



**(nuovo)Partito comunista italiano**

Central Committee

website: <http://www.nuovopci.it>

e.mail: [lavocenpci40@yahoo.com](mailto:lavocenpci40@yahoo.com)

Delegation:

BP3 4, rue Lénine 93451 L'Île St Denis (Francia)

e.mail: [delegazionecpnpci@yahoo.it](mailto:delegazionecpnpci@yahoo.it)

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## **Interview by monthly review *Resistenza* to the General Secretary of the (n)PCI**

### **Presentation of the interview for the readers of the Statements of the Central Committee of the (n) Italian Communist Party**

In our country, the constitution of the People's Bloc Government (PBG) is the quickest, least painful and least destructive way to respond immediately to the most disastrous effects already produced by the crisis (economic, environmental, social, moral and intellectual) that destroys our country and that plagues all other countries of the world, allowing us to go to its final solution: the establishment of socialism.

By its nature, the current crisis is such that the organized workers and organized popular masses can solve it, but it does not solve sooner or later by itself or by the measures taken by the bourgeoisie, the clergy and their authority in respect of the present social order. The solution to the current crisis is not a matter of economic politics; it is simply a political issue. It needs a government that, in order to eliminate the most disastrous effects of the crisis and to begin the reconstruction of the country, will definitely take, case by case, the necessary measures even if they would damage the established interests and privileges of the bourgeoisie, the clergy and the rich, and will act contrary to their habits and decisions. These measures, combined with each other, thanks to the renaissance of the communist movement, will lead to the establishment of socialism. If the bourgeoisie and the clergy, in order to delete them, dare to resort to civil war, the organized popular masses will break off their attempts.

Because of the correlation of forces and mass organizations that history has created in our country, because of the history behind it, because of the nature and the role it has, the FIOM [Italian Federation of Metal Workers, Note of Translator] in Italy is the natural center of the movement for establishment of the PBG. Around it there must join and must be combined the other bargaining units of CGIL [General Confederation of Labor, Note of Translator] who are getting out of the direction of the unionist right wing (Guglielmo Epifani, Susanna Camusso and other "grandchildren" of Craxi,...), the alternative trade unions, all Workers' Organizations and Popular Organizations, in order to establish the PBG. Their aggregation will instill in FIOM leaders the courage and confidence they are still missing for daring to take the lead in the movement to form the PBG. This aggregation and transformation will occur as individuals and organizations, on the basis of their experience and of the propaganda carried out by the Communists and by the most advanced workers, will notice and convince themselves that the PBG is the only way for everyone to achieve the

particular objectives to which single organisms aspire and to avoid even more serious destructions threatening humanity because of this crisis. This aggregation and transformation will occur more easily as it will be clear to everybody the great and salutary lesson that the historical experience of the communist movement has given us about the path that humanity must follow in order to move forward on its plurimillennial path of progress and civilization .

For this, the eve of the big demonstration called by the FIOM to Rome for Saturday, October 16, the Central Committee of the (new) Italian Communist Party distributes to the readers of its Statements the interview the General Secretary of the Party issued to CARC Party's monthly review *Resistenza* in early October, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Party.

The event of Saturday, October 16 is not primarily a trade union demonstration. It is the right wing, inside and outside the FIOM, which already boycotts and sabotages the support to the mobilization, which would reduce its meaning to that of a mere trade union demonstration and protest. We Communists on the other hand with all our might must ensure that the event on Saturday should be the best it can: the beginning of a new level of mobilization for the constitution of the People's Bloc Government.

the Central Committee of the (new) Italian Communist Party

### **The interview**

#### **Sixth anniversary of the foundation of the (new)Italian Communist Party**



**Establishing socialism is the only way out from the ongoing crisis.**

**Communists can complete the work interrupted in the last century**

*On 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2010 six years are passed since the (new) Italian Communist Party was founded. We take the opportunity of the anniversary for asking comrade Ulisse, General Secretary of the (n)PCI, some questions about the course humanity will follow in next years.*

***Q. In order to end the ongoing crisis we need to establish socialism. Anyway, during the first wave of proletarian revolution, in the first half of the past century, Communists did not establish socialism in any imperialist country. Why do you think you will succeed in doing it today?***

A. – The Communists, our predecessors, were not able to establish socialism in any imperialist country, nor in USA, nor in Germany, nor in Italy nor in any other country of Western Europe, fundamentally because of three connected and converging reasons. They were shortcomings in understanding conditions, forms and results of the class struggle that prevented Communists from leading class struggle to victory. We identified them and deduced the consequences of them: we elaborated a more advanced conception of the world: Marxism – Leninism – Maoism. That is why we shall be able to advance till victory.

