



**NUOVA EGEMONIA (ITALY): BACKGROUND,  
IDEOLOGICAL REFERENCES AND PROPOSAL FOR  
A UNITARY CONVERGENCE**

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# ITALY, “NUOVA EGEMONIA”: BACKGROUND, IDEOLOGICAL REFERENCES AND PROPOSAL FOR A UNITARY CONVERGENCE

## OUR BACKGROUND

Today, “Nuova Egemonia” is only a small group of theoretical-political work, training cadres, propaganda and political orientation. It proposes itself as a militant proletarian intellectual center in the Gramscian sense, working on the theoretical-political and philosophical-cultural plane for the affirmation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism [M-L-M] as a guiding ideology for the construction of the Communist Party and for the proletarian revolution in our country. Despite having an original nucleus coming from the eighties and a specific regional reality, Nuova Egemonia is relatively recent. It has only been in existence for a few years. He comes from some comrades who on the political level referred to the Antonio Gramsci Collective (M-L-M), to another Marxist-Leninist-Maoist group now dissolved and to the Communist Youth Front (Fronte della Gioventù Comunista) and, on the trade union ground, to Slai Cobas and Si Cobas.

# **1.Our theoretical and political references**

We refer to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism [M-L-M] and to a series of contributions by Antonio Gramsci and President Gonzalo.

## **1.1 Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**

We consider M-L-M as a unity between three fundamental moments or parts indissolubly connected with each other: 1) the philosophy of materialism-dialectic; 2) the political theory including the development of military art, of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) Marxist economic theory, which shows that capitalism is destined to be replaced by socialism and communism, which reveals the laws of imperialism as the terminal phase of capitalism and summarises the development of the economic policy of socialism. We consider the M-L-M as a unity between three different stages of qualitative development. There cannot be a transition from one stage of Marxism to another without this affecting simultaneously the development of proletarian theory and ideology as regards philosophy, political theory and that of military art and economic theory. With regard to the relationship between Marxism, Leninism and Maoism, it is not possible to oppose Maoism to Marxism-Leninism without denying dialectical materialism and therefore without supporting opportunistic conceptions. Likewise, it is not possible to speak of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" as a single block without denying dialectical materialism and without falling into eclecticism. Whether in one case or another, whether Maoism opposes Marxism-Leninism, whether it is argued that the M-L-M is to be considered only as a single block, in any case Trotskyism and various

other deviations are introduced (workerism, syndicalism, culturalism, bordighism, insurrectionism, focoism, etc.).

## **1.2 The contributions of President Gonzalo**

We consider the M-L-M as an ideology in continuous development. Although there are three basic stages, these stages (as President Gonzalo says) are not clearly separated from each other. In addition to Engels and Stalin, a whole series of great communist leaders also contributed to the transition from one stage to another. Today, after the death of Mao and the restoration of capitalism in China, the M-L-M continues to develop in the world in indissoluble connection with the experience of people's wars. A particular reference must be made to Pensiero Gonzalo, leader of the people's war in Peru and great protagonist of the struggle conducted over several decades for the assumption of M-L-M and in particular of Maoism. After the October Revolution it was necessary to emphasize in particular Leninism in order to really break with revisionism. Among the merits of Stalin there is also that of a synthetic exposition of the characters of the second stage of Marxism. Today it is necessary to emphasize in particular Maoism. Although many of Comrade Gonzalo's contributions are valid for Peru or for other countries that have similar economic, social and political conditions (countries with bureaucratic capitalism), his other contributions are universal.

### **1.3 Resume the Path of Antonio Gramsci on the basis of the M-L-M**

Let's talk about Antonio Gramsci's contributions because Gramsci built the Communist Party of Italy by applying Marxism-Leninism to the reality of our country. Gramsci has made great and indispensable contributions, particularly in his monumental work Prison Notebooks, concerning the theory of the proletarian revolution in Italy. These contributions have been rejected and distorted on the one hand by Togliatti's modern revisionism and on the other by the New Left, by workerism, by Trotskyism and by other hegemonic deviations in our country in the sixties and seventies. Gramsci can be considered as a great communist leader who is on the line that from Marxism-Leninism proceeds towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. For this reason it is not possible to understand, assume and value the contributions of Gramsci, if not starting from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and placing, in particular, the hint on Maoism. We are therefore against those who deny in one way or another the great theoretical-political contributions of Antonio Gramsci. We believe that only the M-L-M and in particular Maoism can re-tie the red thread that connects the necessity of the formation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party with Gramsci's more mature Thought, that of the Prison Notebooks, and with his epic battle, in the twenties of the last century, for the construction of the Communist Party of Italy.

