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The verticalisation of Italian politics

Editorial RdC

The passage of the re-election of the President of the Republic has brought to light the real condition of political and institutional representation in our country, which is increasingly degraded politically and culturally, much worse than it was in the first Christian Democrat republic and the second Berlusconi republic.

It has been clear for some time that things were like this - much worse than they appeared to be - but the political omertà of the parties, starting with the Lega and M5S, and the servility of the mass media have somehow obscured this reality to most people.

Three governments in one legislature, the involvement of the "saviour of the country" Mario Draghi, the same Christian Democrat wisdom/hypocrisy of Mattarella (we have a political theatre in which there is a great revival of Christian Democrats), have led to the crisis and suicide of a party system in which the so-called poles have reached the point of disintegration, for now politically and in the coming months we will see if also organisational, with splits and various reorganisations.

The centre-right, always first in the polls, is shaken by at least two irremediable contradictions. The first is the electoral competition between Salvini and Meloni, which prevents stable agreements from being made.

The second is much more serious and concerns the choices to be made on the European Union, which certainly splits the League internally, with Giorgetti playing the 'moderate pro-European', but also affects the other formations, albeit in more subdued tones.

In short, the centre-right is on the verge of a nervous breakdown, perhaps preparatory to a division of those forces.

In the Centre-Left, while the PD is holding its own - albeit in its ability to represent only the country's middle and upper middle classes - the M5S, an anomalous phenomenon that has been present on the institutional scene for ten years, is working hard on its own decline.

Of course, if we have arrived at this point, it is not because the politicians are all incapable or stupid, even if there is some doubt about Salvini, but it has two consistent material reasons.

The first is the fragmentation of society and of the Italian production model, produced by the choices made over the last thirty years, particularly by the centre-left.

These have generated a strategically weak economic development ("small is beautiful"), privatised at the expense of the state, fragmented, substantially subordinate and complementary to the productive structure of central Europe.

To this structural condition, moreover, must be added the passivity of the class sectors, today ideologically subordinate. All this makes it easy to foresee the chaotic prospects that will arise in this last part of the legislature.

The other cause is the increasingly pervasive role of the EU within individual countries and in various productive and social spheres on which, with the PNRR, it is preparing to make a further centralising squeeze in function only of the global competition that is subjecting the whole world to pressures that change the general conditions.

In Italy this means a change and a hierarchisation to which politics and the party world must be subjected, also thanks to the fact that about half of the PNRR used is to be paid back as debt and not "non-repayable".

Simplifying, we can say that the process - underway for some time - of overturning the country's political decision-making and institutional processes and the principles of the Italian Constitution is coming to an end

While before the 'government of the nation' was formally based on an internal party and 'pyramidal' structure of political power, which unravelled from Parliament towards the top of the State, today this condition is being overcome with the disbandment of its components,

see the weight of the 'mixed group' and the internal fractures within the parties and poles, and with its consequent impotence.

All this has taken place while the official rhetoric tells us instead that the election of Mattarella as president of the republic is the "recovery" of that decision-making power.

What is being affirmed in deeds and actions is a "verticalisation" of decision-making power in which Mattarella as President of the Republic, Draghi as Prime Minister and Amato as President of the Constitutional Court (an election passed over in silence) are the terminals of a supranational power - the European Union - to which national institutions and parties are literally "hanging", and which will have less and less room for manoeuvre because "Europe is asking us to".

In short, the process of integration within a supranational dimension is proceeding step by step, but inexorably.

Certainly the political forces more closely linked to the national dimension - in particular the centre-right, but also the M5S - will try to oppose this dragging, perhaps by putting a spoke in the wheel of the Draghi government and trying to make it fall, but all this seems more like the wiggling of someone who has fallen into quicksand, and who the more he wiggles the more he sinks.

It is clear that the effect of the maturing of this condition is to open up a political space and widen the gap between the 'citizens' - that is, the world of work and the weaker social sectors - and the institutions.

But the problem that now arises is who will occupy this space, given that in politics no space remains uncovered for too long.

And here we come to the question that directly concerns the class, political and social forces, and the communists. Undoubtedly we can say, using popular wisdom, that today "we have bread but no teeth".

In other words, if the 'objective conditions' are becoming more and more favourable to a potential political and social conflict, the subjective and organisational conditions that would allow us to cover that space are absolutely lacking

It is on this point, therefore, that it is necessary to focus and work with these perspectives and some signals that are coming from reality.