Which are the three reasons and which lessons we drew from them?

1. In every imperialist country, thanks to the drive of October Revolution, (1917) and of the Communist International (founded in 1919), there were created communist parties founded upon Marxism – Leninism. They led the struggle against the bourgeoisie at a higher level than that reached by the parties of the Second International (1889-1914). But they laid anchored to a wrong conception about how socialist revolution would take place. They had a wrong strategy. They thought that bourgeois society sooner or later would explode. Communist parties were getting ready for establishing socialism. So socialist revolution would have taken place. Waiting for the event, the communist parties denounced on a wide scale the misdeeds of capitalism and propagandized communism and socialism as first phase of communism; they promoted claiming struggles (trade unionist or other kind of struggles) of the popular masses and particularly of workers against masters and their authorities; they created mass organizations concerning claim and culture, gathered around the communist party who was their Staff; where the regime allowed to do it, where there were not fascist regimes, they participated in the political struggle that the bourgeois parties were leading one against the other. They thought that sooner or later, due to the events and the situations determined by the ruling class itself and the preparatory action of the Communists, some people's rebellion would break out on a wide scale, and during it the communist party would be able to seize the power thanks to the work it carried out, establishing socialism and so starting the transition from capitalism to communism.

It was about the strategy prevailing already in the Second International. In vain Engels in 1895 gave the alarm and showed that, differently than what happened for the bourgeois revolutions against the absolute monarchies and the feudal systems, by its nature socialist revolution had to be built by the communist movement already within the bourgeois society. The establishment of socialism could take place only as a result of a new kind of war that the working class and the rest of the popular masses had to wage already within the bourgeois society. Communists had to mobilize and organize the popular masses to carry out this war until the creation of a relation of strength able to eliminate completely bourgeoisie's power and to establish working class' power, base and beginning of socialism.

The experience of the first wave of socialist revolution, the successes of the communist movement but even more clearly the defeats suffered by the communist movement despite the heroic struggles carried out (let's only think to Spanish War (1936-1939) and to the Resistance in Italy and France in the Forties), completely confirmed Engels' conception. Maoism elaborated Engels' thesis in a completed way and called this new kind of war protracted revolutionary people's war. This is the strategy of the socialist revolution, effective for every country, the universal strategy the Communists have to develop in every country, particularly on the base of its own particular conditions.

The (n)PCI follows this strategy, and is making the socialist revolution in Italy. The Party explained this strategy in its *Manifesto Program* (Chapter 3.3) printed in 2008 by Rapporti Sociali Editing House (see

<http://www.nuovopci.it/eile/en/in080619.html>). Without a right strategy, the communist party fights blindly. It is unlikely to win. Winning will be even more unlikely in an imperialist country, where the bourgeoisie is stronger. The wrong conception of the form of socialist revolution is therefore the first of the three reasons. The lack of a right strategy was worsened by the other reasons.

2. The second reason was the wrong conception the communist parties had of the crisis in the imperialist era of capitalism. At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century Lenin explained the nature of imperialist era and the new features the capitalist system had taken. Anyway, no communist party of the imperialist countries deduced the consequences as regards the nature of the general crisis of capitalism. They laid anchored to the illustration and explanation Marx gave of the decennial cyclical crises the capitalist system went through in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they kept on using Marx's teaching in a dogmatic way. Still today, in the storm of the second general crisis of capitalism, many communist parties and groups, even groups calling themselves Maoist, facing the ongoing crisis are repeating what Marx told about the cyclical crises of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: they keep on repeating we are going through a cyclical crisis like those. So they say, even if Engels already in 1886 clearly indicated that the latest of those crises broke out in 1867.

In the imperialist era the cyclical oscillations in economic affairs are become more frequent, but they are in different phases in some countries and some others and are mitigated: somehow are compensated by a country to another and State intervention in economy creates many antidotes to the ups and downs (social security cushions, public expenditure, etc.). Economy always goes on by ups and downs less accentuated, but there are come in the field general crises for absolute overproduction of capital.