### **1.4 The Building of an international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization**

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM] formed in 1984 under the influence of the positions of the US PCR and its leader Bob

Avakian still referred to Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought. Thanks to the struggle led by President Gonzalo, he issued in December 1993 a new document, a kind of second declaration, "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!" which imposed the reference to the "M-L-M". This was a significant step forward. In the RIM there was still a lot of eclecticism and on it weighed, in addition to the role of the PCR (USA), also the transition to revisionism of the Nepalese party led by Prachanda, which ended the People's War in Nepal and created confusion and disorientation among the ranks of a series of groups M-L-M. So the RIM could no longer play a useful role for the international proletariat. In the end the RIM did not develop and actually dissolved because it was eclectic. As for the imperialist countries, today the main aspect is still the work and struggle for the formation of effective Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties. In order to achieve this objective, it is above all necessary to be able to consider correctly the central issues in these countries. In addition to the reference to the M-L-M and the contributions of President Gonzalo, the decisive aspect is that of the specification of these references at national level. As for Italy, the resumption of Gramsci's path plays a central role. In a country like Italy we cannot build a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party without a proper analysis of the political and economic situation, without an adequate assessment of the history of the class struggle and without a proper evaluation of the positions and lines of the groups and parties that refer to the proletarian revolution. In the 1920s the Third International made a decisive contribution to the struggle to impose the leadership of Antonio Gramsci and to affirm the construction of a real communist party. Today it is not possible to constitute a communist international (understood as a center of leadership of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations) capable of making similar contributions to the formation of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party in Italy. The question of the formation of the Communist Party in Italy depends on the possibility of the development of the struggle between the two lines in our country. The

development of this struggle requires experience, knowledge and decisions, which cannot come today from some international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization.

We therefore support the need for an international Maoist organization capable of not repeating the mistakes of the RIM and thus contributing, in a general sense, to the affirmation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the leading ideology of the world revolution, But we do not think it is possible to constitute today a world centre of a new communist international.

## **2. Our struggle in Italy for the unification of the Marxists-Leninists-Maoists**

In our country, beyond our small reality, those who refer to Marxism-Maoism-Maoism are to M-L-M: 1) CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCM (ex. Rossoperaio); 2) comrades wich come from previous political experiences wich dissolved and that referred, at least formally, to the M-L-M; 3) organizations and individual comrades who refer to the Marxism-Leninism and that, while sympathetic to Maoism have not taken it explicitly and organically (e.g. Unione di Lotta per il Partito Comunista); 4) organizations that refer to the "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong's Thought" (e.g. the PMLI); 5) must finally be considered the comrades that refer to Marxism-Leninism and are not hostile to Maoism.

The subjective potentialities for the development and unification, in the struggle between the two lines, of a Maoist tendency in our country are significant. These potential exist in an objective framework in which the contradictions are accentuated at all levels both internationally and nationally. In Italy the economic and political

crisis particularly profound and this will also determine favorable conditions for the development of a Maoist tendency.

## **2.1. The negative role of organisations such as CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCM and the need for a different paradigm of revolution in our country**

Deviations impersonated by CARC-nPCI organization and Proletari Comunisti-Pcm continue to represent in Italy a certain obstacle to the formation of a first embryo of the Communist Party. These groups, in different forms, have: 1) negative influence in our country for the prospect of proletarian revolution; 2) created a great confusion on the question of Maoism; 3) pushed many communist militants and Revolutionary sympathizers to move away from the M-L-M.

