

# IL CAPITALISMO DISTRUGGE IL MONDO.

Una sfida per i comunisti nel XXI Secolo.



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THE RDC'S POLITICAL THESES  
FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF 2-3 JULY

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# **The RdC's political theses for the national assembly of 2-3 July**

## **A revolutionary worldview**

Communists have historically produced a different worldview, which now - in the midst of the economic, health and environmental crisis of the capitalist world - is once again the indispensable framework for outlining a progressive way out of the old world's captive involution.

They are therefore committed to acting in their daily practice in coherence with what they advocate on a theoretical and ideal level. Therefore, their relationship with political activity is militant, disinterested and never aimed at personal gain.

They attach great importance to the role that subjectivity can and must play within a process of liberation, and they construct it as an organised collective dimension of political action, rejecting all personalism. And when an organised collective makes its choices, communists commit themselves to putting them into practice with discipline and a sense of responsibility.

Communists never fight for themselves, to 'impose themselves on the world'. But to bring about a future of true social justice. They take risks themselves, putting themselves on the line through struggle, with a view to change.

They fight against the widespread corruption of values and ideology in society, including in the ranks of the so-called 'left', which has destroyed the trust of popular sectors in activists and militants, both social and political.

Communists are committed, in the theory/practice dialectic, to redefining in today's reality a style of work and life that has always been an integral part of the communist movement.



## THESIS 1: The choices of the RdC

### The premise

More than twenty years after the beginning of the third millennium, it is time for the communists of this country and of this area of the world to catch up with history again, identifying the main axes of the near future and the ways in which it is possible to exercise an actively revolutionary role in these times.

Knowing how to look to the future is the key to definitively overcoming the "defeatism" that has plagued the entire so-called "left", especially - but not only - European, after the fall of the Berlin's Wall.

But there is no realistic view of the future if one does not have roots firmly planted in history. Newness, the belief that one can go forward without any tradition or experience, is the grave of the ability to think differently from what already exists.

The historical reference of the *Rete dei Comunisti* (RDC henceforth) is the Communist Movement of the 20th century that radically changed the world, in that century of class struggles, emancipating and liberating the subordinate classes and the peoples of



the colonies, guaranteeing the rights of workers, women and creating universal protections with the conquest of the welfare state. For the first time in history, "the last" have overthrown the power and built a different system of production, redistribution, life. This had never happened in thousands of years.

Within that general emancipatory function for the whole of humanity, contradictions and conflicts have emerged and divisive tendencies have arisen, among which, at the end of the last century, reformist tendencies have prevailed, also favoured by the successful worldwide counter-offensive of capital. In the view of the RDC, this perspective, which was advocated above all by the western communist parties, starting with the PCI, is not only wrong, but must be opposed even today as it is considered one of the main causes of the disintegration of the class front.

Therefore, as RDC, we also know the limits of that historical experience; limits of objective condition (inadequate development of the productive forces), and subjective, that is the inability to keep up with the development of capitalism both quantitatively and qualitatively. In other words, in the last decades of the last century a theoretical and historical inadequacy of the socialist alternative has been demonstrated.

For the RDC, we still have to properly investigate both the end of the USSR in relation to the characteristics of the CPSU, as well as the evolution of post-Mao China, which today presents itself as an alternative to the imperialist West but on the basis of the use of the same Mode of Production for the growth of the productive forces. For communists, this is the level of the political challenge that we have to face and which has mainly a theoretical and historical dimension.

The RdC has been aware since the 1990s of the shift determined in that period and has made its strategic choices in relation to that, evaluating the ways and times for the re-proposition of the role of the communists.

The RdC has conceived and taken its choices starting from the general ruptures of the last thirty years, that of 1991 with the end of the USSR, that of 2008 with the financial crisis of the entire West and the current one marked by the global pandemic. On the basis of these, it has redefined its political role and the nature of its organisation over time.

The current crisis of hegemony of the Capitalist Mode of Production re-proposes the need for a social alternative, which for us is Socialism in the 21st century within a renewed communist perspective.

The RDC has always been aware of its limits as a reflection of the general condition that has changed and evolved from time to time, and from this it has started again for its choices.

With this approach we have elaborated a political and organisational hypothesis, different from the majority hypothesis, established in our country, of the mass Communist Party. Instead, we have chosen to organise along the three fronts of the class struggle: that is the theoretical-ideological one, the political one and the trade union-social one.

This subjective choice was imposed as a response and adaptation of the Organisation to the changed conditions resulting from the defeat of the socialist camp and the consequent disruption of the elements that had made the strength of the communists and the class movement, thus making it impossible to quickly arrive at a new overall synthesis that had been achieved in the past with the Party. This indication of work also comes from the classics of Marxism, from Engels to Lenin to Gramsci, within a perspective of strategic reorganisation of the fronts to be reconstructed by testing and verifying the capacities of organised subjectivity.

**In this sense, we have identified the need to build a party of cadres and militants but with a mass function, as today we can see the possibilities and spaces for a process of sedimentation of the forces of our class, albeit in the context of the multiple forms that this takes today, but for which the analytical and critical capacity of organised subjectivity remains central.**

**A central element for the redefinition of the communist identity of this century is the ability to recuperate class-based theory and analysis as decisive compasses in the complicated international and national, political and class scenario.**

**It is equally important to define the values of a communist identity and militancy that rejects individualism, irrationalism, corporatism and also rejects the blackmail**

**of fear made by the ruling classes, recovering the collective conception, the value of rationality and science, the use of dialectics in reflection and political action. What must be affirmed is that a communist force must give the right role to the superstructural dimension that greatly affects political prospects and possibilities. We are currently experiencing the possibility of proposing an alternative model to the current systemic crisis, so it is essential to set up an ideological counteroffensive to the current system in a political sense, but also in a value and cultural sense that reaffirms a class-based point of view.**

## **RDC's characters**

Our organisation has gone through different phases, the characteristics of the current one are determined by the crisis of hegemony of the Capitalist Mode of Production (CMP henceforth) and the conflict and competition that are increasing at all levels, from the international economic-financial one to the politico-military one between states, up to the internal ones between the classes and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

These conflicts give rise to a generalised process of politicisation that changes the conditions and forms in which the material contradictions themselves are manifested. An example of this is the case of the world pandemic, which was born and took on such dimensions also because of the systematic destruction of public health services pursued in past decades.

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**This epidemic is not a random episode but is the product of political revenge enacted by the ruling classes, the most glaring example of which is the policy of Trump and now that of Bolsonaro, who by striking at the welfare state, born of the class conflict of the 20th century, intend to return social wealth to profit; this is producing a retreat of civilisation throughout the world. What is emerging are in fact the historical limits of a social model that has become regressive for the whole of humanity.**

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Regressive and punitive it is particularly so for the younger generations, for whom the prospects are becoming increasingly precarious: thus, a further political contradiction emerges between expectations and reality. The ideological mystification produced by the logic of profit jumps when the magnificent fates of capitalism are revealed as a betrayal of the future of young people. This is a direct area of expression for the RCD as it explicitly poses the need for the rupture of the present social order and the construction of a general alternative.

To these overall changes that are evident on an international scale, a modification of the choices and behaviours of the organisation cannot but correspond. For the RDC this explicitly means the need to work in the perspective of a revolution of the present mode of production.

It follows the need to raise the quality of the elaboration, of the action, of the analysis and work method to be prepared now and above all in perspective to catch the contradictions in the process of maturing that already explicitly manifest themselves.

