, bills of exchange and other credit titles), the market for financial titles, the course of financial titles (each financial title is bought and sold at a price different from its face value, depending on the profit that we think it will return), stock exchanges of financial titles (organs for trade of financial titles). The stock exchanges were born as institutions where capitalists combined their money for doing business together. In the course of time the stock exchanges became institutions that directly or indirectly, through banks and other financial institutions, absorbed savings and wealth in cash from all classes and put them as capital in the hands of the greatest entrepreneurs and financial profiteers.

The market of financial titles and the stock exchanges until the middle of the nineteenth century developed as auxiliaries of productive capital. They got money for the capitalists engaged in the production and made more liquid (more easily and quickly convertible into cash) their own capital locked up in commodities, means of production, concerns. They constituted a mass of capital not used directly in production, but in service of the productive capital.

In this context arose and developed also the commodity exchanges (organisms for trading stocks of commodities already in reserve storage or yet to be produced) and the speculative market of commodities, the currency market, the currency exchanges and the speculation on currencies. In these markets and in the market of financial titles the single capitalists and other rich people struggle among themselves each one for increasing his wealth. These markets have characteristics and work according to laws different than

those of the markets in which producers exchange commodities among themselves (in the simple mercantile production or in the market among capitalist entrepreneurs).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the combination of banking capital, stock exchanges, the markets above indicated and the productive capital became so close that a new form of capital had great development: the financial capital. In the imperialist era the financial capital got the upper hand on productive capital. The property of a concern divided into two: the property of shares representing its capital and its management. The property of concerns broke into the hands of the buyers of shares representing its capital. The management of the concern separated from the ownership of its shares. The purchase price of a company became his "market capitalization". The "market capitalization" is the combination of the profit and of the interest rate that capitalizes (discount back) the profit (if a company produces 100 and the current interest rate is 5%, its capitalization is  $100/0.05 = 2,000$ ). In a second time, the forecast profit that would have produced took over to determine its purchase price. In a third time prediction of the course (of the selling price) of its shares. At this point, production had become an appendix and an instrument of a financial capital: a concern is managed, bought and sold according to the course of its shares. So the financial capital laid down the law to the production, although it was standing on it. The productive capital had played the role of the sorcerer's apprentice. The daemon that it had raised no more obeyed to its orders and, on the contrary, was commanding it, but at the same time it had not an own life: he could not live but thanks to sorcerer's existence.

In the course of time upon the financial capital grew the castles of companies limited by shares (the "Chinese boxes"), financial speculation and the imperialist parasitism that stifle production and give rise to financial crises. The speculation on financial titles, on commodities and currencies has become for financial capitalists a separate for increasing their capital. The production had become an appendage of financial capital. This in turn has become an appendage of speculative capital.

The overproduction of capital has gradually expanded the wandering mass of money in the hands of speculators (that is the capitalists who try to increase their wealth speculating on the future price of the commodities, on the future of course of financial titles, etc.). This mass, with its arbitrary and broken movements, disrupts production: the conditions of credit, of trade, etc., which, in the capitalist society, the production, which is also known as "real economy", depends on.

On this issue the basic text is V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, Supreme Stage of Capitalism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22. See also bibliographic references of the note 41.

43.

The singular case of Japan

Owing to a series of particular circumstances, the Japanese society, instead of submitting to a colonial or semi colonial relation, reacted to the pressure of European and American bourgeoisie assimilating and developing by its way the capitalist mode of production. In the last decades of the XIX century, Japan recovered its historical delay and entered within the restricted group of the world imperialist powers.

44.

The Paris commune

Karl Marx exposed his balance about the Paris Commune (1871) in the Address to the International entitled *The Civil War in France* (1871).

Lenin repeatedly examined the experience of the Paris commune for drawing teachings from it (see his *Works*).

45.

The II International

The parties of the II International (1889-1914) were called social democratic because they had the duty to carry on to the end the democratic transformation of the bourgeois political order and on this basis to carry working class' consciousness and organization to the necessary level for establishing socialism.

For the balance of the II International see J. V. Stalin, *Principles of Leninism* (1924).

46.

Antithetic Forms of Social Unity (AFSU)

The AFSU are institutions and procedures by which the bourgeoisie tries to face the collective character by now assumed by the productive forces, but staying on the ground of capitalists' individual property and initiative. In order to face it, it creates institutions and procedures that are in contradiction with the capitalist relations of production. They are mediation between the collective character of the productive forces and the capitalist relations of production still surviving. For instance, they are AFSU the central banks, the fiduciary money, the collective bargaining of wage work relations, the State political economy, the system of social security, etc. Particularly important is the creation of a world fiduciary monetary system (see note 42.) It was completed in 1971, when US federal government announced that it will have no more gone on changing dollars into gold (at the fixed rate of one ounce (31,103 grams) for 35 dollars) as it committed itself to do with Bretton Woods Agreements (for more details see *Rapporti Sociali* n. 1, 1987, and n. 2, 1988), when the Central Banks and the other countries contracting the Agreements would have asked for it. Since then, the international exchanges are done by conven-

tional money, without gold cover, in substance a bond issued in its judgement by the US Federal Reserve Bank that is currently accepted and treasured by private owners and by the Central Banks of the most important countries. This gives the USA an economically privileged position and feeds the trust of a part of capitalists and their experts to have the mean for avoiding a financial crisis great as the one of 1929.

References:

K. Marx, *Fundamental Outlines of Criticism of Political Economy (Grundrisse)*, *The Chapter of Money*, in *Complete Works* vol. 29.

*The Antithetic Forms of Social Unity*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 4 (1989).

47.

Plinio M., *The future of Vatican* (2006), in *La Voce* n. 23.

48.

The Gentile's reform of Italian school

With its reform (1924), Giovanni Gentile (1874-1944) officially introduced in the public school the teaching of religion under the direction of the catholic clergy. The catholic religion was proclaimed fundament and completion of the education of the young people of the oppressed classes. The scientific conception of the world was reserved to sons of the ruling classes who entered the higher levels of instruction.

49.

Plan of the capital

Starting from the second half of the XIX century many theoreticians and politicians, bourgeois and Marxist revisionists, upheld that by then the bourgeoisie have got the ability to rule the economic movement of society according to an its plan. Some stated that the rulers were the banks, others that they were the States. All these pretensions revealed themselves illusions or swindles.

*Don Quixote and the Windmills – About the Slogan "Struggle Against the Bourgeoisie's Plan to Get Out from Crisis"* in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 0 (1985).

50.

V. I. Lenin, *Opportunism and the Failure of the II International* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22.

51.

Victory over revisionism

At the end of the XIX century the first "crisis of Marxism" broke out. The capitalist society had entered the imperialist era. The communist movement had strongly developed and it was more and more necessary that it faced the duties of socialist revolution: however, the conceptions and methods of action elaborated till then by Marx and Engels were no more sufficient. Through

this cleft the bourgeoisie's ideological influence penetrated and spread and polluted the communist movement under the cover of revision of Marxism, and Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932) was its main upholder. The dogmatic defence of Marxism by K. Kautsky (1854-1938) was quite useless, and so was also the attempt of Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919) to contrast the reformists consequences of Bernstein's revisionism in political field, base on an her own revision of Marxism.

The "crisis of Marxism" was solved only thanks the work of V. I. Lenin (1870-1924), who developed Marxism in theoretical field and, on this base, gave revolutionary solutions to the new political duties of the era: with the theory of imperialism, of the hegemony of the working class over the popular masses of the imperialist countries and the peoples and nations of the oppressed countries, of the nature and role of the communist party of the era of proletarian revolution.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, Last Phase of Capitalism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22.