First of all, a widespread conflict in the world of work and production, from ports to logistics to factories in crisis, resulting from the European restructuring processes, which are only just

beginning, and which the confederal unions are barely trying to contain, see the last useless and farcical general strike of 16 December.

We can say that the class struggle from below is beginning to reappear, given that up to now only the struggle from above has acted, and that the inflationary processes that are in prospect will give it a further boost.

The other important element is the manifestation and continuation of the important student mobilisation, which has been going on since October 2021, which has put the government in difficulty with the affair of the Minister of the Interior Lamorgese, who has obtusely repressed students protesting against deaths at work, as happened to the student Lorenzo Parelli while he was working for free for the "alternating school-work".

It should be remembered, however, that in this country student and youth struggles have frequently functioned as a flywheel and detonator for more general mobilisations produced by social malaise. This is now clearly visible due to the pandemic and social crises, which are only managed for the benefit of the private sector and big business.

Finally, the need for a radical break with the present political framework of the Draghi government is also reinforced by the evident crisis of sectors of the political and associative left, which in recent years have desperately sought agreement with the PD, trying to 'condition' it, but which have failed in this area.

Therefore, a series of factors are accumulating that are useful to hypothesise the re-launch of a radically antagonistic political hypothesis, which goes beyond the vertenzialismo of the struggles and at the same time calls into question the present social order.

As in the phase of the crisis of the Berlusconi government in 2011, the need arises for the construction of an independent political representation of the penalised social sectors, but one that has a broad profile and horizon, one that directly challenges capitalist development from the most general contradictions.

Against the imperialist European Union and NATO, against the social policies of the Draghi government, for the nationalisation of strategic companies for the country, for 21st century socialism, and more, are the elements to be placed at the basis of a political and social alliance that contrasts employers and government and gives a general perspective to the class conflict.



Africa no longer wants to be Europe's backyard

Sergio Cararo, Contropiano.org

A few days ago in Rome, there was an information conference on the popular uprising in Sudan against the military coup.

The meeting was organised by the Rete dei Comunisti together with the Sudanese Community in Italy, which a few days earlier had participated and spoken at demonstrations against the sanctions against Mali called in Milan and Rome by various pan-Africanist forces active in our country.

Journalists and activists from the Sudanese diaspora of associations and political forces of the opposition explained both the recent history of the country, from independence in 1956 onwards, and the current situation that sees a very tough popular resistance to the coup, but above all the determination not to accept compromises with the military as the UN would like.

Researcher Jacopo Resti and other representatives of the African diaspora in Italy, in particular from Mali and Guinea, also took part in the debate. In these two countries there have been repeated coups d'état that, with different degrees, have seen the condemnation and in some cases the sanctions of the European Union and Cedeao (the Economic Community of Central African Countries well controlled by Paris and Washington).

"The decision to freeze Mali's national assets thus clearly bears the imprint of the leaders of the UEMOA countries, most of which are subservient to France. It was however approved and announced by ECOWAS, currently under the Ghanaian presidency," Fanny Pigeaud and Ndongo Samba Sylla explained on Contropiano.

But the young Africans who intervened were keen to point out that not all coups are the same. Some aim to restore or impose privileges exclusive to this or that power group, others open the way to freeing the country from the asphyxiating colonial control exercised in that area, especially by France. The expulsion of the French ambassador from Mali and the request for the removal of foreign military contingents (including an Italian one, editor's note) are a clear demonstration of this.

So how should we assess the return of coups in Africa, as happened recently in Sudan, Chad, Mali, Guinea Conakry or Burkina Faso or in the failed coups in Niger and yesterday in Guinea Bissau? With the same yardstick or by trying to understand what needs and interests inspired them, differentiating what needs to be differentiated and analysing the consequences that they may produce?

It would be a good idea, among other things, to remind Europe that some coups such as those in 2011, in Libya against Gaddafi and in Côte d'Ivoire against Gbagbo, saw the direct military participation of France.

One of the elements that emerged from the speeches, which also recounted different realities, is that one of the factors of crisis but also of emancipation in African countries is the question of the state

Colonialism has systematically acted to weaken or destroy the fragile state entities that emerged from decolonisation and African countries' struggles for liberation. If it had to plunder the resources of territories rich in them, European colonialism, like all the others, acted to break up existing states, weaken them, reduce them to often ethnic enclaves in conflict with each other and choose from time to time the interlocutor with the various actors (military sectors, paramilitary gangs, tribal groups) to bargain for the most advantageous price for control of the most resource-rich areas.