These crises are due to the fact that capitalists do not use the entire capital they are accumulating in the production of goods, because doing so they would extort from workers a mass of surplus value lower than that they could extort using only a part of it. In the cyclical crises the fall of the affairs creates by itself the condition for a recovery of the affairs: so the ruling class of every country needs only to face, by security social cushions and by other public interventions, the most negative and serious effects of the crisis on the popular masses and on the public order. On the contrary, the general crises can only be solved on the political plan, upsetting the orders of single countries and on the international level, establishing new political systems: so or revolutions or wars or a combination of the two. That is why all the measures and plans to remedy to these crises remaining on the economical plan are bound to fail. They are only patches for taking a little long time, while illness is worsening.

By their nature the general crises are protracted and the protracted people's war is the strategy apt to these crises. The communist parties of the imperialist countries were not aware of the nature of this kind of crisis, typical of the imperialist era. This took them to inadequate political lines. We are well aware of the ongoing general crisis. We deduced and are deducing of it the political consequence, in our line of political struggle.

This was the second of the three reasons, which made even more difficult the success of the communist parties.

3. The third reason was the wrong and backward conception of the political regimes the most advanced imperialist countries established and that the bourgeoisie extended to all the imperialist countries in the period after the Second World War. Facing the menace of the communist movement, starting from USA in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the bourgeoisie gradually put into action a system of economical, political, cultural and military measures to prevent the development of the communist movement, to prevent it from developing beyond an elementary level: we Communists call them regimes of counter preventive revolution (they are described in our *Manifesto Program* (Chapter 1.3.3.). It is

not possible to build the socialist revolution without taking into account these regimes. Not understanding the nature of the new regimes worsened the effects of the two reasons above indicated.

We drew lessons from the failures of the first wave and so we advance towards victory with trust. The renaissance of the communist movement is going on all over the world, not only in our country. It takes place on the basis of getting aware of the reasons of the failures and of the elaboration of the necessary conception of the world and of the line that follow from it, overcoming the dogmatism that kept the communist parties anchored to conceptions and lines not adequate to the conditions, forms and results of class struggle.

This conception allowed us to lay down, facing the precipitation of the general crisis, facing its terminal phase begun in 2007, the line of the constitution of the People's Bloc Government: taking in account the level of the renaissance of the communist movement in our country, it is a realistic instrument to confront the most serious effects of the crisis and to strengthen the renaissance of the communist movement in order to arrive at the establishment of socialism, the only final solution to the ongoing crisis.

***Q. Anyway, the point is that the first socialist countries, established during the first wave of the proletarian revolution, came to a bad end. On which basis you state that the socialist countries you are going to establish will last and will complete the transition from capitalism to communism?***

R. – As a matter of fact the first socialist countries, after a period of development and great successes (the epoch of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union and the epoch of Mao in China), went through a period of great decay and finally most of them collapsed (Soviet Union and People's Democracy in Eastern Europe) or changed sides (China).

This fact is serious but not upsetting: human history is not finished. In human history every revolution imposes itself only by attempts, overcoming failures, Two hundred years ago, in 1815, the bourgeoisie seemed definitively defeated. The Restoration (Congress of Vienna) established feudal orders again in every part of Europe. Anyway, in the next 30 years, starting from 1848, the bourgeois revolution won all over Europe, till the boundaries of the then Russian Empire and imposed itself definitively.

The defeat suffered by the communist movement proposed again to humanity the problem it had to overcome establishing socialism in a most serious form.

By its nature the socialist revolution is a transformation much deeper than the bourgeois revolution. It is the end of the division of humanity in classes of exploited and exploiting, of oppressed and oppressors. This is a division begun in prehistory and dominates the entire human history, since more than 5000 years ago. Therefore it is in the nature of things that it could triumph definitively and on a world level only by attempts, overcoming defeats. Humanity must discover and learn. It has to transform itself.

Bourgeoisie cries that the communist movement has been defeated once and for all: this is a weapon of war, to prevent the renaissance of the communist movement. People with weak character and the most backward part of the popular masses suffer the initiative of the bourgeoisie. But humanity has to solve the problem created by the new general crisis of capitalism that is raging on the world level, a crisis begun more than thirty years ago, that entered its terminal phase in 2007, with the financial crisis broken out in USA and by then become world economical crisis. The environmental crisis is added to the general crisis: humanity has to give solution also to this one. It is the first time that it takes place in humanity's history. It is an outcome of the development humanity has done in the ambit of the capitalist system. It is not possible to solve in the ambit of this system. The attempts to do it are temporary patches or groundless projects.