V. I. Lenin, *Two Lines of Socialdemocracy in Democratic Revolution* (1905), in *Works* vol. 9.

V. I. Lenin, *What has to Be Done?* (1902), in *Works* vol. 5.

J. V. Stalin, *Principle of Leninism* (1924).

## 52.

Social relations of money

In the present society, when the bourgeois civilization has already carried out its historical course and by now is in its phase of decline, the money accomplishes many and contradictory functions: means of exchange (in the transactions of dealing), matter of prices (that are fixed in money), means of payment (for accomplishing at fixed terms obligations towards third party: wages, pensions, taxes, incomes, interests, rents, etc.), means of savings (for facing future expenses), means of treasuring (for accumulating richness), interest-bearing capital (loans, bonds, insurances, etc.), productive capital (direct investments, shares, etc), financial security (object of speculation), currency for international exchanges.

To each one of these functions correspond specific social relations, specific actors with corresponding behaviours, specific laws socially objective. These functions interfere among them: the money employed for one function undergoes the effects of the events determined by the other functions. In present times the function by far prevailing is that of financial bond. From this it follows that the money repeatedly changes, now here and then there, from means of social relations to their hindrance and block. The mass of the population, constituted by proletariat, receives money with the payment on fixed terms of wages, pensions, grants of many kinds and with loans and mortgages and spends it for the current purchase of current consumer goods, for

extraordinary occasional purchases and the periodical payment of taxes, rents, instalments of a mortgages, insurances, etc. In any one of these transactions it undergoes the effects produced by the many functions of money (inflation, fluctuation of exchanges, speculation, etc.), to which it is completely extraneous and facing which it is powerless, unless it grasps the revolutionary political struggle.

Among the measures of rationalization of what is existing the proletariat will have to impose once he will have seized power (see note 33. and the text to which the note is referred), one of the most important is the abolition of the multiplicity of the function of money and its reduction to instrument of regulation of individual consumption. Such a measure obviously goes along with the abolishment of the private property of the main productive forces, with the planning of the main economical activities and the administrative fixing of prices. On the matter, see Marco Martingengo e Elvira Mensi, *A Possibile Future* (2006), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

## 53.

The revolutionary situation on development

The theory of the situation revolutionary in development or long lasting is one of the contributions of Maoism to communist thought and is closely connected to the strategy of the protracted revolutionary people's war. There is a revolutionary situation when the actions of the various classes, of the organized forces and of the individuals because of objective reasons are such that, if encouraged by the action of the communist party, drive the classes to the civil war and the popular masses to esteem themselves, to develop heroism and moral force that are the most important weapons for the victory against oppressors and exploiters.

In a revolutionary situation, it is the communist party that has to find and carry out the systematic, coordinated, and practical operations, realizable by the party whatever is the speed at which the revolutionary crisis mature, that favour the course of the revolution.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *The Failure of the II International* (1915), in *Works* vol. 21.

V. I. Lenin, *About Junius' Pamphlet* (1916), in *Works* vol.22.

Mao Tse-tung, *A Spark Can Set a Prairie on Fire*, in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol.2.

*On the Revolutionary Situation in Development*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 9/10 (1991).

## 54.

*The Movement of Resistance to the Progression of the Crisis of the Bourgeois Society and the Duties of the Subjective Forces of the Socialist Revolution*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 12/13 (1992).

**55.**

V. I. Lenin, *New Times, Old Mistakes in New Forms* (1921), in *Works* vol.33.

Anna M., *The 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of The October Revolution* (2007), in *La Voce* n.25.

**56.**

Umberto C., *A Book and Two Lessons* (2006), in *La Voce* n. 24.

**57.**

“The revolutionary progress did not advance with its tragicomic immediate conquests but, on the contrary, making raise a hard pressing, powerful counter-revolution, making rise an opponent only fighting which the party of the insurrection reached the maturity of a real revolutionary party”. K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850* (1850), in *Complete Works* vol.10.

“It is necessary to demolish and throw away the rotten theory according to which every step on we do, on us the class struggle should more and more weaken; according to which, as we get successes the enemy would become more and more gentle [...] On the contrary, the more we go on, the more successes we will get, the remnants of the old exploiting classes destroyed will become fierce, the more they will resort to more acute forms of struggle, the more they will try to hit the Soviet State, the more they will resort to the more desperate means of struggle as the last means of who is sentenced to death. We need to take in account of the fact that the remnants of destroyed classes in USSR are not isolated. Our enemies beyond the borders of USSR directly support them. It would be wrong to think that the sphere of the class struggle is included within the borders of USSR. If the class struggle in part develops within USSR, in another part it extends within the borders surrounding us.”

J. V. Stalin, *On the Lacks of Work* (1937).

On the limits of the Communist International:

Umberto C., *The Activity of the First Communist International in Europe and Maoism*, in *La Voce* n. 10 (2002).

Ernesto V., *The Historical Role of the Communist International. Conquests and Limits*, in *La Voce* n. 2 (1999).

**58.**

Bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie

In order to penetrate in the oppressed countries and to exploit them, the imperialist countries utilized both the authorities to which they granted loans “for the development of the country” (bureaucratic bourgeoisie), and intermediate between the old forces of exploitation of that countries and the imperialist groups themselves (comprador bourgeoisie).

**59.**

Nicola P., *The Eight Discriminating Factor* (2002), in *La Voce* n. 10.

The experience of the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution is exposed in the volumes 23, 24, 25 of *Mao Tse-tung's Works*, Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**60.**

*The Movement of Resistance of the Popular Masses to the Progression of the Crisis of Bourgeois Society and the Duties of the Subjective Forces of Socialist Revolution*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 12/13 (1992).

**61.**

“Paris of the workers, with its Commune, will be celebrated forever, as the glorious herald of a new society. Its martyrs have as urn the working class’ heart. Its exterminators have been already nailed to that eternal pillory from which no preach of their priests will rescue them”.

K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871).

**62.**

K. Marx, *For Criticism of Gotha Program* (1875).

**63.**

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, Last Phase of Capitalism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22.

**64.**

K. Marx, *For Criticism of Gotha Program* (1875).

**65.**

On the class struggle in socialist countries:  
*Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 23, 24, 25.

*On the Experience of the Socialist Countries*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 7 (1990).

*The Collapse of Modern Revisionism*, and *For the Balance of the Experience of Socialist Countries*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 5/6 (1990).

*The Restoration of the Capitalist Mode of Production in Soviet Union*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 8 (1990).

*On the Historical Experience of Socialist Countries*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 11 (1991).

**66.**

New Economic Politics (NEP)

Economic politics carried out by the Soviet State between 1921 and 1929 and consisting of leaving the mercantile and capitalist relations develop within limits fixed by the Soviet State, that is to leave the autonomous labourers (that is to say the peasants) to work freely and the capitalists to work within limits fixed by proletarian State.

References:

V. I. Lenin, *On the Tax in Kind* (1921),

in *Works* vol. 32.

J. V. Stalin, *A Year of Great Turn* (1929),  
in *Stalin's Works* vol. 12.

**67.**

F. Engels, *Letter to Conrad Schmidt of 5<sup>th</sup> August 1890*,  
in *Complete Works* vol. 48.

**68.**

V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (1917),  
in *Works* vol. 25.

**69.**

"In a most elevated phase of the communist society, after that it has disappeared the subjection enslaving individuals, and then also the contrast between intellectual and manual work; after that work has become not only mean for living, but also need of life; after that with the all-inclusive development of individuals there are grown also the productive forces and all the sources of collective richness flow plenty, only then the narrow bourgeois juridical horizon will be overcome and the society will be able to write on its banners: "From everyone according to his abilities and to everyone according to his needs"".

K. Marx, *For Criticism of Gotha Program* (1875).

**70.**

Chang Chun-chiao, *The Complete Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie* in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 25.

**71.**

*Leninism or Socialimperialism* (1970), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 24.

**72.**

"It has been objected that with the abolishment of the private property every activity would cease, and a general sluggishness will spread.

If it is so, the bourgeois society would had ruined long ago for laziness, because within it who works does not gain and who gains does not work. All the objection ends up in this tautology: that there is no more paid work when there is no more capital."