On the contrary, the unified and centralised states have often seen an increase in the temptation to negotiate hard with the multinationals, and with the states that support them, from less submissive positions, perhaps asking for higher royalties on extraction or passage rights or allocating public funds to development rather than to the payment of foreign debt or obedience to the anti-grassroots diktats of the IMF.

In the weakness of post-colonial African states, often the only structured apparatus has turned out to be the army.

It is here that serial dictators and murderers have been produced, but also leaders and heads of anti-colonialist states. The army gave the possibility to study, to go around the world to train but also to better understand the mechanisms that determine international relations. Moreover, the armed forces are often the biggest 'business' of their countries, also in economic terms. In short, in the armed forces of weakened or disintegrated states, viruses are produced, but also antibodies. Colonialism prefers to interact with the former, and instances of emancipation with the latter.

In Africa, therefore, there is a strong need to have a state worthy of the name and capable of guaranteeing security and redistribution to all its citizens, even if they belong to different ethnic groups. And sometimes this guarantee is offered more by sectors of the local armed forces than by Western interference, whether governmental or non-governmental, which thrives precisely on the weakness and disintegration of African states.

Equally interesting are the ambitions for new forms of regional integration unrelated to those imposed by modern colonialism, ambitions that are growing in the name of a pan-Africanism that is making a comeback among the new generations and which is now also clearly visible in the African diaspora in Europe, which it would be a tragic mistake to reduce to a mere question of 'immigrants'.

The other reflection that emerged from the speeches is the different perception in Africa of the figure of Gaddafi. Isolated and little appreciated by Arab and Western governments, Gaddafi was much more appreciated in African countries. We can say that he had more successfully embraced pan-Africanism than pan-Arabism. His attempts to set up an African Bank free of French and IMF interference must have led to his death sentence, which was carried out in October 2011 after a coup d'état instigated by France and Great Britain above all, but also by Giorgio Napolitano's Italy.

The discussion in the conference should undoubtedly be seen in connection with the speeches heard in the streets during the demonstrations in Rome and Milan against the sanctions against Mali. "When you know that the interests of Western imperialism (particularly French imperialism) can feel threatened, you can understand what the real reason is for the "punishment" that Mali is suffering" wrote African activist François Farafin Sandouno in the pages of Contropiano.

There is therefore every potential - and need - to look at Africa's anti-colonial emancipation aspirations with new eyes, freed from Eurocentrism and based on a modern internationalism. The information, training and initiative work that the Rete dei Comunisti is developing is taking the right steps.

It is a due act especially for European communists, because the European Union and the large monopolistic groups for which it was set up, now openly consider Africa and its resources as "their own backyard" to be exploited and controlled, just as the US has done and believes it should still do in Latin America. ***And it is precisely on the basis of this analysis that in recent years the proposal for a Euro-Afro-Mediterranean Area has been put forward as an alternative to the European Union in political and economic terms.***

Not only that. Colonialism was born in Europe and also on this has built its Eurocentric ideological model still hegemonic - including in the European left - that must be undermined from the ground up, even and especially in the new generations of activists, militants, revolutionaries of the 21st century, whether European or African or Middle Eastern.

Chatting with a comrade at the end of the conference, we said: "We need the Tricontinental like bread", that is the international anti-imperialist organisation that in the 1960s and 1970s supported all the liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Few people know this, but the Tricontinentale is still active today and publishes a website full of information and analysis.

First imperialism and then imperialisms, in these decades of hegemony, thought they had made a clean sweep, but they didn't succeed - not even in Africa - and now they look at all this with growing fear. If Latin America has decided to no longer be the transitional patio of the United States, in Africa there is a growing drive not to want to be the backyard of the European Union.



An oxymoron hovers over Europe: capitalist environment

Cambiare Rotta

Capitalist environmentalism is a perfect example of the use of this metaphor precisely because it is a model of production that in no way addresses the issue of reproduction/safeguarding nature and its resources.

The fact that it is an oxymoron can be understood philosophically from the fact that the infinite growth to which the capitalist production model structurally tends inevitably clashes with the physically finite system of our world.

From an economic point of view, the oxymoron can be explained because the relationship between capital and nature is an exploitative one in which the environment is considered a commodity from which to extract value and in which the capitalist has no other interest than the accumulation of profit.