This change spills over directly into those fronts in the mass relationship that we have built over the years as a priority commitment of the RDC, which has strategically deployed its militants in the decisive and inescapable "mass function" to which a communist organisation must be able to contribute today.

### In class conflict...

Our militants have therefore contributed to determining the history of what is and has been independent and class-based trade unionism, as an original character of our country, since the 1970s, navigating within its contradictions and working concretely to sediment over time the forces towards the hypothesis of building a union confederation.

Within this process we first built the 'RdB', then helped to give life to the trade union 'CUB' and later to the trade union USB [Unione Sindacale di Base] as the most advanced hypothesis on the road to build a confederation. The decision to commit the communists to the construction of the class-based union, passing through the experience of grassroots unionism in the 80s, was based on the judgment of the absolute unreformability of the historic trade union confederations in Italy. Their

transformation into an instrument for accompanying the productive and economic choices of capital and the function of shock absorber of social conflict, initiated with the break and exit from the international trade union movement, the World Trade Union Federation, was definitively accomplished with the so-called ‘Svolta dell’EUR’ in February 1978. That choice, which was harshly contested by the union base, led to a progressive weakening of the workers’ movement, which the class union must now relaunch by defeating any hypothesis of subordination to the interests of capital.

From the production and social data that are emerging in the continuous restructuring processes generated by technological and scientific development under the sign of capital at the international level, which produce disintegration and individualisation of workers, the confederal choice is confirmed as valid, necessary and increasingly strategic. This is also true in the light of the forthcoming continental restructuring process, which will be introduced with funding from the EU Recovery Fund and whose closest precedent is the restructuring carried out in the large factories in the 1980s.

In this sense, the USB’s intuition on the construction of suitable trade union instruments, such as the ‘Federazione del Sociale’ [which includes unions organising precarious workers as well as housing activists, note of translator], has been fundamental in providing a useful response to unite apparently different sectors under the same platform of demands. In reality, these are united by working conditions such as low wages, the individualisation of the employment relationship, and the difficulty of organising trade union representation in the traditional sense.

From this perspective, we know from direct experience that workers do not spontaneously and consciously reach the confederal objective, but only if there is a project supported by a solid subjectivity.

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This is necessary because the contradiction that represented the mass worker, and more generally the workers, within the Fordist production until the 1970s, has been systematically dismantled by the bourgeoisie by strategically dividing the most advanced point of production from the mass presence of the labour force, overcoming the bottleneck represented, for the valorisation of capital, by the historical phase of the large factory that then characterised the imperialist centres.

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This has brought productive relations and the relations of force back to a previous condition which validates Lenin's position on the possibility of workers only developing a trade unionist consciousness if they remain confined in the cage of only economic relations with their class antagonist.

**If there is an apparent return to disjointed and diffuse forms of productive and social relations, as before the great Fordist industry, the ways in which workers and the subordinate classes react cannot but be different from recent decades. Therefore, even the models of union and social organisation to be adopted in the conflict must correspond to these new conditions, now determined by the application of science and technology to production, elaborating an organised project where the role of militant commitment plays a central role.**

### ... and in political conflict

If on independent trade unionism we have had a long period of verification of the hypotheses made, on the political question relating to the new conditions and forms of the class we are in a phase of hypotheses and verification to be made in relation to the characteristics of today's society and the practical work to be produced.

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The definition of a class-based politics today cannot disregard the level of integration of Italy in the European Union, financial, productive, social and, for now, partially institutional integration, which is becoming more and more stringent producing that "cage of the peoples" that for communists in Europe becomes the main enemy to beat.

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In this sense, the RDC reiterates the need to break up the European Union and to work in the perspective of a Euro-Mediterranean community that looks towards the south of the Mediterranean and the world.



This process of subsuming the national dimension into the European project has been blocking politics in our country for thirty years now, because it is managed by the bureaucratic apparatuses of the EU, which are the direct expression of the financial bourgeoisie and the large multinational companies with a continental base.

Becoming a marginal country within the unitary dynamic has meant not only penalising the economic and social conditions of the popular classes, but has also rendered national politics impotent and accentuated the deleterious characteristics of an indecent and inept political class. The centre-left forces, starting with the PD, must be judged without appeal. They have made themselves representatives and servile executors of the interests of the bourgeoisie, finance and eurocracy, actively engaging in a direct attack on workers and society as a whole in accordance with the EU project.

As for the other political forces, they have sufficiently demonstrated that they have no ability to propose and pursue an alternative hypothesis to the dominant one as expressed by their surrender and servility to the European strong powers; these forces, even though they have a large electoral support, have no ability to govern and manage society as the failure of the previous ‘yellow-green’ coalition government of M5S and Salvini's League has clearly demonstrated.

The fact that we are in this situation is witnessed by the creation of Draghi government, which certainly does not represent the anomalous governmental majority, but must guarantee a prospect of stability for the EU projects engaged in a global competition that is becoming increasingly pressing and pushing towards a strong process of financial, productive, political and military centralisation.

A similarly critical judgement must be made of the political left in general, insofar as, despite having suffered a further defeat in the first decade of the century, it has not been able to produce a structure of thought and political action consistent with the new features of the international, national and class situation.

**What Gramsci argued in the ‘*Notebooks*’ is materialising once again, namely that politics is no longer able to act as a hinge between the structural and the superstructural datum, i.e. it is no longer able to produce hegemony in the face of the**

**gap between the growing material contradictions of the current social model and the capacity for political and cultural orientation towards the subordinate classes.**

It is in this sense that the symptoms of irrationality sweeping society should be interpreted, whether they be the revival of fascist and Nazi ideologies, the affirmation of pseudo-negationist movements with respect to Covid-19, or the visceral use of social networks that demonstrates the deep roots of such behaviour in the social body, including its most popular component.

It should also be made clear that this is not just an Italian phenomenon, but concerns the whole of the West and the countries allied to it; from the USA, for the almost 50% of votes taken in 2020 by Trump, to the parties in the European Union, particularly those in Eastern Europe, passing through Bolsonaro's Brazil. So the crisis of politics is a direct effect of the end of the hegemony of capital throughout the imperialist world.

Our militants have been working continuously in this area too, aiming to reconstruct political representation for the subordinate classes and workers, which is certainly not an easy goal to achieve and build. In fact, we have been working within the 'No Debt Committee' since 2011, passing through the 'Ross@' experience and then building 'Eurostop', maintaining a basic coherence with the strategic objective of representation. We took a further step by helping to build and consolidate 'Potere al Popolo' (Power to the People), which for us today represents the most advanced hypothesis to be tested in the current context on the perspective we have given ourselves.

**However, one thing seems clear to us: the referents of this work can only be the social sectors of the class, and their possible allies, as the only measure of the feasibility and achievement of such an objective. What we do not consider possible is that such a representation should pass through a purely electoralist plan and the residual forces of the variegated left in our country. This is for the obvious reason that it is not possible for us to reproduce a mass communist party for the structural reasons that we have highlighted so far and the definitive extinction of the electoral and opinion "treasure" of the so-called "people of the left".**

**It is also clear that, in this perspective, special attention should be paid in the construction of class representation to environmental, gender and immigration issues, which are elements of organisation of the conflict and of rupture with the policies of successive governments that are always subservient to the dominant ideology that wants to bend everything to profit.**

On the basis of this analysis and the consequent choice we have been working since the early 2000s on the hypothesis of political representation, seeing our conviction confirmed by the electoral collapse of the united left in 2008 and the affirmation of "spurious" and contradictory forces such as the 5-Stars Movement, in particular, but also the "new" Salvini League, which were clear phenomena of dislocation of the previous representations among the working-class and popular sectors.