K. Marx - F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), in *Complete Works* vol. 6.

See also chapter V - Objection 6 of this MP.

**73.**

Imperialism is a superstructure of capitalism

"Pure imperialism, without the ground of capitalism, never existed, does not exist in any place and will never exist. It has been generalized in a wrong way all we have told about consortiums, cartels, trusts, financial capitalism, presenting this one as it is not based at all on old capitalism. If Marx said that the manufac-

ture is a superstructure of the little mass production, imperialism and financial capitalisms are a superstructure of old capitalism.

To assert that an integral imperialism exists without the old capitalism means to mistake desires for reality. Imperialism is a superstructure of capitalism. When it collapses, we face the top destroyed and the base laid bare."

V. I. Lenin, *Relation about the Program of the Party* (1919), in *Works* vol. 29.

**74.**

Operaists

Cultural and political current born in Italy at the beginning of the Sixties, that owned, propagandized and tried to realize in political field the conception of the Frankfurter School. Its exponents put at the centre of their inquiry the content of work, the productive technique, and the organizational forms of the work, instead of the whole relations of production. A peculiar feature of characteristic of the operaists was the thesis according to which the conquests the popular masses wrung out from the imperialist bourgeoisie thanks to the communist movement, in reality were shrewd reforms conceived and carried out by the imperialist bourgeoisie for "integrating" the working class in capitalist system and creating a new space for the expansion of the capitalist mode of production.

In short, the operaists denied the Marxist thesis according to which the capital tends to increase misery, oppression, enslavement, brutishness and exploitation of the popular masses, tendency that becomes the more real the less the class struggle of the proletariat against it is strong. The conceptions of the operaists had wide influence over the leader groups of Potere Operaio, Lotta Continua, Autonomia Operaia [Worker Power, Continuous Struggle, Worker Autonomy – Translator's Note]. The main exponents of operaism were Renato Panzieri (with the review *Quaderni rossi*), Mario Tronti, Asor Rosa, Toni Negri.

**75.**

Frankfurter School

Conception of the world elaborated by intellectuals organized by the Institute for Social Sciences of Frankfurt, institution founded in the Twenties of the last century thanks to the funds put at disposal by some German imperialist groups for contrasting the ideological influence of the Communist International.

The principal theses of Frankfurter School are the following.

- The capitalist relations of production are embodied in the productive forces: in the machinery, in the organization of work, in the productive structures. Therefore, the contradiction between the collective productive forces generated by capitalism and the

relations of production of capitalism does not exist (according to Marxism, this is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism that will unavoidably determine its end).

- The imperialist bourgeoisie is able to govern the contradictions of bourgeois society and integrate the working class in it. Therefore, the capital elaborates its plan (the plan of capital) according to which it directs the entire society.

- The capitalism is a mode of production destructive and corruptor; its substitution with Communism is desirable and morally necessary, but it is not a historical objective process that unavoidably raises in society the forces that realize it.

- Promoters of the struggle for substituting Communism to capitalism are the critical intellectuals and in general all those who are able to understand the negative character of capitalism (the critics of capitalism).

The most known exponents of the Frankfurter School were T. W. Adorno (1903-1969), M. Horkheimer (1895-1973), H. Marcuse (1898-1979), F. Pollock (1894-1970). It reached a great influence in European and American university world in the period of the "human faced capitalism" (1945-1975) and, together with modern revisionism, contributed to make difficult the life of the communist movement in the period following the Second World War. As modern revisionism, the Frankfurter School denies that capitalism unavoidably produces crises and wars, denies the revolutionary role of the working class, and denies that the balance of communist movement is mainly positive.

The Frankfurter School always pretended to be Marxist and its exponents to be the critical continuers of Marxism.

#### 76.

With the expression "inequalities with class characteristics" we indicate those inequalities and contradictions (every inequality in determinate conditions generates a contradiction) that, though they aren't directly inequalities among distinct classes, are tied to the division of the society in classes. They are so tied as they derive from the class contrasts existing in society, or as their elimination is prevented or hindered by the class character of society, or as their dealing is strongly influenced or even determined by that character. In bourgeois society they are, for instance, the inequalities between men and women, adults and young men, adults and elders, among races, among nations and countries with different rate of economic, intellectual or moral development, between cities and countryside. In the same sense have class character phenomena as the abandonment of countries, the plunder of natural resources, the devastation of the planet, etc. These latter phenomena are collateral effects of bourgeois social order. The first

are instead inheritance of a past in which they were justified and they are surviving it because by now the bourgeoisie is not able to end them. Each one of them will be eliminated by a specific intervention, but only starting a change of the social order.

#### 77.

*The Movement of Resistance of the Popular Masses to the Progression of the Crisis of Bourgeois Society and the Duties of the Subjective Forces of the Socialist Revolution*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n.12/13 (1992).

#### 78.

Some, in bourgeois but also in communist movement, have given and give a racial, geographic, climatic, and anyway "natural" explanation of the backwardness and "anomaly" of our country compared to the other European capitalist ones. These various apparently scientific explanations of a real fact are all defeatist compared to the communist movement that proposes to the popular masses to put an end to historical sores of our country. They have no scientific foundation. They are denied by the vanguard role our country had for the second time in its history in the Renaissance and by the scientifically explanation of its following decay.

#### 79.

Plinio M., *The Future of the Vatican* (2006), in *La Voce* n. 23.

#### 80.

The Pope and his court did not conceive themselves as responsible of the conditions of the country they ruled and of the destiny of the population living there. On the contrary, they conceive the Papal State only as necessary condition and instrument for exercising their "divine mission on earth" and its population as subjects obliged to supply the necessary resources to the magnificence of the Church and live so that to create the more favourable conditions for its "divine missions on earth". That is why in the XIX century the Papal State was the most backward in the peninsula and the rebellion against Pope and government was rising.

#### 81.

The feudal lord exploited peasants economically, but in his feud was the political authority as well. He answered for it to his lord and to God. He was invested by his lord and, through him, by God. The bourgeois agrarian who took his place did not pretend to have any divine direct and personal investiture but that of the "natural right" to use the property he bought with his money, even if this still involved the personal dependence and servitude of peasants. So, the divine authority could be entirely assumed by clergy.

**82.**

The bourgeoisie typically uses the richness it extorts from workers and concentrates in its hands not mainly for its consumption and luxury as the classes that preceded it did, but mainly for further increasing the richness that workers will product. In bourgeois language, this is called to valorise the capital. On the contrary, the ruling classes fixed by Counter-Reformation used the richness they extorted from workers for their consumption, for their luxury, for asserting their social prestige, for maintaining their power. We mean this when we talk about parasitism. The Church and the Papal Court were the most satisfied and fullest personification of parasitism: all the richness extorted from workers was appropriated “for the glory of God and his servants.”

**83.**

“The history of every society till now is history of class struggles. Free people and slaves, patricians and plebeians, barons and serfs, members of corporations and labourers, in short oppressors and oppressed people have ever been in contrast among them, carried out a uninterrupted struggle, sometimes hidden, sometimes open, a struggle that every time ended or with a transformation of all the society or with the common ruin of the classes struggling”.

K. Marx - F. Engels, *Manifesto of the communist party* (1848), chapter 1, in *Complete Works* vol. 6.

**84.**

In order to understand the nature of the relation between the Sicilian Mafia (and the like) and the central State, we have to think of the relation established in the colonies between the armed forces of the local masters and the dominant powers, of that between the armed forces of the Social Italian Republic [the so called Republic of Salò, established by the fascists in the last phase of the Second World War in Italy – Translator’s Note] and the nazi Germany. It is a relation where the dominant power delegates to the local force some duties, the local force tries to widen its activity, the dominant power asserts its rights: in short, the division of duties, a relation of complementarity not excluding contrasts and frictions.

*Notes on the Question of Mafia*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 28 (2001).