Therefore, saving capitalism and saving the planet and humanity, as part of Nature, are two mutually exclusive tasks

The ecological crisis we are experiencing is concrete proof of the capital/nature oxymoron, a relationship that has reached its limits.

Enormous environmental disasters caused by climate change are tearing our planet apart: the great fires are no longer confined to countries far from Europe, such as the Amazon and Australia. This summer we have also seen fires in southern Italy, Spain and Greece, not to mention the copious floods from Catania to Naples in recent autumn months.

According to the IPCC's Sixth Climate Change Report released in 2021, if the earth's temperature rises at the rate of the last 50 years, environmental disasters like these will become the rule before the middle of our century, and the living conditions of younger generations will be seven times worse than those of the previous generation.

The increase in global temperature due to CO2 emissions from the use of fossil fuels and, evidently, from an incorrect and insufficient use of clean energy sources, poses the energy problem as the fundamental issue of the coming years in order to tackle the ecological crisis through a serious scientific analysis to be translated into an effective political battle.

Faced with this dystopian scenario, conferences and meetings on climate change have produced international agreements that have either fallen on deaf ears or have ended in nothing: most recently the Glasgow Cop26, whose final report is full of rhetoric, propaganda and "blah blah blah" on the commitment to keep the earth's temperature rise below 1.5 degrees.

In short, the appeals to 'world leaders' to change things, to tackle the climate crisis and to meet those minimal (and insufficient) targets have once again demonstrated their inconsistency.

However, one real and novel element emerged from cop26: the renewed impetus on nuclear fission energy

Faced with an ecological heart attack and the urgent need for a radical change of course, what our ruling classes are banking on is an energy technology that is highly impactful in terms of fuel extraction, construction, costs, and waste treatment and storage.

The statements on nuclear power concern us closely, as they were made by both Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, and Timmermans, head of the European Green Deal: both consider it a key energy for the green transition.

In fact, in the last weeks of 2021 the European Commission produced the draft of the green taxonomy, i.e. the energy sources considered sustainable and essential for the ecological transition, in which natural gas and nuclear power have been included, which will soon be voted on by the European Parliament.

Thus, the words of the Italian Minister for Ecological Transition, Roberto Cingolani, when in October he advocated nuclear fission as a way out of the climate crisis, were not spoken in vain, but show a clear strategy that is not only local, but also European.

This makes manifest how much their 'ecological transition' is a real ecological scam.

Thus, the two oxymoronic figures take shape and it becomes clear how incompatible the EU's economic structure and environmental sustainability are, and how the green economy is a strategy to continue to make profits and attempt to revive capitalist accumulation after a period of severe economic crisis due to the pandemic.

With the opening up to nuclear power, the green mask with which European capital is trying to repaint itself falls. In a general context of energy crisis, accelerated by the ongoing pandemic crisis, the choices on nuclear power are not merely technical and budgetary decisions on costs, but concern the strategic competitive role of the European pole, in which its energy independence and resilience are at stake, as well as the balances that the EU must maintain internally and externally.

An eventual confirmation and affirmation of nuclear power would therefore be a strategic choice by the EU in order not to fall behind in the multipolar competition. The closure by the German government of three of the last six nuclear power plants operating in Germany is not something that should make us think that nuclear power is not strategic for the EU as a whole, or that it is a trivial clash between parties and factions.

The trend towards the implementation of nuclear energy should be seen in a general and not just a specific way, it should be analysed from a strategic and not just a short-term point of view

Moreover, if nuclear power is really included in the green taxonomy, funding will be provided and it is likely that other member states will also aim for it.

As for Italy, by opening up to this technology, it is attempting to become energy self-sufficient and thus secure its place among the strong capitalist countries of the European Union.

Despite the rumours in recent days about the possible resignation of Minister Cingolani, what counts is the trend that the Draghi government is aiming for, not the individual executor. Confindustria's approval of the possible construction of nuclear power plants in Italy was confirmed a few days ago through Bonomi's words.

It has been demonstrated many times (first and foremost in the two referendums against nuclear power held in Italy in 1987 and 2011) that nuclear power is unsustainable because of its impact on the environment upstream and downstream of energy production - in terms of the effects on health during extraction, land consumption for the construction of power stations, water consumption for the huge cooling plants, and the production of nuclear waste that cannot be disposed of - and on society as a whole, in terms of costs.