These superstructural phenomena, whether populist or sovereignist, are also broken today and are the litmus test of the absence of a positive response to the need for political representation that is antagonistic to the policies of pro-European governments. So this question now comes up again in full and is on the agenda of discussion for communists and the class-oriented left.

For all these choices, the RDC reaffirms the need to continue working on the perspective of the three fronts, the strategic, the political and the union-social, with the awareness that the progress of contradictions and their politicisation in fact push towards a process of reconstruction of class unity that at the moment is not yet clear in terms of time and form, but that arises as a potential condition produced by a reality in continuous evolution.

Failure to respond to this need will inevitably lead other forces, antagonistic to us, to grasp it in a mystified way and to use this political space in directions other than that of a modern class representation.



## **THESIS 2: The current course of the capitalist crisis, the structural nature of the crisis of the capitalist mode of production**

Part 1 | COVID accelerated processes in the systemic crisis

### **The crisis is systemic**

The situation that has arisen with the 'globalisation' of the coronavirus epidemic is the product of a systemic crisis that has shown various faces in recent years and now



presents itself in the guise of a pandemic. The attempt of the mass media is to focus on secondary aspects and divert attention from the real causes that have produced these dramatic results over time, for a social system that after thirty years of 'hegemony' is condemned to regress, amplifying all the contradictions it generated at the turn of the millennium. In fact, it is becoming clear that globalisation cannot be governed by a capitalist logic, which is now presenting itself again with the characteristics of imperialism and competition.

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**The current crisis is systemic because the gap between the development of the productive forces and the modernisation/socialisation of production relations is widening, to the point that not only the latter but the very social relations in all countries with mature capitalism are now affected.**

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The attack on the welfare state, and hence the huge cuts in health care on which the pandemic has now been triggered, has in fact been one of the elements holding capitalism together and relaunching it on an international scale following the emergence of the systemic crisis, together with financialisation, the development of the tertiary sector, computerisation, digitalisation and generalised technological investment, the attack on wages, and not least together with a major cultural offensive.

The current crisis of capital comes from afar and has shown its structural nature since the early 1970s, with a tendency to stagnate with strong and continuous recessionary tensions, but with a reduction in time of the cycles of financial crises. The crisis of over-accumulation manifested itself in 1971 with the end of Bretton Woods and the foreign convertibility of the US dollar into gold, and then matured with the first oil crisis in 1973, and spilled over onto the capital market with the Wall Street crash of 1987. The US arms race itself had as its premise the lack of development space for the capitalist economy. The end of the USSR suddenly opened up these spaces and part of the capital forced into the financial market alone found a productive outlet for its valorisation in the new international situation.

The cycles of financial crises have shown how the various forms of growing indebtedness, internal and external, public and private, have in fact guaranteed the survival of the historic centres of capital accumulation in North America and Western Europe. The financial institutions themselves were only saved by state intervention, which transferred vast amounts of wealth from the pockets of citizens to the coffers of banks and investment funds.

The capitalist mode of production is now bound by limits that are difficult to overcome and which make it unlikely that a new model of valorisation of capital will be restored and a new process of accumulation will begin. Over-indebtedness responds to the objective of delaying the moment in which the fall in profitability translates into a sharp overall decrease in assets and the mass of profits, a moment in which a fatal imbalance is produced between the rhythm of production, that of realisation and that of capital valorisation, the ultimate condition of the crisis.

The reading of the crisis, as deep as it may be today, must not lead to a "collapseist" vision of the CMP that has been denied many times by history, but it does say that the crisis today is immanent. This prolongs its agony, and its eventual precipitation may depend on many factors, not least that of the emergence of an antagonistic subjectivity. The crisis should therefore be seen as a historical progression of the basic contradictions of the CMP within which the revolutionary alternative matures and proposes itself.

1. The limit given by the **historical tendency of the tendential fall in the rate of profit** produced by the increased weight of technology and science in production and the drastic reduction of living labour, that is, the part that produces value. In countries with mature capitalism, the development of the tertiary sector, which has surpassed industrial production in terms of size since the 1970s while Fordism was becoming the prerogative of developing countries, has entered a crisis; it has grown by bending the services and public goods accumulated by the class conflict of the 1900s to private profit, which directed resources and capital to the advantage of the social dimension.
2. The limit of the **world markets** that cannot develop further except for inadequate portions. China was the last frontier to open up to capital, followed



by India and other countries of the former productive periphery, and further significant enlargement is not materially possible today.

3. The limit of the **use of leverage**, which is increasingly manifesting itself as a form of overproduction of capital, with the risk of crises and the explosion of speculative bubbles. Quantitative easing, zero or even negative interest rates, banks overexposed to unsecured loans, speculative bubbles of various kinds, and cryptocurrencies are all symptoms of an overproduction of capital that is destined to produce more disastrous effects than any financial crisis that has occurred in the last forty years, because all the players in the field are condemned to conflict and cooperate precisely because of the financial dimension which, in collapsing, would leave no one safe from bankruptcy.
4. The limit of the forty-year **compression of direct, indirect and deferred wages** that are producing deep social inequalities worldwide and a crisis of institutions and politics in general as instruments of the hegemony of the ruling classes. The reduction of the overall social wage depresses the market and accelerates restructuring processes that demand less and less labour and more and more flexible employment.
5. 5. The irreconcilable conflict between **capital and nature** as an objective fact, even if attempts to use the environmental crisis to rebuild profit levels are also evident in the instrumental use of movements and state policies.

## From international competition to the stalemate of imperialisms

In recent decades there has been an exponential growth in imports, exports and in particular foreign direct investment. These processes are due to, and strongly linked to, the activity of multinational companies, which have responded to the continuous changes in the international market linked to technological development and liberalisation policies, with increased levels of competition and a series of expansionary strategies.

We see neo-liberal financial globalisation as the result of the United States' decision to deal with its budgetary problems without any real revival of its economy and to dump them outside.

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In general terms, globalisation can be understood as a worldwide process of redistribution of power between social classes (from workers to capitalists) and between territories (from rural to urban areas, from city peripheries to business centres, from less developed to more developed regions, in short, from the peripheries to the centre). This has taken place within the European continent itself under the leadership of EU elites.

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This has led to a sudden rise in competition levels and the expansion of large multinational companies, which through cross-border takeovers and mergers have created veritable production networks on an international scale, developing both the concentration and centralisation of capital along the line determined by the international division of labour.

The race for profits in the capitalist West has led to investments in areas not yet subordinated to the market economy, in different ways in China, India, Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe, thus amplifying and speeding up the economic cycle of capital. While up until the middle of the last decade there was homogeneity in international economic trends between the imperialist centres and what have been called the BRICS, since the crisis of overproduction of capital emerged in 2007 the growth trends have diverged and the blockage of growth in the centre has been matched by economic development in the periphery. The huge foreign investments made since the 1990s by the financial centres in the former production peripheries have radically changed the latter's production structures, developing scientific, technological, financial and economic processes that now allow them to compete with those who thought that history was over.