CARC-nPCI represent, although in a critical version, a trend that also refers to certain revolutionary experiences of the seventies. For CARC-nPCI these experiences would have been a second attempt, after that of Antonio Gramsci, to arrive at the construction of the Communist Party. It is a deeply erroneous and eclectic thesis, influenced by conceptions that we can define as "guevarists" to simplify. This thesis denies that in Italy the only effective proletarian and popular revolutionary experience conducted in the perspective of Socialism was represented by the anti-fascist Resistance. This great revolutionary experience fundamentally directed by the Communists has represented in our country a phase of the people's war characterized by the development of the strategic defensive. A phase that could proceed until the achievement of a dualism of power sabotaged and dissipated by the Togliattian leadership of the CPI. The erroneous positions of the CARC-nPCI compare and mix eclectically, illegitimately and subjectively, experiences, conceptions and phases that are profoundly different. These positions are accompanied by a

whole series of "left" mechanistic and opportunist theories, which refer to a non-Marxist conception of economic theory. This for example with the theory of the collapse of capitalism by absolute overproduction and in the questions of the formation of Italian capitalism, of class analysis in our country and of the theory of imperialism. Partly the Carc-nPCI also support spontaneists and semi-workerists theories and, therefore, movimentists, as the theory of the struggle between reactionary mobilization and revolutionary mobilization and the thesis of the formation of mass popular and proletarian economic/claiming entities identified with the formation of a workers and popular political power. These positions also connect to some revisionist conceptions of the State such as that which the existence, in the various political phases, of an alleged project of the imperialist bourgeoisie to hit to open the revolutionary process. There are also strong social democratic and trotskijst influences, as evidenced from the thesis that socialism in the countries of the former USSR would have continued to exist even after the affirmation of the modern revisionism, to the point of saying that even today we cannot speak of Russia as an imperialist country (see in this regard the chauvinistic support of CARC-nPCI to the invasion of Ukraine by Russian imperialism). Finally, in a corresponding way with a series of conceptions typical of "left populism", promote a line in the present situation in Italy, that is even reactionary. This considered the systematic support to reactionary and corporativists parties like the M5S, resulting in support for measures adressed to the fascistization of the state desired by those parties.

Proletari Comunisti-PCM (formerly Agit-Prop Collective and later Rossoperaio) comes organically from the "PC(M-L)I-La Voce Operaia". This party had combined the reference to Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought with Trotskyism, Bordighism and above all the theoretical workerism of Raniero Panzieri and Antonio Negri. When the CP(M-L)I dissolved into Autonomia Operaia, the historical nucleus of Proletari Comunisti-PCM resumed the old project of the

CP(M-L)I, inheriting as a consequence all the eclecticism. In the late 1970s, this group openly criticized Marxism-Leninism and Mao himself accused of being a nationalist. In 1984, he declared that he had signed the RIM Declaration only with reservation because, in his opinion, he did not criticize the alleged nationalism and the alleged opportunist tendencies of the VII Congress of the Communist International and Stalin. He then presented himself in our country as an interpreter of Gonzalo Thought. Later he engaged in the construction of his own international fraction. In the early years of the present century, this group tried to form itself as a party, taking the name of "Italian Maoist Communist Party". This attempt was quickly wrecked. The signature "PCM" exists only on the international level. In Italy there is only the group of Proletari Comunisti. This group does not have the characteristics of an effective organization of party cadres, but mixes the characteristics of a political organization with those of a mass organization mostly of trade union character. Its national initiatives, the so-called Anti-capitalist Proletarian Assemblies, always combine political issues and union issues. In essence, this group denies that political struggle and economic struggle should be distinguished. It is a form of "left" economism and opportunism that carries with it the negation of the question of building a popular bloc with proletarian hegemony and a revolutionary political front as the highest expression of that bloc. Consequently, it also denies that the political struggle is more important than the economic one. Apart from the historical core, its militants are mostly essentially Slai Cobas activists for the Class Union (a split from Slai Cobas), including members of its feminist group, which refers to a "proletarian feminism" which takes up part of the thesis of "proletarian feminism" (MFPR). In fact, Proletari Comunisti is the left wing of a set of political and trade union groups, of realities of struggle and social centers (antagonists) characterized by various combinations of revisionism, bordighism, trotskyism, counsellism, anarcho-syndicalism and workerism. A tendency today that probably is the