The 'fourth-generation nuclear power' proposed by Cingolani and the big industry and energy apparatus has not so far yielded encouraging experimental results, and will not be able to reach a level of development such that it can be applied on a large scale for twenty years.

Based on this reflection, we want to promote a moment of confrontation with all those intellectuals, social, political and civil organisations that oppose the ecocidal drift that capitalism is producing.

Reality imposes a challenge on us: that of building an opposition capable of radically changing this production model, because this is the only way to save the planet and, therefore, the future of us young generations and future ones.

The narrative with which we have grown up has portrayed this society as "the best of all possible worlds", to which there could be no alternative and which would be able to recover in the face of every crisis.

We grew up with a mindset of unbridled individualism, competition and exploitation.

However, the reality is quite different: in the face of the ecological infarction we are facing, there is no turning back, the green veil is being torn every day, showing the worst of all possible worlds in which there is no room for the marvellous progressive fortunes of our generation, against which reformist and individualist environmentalism is ineffective.

This latest decision in favour of nuclear fission brings us back down to earth: the interests of our generation are diametrically opposed to those of those who govern us. The only thing left to do is to prepare ourselves with solid scientific analyses, free from mystifying 'green' ideologies, and to build concrete campaigns.



In Rome "la Lupa" becomes a national student movement

OSA

On the weekend of 5-6 February, the first national assembly of the La Lupa Movement, launched before Christmas on the avalanche of occupations of Roman schools, was held in Rome. It was a two-day event the likes of which had not been seen for a long time, with hundreds of students from all over Italy representing dozens and dozens of school collectives across the country.

In the afternoon of the first day, there was time to recount all the experiences that have characterised the last few months, with the occupations that have overflowed from Rome into other cities and have involved thousands of students.

Sunday was the time for the pars costruens, with a close political debate that built a platform for demands and launched 18 February as the first date of national mobilisation of the movement.

It was a real discussion, with a very high level of debate, and not limited, as we have been reporting for months in this newspaper, only to the specifics of the

student condition. A strong discussion of the 100,000 students who took to the streets on Friday 4 February.

The abolition of the alternation school work is the point of collection of the Lupa, which just Friday in Rome had the opportunity to remove from the square the Rete degli Studenti Medi, the youth of CGIL that tried to dampen the student position on the issue and to water down the level of political conflict expressed by the students.

But the 'maturity' of this new-born movement emerges not so much from the radicality of the positions on specific issues, but from the horizon within which it wants to move: the union of struggles

The presence, during the weekend, of workers from the conflictual unionism marks the step to be taken, that of the search for a convergence between the struggles of the students and those hotbeds of resistance present in the world of work, above all workers or in the logistics sector (from ports to warehouses to the transport of goods).

What is at issue, therefore, is no longer just the failure of distance learning, the madness of staggered teaching, the inadequacy of school buildings, the precariousness of the staff, the inability of the government (from Conte to Draghi) to produce reasonable solutions to the difficult pandemic condition, managed as badly as possible.

At issue is the failure of a model of society, capitalism as it has historically asserted itself in the form of "Western liberal democracy", even those born from the anti-fascist constitutions of the Second Post-War period - after all, Good School, Jobs Act, reform of Title V or Article 81, the Turco-Napolitano etc., all laws against which the Constitution could do little.

A failure that emerges forcefully in today's school model, which is based on the concept of the company school (as imposed by the European Union, of subservience to the demands of employers and the labour market), made up of specific and sectoral skills, and not of knowledge and critical spirit.

It is the world at an important historical turning point, where students want to start running towards a fairer society, without hesitation or compatibility of any

kind with those who exploit labour, plunder the environment, kill for profit, slow down movement for convenience.

"We students have a historical and political responsibility," said Tommaso at the end of the two days, "the great movements that changed the history of the twentieth century had the courage to claim a place in the world. We have to tie up the threads with the history of the revolutionary movement and unite the struggles with the workers. Students and workers together are fuel on the fire of this system".

An ambitious programme of struggle, as only those who want to change the world can have. Other than "good alternation"....

Below is the communiqué of the Alternative Student Opposition on the two days, one of the organisations that created the Lupa and one of the most active in this cycle of mobilisations.

STUDENT OPPOSITION TO DRAGHI GROWS: LET'S RELAUNCH THE CONFLICT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Reflections and perspectives from the national student assembly in Rome

Yesterday and today's national student assembly in Rome is a political event that marks an important shift in the student movement: more than 400 students from all over Italy, from Aosta to Palermo, gathered to discuss in a united manner, but on a ground of declared conflict, the prospects and proposals to be pursued inside and outside schools.