This tendency has also increased competition between imperialist centres, as is evident in US-EU relations (making international bodies such as the WTO, the G7-G20 and the IMF increasingly unserviceable), but it has also demonstrated the impotence in which the UK, the imperialist country par excellence, is struggling, even if it has long been in decline. This condition as a trend is also subject to changes in the domestic and international political balance. The new US administration of Biden,

unlike Trump, has relaunched the Euro-Atlantic alliance as a bloc pitted against China and Russia and intends to use NATO forcefully as an instrument of political interference in international relations and European affairs. But the US claim to remain *primus inter pares* will have to reckon with Europe's ambition to carry more weight in global competition.

The 'tug-of-war' between Europe and the US is the result of a heated competition. The use of currency has become an increasing tool of the latter. The US still intends to use the dollar and the control of international prices (including oil) as a factor of hegemony. But even here they have to reckon with the ambitions of the euro to make its way as a currency in international transactions, with the Chinese yuan and with plans for new currencies linked to raw materials. These are different ambitions, but they all converge to break away from the dollar.

However, in this competition between historical imperialisms, the emergence of China as an emerging power, Russia as a military antagonist and the possibilities of orientation that these countries produce in what used to be defined as the third world, from Asia to Africa and Latin America, change the general conditions and gradually shift the international conflict from economic to political-military competition.

In other words, the ruling classes of Western imperialism, albeit in economic competition, see the return of the ghost of their historical overcoming and this contributes to the rediscovery of NATO and a strengthening of the Western alliance to maintain its dominant role where, however, the EU intends to play an equal role with US imperialism. Of course, we do not know whether this will become a stable perspective, but it is the one that is now emerging.

Another factor increasing international conflict is the military one. We are now far removed from a period in history when essentially only the USA and the USSR held the scientific, nuclear and military monopoly. The fall of the Berlin Wall has brought changes in this field too. Since there was no longer an enemy to beat, the military sector received a further boost from the development of the productive forces that poured into the periphery from the centre, increasing not only the production of goods and services but also the production of new armaments, in which the nuclear weapon acquired new centrality and with it the risk of mutual destruction.

**Before the pandemic, we had defined the current historical context as a stalemate in international power relations that will mark the coming years, and which the US is experiencing as the end of its global hegemony which it intends to oppose in every way, as the alternative is the decline and the end of its imperialism as happened to England in the last century. Living in a condition of strategic stalemate of imperialisms does not mean that contradictions do not continue to grow and impact on the international financial, economic and political situation. On the contrary, the pressure is increasing but has not yet found an outlet, partly because none of the contenders feels strong enough economically and militarily to impose its hegemony.**

The acceleration brought about by the pandemic is undoubtedly marking a turning point, and when the strictly understood health emergency has been overcome, we will be handed a world with much changed characters: the RCEP, the largest trade agreement in history recently signed by 14 Asian countries, including the historic rivals China, Japan and South Korea, is there to signal this.

## **Part 2 | End of an international cycle: the crisis of hegemony of capital**

### **The systemic crisis at the heart of imperialism**

The crisis of hegemony, identified long ago by the RdC, is making its way where the class adversary thought it had definitively won the war and not just the battles. In countries with mature capitalism, hegemony is imploding precisely on the generalised destruction of the welfare state.

China, where the current pandemic started, has managed to bring it under control quickly by mobilising an immense apparatus that only an efficient state can manage, privileging the collective dimension over that of capitalist individualism. **Just as we cannot fail to remind that Cuba, once again, has shown itself to be in the vanguard not only of medicine, but of a clear social conception of the state.**

Having determined the positive course of a long part of Soviet history and having offered the capitalist economies themselves an exceptional instrument for growth, today planning shows all its superiority in the multipolar world. In the framework of regional destabilisation continually promoted by imperialism, those who have adopted planning and a foreign policy based on multilateralism can afford to hold on to and relaunch their own system at the expense precisely of US' aims of maintaining global control.

**Nowhere else in the West is the crisis of hegemony more evident than in the United States. After marking time with the election of the unrepresentable and dangerous "outsider" Trump, after contending for the title of the country that handled the pandemic worst, and having experienced the biggest contraction in GDP in its history, the US went into the last election with an atmosphere that at times resembles that of a civil war.**

The situation never normalised after protests broke out in May 2019 following yet another brutal police killing. Cracks showed in a social peace that had lasted for decades, while the response by the authorities was extremely violent and there were direct clashes between protesters and far-right militias backed by the police.

The events that for the first time in US history are marking the difficult presidential transition are a symptom of the crisis. The two political forces that have given the country's elites unchallenged control over the last century are finding it increasingly difficult to play the role of hinge with the development of profound internal and external changes.

## **The weak links of imperialism**

While in the European Union the historical and subordinate economic and political "fragility" - and the role of geopolitical fault line - of Italy and the Euro-Mediterranean countries makes them the weak link in the European imperialist chain, in recent years, the synergy between the global economic difficulties and the renewed US strategic interest in what they consider their "backyard", have created situations of significant instability in many Latin American countries. These situations are nothing more than pieces of a class conflict on a continental level in which the oligarchy, prone to US

imperialism, is pitted against the popular sectors that have seen a drastic improvement in their living conditions in the countries where, since the end of the last century, the historical progressive cycle now under attack began: the coup in Bolivia defeated by the last elections; the continuous and increasingly violent attempts to destabilise Venezuela; the gigantic popular mobilisations in Ecuador and especially in Chile, the country that has been more than any other social experiment ground of the infamous Chicago school since Pinochet's time but which has now electorally defeated the liberalist right; the return to armed warfare by some factions of the FARC in Colombia, following the continuous and unpunished massacre of its militants and trade unionists by drug traffickers and fascists, in a country which is now also experiencing massive popular mobilisations repressed in blood; the 'white coup' in Brazil, Bolsonaro's election victory and the ongoing massacre caused by the coronavirus.

**This clash prompts us today to say that there is a choice between socialism and barbarism in those countries, where socialism is concretely present in Latin America and barbarism is just as concretely present in the United States. The southern continent has become the weak link of modern imperialism, not only in North America.**

### **The increase in the organic composition of capital: the pressure cooker of western societies**

The general stalemate of international powers not only affects economic and financial relations, but also spills over into the daily lives of populations. The competition generated in the current phase of capitalist globalisation has forced corporate restructuring and technological innovations which, instead of creating new jobs, have created fewer jobs than the redundancies made.

The increase in unemployment and precariousness worldwide is not a cyclical episode, but depends on the increase in the organic composition of capital, which increasingly reduces the presence of labour in capitalist production. This contradiction manifests itself today for what it is, as a crisis of prospects, a crisis of capitalist civilisation in all its aspects, tangible especially for the new generations as a direct



effect of capital's main contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the social relations of production.

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The social effects of inequality and the growth of poverty are being felt materially and politically especially in the imperialist countries, where the bourgeois political forces are experiencing a phase of disarray and a very serious crisis of representation, being unable to respond to the distortions of the mode of production.

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In the context of the systemic crisis, the process of replacing obsolete jobs with new ones is not possible, due to international competition in markets that are becoming increasingly restricted compared to the enormous productive potential of the systems put to work.

On the other hand, the increasing use of technology increases and extends the degree of standardisation of all work activities, reducing human manual work to a minimum, while expanding the dimension of intellectual work somewhat.

The main feature of this evolution is the integration of physical processes and digital technologies, which brings out a new centrality of 'mental work' and renews organisational models. The privatist and mercantilist conduct of this new industrial revolution (defined as Industry 4.0) is easily calculable in terms of jobs lost.