**85.**

From 1860 to 1880 the new State had to carry out a real war against troops of rebel peasants. The official history called this “war on brigandage”, as today the bourgeois journalism calls “war on terrorism” the war the imperialist bourgeoisie carries out against the democratic revolution of Arab and Muslim peoples. The State armed forces had more fallen that in the three wars of independence. The peasants fallen were never

counted. For knowing more about the matter, see Adriana Chiaia, *The Proletariat Did Not Repented* (1984), Edition Rapporti Sociali and Renzo Del Carria, *Proletarians without Revolution*, Edizioni Oriente e Savelli. The Pope and other ousted ruling dynasties keep on for years to threat to head the peasants’ revolts, as the Bourbons did in 1799 against the Parthenopean Republic. In reality they were groundless threats, as those the Tsar did against the Polish nobles or the Emperor of Austria did against the Lombard aristocrats: they had more to loose than to gain from a revolt of the peasants. The threat, instead, was useful for blackmailing who was available to bargain.

**86.**

Until the coming of the capitalist mode of production, the land was the main material condition for living: the labourers drew from it what was necessary for the production and reproduction of the material conditions of the existence for the entire society. Also for the feudal lords and the bourgeois agrarian owners a plentiful number of workers was the necessary condition for a plentiful product. On the contrary, for the agrarian capitalist the land, owned or rented, is a capital. It has to give a profit at least equal to that of any other capital of the same size. The peasant becomes wage-earning manpower. Conditions being equal, the lower is the number of workers needed, the higher is the profit.

**87.**

The fourth of the *Lyon Theses*, approved by the third congress of the old Italian Communist Party (January 1926) and drafted under Antonio Gramsci’s direction, says. “The capitalism is the predominant force in Italian society and is the force prevailing in determining its development. From this fundamental fact it follows the consequence that in Italy does not exist the possibility of another revolution but the socialist revolution”. The revisionists led by Togliatti (1893- 1964) put away in the drawer this thesis during and after the Resistance. Not by chance the supporters of the “completion of bourgeois revolution” have systematically forget to put on the agenda the principal measure of the real completion of bourgeois revolution in Italy, that is to say the abolishment of Papacy.

**88.**

“In Italy, the relations between industry and agriculture ...have a territorial base. In the North the industrial production and population prevail, in the South and islands the agrarian production and population. Because of it, all the contrasts related to the social structure of the country have an element concerning and risking the State unity”.

*Lyon Theses* (1926), chapter 4, thesis 8.

**89.**

The lack of an intellectual and moral reformation was regretted by many exponents of the Italian bourgeoisie, from Francesco De Sanctis (1817-1883), to Giosu  Carducci (1835-1907) to Benedetto Croce (1866-1952). The famous works *Pinocchio* of Collodi (Carlo Lorenzini 1826-1890) and *Cuore* of Edmondo De Amicis (1846-1908) testified idealist attempts to realize such a reform.

**90.**

Mazzini's letters to the Italian Worker Societies are highly instructive about this indifference of G. Mazzini (1805-1872) to the problem of the agrarian revolution. See, on the contrary, the criticism of Mazzini's position done by K. Marx in his letter to F. Engels of 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851 and in that one to J. Weydemeyer of 11<sup>th</sup> September 1851.

**91.**

One of the important differences between the capitalist exploitation of workers and the previous forms of exploitation consists of the fact that the capitalist intervenes directly in organizing and directing work. Therefore, it brings in the choice and adjustment of the means of production, in the organization of the working activity, in projecting products and in all the activities surrounding the production in a strict sense, all the social patrimony of knowledge and arts the ruling class has at its disposal. The typical and specific intellectual of capitalism is the organizer of the production, considered in a wide sense. On the contrary, a parasite ruling class limits itself to extort the "pizzo" [protection money – Translator's Note] from the productive classes, whatever is the name given to the part it embezzles. However, it is obviously essential to understand why the Italian productive bourgeoisie accepted and accept to pay the "pizzo" to those parasite classes, and particularly to the Church. It accepted to share the fruit of exploitation, because the parasite classes give a contribution to keep quiet the workers, what Italian bourgeoisie is unable to do by itself. The old parasite forms of exploitation today get mixed up with the most modern forms of exploitation: the bourgeoisie typical of the imperialist era as well collects coupons on its shares and bonds, without directly intervening in the working process.

**92.**

E. Sereni, *Capitalism in Countryside* 1860-1900, ed. Einaudi 1968.

**93.**

In this context "some" means that the borders of both them were and are fluid, and matter of contrasts. Regarding to it, see the note 83.

**94.**

The Guarantee-Act (1871) provided that the State had stopped to pay this sum yearly into the bank account opened at Pope's disposal if he wouldn't begin to draw it within 5 years since law was approved. The Pope was very careful not to touch such a fund: it would have meant to recognize the new State and the end of Papal State in front of the other European States, particularly of Austro-Hungarian Empire with whom he intrigued against Unity of Italy and blackmailed Italian State. Even so, Italian State continued to pay the sum yearly until 1928. In the light of this, it is also more indicative of real relations the fact that State tolerated every license, speculation and crime in estate and financial field by Church and Roman "black aristocracy". So the State itself removed any need to accept its generous contribution by Church. At the same time, the State ripped peasants and other workers off with taxes also for setting aside the 50 millions which Vatican didn't care of, thanks to the estate and financial speculations that State itself tolerated and favoured!

**95.**

The *non expedit* was the formula by which Pius IX forbidden Catholics to officially cooperate with the new State. But also this "not participation of Catholics" means that the great majority of the ruling class, from government to high bureaucracy, was constituted by people who were devoted to Vatican far as servility, but participated "personally": Vatican requested them every kind of services but didn't take any responsibility for the directives it gave in the kitchen. It was one of most huge instances of double morals. In municipal administrations it was less easy to control things in the kitchen and manage everybody in a hidden way (that is the reason of both State and Church's hostility towards "local autonomies"). In those cases Vatican didn't hesitate to create Catholics' coalitions, as the Roman Union for the administrative elections in November 1871.

**96.**

For a long time after the unification of the peninsula, the movements of the peasant masses were democratic and progressive for their social content (the aims were the ownership of land and the elimination of the residual feudal impositions), but they had been directed by anti Unitarian reactionary forces. This makes us communists easily understand how the democratic revolution of Arab and Muslim and other colonial peoples can be directed by forces feudal by their nature. The movements of 1893-1898 (from the Sicilian Fasces to the revolt of Milan) were instead peasant and worker movements. The residual feudal forces were reduced as the bourgeoisie on the defensive, and they allied themselves with the bourgeoisie: the crisis of 1893-1898 marked the end of the armistice between

the Reign of Italy and the Catholic Church, the end indeed of the *non expedit* and the beginning of their programmatic and systematic collaboration against the communist movement.

The crisis of 1943-1947 constituted a phase even higher than the previous ones. The unity between workers and peasants was not only based on facts and ideals. It was also assumed, promoted and directed by the conscious and organized communist movement, the first PCI. This was never equal to its task, was not able to lead the masses to victory, to the establishment of a socialist country. Anyway, what it succeeded to do, it did it keeping the unity between workers and peasants.

About the relation between the conscious and organized communist movement and the peasant movements, see A. Gramsci, *Notes About The Southern Question*, in the website of the (n)PCI, section "Classics of the communist movement".

**97.**

A. Gramsci, *Relation of the Torinese Section of the Italian Socialist Party*(1920), in the website of the (n)PCI, section "Classics of the communist movement".

The Red Biennium shows how in an imperialist country can be created the conditions (there were different conditions but as much adequate in other countries and also in Italy, particularly in 1943 and in the Seventies) for the passage from the first to the second stage of the revolutionary people's war and particularly how can be created the conditions adequate to form the revolutionary armed Forces, leveraging both on the availability of workers and other elements of the popular masses to fight and on the oscillation within the armed force of the reaction that make possible the passage of some of them to the revolution or at least their neutralization. From this point of view the Red Biennium is an inestimable source of teachings, particularly as regards the accumulation of the revolutionary forces that has to be carried out in the first phase of the popular war. Owing to the inadequate quality of the accumulation of the revolutionary forces that preceded it, the Red Biennium had, in the history of the Italian communist movement, the positive role to show the limits of reformism and to give impulse to the creation of the Italian Communist Party.