It has been years since we have seen a national assembly that brings together all the realities that act outside and against the compatibility of the students' organisations organic to the centre-left.

The watchwords that emerged from the two days in Rome spoke of a school model to be demolished, built in the image and likeness of a capitalist development model identified by all the students present as unreformable.

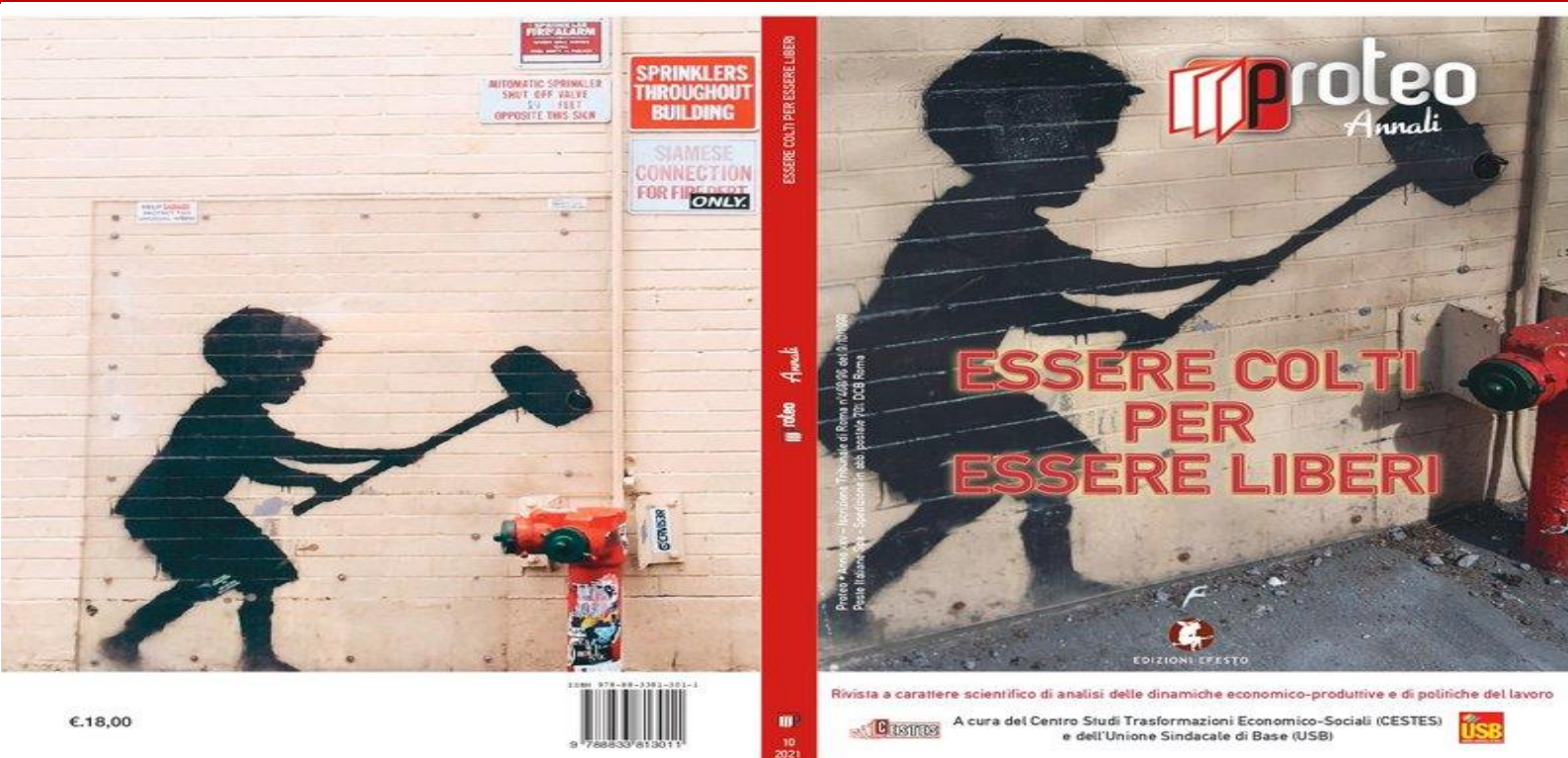
But that's not all, the assembly took as its perspective the need to keep together the battles against exploitation in the world of work and the crisis of perspectives experienced by the younger generations. Interventions from the coordination of port workers of the *Unione Sindacale di Base*, logistics workers

from Naples and Gkn from Florence relaunched the class alliance between students and workers.