The decay of education and of the institutions that should promote knowledge, which are today increasingly subservient to the logic of the search for profit in global competition, is the other insidious consequence of this process, even though the large investments in R&D programmes are passed off (at our latitudes, primarily by the EU) as 'the new thing'.

**In the crisis, any post-modern ambition to exalt the emancipatory characteristics of so-called intellectual work, to prove that the working class had disappeared, fails in the face of the material concretisation of proletarianisation processes in all professions with a high content of what we have called 'mental work'. This disproves**

**the idea that the middle class was the new permanent affluent condition of the workers.**

## **The current real space for action of the communists**

Those who believe that the Covid19 health crisis can make us rethink general policies towards social goals are mistaken, because this situation is not the product of a single 'wrong' choice, as the worldwide dimension of the epidemic shows, but of a structural condition of capitalism which, after the intoxication of the victory over 'real socialism', now finds itself once again coming to terms with itself.

The present strategic turning point, equal in size to that of the 1990s but of the opposite political sign, is one that is resoundingly confirming certain Marxist views on the development of capital.

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**Capital is like a "sorcerer's apprentice" that evokes forces that it is then unable to manage, since globalisation cannot be managed by the logic of private profit as it reproduces within itself conflict and competition that transforms the potential of the development of the productive forces into negative elements that are antithetical to the general interests of humanity.**

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In the West, the class movement, the communists, arrive at the historic appointment determined by the pandemic completely unarmed. The reason lies in the material, political and cultural disintegration of our social and class referent, which on an ideological and subjective level has also been favoured by those who, like our 'left', in these decades of capitalist hegemony have accepted the idea that revolutionary criticism of capitalism should be abandoned; by those who have accepted the values implicit and explicit in the current set-up; by those who thought they had to put forward 'reasonable' proposals, because socialism was now obsolete and not expendable on a social and ideological level. From the predominance of the market over the state, perhaps in the useful forms of 'non-profit', to the acceptance of social

competition and 'meritocracy', we have only conceived ourselves within this horizon, which in Italy and Europe has meant very concretely supporting the policies of the European Union. It is from this observation, clearly certified today by reality, that the **centrality of subjectivity**, or rather of an alternative design to the current social order that takes account of the real forces in the field, settling and organising the forces interested in social rupture, must be reaffirmed.

**The capitalist model is in crisis. It is a model that denies prospects to ever larger sections of the population, starting with young people. The political challenge launched by China on the international level opens up unprecedented possibilities for communists. This challenge has posed and still poses a theoretical question of no small importance: to what extent can a project of social transformation temporarily use the capitalist mode of production to bring about socialist changes? In any case, it remains valid that in the hegemonic crisis of the USA at the expense of a possible alternative such as the Chinese one, we can glimpse a reversal in the course of events, the affirmation of an objective necessity, which puts history back on the right track after the attempt to 'throw the baby out with the bathwater'.**



## THESIS 3: EU imperialism and the position of Italy

### The new maturity of the European imperialist pole

With the end of the Cold War and the East-West divide, all illusions about Europe's progressive function have come to an end. Since 1992, the strongest and most internationalised sectors of the ruling classes in Europe have pushed for the constitution of the European Union. The introduction of the single currency to compete on the world market, of a system of binding treaties inspired by German ordoliberalism, of common apparatuses on strategic sectors, characterised the contradictory process towards the constitution of a European imperialist pole. Using traumatic events such as the aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999 and the economic crisis of 2007/2008, the material forces of European imperialism have acted to advance a few steps after each crisis. It has rightly been written that with the war in Yugoslavia "Europe died and the European Union was born".

The constitution of the European imperialist pole is undoubtedly a contradictory process with several internal counter-tendencies. The US has continued to use many avenues to interfere and obstruct this process, including the use of the dollar and NATO. But Britain's Brexit in 2016 took away the best asset of US interference in the EU's strategic choices.

Over the years we first spoke of European imperialism - because this already existed and acted, both as a configuration of a system of multinational corporations and financiers with common interests, and through individual states - and then we spoke of a tendency towards the European imperialist pole, because the ruling classes in Europe continually push towards the centralisation of decision-making power and a sharp hierarchisation of internal relations between strong states, less strong states and subaltern states in the inner periphery. For a long time the Rete dei Comunisti has been nourishing the fight against the European imperialist pole, its continental bourgeoisie, the various financial, economic and military devices (the European Central Bank, the Euro and the European Army project) and the complex of policies that not only tamper with the living and working conditions of the popular sectors but also determine - constantly - anti-democratic impulses and policies of aggression towards other peoples and areas of the world.

Faced with every potential crisis point, the European transnational bourgeoisie has managed to relaunch its own unitary project through a further twist, despite the fact that at every juncture there is no shortage of criticism from liberals warning of an imminent rupture of the community apparatus: this happened on the occasion of the popular vote in France and the Netherlands on the later defunct European Constitution, as well as on the occasion of the sovereign debt crisis, the military escalation in Ukraine, the collapse of Greece, the Catalan squares and Brexit.

Even the dramatic situation created by the pandemic was actually an occasion for an extremely significant change of phase. It is enough to see the choices of strategic importance taken by the EU apparatus at the end of 2020. Through the Recovery Fund of 750 billion Euros - of which 390 billion in "grants" - and the Community Budget 2021-2027 of 1074 billion, a compromise was reached towards a significant "leap forward" of the Union, moreover according to a selective principle that homogenises the legal framework of the individual states. Using the appropriate war metaphor

employed by the French president, these measures constitute a "budgetary weapon" that, through the principle of common debt, strengthens centralised "governance".

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In the shadow of an ECB that no longer renounces its growing role as a financial pivot, these choices are part of a process of acceleration that concerns the achievement of a strategic autonomy of the EU in different fields: from the retrieval of fundamental raw materials, from the development of 'big data', to that of artificial intelligence.

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We are thus witnessing the start of a partial reversal of the decades-long processes of deindustrialisation and delocalisation. The imperatives of global competition have silenced, especially in Germany, the powerful critical voices with respect to the heart of the Franco-German "neo-Carolingian" project. This is the context in which public intervention in the economy takes place, certainly not to guarantee income and welfare but, on the contrary, to promote the "European champions" needed to keep up with the competition mainly with China and the USA.

**For these reasons, liberal pro-Europeans - be they right-wing or left-wing - are an enemy to be fought openly. The process of constituting a European imperialist pole, the multinationals and banks that inspire it, its growing military-industrial complex, its international policy, is no less dangerous for the peoples than the US one in trouble today. It will be necessary to understand what instruments can be used to counteract the course of events that lies ahead, and to identify precisely the repercussions on our social bloc. It will be necessary to prefigure possible concrete alternatives to the cage built by this power bloc, measuring ourselves against the real contradictions that it generates, in terms of conflict. Weakening the ongoing process of development of European imperialism by any means under the banner of internationalism, solidarity and peace of peoples is the task of communists acting in Italy and Europe.**



## The peoples and countries of the mediterranean

Within this hierarchy, the peoples and popular classes of the Euro-Mediterranean area are condemned to subalternity. Despite its social contradictions, the working-class aristocracy in Germany and the northern countries still cannot separate its destiny from that of the bourgeoisie. It has benefited from higher average wages, even after the entry into force of the euro, and from a welfare system under attack but still incommensurate with that devastated in the Pigs countries or in the eastern periphery.