**98.**

With the revolutionary political struggle the working class raises at a higher level than that of claiming struggle. This stays within the horizon of bourgeois society and its mercantile economy. Through its revolutionary vanguard, its communist party, with the revolutionary political struggle the working class makes a qualitative leap the economists and spontaneists do not understand. This qualitative leap implies a higher level of consciousness and organization, the communist party consistent with the teachings of

Leninism. Thanks to it the working class takes the direction of all the popular masses and, thanks to a superior conception of the world and method of work, drives them to carry out successfully the revolutionary people's war on imperialist bourgeoisie until the establishment of socialism.

**99.**

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is the only one leader of the Italian communist movement who have systematically and deeply studied the strategy of socialist revolution in our country from a point of view communist, materialistic-dialectical, marxist-leninist, revolutionary. What in our strategy is specific for Italy has to be grafted in his work (and not in the distortion that Togliatti did of it). Its work is exposed in *The Construction of the Communist Party* (1923–1926), Einaudi 1971, and in *Prison Notebooks*, Einaudi 1971 and 2001. However, these works have to be studied with the eye to the events and problems of the Italian and international movement of those times, individuating for any reflection the question of the communist movement the author is facing. They have not to be studied as treatises of "general theory." In particular, the *Notebooks*, owing to prison censorship, are written with no explicit references to the concrete question that give rise to reflections. Reading them without taking account of it, it is easy to transform the *Notebooks* in an idealist and metaphysical handbook.

**100.**

CARC, *The Higher Point till now Reached in our Country by the Working Class in its Struggle for Power*. (1995), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**101.**

The transformation of the communist parties, where the vanguard of the working class is gathered, in Bolshevik party, may be presently considered the fundamental duty of the Communist International."

*Lyon Theses* (1926), chapter 4, thesis 1.

**102.**

"Despite its origins from a struggle against rightist and centrists degenerations of worker movement, the risk of rightist deviation is present in the Communist Party of Italy...The risk of a rightist tendency is connected to the general situation of the country. The pressure itself the fascism exercises tends to feed the opinion that, as the proletariat cannot quickly overthrow the regime, the better tactics are those that leads, if not to a bourgeois-proletarian bloc for the constitutional elimination of fascism, to a passivity of the revolutionary vanguard, to a non-intervention by the communist party in the immediate political struggle, in order to allow the bourgeoisie to utilize the

proletariat as mass of electoral manoeuvre against fascism. This program is presented with the formula that the communist party has to be the “left wing” of an opposition composed by all the forces conspiring for overthrowing the fascist regime. It is expression of a deep pessimism about the revolutionary abilities of the working class.”

*Lyon Theses* (1926), chapter 4, thesis 26.

**103.**

*Pietro Secchia and Two Important Lessons*, in *La Voce* n. 26

**104.**

On this matter see *About the Historical experience of Proletariat's Dictatorship* (1956), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 13: “For instance, Stalin formulated the judgement according to which in different revolutionary periods the principal effort has to be directed to isolate the intermediate political and social forces of that time. We have to examine this Stalin's theory adapting ourselves to the circumstances from a critical Marxist point of view. In some case it may be right to isolate such forces, but it is not right to isolate them in every circumstance. Founding ourselves upon our experience, during the revolution the greatest effort has to be directed against the enemy, for isolating him. As regards the intermediate forces, we have to adopt both the line to unite ourselves with them, and that to fight them, or at least to neutralize them, striving, when the circumstances allow it, to make them pass for a neutral into an allied position with us, in order to help the development of revolution.

But there has been a period (the ten years of the second revolutionary civil war from 1927 to 1936) during which some comrades of ours applied stiffly this Stalin's formula to Chinese revolution, directing the main offensive against intermediate forces, considering them our most dangerous enemy. The result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves and suffered heavy losses, while the enemy was taking advantage of it. Targeting this dogmatic error, in order to defeat Japanese aggressors, the Central Committee of Chinese Communist party, asserted the principle to “develop the progressive forces, gain the intermediate forces and isolate the hard-to die forces.” The progressive forces we were talking about were the forces of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals the Chinese Communist Party led or could influence. The intermediate forces were the national bourgeoisie, all the democratic parties and the people without party. The hard-to-die forces were those of the *compradors* and the feudal forces led by Chiang Kai-shek, who carried out a passive resistance to Japanese aggressors and opposed the communists. The experience born from practice showed that this

politics upheld by the Chinese Communist Party adapted well to the circumstances of Chinese revolution and that it was right. The reality is that dogmatism is always appreciated only by idle persons. Far from having any usefulness, dogmatism gives a countless damage to revolution, to people, and to Marxism-Leninism. In order to raise popular masses' consciousness, to stimulate their dynamic creative spirit and realize the rapid development of theoretical and practical work, it is still necessary to destroy the superstitious trust in dogmatism.”

However, it must be remembered that in its work of direction of the communist movement, many times Stalin itself went against his wrong thesis. During the first wave of proletarian revolution, the communist movement in many phases and occasions he utilized the reformists and the bourgeois left in favour of the communist movement: it's enough to think at the line of the Antifascist Popular Front (1935). However, the lack of a right conscious general orientation produced uncertainties and deviations in the application: unity without struggle and struggle without unity.

**105.**

On one side, the Italian working class itself is strongly weakened on the plan of the political, union trade and cultural organization and the initiative. The cohesion of society is in strong regression. On the other side, the prestige of the communist movement is low among the foreign workers arriving in Italy. In particular, among those who arrive from Arab and Muslim countries it is high the prestige of the feudal forces now leading anti-imperialist resistance. Those coming from the former socialist countries have not yet digested the traumatic experience of modern revisionism and the collapse to which it drove their countries.

**106.**

“Even if, according to us, the present line of the Italian Communist Party on the matter of the socialist revolution is wrong, we never tried to interfere because, obviously, it is a matter which only the Italian comrades have to decide on. Now, however, the comrade Togliatti proclaims that this theory of the “reforms of structure” is a “line common to the entire international communist movement” and unilaterally declares that the peaceful transition “has become a world strategy of the worker and communist movement.” This matter involves not only the fundamental marxist-leninist theory of proletarian revolution and dictatorship, but also the fundamental question of the emancipation of proletariat and people in all capitalist countries. Therefore, as members of the international communist movement and marxist-leninist, we cannot not express our opinions about the matter.”

*About The Divergences Between Comrade Togliatti*

*And Us* (1962), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 19.  
*Still About The Divergences Between Comrade Togliatti And Us* (1963 ), in *Mao Tse-tung's Works* vol. 19.

**107.**

The first Communist International had not a clear and just conception of the form that socialist revolution will assume in Europe. The communist parties oscillated between rightist and leftist deviations. Regarding to it see the references given in note 57. They gave a rightist interpretation (unity without struggle with the left bourgeoisie) to the line of Popular Front launched in 1935 by the Communist International.

On 6<sup>th</sup> November 1938, in his speech to CC published with the title *Problems of War and Strategy* (vol. 7 of *Mao Tse-tung's Works*, Edizioni Rapporti Sociali), so Mao Tse-tung sums up the strategy followed by European communist parties.

“The central duty and the supreme form of revolution are the seizure of political power with armed struggle and the solution of the problem with war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is valid everywhere, in China so as in all other countries. However, though the principle remains the same, the proletarian parties apply it in different way according to the different conditions.

In the capitalist countries, unless fascism rules and we are in a period of war, the conditions are the following: internally there is not feudalism, but a bourgeois democracy; as regards foreign relations, these countries are not oppressed by others, but they oppress other nations. Give these characteristics, the duty of proletarian parties in capitalist countries is that to educate workers, to accumulate forces through a long legal struggle and so prepare themselves to overthrow capitalism finally. In these countries, the matter is to carry out a long legal struggle, to utilize the parliamentary tribune, to resort to economic and political strikes, to organize trade unions and to educate workers. There, the forms of organization are not bloody (there is not resort to war).