majority in the Italian communist and revolutionary movement. The construction of a first embryo of Communist Party requires in-depth criticism of the positions of the CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCM. In the final analysis, it is a matter of demonstrating on the level of the ideology of the M-L-M and concretely affirming on the political and organizational level the necessity and the possibility of a different paradigm for the proletarian revolution in our country. It is not an easy task at all. This is because, in the final analysis, both the CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCM are not very far from the two different paradigms of the proletarian revolution that have had great influence in our country. What to simplify we can define as "guevarist" and what instead is certainly definable as "workerist movimentism". These two paradigms, however less dissimilar to each other than you might think, were hegemonic in the revolutionary component of the sixties and seventies. Outside of these two paradigms, the other forces of the extreme left of those years, including the groups resulting from the Pcd'I(m-l) splits, placed themselves on openly opportunist and revisionist positions. These are the two paradigms that, in fact, even with more or less decisive modifications and adjustments and eclectic hybridizations, are still hegemonic in our country among those who refer to the proletarian revolution. In these conditions it is not possible to build an alternative Maoist tendency to CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCM without leverage, starting from the M-L-M, the assessment of errors and failures that which have been done till now, focusing on the revolutionary experiences of the sixties and seventies and the relative criticism of the two paradigms of the revolution. Only the union between the M-L-M and the development of this type of balances, faced with the escalation of the general crisis of imperialism (especially in countries like ours as well as in countries oppressed by bureaucratic capitalism) can generate a new paradigm of the revolution inside our country. It is obviously not about starting from scratch or inventing something that does not exist today. It is a question of reconnecting, on the basis of the MLM and a series of

contributions by President Gonzalo, the red line of Gramsci's PCd'I and with his work (The Prison Notebooks) for the construction of a political group leading to the proletarian revolution in Italy. It is a question of starting anew from the path of the popular-democratic revolution in our country, which has had until now its maximum development in the war of anti-fascist resistance directed by the communist partisans. This in the current conditions of growing global crisis of imperialism, of advancement of the interimperialist war and fascism (Italy), of advancement on a world scale of the rebellion of the peoples oppressed by bureaucratic capitalism and by the various imperialisms (USA, Europe, Russia, China), of resistance of the people's wars and of construction of new Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties.

On the other hand, both CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti claim that they have made the critical assessment of the sixties and seventies. The first ones start from the level of theory (essentially the synthesis represented by the nPCI Program Manifesto) and then proceed to that of political practice (political tactics and political line). The latter, however, have not made any theoretical assessment, at least, of a public nature. Instead, they argue that their political and trade union practice contains and makes live concretely the assessment of those years and therefore indicates the model to follow, imitate and reproduce as a basis for the construction of the party and for the opening of a revolutionary process.

In summary, really criticizing CARC-nPCI and Proletarian Communists-pcm is a difficult undertaking. In the final analysis, this means applying the M-L-M to the reality of our country and thoroughly criticizing revisionism, workerism, Trotskyism, syndicalism, movimentism, insurrectionism and "focosim".

Having said this, we must at the same time recognize that most of the militants of these organizations, those who do not belong to the narrow leading groups, are sincerely revolutionary and aspire to the construction of an effective communist party in our country. These comrades are still a red base for the revolution. This requires a fraternal, thorough and detailed criticism, aimed at demonstrating the erroneity of the theoretical positions and political lines of these organizations. Without the development of this criticism and without a corresponding organizational process this red base shall non subsist for a long time.

## **2.2 Comrades from previous political experiences that have dissolved and that made formal reference to the M-L-M**

These experiences were on average characterized by deviations of different kinds. Without a transformation, these comrades, even if they wanted to, are unable to contribute to the construction of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist party. Some of these comrades today have given a particular importance to theoretical work. It must be emphasized, however, that this work is lacking in terms of the specification of revolutionary theory in its own national conditions and in terms of the critical balance of the revolutionary tendencies of the sixties and seventies. In particular, it lacks a self-critical assessment of its experiences since those decades.

Other comrades instead operate in an organized way practically only on the union terrain. We reiterate that the trade union struggle in order to play a useful role in the revolutionary perspective must take place in an appropriate manner, with a correct line and on a national scale. This requires, given the current difficulty and complexity of the economic struggle, at least one embryo of party present on a national scale. It also requires that the trade union struggle be combined with

political struggle. In general terms, political struggle and trade union struggle are both essential, but revolutionary political struggle is the main issue. Today there is no trade union organization that has these characteristics and it must be maintained that, as regards the organizations of alternative syndicalism, in addition to not exist in substance in the factories, are all characterized by economism and movement.

