

*21 January 1921 - 21 January 2011 - 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary  
of the formation of the Communist Party of Italy,  
Section of the III Communist International*

**Today like yesterday is necessary a full and definitive  
breaking with reformism and opportunism  
in order to build up a real communist party**

**To the true communists, to the proletarians and the young revolutionaries of Italy!**

Ninety years ago, at Leghorn, was born the Communist Party of Italy (P.C.d'I). This event occurred on the basis of some great historical events, as a consequence of the struggle conducted by the components of communist tendency joined together in an organised group inside the Italian Socialist Party and on the spur of the Communist International, which fixed the conditions necessary for the admission of the national parties.

With the formation of its independent and revolutionary party the Italian worker movement came out of its «prehistory» and entered a new phase, where the target became the ideal and material preparation for the revolutionary struggle aiming to the seizure of power, the instauration of the proletarian dictatorship and the edification of socialism.

The P.C.d'I., which was born in a critical moment, separated the more advanced and conscious part of the proletariat from reformism and maximalism (the opportunism of that time).

The party was at once assailed from every direction. Its acceptance of the principles of marxism-leninism and of the proletarian internationalism, its iron discipline, were the indispensable guarantee in the hard struggle against the bourgeoisie and its servants.

Under the direction of Antonio Gramsci and the guide of the Third International, the bolshevism got into the line and organization of the party; the strategy and the tactics necessary for the seizure of power from the working class and its allies, the capacity of analysis and political initiative, the influence on large strata of the proletariat and the popular masses, were increased.

In the glorious struggles against the fascism, in the civil war of Spain, and all through the Resistance, the party acquired force and solid ties with the masses, supplying to the exploited and oppressed masses an ideological, political and organisational leadership in the struggle for the new society.

**Lessons for today**

The bourgeoisie, the renegades of communism, all who have abandoned the cause of the proletariat, try to condemn, to denigrate, to induce the exploited masses to forget the historical importance of the foundation of P.C.d'I.

The split with the opportunism and reformist gradualism, the adoption of marxism-leninism, of the revolutionary method, maintain, on the contrary, all their significance and their validity.

What are the essential features of that experience on which we attract the attention of all the proletarians and revolutionaries of our country?

a) At the basis of the establishment of P.C.d'I. there was the struggle against Turati, Treves, Modigliani, D'Aragona, who never were revolutionary men, but exponents of reformism, of bourgeois pacifism and social-patriotism; there was also the principle struggle against the maximalist «ouvriérisme» of Lazzari and the opportunist centrism of Serrati. Independently from their right-wing or left-wing positions, those men defended - subjectively or objectively - the interests of the bourgeoisie «*better than the bourgeois themselves*» (Lenin). So, the first condition for the establishment of the party was the wholesale split with every form of opportunism.

The foundation of P.C.d'I. proves that, until there are in our ranks the representatives of reformism, of the Social-democracy and of the right-wing or «left-wing» opportunism, is impossible any perspective of a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois domination.

Today in Italy the opportunists are men like Bersani, D'Alema, Vendola, Ferrero, Diliberto, Salvi, Rizzo; are the top leaders of the trade-unions; are the trotskists and extremists who repeat revolutionary phrases torn off the concrete situation; are the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who deny the proletarian conception of the world and do not know how to go out the moral dimension of the struggle against capitalism.

Without a definitive political, ideological and organisational breaking with all them, without to stand aloof from all the attempts at the resurrection of the corpses of opportunism, from their hotch-potch of ideological and political positions quite incompatible with the revolutionary marxism and the leninism, it's impossible to establish a true communist party, it's impossible to bring off a consistent communist politics which conceives the reforms as a collateral product of the revolutionary class struggle. «First of all it's necessary to divide, that is, to divide the revolutionary ideology from the bourgeois ideologies (Social-democracy of all shades): then to unite, that is, to unify the working class around the revolutionary ideology», wrote Gramsci.

b) The P.C.d'I. was the organized department of a single class, the working class, the only true revolutionary class of the society on account of its role in the social production. The party, as long as hold the revolutionary positions, never lost sight of its fundamental aim, of the reason itself of its existence: to lead the class to the conquest of political power in order to abolish the wage slavery and to build up a new mode of production based on the social property of the means of production and exchange.

On the contrary, today we see that the forces and parties wich define themselves as communist have put, as their social reference, the generic «movements» in place of the proletariat, and do not go beyond a threadbare reformism. In their programmes are absent the abolition of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolutionary demolition of the bourgeois system: a system which instead is accepted - once set free from its more negative and macroscopic features - as the ground itself on which the social progress can be fulfilled. All that it's a real enslavement to the bourgeoisie, passed off as marxism.

c) The party, since its birth, was characterized by its theoretical and practical struggle against the deviations from marxism and leninism, in order to acquire the largest ideological homogeneity of its leaders and militants. Under the guide of the Third International and through the "bolshevization", it achieved the ideological and political unity, struggling in particular against opportunism and extremism. This unity is, for all communist parties, the principal condition for the development and the success of the party.