As regards the matter of war, every communist party struggles against the imperialist war waged by its own country. If such a war breaks out, its politics is aimed to the defeat of its country reactionary government. The only war it wants is the civil war to which it is preparing itself. However, it has to pass to insurrection and war only when bourgeoisie is really reduced to impotence, when the majority of the proletariat is decided to carry out an armed insurrection and when the peasant masses offer to help the proletariat. When then the moment of insurrection and war has come, it is necessary to occupy firstly the cities and then advance in the countryside, and not the contrary.”

Mao said also, in the speech to the CC of the day before, the 5<sup>th</sup> November 1938, published with the title *The*

*Question of the Independence and Autonomy of the United National Anti Japan Front*: ““All through the united front” is a wrong slogan. The Kuomintang, that is the ruling party, have not allowed to the united front to take an organized form until now. Behind enemy’s lines we can only acting independently and autonomously holding on what the Kuomintang approved (for instance, the “Program for the war of resistance and national construction”) and we have not the possibility to realize “all through the united front.” Or else, taken for granted its approval, we can firstly act and then present a relation. For instance, the designation of administrative commissaries and sending troops in Shantung would not have been possible if we tried to realize them “through the united front.” The French Communist Party, according to what they say, launched this same slogan. Perhaps it was necessary that it did so for limiting the action of the French Socialist Party because in France a joint committee of parties already existed and the French Socialist Party did not want to act according to the fixed program and kept on acting on its own account. Surely, it did not launch it for tying itself hands and feet. As regards the situation in China, the Kuomintang deprived al the other parties and political groups of the equality of rights and tries to oblige them to submit to its orders. If we launch this slogan pretending that the Kuomintang does “all” “through” our approval, this is not only ridiculous, but also impossible. On the other side, if we had to get previously the Kuomintang’s approval for “all” we are going to do, how will we do if there is no agreement?”

**108.**

CARC, *F. Engels/10, 100, 1000 CARC for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party* (1994), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

Pippo Assan, *Cristopher Columbus, Or How We Were Believing To Sail Towards Indies And We Docked To America*. Edizioni della vite, Florence (see website of (n)PCI, section “Communist literature”).

**109.**

“Revolution in Europe cannot be anything else than the explosion of the mass struggle of all oppressed and discontented people. Part of petty bourgeoisie and backward workers will share it unavoidably – without that participation no mass struggle, no revolution is possible – and as much unavoidably they will carry within the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and mistakes. Nevertheless, they will objectively attack the capital and the conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth if the mass struggle various and disparate, multicoloured and externally divided, will be able to unify and direct it, seize the power, seize the banks, oust the trusts everybody hates (even if for different reasons!) and carry out measures

that will lead to overthrow bourgeoisie and to the victory of socialism, which will “purge” itself from petty bourgeois scum not at all suddenly”.

V. I. Lenin, *Results Of The Discussion About Self-Decision* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22.

**110.**

See references for the class analysis of Italian society in the review *Rapporti Sociali*:

n. 3 (1989), *The Analysis Of The Classes In Which Bourgeois Society Is Divided*;

n. 5/6 (1990), *For a Collective Inquiry on the Changes in Conditions of the Process Producing and Reproducing the Material Conditions of the Existence*;

n. 12/13 (1992), *The Field of Socialist Revolution: Working Class, Proletariat, Popular Masses*;

n. 14/15 (1994), *For the Analysis of Classes*;

n. 20 (1998), *The Class Composition of Italian Society*.

For the class analysis it is also important to take into account the 10 great transformations indicated in the chapter 2.1.2 of this MP.

**111.**

“The free development of each one is the condition of the free development of everybody.” This means that society orders are such that every individual freely developing its abilities contributes in all other individuals doing the same. The Communism is a social system such that the free development of one individual determines the free development also of the others. Let’s see some examples: an individual increase the purity of the air he breaths as much as the purity of the air everybody breaths increases; in a society where the consumption goods are equally distributed among all the people, the single increases the consumption goods at his disposal as much as the quantity at disposal of every member of the society increases.

The capitalist system, instead, by its nature is such that the free economic initiative of the capitalist implies, in order to perform itself, that many individuals cannot do the same and that they had to present themselves to him as sellers of their labour force. The freedom to laze of the rich implies that others work for him. The capitalist is free to discharge and assume only if the worker is slave of his needs.

The social relations (the social order) are such that the individual and social interest (the interest of one individual and that of all the others) or agree or are obliged to agree by constriction. Marx was talking of this, saying that it needs to model humanly the conditions “where man lives and by which he is modelled” (see the note 153. and chapter V – objection 4).

In the mercantile and capitalist society, the principal social relations are antagonist: things go better for one individual as much worse they go for the others (the competitors, the customer in need, etc.). To educate an

individual to generosity, while he lives in a society that obliges him to antagonist relations towards others, is a Sisyphus’ work. To educate to generosity an individual who is not generous, who comes (and has been formed) by a society of antagonist relations, after the society changed its social order and has made agree individuals’ interests is a fruitful enterprise. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) well understood that individual’s interest had to agree with the social interest and, facing the reality of bourgeois social relations, ended with a paradoxical act of faith: the utmost egoism is the utmost altruism, thanks to the secret hand of the Divine Providence.

K. Marx - F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), chapter 2, in *Complete Works* vol. 6.

**112.**

A patrimony, whatever nature it has, is fruitful if it gives or can really give an income corresponding to that given by a financial patrimony of equal value. Therefore, we are not considering, for instance, the inherited house “of inestimable value” an individual owns in some place, but that is for him a consumer good and not a fruitful patrimony. In our analysis the patrimony is important because it individuates the people who live or can “live well” even without work, because they can live thanks to others’ work, so they are really free to decide what to do of their life, they are not obliged to sell their labour-force for living.

We roughly assume that an individual with a year income of one hundred thousands euros, whatever source it comes from (therefore, also if the origin is a personal performance as, for instance, that of a football player, of a professional man, etc.) is able to accumulate in few years such a patrimony that he is no more obliged to carry out any activity for “living well”. On the other side, an individual getting a net year income of one hundred thousands euros has such social relations that allow him to accumulate movable or immovable properties that make him quickly get in the imperialist bourgeoisie.

**113.**

Among the relatives there are included the minors (about 15% of the population is less than 16 years old), the students, the cohabitants who do not receive a personal income from the work they perform (i. e. the housewives) or who do not perform any work: in Italy, according to official sources, at least 3 millions of people, beyond the official unemployed, would like to perform a work. The pensioners are classified according to the class they belonged when they were working.

**114.**

Worker and labourer producer of surplus value

About what Marxists mean for worker or labourer producer of surplus value, see K. Marx *The Capital*,

book 1 chapter 14.

Those who reduce workers to the manual labourers of manufacturing manual sector substitute Marxism with a vulgar materialistic conception, supported in this operation by the dogmatism that keeps still at an identity empirically valid at least hundred years ago.

**115.**

The typical proletarians generically are labourers who can live only selling their labour force and who perform an activity that can be performed by great part of adults after a relatively short period of training. Therefore, they sell their labour force in competition with a great number of workers. The qualifications and sectors which they belong to divide the proletarians. At an extreme point there are those who have no qualification, simple manpower. At the other, there are those who thanks to the ability they acquired or to their talent are hard to replace. They had almost the monopoly of the performances they do. They trespass in the popular masses not proletarians, and become more sellers of services than of labour force.

**116.**

Marco Martinengo, *The First Socialist Countries*, (2003), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**117.**

About the characteristics of the new communist party see Nicola P., *The New Communist Party* (2005), in *La Voce* n. 19.

**118.**

Nicola P., *The Eighth Discriminating Factor* (2002), in *La Voce* n. 10.