The writing of a common national platform and the launch of the national mobilisation on 18 February in opposition to the Draghi government are an important step forward in the student movement.

We thank all the student realities for having taken up the call to build the national assembly launched at Miur with the 17 December mobilisation.

The students send a message to the whole country: let's light the fuse of conflict, let's organise to build strength, let's set history in motion again.



A new issue of PROTEO: the training of trade unionists

Lorenzo Giustolisi, co-editor of the issue

We publish the introduction to the latest volume of the Cestes Study Centre's journal, "Proteo", whose title refers to a famous formula by José Martí: Be educated to be free. The issue is designed for the training of trade union cadres and produces an effort of analysis that is an integral part of the path that will lead to the Third National Congress of USB, which starts in these weeks and will end immediately after the summer.

This magazine and the work that underlies it have always sought to play a role within the union and the world of work. Providing tools for analysing, reading and intervening in the present, constructing an advanced point of view, deciphering the dynamics and explaining their root causes are the guiding principles of our work.

For a long time, in this country, carrying out political and cultural work went hand in hand with a collective feeling and knowledge that found in reality a compass to guide the class struggle; that work had clear references, and from reality it drew stimuli and legitimacy, returning them in the form of analysis and conception of the world. Today this virtuous circle is interrupted, or at least not at all taken for granted. Those who produce

knowledge, those who elaborate, those who aim to make theory not an end in itself but closely linked to praxis, must ask themselves a few more problems, otherwise they run the risk of speaking in the wind, of no longer having a real function. This is because capital's counter-offensive, for at least thirty years now, has been an economic, political, class struggle counter-offensive from above, but it does not find in the cultural instrument its trump card - because even its hegemony is in crisis - but certainly the element that deprives the broad working class, our social bloc, of concepts, words, ideas and consciousness to believe the transformation of the world is possible. Obviously this is not an absolute and definitive process, as our experience of growth and strengthening as a trade union organisation and as a political area shows, but we too have to reckon with a fraying of the basic categories of political and conflictual grammar. In short, we must be aware that the inheritance is not safe, that transmission does not produce itself, that talking to those who are more aware or making those who are not aware become aware is not the least of the tasks we have to face. We will say later how we intend to do this, how this issue of Proteo wants to contribute to the task.

First, in this introduction, we would like to dwell for a moment on the concept of culture, understood by us in Gramscian terms and not in terms of purely popular, quantitative study certified by system compatibilities. Today, even within schools and universities, there has been a shift from social, or at least mass, communication to a more specific language: corporate and technical ("credit" and "educational debt", for example). This is because there is an attempt to commodify the language used by students, transforming them, following the logic of the single thought, into real customers. And this is what already in the 2000s Alessandro Mazzone, in the book *Deviant Communication*, tried to anticipate and that we (Luciano Vasapollo together with Rita Martufi) update again in 2018 in *Deviant Communication. Trained gorillas and command strategies in the new value chain*. A theme that inevitably refers to Gramscian thought, which already at the beginning of the 20th century spoke of fascist communication and propaganda aimed at "training the gorilla". Today, in the basic continuation of the servility of minds, we must ensure that these "gorillas", instead of being trained, seek their own identity, their own path, and create a new way to build a unity of class and labour in the sphere not only of direct production but also in distribution, services, technologies, science.

Through the production of communication, new ways of managing the control of minds are being tested, i.e. to construct a type of worker who is productively and ideologically subordinate to the interests of the Capitalist Mode of Production (MPC). This cultural and mass-media attack is part of the global crisis and increases the already serious dimension of class conflict, military conflict, economic, social and environmental conflict.

There is a need, therefore, for the formation of new class subjects in a new social bloc, who in a historical and political context in which attempts are made to indoctrinate culture and knowledge, act in the name of history and social and intellectual transformation. It is necessary to work to exclude the anti-democratic approach of the single thought from the cultural domain, going to reconsider and revalue the so-called mental work, with a social character, reaffirming the valuable and main role that popular and class culture has always played, from the post-war period to the present day.