Surely, the decay and the collapse of the first socialist countries discourage many people from creating new ones. Even if there is no other alternative to capitalism. All the attempts to elaborate for humanity prospect alternative to capitalism but different from socialism gave rise, at best, to propose again more or less muddling project to improve capitalism already tried in the capitalist countries before the birth of the communist movement 160 years ago.

The experience of the first socialist countries instead teaches to whom studies it how we have to go on because the new socialist countries could attain success, and could overcome capitalism on a world level and definitively.

The first socialist countries were established in backward countries from the point of view of development of capitalism. Those countries were part of world imperialist system, but they were not at its head. They were oppressed countries, in the ambit of the world imperialist system. To win in those countries was quite easier for the communist movement than to win in the imperialist countries. It succeeded in doing it despite the shortcomings I indicated before. The victory in the oppressed country gave a great drive to the communist movement all over the world, also in the imperialist countries. But it was not enough for winning at a world level. The bourgeoisie, the other ruling classes and the clergy, in particular the Catholic Church that since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century under the guidance of Leone XIII put themselves among the followers of the bourgeoisie and in service of it, they succeeded in overcoming the threat hanging over their system of privileges and exploitation. That is why today we are facing the second wave of proletarian revolution. Somehow we have to start again from the beginning, but from a higher level of experience and knowledge: the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Let us consider the first socialist countries and see the main teachings they are giving us. We draw them from the analysis of their initial successes and from the decay that followed until the collapse or of the changing of sides.

The first socialist countries had to work as red bases for the world proletarian revolution. For some time they carried out this task. But it implied that the socialist revolution should develop in the imperialist countries and in the rest of the world. We already saw why it did not develop.

Besides, every one of the first socialist countries had to change in order to overcome the system of social relations in force, and go toward communism. In short, it had to deal with the contradictions it inherited. Which were the main ones? We Communists sum up seven ones: 1. between directors and directed, 2. between intellectual and manual labor, 3. between organizational and executive labor, 4. between cities and countryside, 5, between men and women, 6. between adults and young people, 7. between backward and advanced countries, regions and sectors. Every socialist country will have to deal with these contradictions. They sum up the overcoming of class divisions of humanity, of the productive system class divisions come from, of ideas and feelings that in their ambit men conceive and elaborate. The victory of socialist revolutions in the imperialist countries would help the first socialist countries in advancing in transforming themselves.

Socialism is a period of transition, a phase of humanity's history. Led by the working class and by its party, it will have to find and will find particular and concrete solutions, country by country, time by time for advancing until founding the new communist humanity on a world level.

Human kind is a animal species provided of intelligence and ability to transform itself on the intellectual and moral plan, to transform its system of social relations. There is no doubt that it will find suitable solutions, necessary for its survival. Only the enemies of the communist movement, in order to deceive the people and to defend the system of their privileges, can state that it will not find them, that it will not be able to go over the dead end in which it arrived with capitalism. Only naïve people may believe that solutions are at hand, obvious. Surely, they do not appear out of the

blue. There are no revealed truths. Human kind builds its history on the base of its experience. The communist conception of the world is the science of current transformation. It is an experimental science.

Several times in the course of socialism, we shall be tempted to give bourgeois solutions to the problems of socialist society, backward solutions, suggested by the tradition and by the habit, that sometimes work, case by case, for some time. The first socialist countries tackled victoriously imperialist countries' aggression, but decayed just because there multiplied the cases in which, because of backwardness of Communists under bourgeoisie's influence, the new ruling classes gave bourgeois solutions to the problems the socialist countries were meeting in their development.

Modern revisionists, from Khrushchev in Soviet Union since 1956 to Teng Hsiao-ping in China since 1980, promoted systematically the adoption of bourgeois solutions. Multiplying and protracting through the time these solutions drove to the collapse or to changing sides: quantity changes in quality. This is the teaching that the struggle led by Chinese Communists headed by Mao Tse-tung gave to the communist movement all over the world.

The decay and the collapse of the first socialist countries was a tragedy. Humanity should not be insomuch as it is today in the economical, environmental, intellectual, moral field, and in the field of social relations in single countries and at a world level, if the first socialist countries were not decayed, and if the communist movement had overcome timely its shortcomings of comprehension of the world, of the history humanity is building. We were able to overcome them only afterwards, thanks to their tragic experience. Anyway, we overcome them and the new socialist countries will be able to go on successfully for fulfilling their historical task. That is why we are trustfully facing the struggle we are carrying out.