Wages in Eastern European countries, after years of low and very low wages that triggered a gigantic relocation of production from central to eastern countries, have started to rise, raising - together with emigrants' remittances - certain social standards. Ownership of houses in Eastern countries is now higher than in the Euro-Mediterranean countries of the EU. These changes in the 'status' of the Eastern countries explain, albeit in part, the constant turmoil caused by the reactionary governments that have emerged in recent years (Hungary and Poland in particular) within the EU.

But it is clear that within the mechanisms of German-style European ordoliberalism, living standards, wages, social services, and the quality of employment have plummeted over the last thirty years in the Euro-Mediterranean countries, especially those inside the Eurozone. This regression is at the root of the massive return to emigration - especially skilled emigration - from the Pigs' countries to the economies of central and northern Europe: a gigantic concentration of material and human wealth in the "heart" of the European Union and a systematic despoliation of the Euro-Mediterranean countries.

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This process of plundering resources and labour (which combines the features of both colonialism and neo-colonialism) has been even more violent in the countries of the southern shores of the Mediterranean and Africa, triggering both waves of migration and internal impoverishment in the southern countries that are more closely linked and subordinate to Europe.

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The damaging role of France in Africa and the European Union in the Maghreb is evident in the repeated military interventions in those countries (from Libya to Mali, from the Ivory Coast to the Sahel), in the desire to bind local currencies first to the Franc-Cfa and now to the euro, and in the hyper-liberal bilateral and multilateral treaties imposed on the Maghreb and African countries.

**The Euro-Mediterranean context is characterised by a cultural, social and economic complementarity that has its roots in the history of the riparian countries, and has undergone over time the changes imposed by the colonial and then neo-colonial western development that we know. The processes of delocalisation that have taken place over the last 30 years, the economic agreements, the push for emigration and, when necessary, direct military aggression, have redesigned a value chain that gives the countries of the Maghreb, the Sahel and the Middle East a fundamental function in the system of exploitation of European multinationals. We can rightly say that the Tunisian, Egyptian, Algerian and other South Mediterranean labour force is objectively a 'European' working class, located in the peripheral link of the exploitation chain.**

### **The articulations and segmentations of the Italian bourgeoisie**

Italy is in the middle of this process, which is entirely internal to the global inter-imperialist competition. It is torn between a fraction of the Italian bourgeoisie that wants to be at all costs part of the decision-making and strategic centres of the EU - even at the cost of being "last but among the first" - and another fraction of the bourgeoisie, weakened and broken up by the first, that would like to continue to be "first among the last". In short, between those who believe they can be a full member of the European imperialist pole and those who would like to limit themselves to the room for manoeuvre granted to Italian imperialism, juggling between the USA and the European Union.

The political clash in Italy over the last thirty years has been and still is very much played out around this gulf of interests between the various segments of a bourgeoisie as ragged and parasitic as the Italian one, but no less dangerous than the others. This

gap in Italy's material interests and international position is not homogeneous, nor could it be in a country that is strongly asymmetrical between competitive regions in the north and more backward regions in the south. European integration has not at all reduced this historical asymmetry in Italy; on the contrary, it has accentuated it, just as it has accentuated social inequalities in addition to territorial inequalities.

The continuous process of concentration of wealth, technology, human and intellectual resources in the heart of the EU has been reproduced within Italy as well, both by increasing public funding to the rich regions and reducing it and placing it under commission in the more backward ones, and by resuming internal emigration to the rich regions and further plundering the South, and finally by plundering even those areas of the north considered uncompetitive. It is enough to look at the decline of Genoa and Liguria or at the draining of the resources of a former industrial metropolis like Turin by Milan and Lombardy.

But this process also contains a further contradiction. The competitiveness of advanced industrial and service areas such as Lombardy, but also Emilia and Veneto, is based on their subordination to the production chains of German companies and not on their own independent industrial capacity.

**It is a priority to put the parasitic bourgeoisie in a condition in which it can do no further harm to the country and its inhabitants, to reduce and basically eliminate economic and territorial inequalities, to exercise hegemony even over those sectors of the middle class and petty bourgeoisie that have been proletarianized by the effects of the crisis and are at the mercy of reactionary sirens, and to rebuild a public industrial and technological system that is autonomous and functional for development, which is only possible in a process of detachment from the European imperialist pole.**

## The profile of the modern 'state' form

In an asymmetrical country and an increasingly unequal society like Italy, the question of the function of the state arises forcefully. A state configured on the prevailing interests of a parasitic bourgeoisie could only be little more than a business committee in which corruption, clientelism, servility to companies, banks and private interests is

rampant. The inefficiencies of the state and public administrations have been wished for and exacerbated by the logic of privatisation, which has dismantled every vital mechanism, relegating them to managing only the repressive and coercive function that derives from the state monopoly of violence.

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This has been the logic of the 'minimum state' which, with a completely reversed subsidiarity, has found itself in control only of the least decisive or profitable sectors for private individuals, diverting significant chapters of public spending from welfare and public services to support private companies and banks or repressive forces.

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A social and civilisational regression that has produced the "welfare of the wretched", reducing it to very little, increasing the downward social polarisation and impoverishment of growing sections of the working class and of the old middle classes.

But the crisis, accentuated by the Covid-19 pandemic and its economic consequences, has revealed to everyone that private actors are not adequate - nor willing - to take charge of collective interests and common goods. The disaster produced by the Regions in the pandemic is the result of the weakening of the State, invoked by the neoliberals and realised by the centre-left with the modification of Title V of the Italian Constitution, which handed over strategic competences to the Regions, removing them from the control of the State. The destruction of the National Healthcare Service that ended up in the hands of the Regions (and the combination of dismantling public health and strengthening private health) is there to prove it. From this we can deduce the extreme danger - and the frontal opposition it requires - of the 'Differentiated Autonomy' (Autonomia Differenziata) project, which intends to take this process of disintegration even further by increasing asymmetry and territorial and social inequalities in the country.

Both at European and national level, the process of revising the function of the state as a strategic support to businesses and banks in global competition has thus accelerated.

Thus, there has been a shift from the logic of "less state, more market" to the logic of "more state for the market". This tendency towards a greater role for the state, even before the Covid 19 pandemic broke out, had already appeared in recent years in Germany - the home of ordoliberalism - and in France, precisely because the ruling classes are aware that in global competition an integrated critical mass and a significant role for the state in supporting businesses and banks is needed, especially the most advanced ones in the technological, military and energy sectors, and in scientific research.

Contrary to those who believe that the state should be at most a business committee or a board of directors, in recent years we have argued for the need to return the state to a decisive role in the planning and social cohesion of the country, to a policy of nationalisation of strategic sectors of the economy (energy, communications, transport, etc.), of banks and industries functional to a complete industrial system, autonomous, self-sufficient and integrated not subordinate to other systems.

**In other words, it is necessary to experiment with the current reality of economic planning as an alternative to the domination of private interests and brutal competition on the markets. If planning has had its limits, the brutal prevalence of private interests in every social sphere has certainly produced disasters, revealing not an error but a flaw in the entire dominant system.**

## The crisis of politics as a structural element of the crisis of hegemony

The reality of these twenty years also reveals another decisive flaw in the system. Its ruling class, both political and economic, is totally indecent and inadequate to lead even a "progressive" capitalist-type process. On the contrary, it has shown itself to be fully co-responsible for the regressive process that is sweeping through all advanced capitalist societies. It has become almost impossible to find political leaders with a sense of the state. Puppets appear at every season (from Berlusconi to Renzi, from Di Maio to Salvini) who are aware of and focused either only on their own immediate material interests, or totally subordinate to the society of spectacle. They say banalities or terrible things with their eyes only on the polls or the dividends of their

investments. We are facing a crisis of credibility that not even the most corrupt post-war politician has ever offered. In that case, even the worst ones - and there were some - had in any case emerged from the tragedy of the dictatorships and the World War, and having to put their hands on a new republic and its constitution were forced to find reasonable compromises, indicate expectations of emancipation to the population, define rights and countermeasures against a return to the horrors of the past. This affected political as well as industrial leaders.