### **2.3 Organizations and individual militants who refer to Marxism-Leninism and who, although sympathetic to Maoism, have not taken it explicitly and organically**

There are communists who claim to be Maoists but who work in organizations that do not refer to the M-L-M. They are mostly comrades who do not want to work with CARC-nPCI or with Communist Proletarians-Pcm because of their wrong conceptions and positions and the often extravagant character of these groups. These are comrades who at present do not consider themselves up to the theoretical and political tasks of a battle for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist\_maoist party, therefore, instead of trying to be protagonists of such a battle, remains in the background, waiting for the situation to emerge from new perspectives. This attitude is to be criticized and rejected.

Then there are organizations like “Unione di Lotta per il Partito Comunista”, which sympathize with Maoism while not taking it organically. Nuova Egeonia can only greet the break with “Piattaforma Comunista” because of the dogmatic character and the Hoxaist positions of these comrades. We think that this break can in perspective re-knot a thread, however difficult, related to the relationship of the comrades of Unione di Lotta with Maoism. A thread partially present in the past in the comrades of Unione di Lotta,

but it was interrupted precisely because of the attempt of the unification process with the Piattaforma Comunista-Teoria e prassi. We do not agree with the political approach, which we believe is still marked by economism, but we are convinced that their current experience of union coordination of a number of comrades of different organizations of alternative syndicalism may lead them to the conclusion that it is necessary to place in the foreground the question of the theory of the M-L-M, of propaganda and political orientation in the perspective of the formation of a first embryo of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party.

#### **2.4 Organizations that refer to "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong's Thought" (e.g. the PMLI)**

In general, these are organizations that have never overcome the fundamental deviations, characterized by right-wing opportunism, of the Italian Marxist-Leninists involved in the construction of the PCdI(m-l) and its subsequent divisions. In the final analysis today these forces deny the development of Marxism-Leninism and therefore conceive of Mao Zedong's Thought as something different from Maoism and consequently reject this last, confusing it with Linpiaoism. Moreover, there is no real recognition of the work of Antonio Gramsci to which today it is indispensable to reconnect on the basis of the M-L-M. It does not seem currently possible that these comrades can contribute to the construction of a Maoist tendency.

## **2.5 Communists who refer to Marxism-Leninism and who are not hostile to Maoism**

Most of them are comrades who are active in the Communist Youth Front (Fronte della Gioventù Comunista), in the Communist Front (Fronte Comunista), in groups that have left the Party of Marco Rizzo or in other local communist groups that do not share the revisionist views of the leading groups of these organizations. At the same time, though they are not opposed to Maoism, they have no clear idea of what M-L-M is. This is mainly due to the influence of modern Revisionism, Trotskyism, Workerism, Bordighism and positions like those of Enver Hoxha. In fact, a fundamental obstacle to the evolution of the positions of these comrades is represented by their tendential movimentism and economism, and their poor consideration of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and the philosophy of materialism-dialectic. Only a battle capable of putting the fight against these deviations at the centre can lead these comrades to make a qualitative leap. A central aspect of this battle is the highlighting of the link between the Third International, the Seventh Congress, the work of Stalin, the thought of Gramsci and the M-L-M. Maoism is a higher stage of the M-L. You cannot be M-L if you are not Maoist. An integral part of this battle, which we have already begun to conduct with a special document on our site, is the theoretical-political struggle against the revisionist and semitrotskyist positions of the KKE, which notoriously influence the groups of comrades we mentioned earlier.

## **3. Our self-critique**

Nuova Egemonia, despite being a very recent reality, was born following the initiative of an original nucleus that comes from the late

seventies. This nucleus was formed in the fight against revisionist and opportunist deviations of "left" within a local organization (Autonomous Communist Committee, later Communist Committee of Trento) It was formed in the second half of the seventies by militants of the PC(M-L)I and Autonomia Operaia. This Committee split into several sections in 1990. In this struggle, Maoism was carried out and the thesis of the universality of the people's war was supported, and so the movement was criticized and the "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong's thought" rejected. The importance of women's liberation struggle has been affirmed as part of the question linked to the struggle for the affirmation of the ideology of the proletariat against anarcho-liberal and marcusian conceptions and practices, which had contributed to the degeneration of the Communist Committee of Trento.

