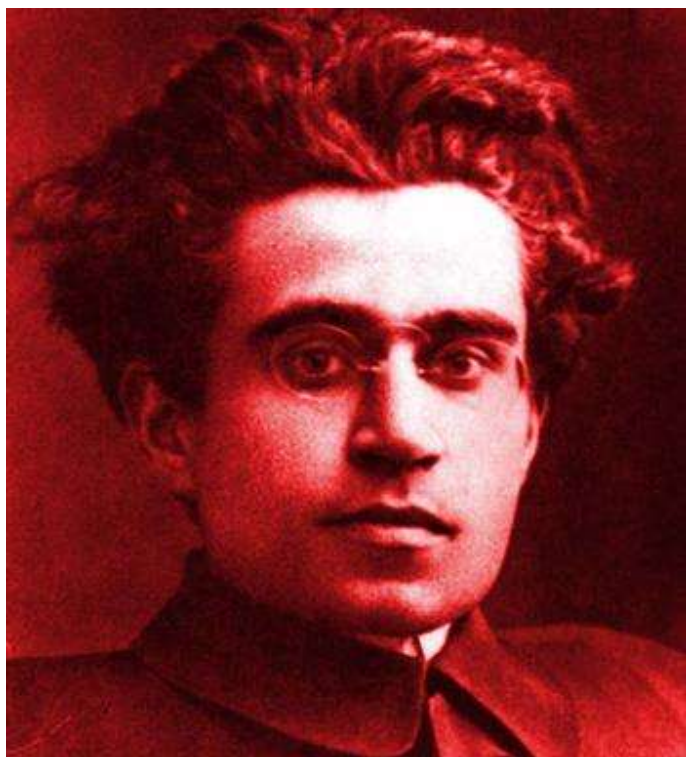


THE SOUTHERN QUESTION AND THE SARDINIAN QUESTION

*On the 135th Anniversary
of the Birth of Antonio Gramsci*



NUOVA EGEMONIA



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On the occasion of the 135th anniversary of his birth, we present a text by *Nuova Egemonia* that examines the continuing relevance of the Southern Question and the Sardinian Question

Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891 in Ales, Sardinia, and died on 27 April 1937 in Rome. His death was caused by the fascist regime. Gramsci died as a consequence of the prolonged imprisonment to which he was subjected and of the absence of adequate medical care in the face of his increasingly severe health conditions. It was a slow assassination, an unspeakable crime committed against the Italian and international proletariat.

Gramsci, effectively the founder of the Communist Party of Italy (PCd'I), was the greatest Italian Marxist-Leninist, a comprehensive leader of the proletariat, a revolutionary cadre of the highest level, who developed a specific theoretical framework for the proletarian revolution in Italy. Gramsci's thought must be understood as the expression of the concretization of Marxism-Leninism of the Third International within the Italian reality.

Through this process of concretization, Gramsci articulated contributions that allow his thought to be regarded as an intermediate link in the historical development of Marxism-Leninism toward Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In summary, this leads to the affirmation of the necessity of reconstructing the Communist Party of Italy through the resumption of Gramsci's path on the basis of Maoism.

NUOVA EGEMONIA

I. The Southern Question

The economic and social transformations of the 1950s and 1960s did not lead to a true capitalist modernization of Italy and therefore did not even resolve the problems related to the Southern and Insular Question.

The unification of Italy in 1861 had brought about a bureaucratic unification from above, based on collusion between the various bourgeoisie groups, mainly agrarian (capitalist landowners, commercial and financial), scattered throughout the territory, and the feudal rent with its specific parasitic bourgeoisie. The North, already predominantly capitalist, with the full support of the feudal landowners of the South itself, treated the peasant population of the South and the Islands as a colonial power. Areas of feudalism were present in Central Italy and the North-East, but the bulk of feudal rent was in the South and the Islands, albeit with a partial specificity as regards Sardinia. On this basis, with the creation in 1861 of a single state entity, characterized by the weight and influence of the Piedmontese state bureaucracy, an internal market based on subordination to northern capitalism also developed. The establishment of the dominant bloc, based on the axis between capitalism in the North and feudal property in the South, raised from the outset the question of the proletarian revolution in Italy as linked to the formation of the revolutionary bloc of workers and peasants, thus ruling out the possibility that the emerging Southern and Insular Question would assume as its central and decisive aspect that of the National Question, i.e., the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the national independence of the South and the Islands from the North. The resulting structure of the Italian

economy, as Gramsci pointed out, was predominantly defined by capitalism. It is a dualistic structure that is still a specific characteristic of Italy and is therefore not present in any other European country.

When, about forty years after the end of the Risorgimento, Italy entered the imperialist phase, the agricultural structure of the South was still fundamentally feudal. Italian imperialism therefore colluded with the feudalism of the South, with the result that the large peasant masses and small farmers of the South and the Islands were exploited not only by feudal rent and the parasitic bourgeoisie, but also by the imperialism of northern Italy.