The decay of the current political class is also the result of that process of "reducing the excess of democracy" theorised in 1975 by the Trilateral Commission and which has been nourished by constitutional reforms that have emptied representative democracy. A bourgeois democracy that for years has had to come to terms with the objective force expressed by the subordinate classes. On the other hand, if the fundamental decisions, those relating to the allocation of resources, are taken elsewhere, if there has been a real takeover of the so-called democratic institutions by the supranational level, what can ever be the function of the parties and self-styled political leaders? This is the backdrop to the shift from mass democratic parties to post-democratic parties of the leader, from parties that rallied around defined ideological options to liquid parties that communicate by slogans or tweets, with an ear constantly turned to the polls. But the advent of the Draghi era and the launch of a "new order" heavily downsizes the role of parties and destabilises the entire political framework to overcome the dangers of ungovernability posed by representative democracy itself, expressed by the perceived "anti-establishment" votes of recent years.

The indecency of the political class is directly proportional to the indecency of the dominant social class, entrepreneurs and bankers, managers and new public executives indicated "on the basis of CVs or merit". They show a short-sightedness on the country's priorities and an unlimited arrogance in the exercise of their functions.

It is in this framework that the disappearance of the opposition fascism/anti-fascism and the further dismantling - in every sphere of society - of the 'constitutional heritage' and of the old Fordist compromise also takes place. This process is to be understood not as a simple operation of historical and cultural revisionism or relegated to the spheres of neo-fascist groups to which we are bound to renew the



dispute of a social and political function in the meshes of social unease and metropolitan peripheries, but as an inevitable outcome of the "capital revolution" of recent decades which cannot tolerate even the formalism of the post-war Constitution.

But this collapse of credibility of the ruling classes is not just an Italian phenomenon. Unaccustomed to measuring themselves against the enemy after the end of the global conflict with the USSR, the new leaders of the capitalist West have produced only half-figures and leaders without depth. Something had already been felt with Bush Jr, Blair and Jospin. But when Great Britain has produced the Johnsons, the United States the Trumps, France the Macrons, and Brazil the Bolsonaros, it is an inescapable sign that it is precisely the dominant capitalist system that is no longer capable of producing ruling classes adequate to the challenge of global competition and the tensions and conflicts that derive from it. What has served the big corporations, the multinationals and financial capital so far is a political representation that is totally subordinate to the economy, as a direct expression of the immediate interests of the capitalist groups because they are convinced, with the dissolution of the USSR, that they no longer have to deal with possible system alternatives. This puts the country and the world in even greater danger.

**However, a change of ruling classes does not take place in exclusive universities or on talk shows. It is a process that involves a lot of vision, experience in the field, training, but also conflict. At the bar of the Special Court that had sentenced him to years in prison, Gramsci said to his persecutors: "Fascism will lead the country to ruin, it will be up to the communists to rebuild it".**



## **THESIS 4: The role of communists in Italy and in Europe**

### **The socialism in the XXI century and the mediterranean condition**

The perspective in which the communists operate is the “Socialism in the 21st century”, a definitively anti-imperialist and popular socialism, inspired by the construction of radical forms of direct and participatory democracy, a socialism that fight against all forms of racism and sexism, that aims to rebuild a fair balance between human society and nature.

In order not to assume the character of an abstract and inoffensive icon, the perspective of the 21st century Socialism must be immersed in the concreteness of the

condition we are experiencing in Italy and in Europe. For this reason, the fight against imperialism of the European Union and of the ruling classes of our country is the aim of the communists in Italy, with the aim of blowing up the weak link in the European imperialist chain.

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The break with the European Union in the perspective of 21st century Socialism opens up to the construction of an alternative path of relationship between the peoples of the Euro-Mediterranean area, which identifies in the countries of the South of the world the force that can lead to a democratization of international relations for an economic and political multipolarity.

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The political proposal of the Euro-Mediterranean ALBA represents a wedge in the European imperial construction, and attempts to actualize the Leninist mandate to “break the weak link in the imperialist chain”. An internationalist political proposal - contrary to any sovereign, populist and reactionary drift - founded on solidarity, complementarity and class unity between peoples and countries penalized by the cage of European imperialism.

The Euro-Mediterranean ALBA is the proposal to build a different economic and political geography based on the alliance between the south of the EU and the coastal countries of North Africa (which are linked to the euro and to the "economic champions of This material and political space is the multinational field of action to defeat European ordoliberalism and to initiate processes of social transformation)

**It is from the many Souths of the world and from their alliance that a new season of revolutionary changes can be triggered and an alternative perspective to capitalism can appear. There is a heritage of traditions, cultures, economies and common practices that resist to the suffocating action of capitalism. Giving life to an Euro-Mediterranean perspective disconnected from “our” imperialism means for us Italian Communists to revitalize Gramsci's Southernism, update it and put it in relation with**

**Che's thought and reflections and with the revolutionary tradition of anti-colonial movements.**

## **The sedimentation of the forces**

The accumulation of forces is the immediate goal of the Communists in Italy. It is a question of aggregating all the political and intellectual forces and subjectivities that in recent years have been dispersed and have lost the capacity for organized actions and for a strategic perspective. The listless perpetuation of orthodoxy or - on the opposite side - the moving eclecticism, and above all a strong date of theoretical and cultural liquidation of all the heritage and history of the international communist movement, have left many militants disoriented and unable to reconnected to a functional activity towards the strategic perspective of the communists.

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**The accumulation of forces, however, is above all the product of the organization of the class conflict and of the new mass function that the communists must try to exercise in order to update and requalify their role under the new and unprecedented conditions.**

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It is not a question of carrying out a simple work of political propaganda towards those immersed in contradictions, but of intervening directly in social conflicts. It is there - in the class struggle - that the Communists qualify their own and experience the validity and effectiveness of their proposal.

**The social fragmentation and the strong class decomposition born in the last decades, make unusefull any automatism between conflict and construction of a class consciousness. Therefore, the construction of the organization as subjectivity acquires a greater importance than in the past and becomes an indispensable condition for giving conflicts a perspective of overall transformation of society.**

## Today's characters of the class and the inquiry

The working class of the new century has very different characteristics from the working class of the big factories of the last century. It is not only fragmented on the economic and structural side, but it is profoundly diversified: in the dynamics of the development of capitalism there is a continuous regeneration of differences and a despotic superimposition of class inequalities with those of ethnicity, gender and even generation. Bringing out the thread that binds these contradictions from within these social conflicts is a central task in the action of the communists to define the political characteristics of the new labor movement.

The presence of the migrant component within our social bloc which the communists look to has grown in recent decades, introducing new contradictions also in terms of cultural and religious type. This part of the social bloc often presents characters of greater combativeness and is often the protagonist of non-defensive conflicts, they are potentially capable of embracing the interests of large sections of the population. It is true, however, that for the ruling class the ethnic diversification of the workforce is an opportunity for class division, artfully constructing moments of opposition within the same social bloc.