Before moving more organically to the M-L-M, this original nucleus made several mistakes. In 1984 this group joined the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as part of the Communist Committee of Trento. He later joined the formation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Collective "Antonio Gramsci". While not sharing many semi-trotskyist and semi-workerists positions of the Rossoperaio-Proletari Comunisti-PCM group, this Collective has at some point unified with that group. This unit was short lived. Despite the separation from Rossoperaio-Proletari Communists-PCM, positions at least partly economicist continued to influence for years the original nucleus of Nuova Egeмония. The Gramsci Collective, while representing a step in the right direction, while affirming the importance of the theory of M-L-M and while adequately distinguishing political struggle and economic struggle, was still marked by the erroneous thesis of the centrality of trade union work. In fact, there was still a certain underestimation of the importance of the M-L-M theory and there was no adequate work for its application and specification to the Italian reality. The Collective had a still narrow view of the question of the fight for women's liberation, which was a precursor to the movement.

This Collective also had a sectarian conception of party and union formation. In essence, the party would be constructed by "acting as a party for the party" and then increasing the group molecularly. This thesis was combined with another erroneous thesis, that the "party is built in struggles", in particular in the "union struggles", through the political-ideological formation of the vanguards of economic struggles. Similarly, the union would be formed on the basis of the progressive enlargement of the political group. These were subjectivist and opportunist theses of the "left". In this way the struggle for the construction of the class union became the criterion for political unity. The construction of the cobas, together with the propaganda of the M-L-M and solidarity with the popular wars in the oppressed countries, became the main way for an organizational enlargement and an effective construction of the political organization.

The original nucleus of Nuova Egemonia, while assuming the M-L-M, while also promoting significant struggles and student and workers organizations, was not capable of applying the M-L-M by placing at the center an adequate theoretical-political and ideological activity for the constitution of the party. The assimilation of Gramsci's Thought on the basis of M-L-M was still insufficient and, in particular, the question of the struggle for hegemony had not yet been clarified. In general, the importance of the contributions of Gonzalo's Thought was underestimated and there was still no clear understanding of the question of the three stages of development of M-L-M. In this framework, The Gramsci Collective was affected by a certain negative role played by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement due to the influence of the positions of Avakian and Prachanda. In addition to all this, the question of ideology and ideological struggle had not yet been sufficiently clarified as a further basic necessity for the transformation of the subjectivity of the militants and for an effective organizational construction. Finally, the specification of the M-L-M to the question of the genesis and nature of Italian capitalism, which today we define

as an aggressive imperialism but marginal and semi-dependent from the political and military point of view, was lacking.

The deepening study of the history and economic and political reality of our country has led to the formulation of the strategy of the popular revolution on the path of socialism, through the recovery, in the current context of the terminal crisis of imperialism, The revolutionary path interrupted after World War II.

In summary, the influences of sectarianism, syndicalism, movimentism and a certain type of propagandism, rather superficial in content, of the popular war and the proletarian revolution, have been predominant for decades. All these mistakes have forced several times to resume work starting from scratch, have created misunderstandings, have led to dealing superficially with contradictions with other groups of comrades.

The original nucleus has repeatedly developed self-critical processes, which have led it to play a role in promoting the experience of Nuova Egemonia. Even the other comrades who came to share the current experience of New Hegemony had to make self-critical assessments and work to overcome the influence of erroneous positions and practices.

## **4. Our work proposal for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tendency**

### **4.1. What common objectives?**

A process of coordination, joint work and convergence is needed to promote a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tendency for the establishment of a first but significant embryo of the party. This process must now focus on the theoretical-political work, the ideological and philosophical struggle, the propaganda and the political orientation of the most

advanced elements of the proletariat, of the youth, the women's movements and the intellectuals of the most exploited and oppressed sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. It is a process that must be based on the definition and development of the different positions. This is in order to sanction or accelerate inevitable de facto separations and to develop processes of convergence based on the qualitative increase of the concepts, lines and common organization.

#### **4.2. To whom we address our proposal ?**

First to the communists who:

- fight rossobrunismo and electoralism, oppose the reformism of the movement, criticize the various versions of the left populism, do not share the positions and practices of the various alternative unions and the syndicalist-Bordighist-movimentist bloc focused today on forces such as Si Cobas and TIR;
- are now questioning the problem of taking an assessment of the various political, trade union and movement experiences of the last thirty years is being posed in order to restore the primacy of politics and to affirm the urgency of the task of building a first party embryo (founding or constitution of the party),
- have arrived or are coming to the conclusion that it is necessary to be clearly delimited, through appropriate critical and self-critical budgetary processes, from paradigms of the revolution, trends, conceptions and political lines that, from the sixties onwards, have been hegemonies in our country among the communists and in the extreme left (in the broadest sense: against left Togliactism, critical Marxism of the New Left, Marxism-Leninism-thought of Mao, the workerism of the Quaderni Rossi and Antonio Negri, the post-

workerism, Trotskyism, Counsellism, Bordighism, insurrectionism, guevarism and Focosim),

- refer to the M-L-M or sympathize with the M-L-M and believe, however, that the positions of the CARC-nPCI and Prtoletari Comunisti-PCM are wrong.