In this article Nicola P. indicates the five main Mao's contributions to communist thought:

1. the protracted revolutionary people's war as universal form of the proletarian revolution,
2. the revolution of new democracy in semi feudal countries,
3. the class struggle in socialist society and the nature of bourgeoisie in socialist countries,
4. the mass line as main method of work and direction of the communist party,
5. the two lines struggle in the party as main method of defence of the party from bourgeoisie's influence and of development of the party.

**119.**

Mass line

It is the main method of work and direction of the communist party and the application of the Marxist theory of knowledge to the practical activity. It consists of individuating the positive and negative trends existing among the masses and intervening to support

the positive and fight the negative ones; of individuating in every situation the left, the centre and the right and intervening to mobilize and organize the left so that it unites the centre to itself and isolates the right; of collecting the scattered and confused ideas of the masses, elaborating them through the dialectical materialism and the knowledge of the economical movement of the society, drawing from it an analysis of the situation, translating it in lines, criteria and measures to the masses so that they recognize them as their own and carry them into effect. The theory of the mass line is one of the contributions of Maoism to communist thought.

References:

*Mass Line and Marxist Theory of Knowledge*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 11 (1991).

*Mass Line*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 12/13 (1992).

Nicola P., *The Eight Discriminating Factor* (2002), in *La Voce* n. 10.

Many Mao Tse-tung's writings about the mass line are in the volumes 8 and 9 of *Mao Tse-tung's Works*.

**120.**

*The Movement of Resistance to the Progression of the Crisis of the Bourgeois Society and the Duties of the Subjective Forces of the Socialist Revolution*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 12/13 (1992).

**121.**

"We shall not face the world with a new doctrinarian principle: here is the truth, kneel down! Through the world principles themselves, we shall show to the world new principles. We shall not say, 'Leave your struggle, it is foolishness: we shall shout you the true slogan of the struggle'. We shall only show why he is really fighting, because consciousness is a thing he has to make his own."

*Letter of K. Marx to Arnold Ruge* (September 1843).

**122.**

The imperialist bourgeoisie subjugates and is subjugating with a particularly hard exploitation the people of the semi colonial countries where the working class is still scarcely able to organize itself and contrast with the trade union and political struggle the growing impoverishment of workers the capitalism tends. In some semi colonial countries the capitalism makes extinguish the working class, giving wages systematically lower than that is necessary for its reproduction (capitalism "steal and run away"): the destruction of the population and of the natural resources are the result of the "economic miracle" of the various semi colonial countries. In some other countries the imperialist bourgeoisie directly eliminates the population for taking possession of land, forests and mineral resources (Amazonian Indios, Ogoni in Nigeria, etc.)

**123.**

V. I. Lenin, *About a Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 23

**124.**

F. Engels, *Introduction to The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850* (1850), in *Complete Works* vol. 10

**125.**

*Democracy and Socialism*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 7 (1990).

*The Revolutionary Situation in Development*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 9/10 (1991).

*About the Preventive Counter- revolution* see chapter 1.3 of this MP.

**126.**

*The Contradiction of the Imperialist States in the Future*, in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 4 (1989).

**127.**

*On the Form of the Proletarian Revolution*, (1999), in *La Voce* n. 1.

**128.**

The theory of the protracted revolutionary people's war is exposed in many Mao Tse-tung's writings. The main ones are:

*Strategic Problems of Anti Japan Partisan War* (May 1938), in *Mao Tse- tung's Works* vol. 6.

*On the Protracted People's War* (May 1938), in *Mao Tse- tung's Works* vol. 6.

*Problems of War and Strategy*, (November 1938) in *Mao Tse- tung's Works* vol. 7.

**129.**

Nicola P., *The Eighth Discriminating Factor* (2002), in *La Voce* n. 10.

**130.**

Umberto C., *We Have to Distinguish Universal and Particular Laws of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War*, (2004), in *La Voce* n. 17.

**131.**

About these matters see F. Engels, *The Evolution of Socialism from Utopia to Science*, (1882) , Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**132.**

Lenin, *Friedrich Engels* (1895), in *Works* vol. 2.

**133.**

K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850* (1850), in *Complete Works* vol. 10.

**134.**

K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871) e F. Engels, *Introduction*, (1891).

**135.**

F. Engels, *Introduction to The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850* (1850), in *Complete Works* vol. 10.

**136.**

The revisionists of the beginning of last century (E. Bernstein & C) and the modern ones (Kruscev, Togliatti, etc.) repeatedly tried to bring Engels' *Introduction of 1895* round to their point of view. "Gradual accumulation of revolutionary forces within the bourgeois society? Surely! Here they are our parliamentary groups more and more numerous, clever, influential and listened by the government, our votes growing from one election to another, our trade unions of which millions of workers are members and that ministers and industrials listen with respect, our prosperous cooperatives, our good publishing houses, our newspapers and magazine with high circulation, our many kinds of demonstrations always crowded, our cultural association which collect the cream of the intelligentsia of the country, our wide network of connections and presences in the places that count, our followers in all the categories. Here it is the accumulation of the forces that allows us to rule!" It is a great violence to make Engels tell such things. Even if he did not see what happened in the XX century, he warned against illusions, he warned that the electoral progression of the German social democratic party, sign of the progress of socialism in the German working class and of its growing hegemony over the popular masses, would not last endlessly, that the bourgeoisie would "subvert its legality itself" when this would put it in troubles. However, the principal problem is not "what Engels really told." The main problem is that the facts, the reality, the events repeatedly demonstrated that the accumulated forces the revisionists are talking about thawed as snow under the sun in every acute clash or crisis that put on the agenda the seizure of power, in every case when they were directed by revisionists and were the only or the principal "revolutionary forces" that the working class had accumulated (it is enough to think at Italy in 1919-1920, Indonesia in 1966, Chile in 1973). They were useful for the aim only when they were legal ramifications, legal arms of a party and of a working class that was accumulating the real and decisive revolutionary forces in another way (let's think at Russia in 1917).

**137.**

Russian revolution of 1905 had more the form of a popular explosion not preceded by the accumulation of forces around the communist party, but not by chance it did not lead to victory. See V. I. Lenin, *Relation on Revolution of 1905* (1917), in *Works* vol. 23.

**138.**

Tonia N., *We Have to Elaborate Again Past Experiences and Elaborate the Present Ones by the Light of the Theory of the Protracted Revolutionary People's War* (2004), in *La Voce* n. 18.

**139.**

Not by chance we repeatedly see declared pacifists become supporters of war in the course of events. It is sensational the case of G. Sofri who became supporter of US and European military intervention in the Balkans. Things go on despite pacifists' will and become such that they or line up against the causes (the imperialism) determining the course of things, or line up with one of the parts in war, somehow justifying the vanishing of their pacifism. Their pacifism cannot transform the course of things and so it this course that transforms pacifism. Pacifism is not a "third way". For somebody is a transitory condition towards the lining up in war, for others is a way to prevent the popular masses from taking weapons against the imperialist bourgeoisie: they preach disarming and peace to the masses who have not arms so that to let free hand to the action of imperialist bourgeoisie that is armed to the teeth and keeps on arming itself. Typical exponent of this second kind of "pacifism" was Pope Wojtyla.

**140.**

The Second World War was exemplary regarding to it. It was war among imperialist groups and war between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie. The contradiction between these two aspects characterized nature, course and end of the Second World War. Among those who do not understand this contradiction or deny it for political opportunism, some unilaterally put one aspect (the interimperialist war), some the other one (the class war), the ones and the others clashing with facts and getting involved in a jumble of logical contradictions which they are unable to get out from.

On this contradiction characterizing the Second World War, see:

M. Martinengo *The Political Movement of the Thirties in Europe* (1999), in *Rapporti Sociali* n. 21,

Rosa L., *Ten Theses on the Second World War and the Communist Movement* (2005), in *La Voce* n. 20,

Umberto C., *A Book and Some Lessons* (2006), in *La Voce* n. 24.