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**The Communists have the task to promote the organization of the multi-ethnic proletariat, carrying out experiences, objectives and slogans that fuel the recomposition.**

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It is essential that militants and leaders originating from immigration countries are formed and assumed roles and functions within the class organization in this process.

The increase in the presence of women in the labor market has represented for capitalism the possibility of exploiting gender differences as an opportunity to strengthen its dominion. Today, women are a very large component of that part of the workforce and it is generally paid less, most exploited and with fewer contractual guarantees. In general, violence and discrimination against women continue to be one

of the forms in which class oppression manifests itself on the material as well as ideological and cultural levels. Developing the emergence of specificities linked to female subjectivity in class movements is a fundamental task for communists.

**In the attempt of relationship and political and organizational connection with the Social Block we have always used the instrument of the Class Inquiry not as a mere sociological tool but as an possibility to interpret the transformations of society, the consequences in various capacities on the composition of the class and on the entire structure of the economic / social formation in which we live and act. The method / tool of the Inquiry - in the practice of the Rete dei Comunisti - is certainly a commitment to statistically investigate the objective condition of the class (and its sections ...) but it is also a means of knowing and interpreting subjective perception. that it has of itself, of its own collective condition, of its own specific, individual or even corporate interests.**

## The metropolitan areas

The powerful processes of restructuring and capitalist reorganization on an international scale have assigned a strategic centrality to the phenomena of urbanization, the new localization of production / reproduction / circulation of goods and capital, configuring large metropolitan areas as the epicenter where they gather a myriad of contradictions which constitute - in our opinion - the right place where the Communists must operate.

The competition between "global cities", the emergence and enhancement of the factor / space and its contradictory dialectic with the factor / time together with the dynamics of privatization and financialization taking place in the complex of metropolises bring out - overwhelmingly - the need of a renewed analytical capacity of this complex phenomenology to constantly adapt communist action to the new scenarios of possible social conflict.

It is in these dynamics of spatial extension of cities that become metropolises (which on a global scale also take on the characteristics of megalopolises) that sectors such as logistics or transport take on a central role. It is the labor force (manual and intellectual) employed in transport and circulation of goods and commodities that, if



organized in conflict, can become a thorn in the side of the bosses and the authoritarian “governance” of capital.

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In this sense, the metropolis becomes a center of capital accumulation that contributes to a world competition through the selective action towards a force / work to be used at will, totally involving in this infernal social meat grinder working times and life times of the popular sectors and of new proletarianization.

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The same processes occur on the side of the architectural and urban transformations which follow, and in some ways anticipate - with all their antisocial consequences - the dynamics of the adaptation of "urban spaces" to the new thresholds of capital needs, drawing further peaks of polarization, discrimination, marginalization and general devaluation of the popular / proletarian condition.

**The RdC intertwines the instrument of "inquiry" with the material evidence of the new "urban crisis", refining research and the desirable metropolitan connections with those interested in building moments of discussion, resistance, organization and conflict. The concrete practice of our Organization in the various metropolitan areas of the country (from the analytical level to that of political and social intervention) are the tangible sign of this intervention that we intend to better strengthen and further articulate to adapt to the new thresholds of command and social reproduction. capitalistic.**

## The environmental fight

The ecological heart attack of the planet is the product of the systemic crisis of capitalism and of the irrational and antisocial development of the productive forces, driven by the exclusive pursuit of maximum profit. The Marxian theory allows us to correctly frame the environmental question, starting from the fundamental analysis conducted at the end of the third book of “The Kapital”.

Nevertheless, for Communists of today it is essential to learn to use those interpretations, very little used in the past, facing the "concrete situation" in the light of the enormous technological leap we are witnessing.

On the theoretical level, in fact, the "environmental question" represents a structural contradiction of the capitalist mode of production. Marx explicitly places it as one of the three limits that capital encounters in its evolution (the other two are labor power - that is, the class struggle - and capital itself, according to the law that describes the tendential decline in the rate of profit). It is a structural contradiction because the way in which the capitalist mode of production appropriates "nature" consists in making it "capital", that is, a commodity for which a price is paid to any owner. Except that this price does not correspond to any value (in the Marxian sense), because nature - above and below the earth's surface - is made up of resources that are indispensable for production, but which are not produced by human labor. Moreover, many of these resources are either non-reproducible (raw materials of all kinds, minerals, oil, etc.), or limited (the extension of the emerged lands, especially the cultivable part), or in any case not entirely subject to the logic of 'capitalist accumulation (the fertility of the land can only be partially increased with fertilizers, pesticides and fungicides, however "problematic").

The price is determined by the need for specific resources for production and by their natural quality (such as the degree of "purity" of the raw materials, which vary according to the fields), not by the amount of work they contain (if not for the part necessary, for example, to extract raw materials from the subsoil). This price represents a reduction in the mass of profit available to capital, even when - as is increasingly the case today - the landowner is at the same time a capitalist, or a state (the petromonarchies of the Gulf, for example, or even non-subservient states to imperialism).

But even if every natural-environmental resource were completely freely available to the capitalist mode of production - which is impossible, in a system where everything must have a price - the fact remains now evident that many of these resources, not being reproducible, are destined for exhaustion, just like the ecosystem in general (what is on the earth's surface and just below) is a finite (ie limited) system that does not tolerate the infinite growth of the dynamics of capital.

This whole explains sufficiently why - with Marx - we consider the "environmental question" a structural contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, unsolvable within the privatist logic that is its DNA. At the time of the Soviet Revolution, or even in those of the first postwar period (China, Cuba, etc.), this contradiction had not yet manifested itself in the explosive forms and dimensions that we face today. This may also explain the political underestimation, as well as theoretical, of the theme in 20th century Marxism, in any of its declinations.

An underestimation that has left an immense political field empty, in which many utopias that are harmless to capital have thrived, which they imagined possible "to bring together the protection of the environment and the capitalist mode of production". An "ecological" thought that has rightly been assimilated, for example by Chico Mendes, to "gardening". That is, an ideology for wealthy people concerned only with "their" living environment.

Not surprisingly, the pandemic itself and the attempt to "live with the virus" have shown that humanity - and therefore also nature - cannot "live with capitalism". That time too is therefore now over. The urgency of social change is one with the urgency of structural change in the mode of production before environmental variables reach the "point of no return", indicated by the best part of science; with the replacement of the current system - based on the absolute priority of private enterprise, oriented only by individual profit (corporate or personal) - with another one governed by the collective interest. So with a system of programming and planning, which is basically socialist.

Environmental conflicts - like the rest of social conflicts - do not occur in a linear form and are full of contradictions. Communists do not take refuge in the agitation of sterile principles, but measure themselves against contradictions and work to build connections between the different faces in which conflicts arise and between the different social segments involved (from workers in specific sectors to the inhabitants of some areas, to young people and to civic and environmental movements who express an ideological and cultural resistance to the claim to make the territory and human life uniform to the needs of profit).

**The struggles for environmental protection is a chance to put together sectors of science that are already expressing themselves today and that are trying to escape the logic of privatization and are interested in putting their skills at the service of the common good and the interests of humanity. Communists have the also the aim to favor the uncoupling and independent action of intellectual forces and scientific knowledge with respect to the control of big capital and they support the paths of independent organization of research and scientific debate.**

# Contacts

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