We therefore propose to these comrades an activity aimed at promoting a common work on the following fronts of initiative with regard to which we indicate a series of guidelines. Obviously the discussion and the relative comparison can bring integrations and modifications.

#### **4.3. The fronts of work that we are conducting and that we propose as joint work**

- Theoretical work
- Management training work
- Political orientation and political initiative
- The trade union question
- Philosophical and cultural work
- Women's liberation struggle
- Starting from Marx's Capital
- The apparatus of political and cultural hegemony

1. **Theoretical work.** It is the work of specifying the M-L-M to the reality of our country. An adequate balance of the class struggle is

inherent in this work. This requires the generation, in the struggle between the two lines, of a militant intellectual center capable of producing the theoretical thought necessary for the promotion and development of a Marxist Leninist-Maoist tendency in the perspective of its unification into a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party.

2. **Cadres work of formation.** Against the theory proposed by some Bordighist and culturalist groups it is necessary to affirm that there is a need for cadres capable of directing the advanced sectors of the proletariat, students, women's movements, intellectuals and popular masses. Cadres for the party of revolution on the path of socialism and therefore Cadres for an overall transformation of Italian society, for popular democracy, national independence and socialism. It is necessary to win the most intellectually conscious and advanced elements of the proletariat and the popular masses to the work of the formation of the Cadres.

3. **Political orientation and political initiative.** Action is needed, on the basis of the M-L-M, on all major national and international political events, In order to build popular front organizations and orient the most advanced mass sectors in the direction of the program and aims of the popular democratic revolution on the path of socialism.

4. **The trade union question.** Today, without a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, it is not only impossible to build a class union, but it is also impossible to attribute importance to the question of the organization and promotion of the trade union struggle. Otherwise, given the small size of the forces, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists would turn into syndicalists of insignificant organizations, which move at the tail of other far more relevant economic and movimentist trade union organizations, if not reformist and reactionary. This does not mean, however, that the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists should remain aloof from any real trade union struggles and mobilizations. Their task in this case is to combat the reformist and moving ideas and lines of the groups

and trade union organizations promoting these initiatives, aiming at the conquest of the M-L-M and the first phase, The foundational process of building the party of the most advanced elements of the proletariat.

**5. Philosophical and cultural work.** In the final analysis it is the work for the affirmation of dialectical materialism against the dominant philosophy in imperialism represented by subjective idealism in its two variants, the Nietzsche-Heidegger line (with its developments of right and "left" in the so-called post-modern) and the line representing the various developments of neopositivism. In Italy this also means assuming the importance of the struggle against the revisionist and workerist declinations, Crocean-liberal and sociologist of historical materialism. Without the affirmation of dialectical materialism it is not possible to thoroughly conduct the fight against the hegemonic political and trade union tendencies today in the extreme left of our country and therefore it is not possible to affirm a different figure of intellectual militant as a basis for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party of a new kind. With regard to the need for philosophical-cultural work and the ideological struggle for the affirmation of a new figure of militant intellectual it is necessary: 1) to affirm the criterion of the primacy of politics in the concrete life of the cadres. This requires an often complex ideological struggle relating to the transformation of the relations between the private and political spheres; 2) developing the fight against philosophical visions and practices (lifestyles, behaviours, ethical and aesthetic conceptions, etc. ) regressive and corrupt individualism and leftist liberalism; 3) affirm the need for the ideological transformation of the subjectivity of the militants in function of the tasks of a new type of communist party.

**6. The question of women's liberation struggle.** A Popular Women's Movement directed by Communist women is needed. A movement that affirms that the M-L-M is the only possible reference for the liberation of the women of the proletariat and the popular

masses. We need a specific Popular Women's Movement, which works on the political and cultural terrain and not on the union. The Women's Movement cannot fight for union demands without degenerating into economism and movement. The Women's Popular Movement must fight against liberalism, economism, the post-modern, therefore also against any feminism, including the so-called "socialist feminism", "Marxist feminism" or "proletarian feminism".