**141.**

This concept is clearly showed in J. V. Stalin, *Principle of Leninism* (1924).

**142.**

V. I. Lenin, *Illegal Party and Legal Work*, (1912), in *Works* vol. 18.

**143.**

A. Gramsci, *Relation of the Torinese Section of the Italian Socialist Party*(1920), in the website of the (n)PCI, section "Classics of the communist movement".

**144.**

V. I. Lenin, *About Junius' Pamphlet* (1916), in *Works* vol. 22.

**145.**

About the matter see:

CARC, *F. Engels/10, 100, 1000 CARC for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party* (1994), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

Pippo Assan, *Cristopher Columbus, or how We Were Believing to Sail towards Indies and we Docked to America*. Edizioni della vite, Florence (see website of (n)PCI, section "Communist Literature")

*Martin Luther, or the Transcription in Vernacular of the Statement of 20th May 1999*, supplement to *La Voce* n. 3, with presentation of Umberto Campi, on Internet website of the (n)PCI.

**146.**

On the program of the socialist revolution:

K. Marx - F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), chapter 2, in *Complete Works* vol. 6.

K. Marx, *For Criticism of Gotha Program* (1875).

V. I. Lenin, *On the Project of New Elaboration of the Program* (1917), in *Works* vol. 24.

**147.**

What does it mean to mobilize the masses on a determinate aim?

Generally and roughly it means:

1. to make an inquiry and study the problem (which is the situation among the masses and which their opinions on the problem?);
2. to individuate favourable situation, carry out exemplary experiences, correct mistakes and get successes;
3. to individuate the left, the centre and the right and define aims, lines and methods;
4. to mobilize and organize the left (call, organization, direction) so that it performs its work towards the centre and the left;
5. to follow the work, collect experiences, make the balance and define again, left, centre and right, aims, lines and methods.

**148.**

Marco Martinengo, *The First Socialist Countries*, (2003), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**149.**

“Social democracy have not and cannot have only a “negative” slogan” useful only for “sharpening proletariat’s consciousness against imperialism”, without at the same time giving a positive answer about how social democracy will solve the problem at issue, once it will have got the power. A ‘negative’ word, not connected with a precise positive solution, is an empty word, a mere cry, a declamation without content”.

V. I. Lenin, *About a Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism* (1916), in *Works* vol. 23

A. Gramsci, *Negative Sterile Criticism* (1925), in the website of the (n)PCI, <http://lavoce-npci.samizdat.net>, section “Classics of the communist movement”.

About the matter see also Marco Martinengo e Elvira Mensi, *A Possibile Future* (2006), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

**150.**

F. Engels, *The Question of Habitations* (1872-1887).

**151.**

“[It is also necessary] to outline the fundamental trend of capitalism: ...increasing misery, oppression, enslavement, brutishment, exploitation. In the last times the critics grouping together around Bernstein threw themselves particularly against this point, repeating the old objections of bourgeois liberals and social politics against the ‘theory of impoverishment’ [stated by Marx]. According to us, the polemic carried out on the matter completely demonstrated the total lack in consistency of such a ‘criticism’. Bernstein itself recognized the rightness of Marx’s words as they define a trend of capitalism, trend that becomes reality when there is no class struggle of the proletariat against it, when the working class have not conquered laws to defend the workers”.

V. I. Lenin, *Project of Program of our Party* (1899), in *Works* vol. 4.

**152.**

CARC, *On Maoism, Third Higher Stage of Communist Thought* (1993), Edizioni Rapporti Sociali.

Nicola P., *The Eighth Discriminating Factor* (2002), in *La Voce* n. 10.

**153.**

K. Marx - F. Engels, *The Holy Family* (1844), chapter 6 part 3 section f, in *Complete Works*, volume 4.



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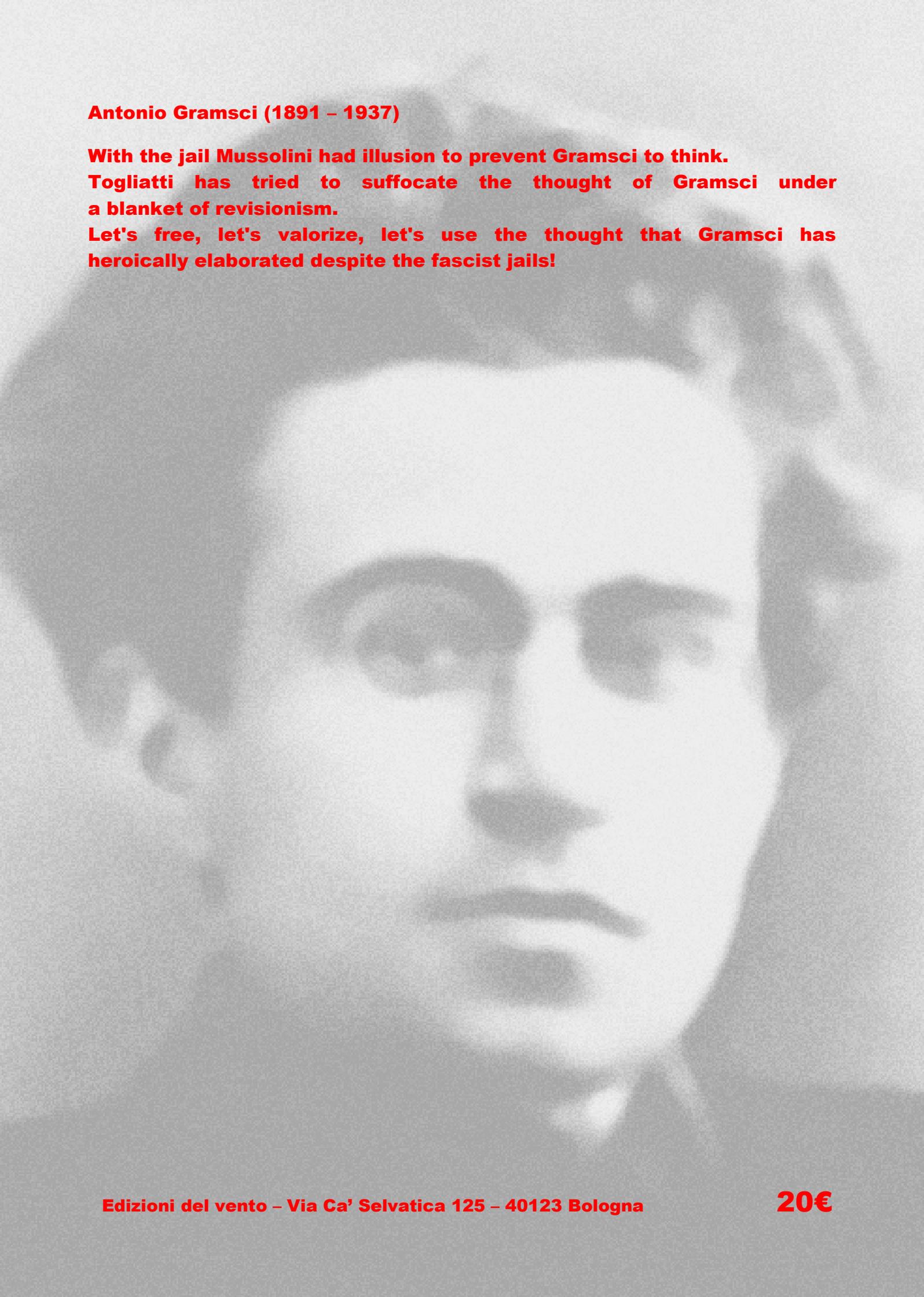
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**Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937)**

**With the jail Mussolini had illusion to prevent Gramsci to think.  
Togliatti has tried to suffocate the thought of Gramsci under  
a blanket of revisionism.**

**Let's free, let's valorize, let's use the thought that Gramsci has  
heroically elaborated despite the fascist jails!**