It's necessary to emphasize all that, because there are forces saying that they want the party, but denying or underestimating the necessity of the marxist-leninist compactness and firmness on the theoretical, political and organisational level, of the discipline and of a sturdy and centralized leadership.

Like this, they attempt to deny or minimize the difference on principle between communism and reformism, to weaken the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the criticism of spontaneity and economism that devalue the decisive role of the party. Without a solid ideological basis, without the unity about the principles and in the practice, a communist party cannot exist.

d) Since its first years of life, the P.C.I. faced the problem of a constant link with the masses, of the conquest of the majority of the working class, of the necessity of maintain itself at the head of the class in every occasion and situation. That involved the struggle inside the mass associations and inside the general trade unions, the participation and the engagement in the partial struggles, the elaboration of a program of immediate vindications, always in the consciousness that the conditions of workers would be changed thoroughly only with the revolution. In the frame of this work, the fundamental task was the task of promote and achieve an united front of proletarian struggle, based on mass organisms. The P.C.I. always worked in order to achieve the unity of the class struggle, on the basis of organisms that could represent all the mass.

This precious indication is, in the present historical situation, the principal immediate task of the communist and labour movement, which must try to form an united front of struggle of the working class against the capitalistic offensive, the political reaction and the menaces of imperialist wars. The communists must be at the head of the struggle for the unity of the working class and of all the social and political sectors that are interested to fight against the political and social oppression, performing, at the same time, the more clear-cut separation from their enemies.

### **The struggle against revisionism is always on the agenda**

Sad to say, today in Italy a true communist party do not exist any more: it was destroyed by revisionism. On the occasion of VIII<sup>th</sup> Congress of 1956, Togliatti and the leading group of PCI, under the pression of USA imperialism and on the wave of Krusciov's restauration, shot ahead with the process of party's degeneration and of its integration in the Italian capitalistic system.

From the Togliatti's illusory and bankruptcy «Italian road to socialism» to the «historical compromise» of Berlinguer, from the Occhetto's liquidationist «turning» up to the landing of the Democratic Party, there is a guiding thread: the renunciation of the revolutionary road and the whole acceptance of the capitalistic system, at first on behalf of modern revisionism, then on behalf of social-liberalism.

The Togliatti's line, the strategy of the achievement of «socialism» through the enforcement of the bourgeois Constitution, the attack against Stalin, are not disappeared with the self-liquidation of the revisionist PCI, but are still integral parts of the theoretic and programmatic substance of many pseudo-communist parties and political formations.

At the same time, revisionism has acquired new forms, has combined itself with petty-bourgeois currents begetting tendencies adverse to communism, as the so-called «socialism of XXI<sup>th</sup> century», which offers itself deceptively as a step forward, while it's in reality a return to the premarxist utopianism, or other tendencies theorizing the introduction of a planned economy without a revolution, without the conquest of power and the dictatorship of proletariat.

The struggle for the formation of a true communist party in our country can advance only going away from the quagmire of revisionism, only fighting against all men who want to sink in it, only marching on the way traced by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

### **We are going into a new period**

Until some years ago, in correspondence with the collapse of Soviet revisionism, the necessity of the communist party was considered a blasphemy. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and their reformist followers stated that the revolution was a dead and buried thing, that mankind was arrived at the «end of the history», that capitalism was able to develop itself without any crisis.

Few years were enough for the falling down of these falsehoods. The gravest international capitalistic crisis of the latest height years, its dramatic consequences on the economic, social and political level, the continuous environmental, moral and cultural deterioration, are the proof that capitalism is the obstacle to the human progress, is incompatible with the nature, and therefore must be knocked down.

Inside the present crisis, with the sharpening of all the contradictions of monopolistic capitalism, is proceeding the decomposition and decline of Italian imperialism. The bourgeoisie, that has exhausted its historical function, is exasperating all the problems of Italian society. It can no more offer any perspective of improvement to the workers, any future to the young generations. The clique of ruffians in power, in order to survive can only worsen the downfall of economy, the social parasitism, corruption and criminality, the devastation of environment, the religious obscurantism, the cleaving between Northern and Southern Italy; it can only increase the reactionary transformation of the bourgeois political institutions and the oppression of the labouring masses.

In this situation the classe struggle is restarting in Italy, as in many other countries. The working class is going out the phase of the retreat, of the reflux. The workers are acquiring confidence in their forces; little by little are freeing themselves from the period of confusion and disbandment into which they had been thrown by the heavy defeats of the last decades. The revolutionary positions are gaining ground.