Although it is clear that the MPC has failed at the level of the capital-labour and capital-environment conflict, and in the management of the contradictions related to this, we see that it continues to gain ground through continuous deviant communication, using tools that have arisen from the most recent technological development and that have become part of the file of "capitalist weapons". The MPC therefore uses the mass media as a destructive and distorting weapon of knowledge; therefore, we need to re-appropriate science, books, history, filmography and popular knowledge, in order not to fall into the oblivion of mainstream homologation.

This premise brings us to our volume. It is now easier to explain how it was created and to whom it is addressed. We told ourselves that the training work had to start internally, to provide a new generation of militants, but not only them, with the famous toolbox, to enlarge and increase the number of conscious subjects able to translate the analysis of the present into clear words, concepts understandable in the daily melee with work colleagues who feel discomfort, difficulties, but maybe can not see how they are in the same boat as many others, without imagining the possibility of overcoming their own damn personal story and feel part of something bigger that can give strength, organization and perspective to what can make me feel better.

We have thought of a USB training group in close correlation with and tending to coincide with a Proteo 'editorial office', which would collect what in other areas are called 'training needs' and produce, together with Cestes, the appropriate training on general and specific topics.

In the tradition of the workers' movement this operation has had a very precise name, that of 'cadre school'. We must not be afraid to think in these terms, but neither must we be rigid enough to think of a fixed formula that alone solves the question. The task we have set ourselves is to build a structure that thinks about this issue and fully assumes its realisation, which passes, of course, through substantial and not only formal recognition by all the organisations, in a fruitful and constructive exchange of ideas and practices.

It is clear that this work is not born today, many important cycles of training have crossed first the RdB and now USB. Today it is necessary to give organicity to that work, return to bring it in the trade unions and workplaces, open it to a series of subjects that, if they are not yet ready or willing to join our project, are however available to significant pieces of common road. The world of culture, of knowledge, of intellectual production has less and less freedom

of expression and is increasingly the reproducer of dominant thought. There is a segment that is beginning to realise this fact, and it can find in us a serious support and an organisational and planning solidity that no longer exists elsewhere.

Going even further into the concrete, what is this issue about? It collects the speeches that have characterised the training cycle that has produced a series of seminars over the last few months, and which we intend to reproduce to an increasingly wide audience of delegates and activists, potentially embracing every reader of these pages.

The four blocks start with Luigi Marinelli's talk, which traces the history of the organisation in relation to the evolution of the historical framework, which from the late 1970s to the present day has not only experienced an evolution, but has had to adapt and rethink itself on real phase changes, if not real historical leaps; then Rita Martufi's contribution on the reading of structural data and the plastic representation of the crisis of capital accumulation; continuing with the theme, central for us, of the European Union and its strengthening, and the consequent fractures that it produces in the institutional structure and in the function of the state; arriving finally at Roberto Montanari's piece on productive transformations and the paradigm shift that technological and scientific development is imprinting on the organisation of work. These four blocks are joined by Fabrizio Tomaselli's contribution, which recounts the Alitalia affair and which is not merely an appendix, but a sort of synthesis of all the issues mentioned above, as a violent concretisation of the impact on a strategic sector of the transformation dynamics that are at the heart of this volume.

It is obvious that this issue is not an encyclopaedia of the present, nor does it claim to be, and in particular some topics have been left out by choice, with the intention of dedicating an in-depth focus to them very soon. We are clearly thinking of the theme of smart working, which is the visible form of this transformation in relationships and working methods. But we are also thinking of the issue of differentiated autonomy, which could be the most disruptive element of the change in the institutional framework and structure of the State. We intend to return to this issue very shortly.

In the meantime, the training work will continue, including through presentations of this volume, for which we reiterate our traditional wish, but this time starting from a more structured push and planning plan: that it becomes a subject for discussion among all of us, that we can all draw ideas and stimuli from it, that the work of training and updating, of growing new cadres, is not relegated to an accessory objective among the many, perhaps too many, everyday tasks, but is a principle that informs all activity and produces growth, of overall numbers certainly, if we really want to be "mass", but also of subjects that the numerical weight acquired are able to make it become organisation, conflict and real advancement for society.

Long live the struggle of Georges Abdallah!

Rete dei Comunisti, Cambiare Rotta, OSA

**LA LOTTA
DI GEORGES
ABDALLAH**

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COLLECTIF VACARME(S) - FRANCE

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18/01 MILANO
19/01 BOLOGNA
20/01 PISA
21/01 ROMA
22/01 NAPOLI

FEDAYIN
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CONTRO NATO E UE, A FIANCO DELLA
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