**7. The conquest of the advanced elements of the proletariat by Marxist economic theory.** There can be no class consciousness and therefore anti-capitalism without an adequate understanding of the essence of Marx's work in the field of economic theory and the further development of this work due to Lenin and Mao. We must start again from Capital in the struggle against all the current hegemonic approaches to affirm the revolutionary character of Marxist economic theory. Groups and circles of study and discussion on Marx's Capital are necessary, capable of involving the proletarians and in general the workers, leading them towards the formation of a party embryo. It is necessary to propose a reading and study of Capital based on dialectical materialism and in line with the principles of M-L-M. Therefore it is necessary to fight against:

- 1) the revisionist readings of Marx's Capital aimed at denying its revolutionary character and arguing that today its central thesis are no longer valid;
- 2) the sociologist readings, in particular the workerists and syndicalists, which reduce the proletariat to a particular class characterized by specific interests. This as if the proletariat were similar to the bourgeoisie, thus denying the principle that the proletariat is revolutionary to the end and therefore goes far beyond its economic-trade union interests, it wants a classless society and, in this sense, it is the bearer of a universalistic and non-personalistic and corporative point of view of the masses (such as that of the bourgeoisie);

3) the mechanistic readings such as those of the theorists of the Second International, or the theories of the collapse of the Bordighists, the Trotskijsti, the economists of the anti-Marxist-Leninist Counselism - in particular Henry Grossman- coming from the Frankfurt school, of today's supporters of the crisis for absolute overproduction of Capital (CARC-nPCI, etc. ). This type of reading of Capital is opposed to materialistic dialectics and is combined with spontaneity and economism, Postulating that the economic crisis in its accentuation will automatically lead the proletariat to encounter the maximum program of internationalism and socialist revolution. These are profoundly anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-Marxist thesis, often accompanied by a combination of economism and ultrarevolutionary propagandism devoid of any real political practice.

#### **8. Building a vast apparatus of political and cultural hegemony.**

The best books, essays, articles, the best magazines, the most correct and appropriate flyers, etc... are nothing without the construction and organization of a special apparatus for hegemony. It is necessary to involve the advanced sectors of young people and workers in the political struggle, but today a fundamental level of this struggle is that relating to the construction and operation of an apparatus of hegemony. Being intellectual militants today means developing a specific work for the construction of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tendency and a first embryo of party. It means to an essential extent to solicit and unify the necessary forces, to broaden the training work, to develop broadly the propaganda, to pursue political orientation and gradually develop an appropriate policy initiative in relation to mass advanced sectors. The struggle against fragmentation, individualism and personalism, the logic of micro-groups, localism, the practices and intellectual productions of amateur craftsmen, the empty school dogmatic propagandism, etc... It is now one of the central political

tasks. This means putting the construction of an adequate Marxist-Leninist-Maoist hegemonic apparatus practically at the centre.

#### **4.4. Concepts and working methods**

We believe that working methods and conceptions of relations between comrades based on dialectical materialism, Maoism and Gramsci's contributions should be adopted. We are for the centrality and the affirmation of the constructive and destructive role of contradiction, we are for hegemony and against hegemony, fractionist, trotskyist and revisionist plots, politicking, bureaucratism, sophistry, etc. We are in order to give today a particular importance to the theoretical-ideological and philosophical-cultural work, to the formation of the cadres and to the ideological struggle for the transformation of the subjectivity of the militants in function of a new type of party, but we are against the two-step theory that separates the theoretical elaboration of propaganda and political orientation, against the logic of castes and political-intellectual classes, against eclecticism, intellectualism and culturalism, the academic logic and function of the external "intellectuals", that is, the so-called "experts" on duty. In general we are opposed to a conception of study, training and propaganda that proposes reasoning and productions that are sterily notional, abstract intellectualists, devoid of political relevance and purpose. The necessary conditions must be prepared to guarantee to any proletarian, student, conscious intellectual, aspiring to work for the party and the revolution of popular democracy, an area of fraternal work in which it is possible to develop appropriate experiences of political and cultural initiative, acquire appropriate skills and develop appropriate processes of growth and militant intellectual formation. This is the aim of the progressive creation of the conditions necessary for the acquisition of leading roles in the relationship with advanced

elements and realities of the proletariat, young people, women's movements and the popular masses.

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