The reformism, the «social dialogue», the agreements between the trade-union top leaders, the Confindustria and the government have failed and can not recover again, because the economic conditions of such policies have ceased to exist. Consequently, the worker's basis of trade unions and of Social Democrat and reformist parties have a clear sight of the capitalism's countenance and become more radical under the blows of the crisis, while the collaborationist and opportunist leaders go to the right and sabotage the unity of action of the proletarians, in order to safeguard the system that guarantees their privileges.

Whereas the crisis goes on and worsens, among the workers are disappearing the illusions on the magnificent and progressive destiny of capitalism, and the leadership of opportunist, reformist and Social-Democrat parties who defend a system of exploitation and oppression of milliards of women and men appears always more ruinous.

With the development of a series of protests and mobilizations of the masses that refuse to pay the crisis, there is also a political revival. It appears clear again the necessity of a positive way out the present situation, of a revolutionary alternative, of an urgent and radical political breakdown with the system, in order to end the endemic troubles of capitalism and transform the society.

Capitalism is decomposing, great class battles loom up, and the dilemma will be: dictatorship of financial oligarchy or dictatorship of proletariat?

Consequently, in Italy too the barycentre of the struggle will shift more and more from the Parliament to the factories and squares. To think that is possible to confront this new period in which the class struggle will develop in conditions more and more hard and difficult, to think that is possible to make some breeches in the present regime of oppression, through the action of the old Social-Democrat parties accustomed to electoralism, to parliamentary cretinism, to flabby pacifism, means to submit the class to the defeat.

Without the Party, the resistance of the working class and of the exploited masses to the plans of capitalist monopolies would remain without the conscience of its function and its aims, without a correct orientation and a revolutionary perspective. Failing a communist party, it's impossible to think of a conquest of the power by the working class, and what remains to do is only to drag oneself behind the spontaneous movement.

In this context, becomes more and more important the existence of an independent and revolutionary proletarian party, based on the workers movement. The reconstruction of this party is a crucial requirement felt by some vanguard groups of workers and by many militant communists, isolated or dispersed in some political forces and organisations.

The present brutal offensive of imperialism proposes again the unavoidable question of the political party of the working class as its indispensable instrument in order to concentrate the revolutionary energies, to organize and lead the proletarians endeavours, to bring the social revolution to the victory.

### **Forward on the road of the Party!**

This historical requirement, although denied, boycotted and hindered in a way or another by the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, can and must take a step forward on the ground of solid principles applied to reality, and by means of a common struggle.

Therefore we address to the better elements of proletariat, to the young revolutionaries, the honest intellectuals, the sincere communists who militate in the revolutionary organisations, and to those who still are members of Social-Democrat and opportunist parties, so that they act consequently, breaking utterly and definitively with reformism and opportunism, with sectarianism and doctrinairism, with fragmentation and self-reference, in order to conduct - with the marxist-leninists - a struggle for the communist party and the proletarian socialism.

All who stand up for the complete independence from the bourgeoisie and who effect a total split with regard of the Social-Democracy, the reformism and revisionism; all who recognize the necessity of the revolutionay demolition of bourgeois domination and the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship; all who accept the organisational principle od democratic centralism and defend the marxism-leninism as theoretical expression of the interests of proletariat, have the duty of join themselves and to start at once a common work in order to approach the foundation of a true communist party as the conscious and organized vanguard detachment of proletariat, collected in an indissoluble way to the international communist movement. A movement wich has its more organic and consistent expression in the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations.

*Communist Plate-form of Italy*, which does not proclaim itself a party and is not a component of other forces, but acts on the ground of its political program, has established as its principal task the struggle for the formation of a stark communist party of the working class. In order to that, it strives to clarify its theoretical, political, programmatic and organisational assumptions, it stimulates the unification of communist movement of our country, and takes part in the everyday struggles so as to support them and to rise the level of conscience of the workers. Therefore it invites the better elements of proletariat to take part in its activity so as to strengthen and enlarge it, carrying on a role more and more active in the process of reconstruction of the party.

At the same time, *Communist Plate-form* proposes to all groups and organisations, and to individual communists too, that place themselves on the ground of marxism-leninism, to accomplish a step forward. It's necessary to get progress the comparison and the unity through political and ideological meetings and agreements that - with the criticism and self-criticism, with the achievement of the unity of action and the tightest link with the more conscious and advanced elements of the working class - allow us to bring nearer the

foundation of a communist party worthy of this name, capable of assuming its historical responsibilities.

Get down to work, comrades, with the greatest engagement. With the Party we'll have everything, without the Party we'll have nothing!

January 2011

**Communist Platform of Italy**