After the First World War and especially during fascism, state monopoly capitalism (public and private) developed, and feudalism began to transform into semi-feudalism. The economy of the South and the Islands adopted pre-capitalist characteristics without, however, leading to the liquidation of large parasitic landholdings. It did not, therefore, create a large peasantry or develop small accumulating farms capable of evolving and building the widespread economic fabric necessary for the development of industry.

Towards the end of World War II, the Italian Communist Party, characterized by the predominance of Togliatti's revisionism, broke the revolutionary alliance between workers and peasants and separated the issue of antifascist resistance from that of the development of the peasant war in the South, thus laying the groundwork for "national unity" and the "constitutional

parliamentary state” that would be established in the following years.

Semi-feudalism in the 1950s underwent a phase of profound restructuring with the so-called “agrarian reforms” of the 1950s, supervised by US imperialism and managed by reform bodies directed by the public sector of state monopoly capitalism.

These Institutions, particularly active in the South and the Islands, led to the establishment of a particular form of bureaucrat-capitalism in the South and the Islands. Since then, the process, combined from the outset with the establishment and role of the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno¹, has developed in various ways without ever managing to eliminate parasitic land ownership, which, on the contrary, has become intertwined, largely thanks to the role of bureaucrat-capitalism, with speculative rent linked to public works and urban land management.

This has led to a situation in the South and the Islands, with a consequent enormous migratory flow, of widespread decomposition of agricultural relations among the marginal urban petty bourgeoisie engaged in typical backward tertiary sector activities, and the transformation of millions of peasants into small owners of farms characterized by poorly productive

¹ Established in 1950 and operating in southern Italy and the islands in the construction of road, rail, and port networks, mainly serving the imperialist capitalism of the north, in land reclamation closely linked to agricultural rent, and in the formation of industrial centers known as “cathedrals in the desert.” In 1984, a transition phase began towards the liquidation of this entity, and the crisis of this form of bureaucrat-capitalism, which still persists today, emerged in full force.

micro-plots. Hence the endemic and widespread precariousness and unemployment that persists in the South and the Islands.

With regards to the specific issue of agricultural relations, small farms continue to prevail in agriculture and livestock farming, with a widespread practice of semi-servile wage labor. A framework also characterized by small farms and low-yield properties, often forced to operate as cooperatives and consortia and tied to agricultural and livestock production imposed and disciplined by Italian and European imperialism. The main signs of all this are the specific conditions of poverty, oppression, and exploitation of the masses in the South and the Islands, the backwardness of capitalist development of agricultural relations in the South, and the relative persistence of the absence of an effective capitalist-industrial structure.

The Southern and Insular Question is therefore primarily a question of backward, pre-capitalist production relations which, through the economic, administrative, and political structures of large state monopoly capital, serve the interests of Italian and European imperialism. This is an insurmountable issue without the destruction of the dominant bloc, of northern Italian imperialism and of parasitic property and the specific form of bureaucrat-capitalism dominant in the South and the Islands. These economic relations are the basis for the economic and social oppression of the masses in the South and the Islands.

The superstructure corresponding to these relationships has always been the negation of the liberal democratic order. Especially since World War II, it has been characterized by a particular form of militarism and fascism linked not only to the oppressive actions of the Italian state, but also to the role of the

mafia and the camorra and the expansion of military servitudes. The elements pertaining to the national oppression of the Islands and the South by the Italian State are one aspect of this political superstructure and can in turn only be resolved on the basis of the destruction of the structure of economic, social, and class relations that constitute its foundation.

II. The Sardinian Question

The economic and social oppression of the Sardinian people

Within the framework of the subjugation to the imperialism of Northern Italy, Sardinia is dominated by a form of bureaucrat-capitalism intertwined with a backward economy. It is an economy concentrated mainly in livestock farming, agriculture, tourism, marginal tertiary sector, construction, and industrial and mining production that is largely marginal and obsolete, marked by the profound structural crisis of bureaucrat-capitalism.

This economy is largely characterized by pre-capitalist features and related semi-feudal production relations, represented in particular by the system of cooperatives and consortia of small livestock and crop farmers, which operates in the service of northern Italian imperialism and precludes the vast majority of member companies from the possibility of effective capitalist accumulation.

In this context, the green economy imposed by Italian imperialism and other imperialist countries (including China)

translates into very limited increases in the use of local labor, accompanied by further levels of exploitation, impoverishment, and plundering of economic and natural resources. The absence and impossibility of a widespread intermediate industrial sector and a structure of agricultural relations oriented towards modern capitalism is therefore evident, as is the dominance of state monopoly capitalism, financial capital, and large rents linked to tourism and large-scale distribution.

The Sardinian Question is the question of the oppression of the Sardinian people. It is primarily structural, i.e., economic and social, and in this respect, it differs from other oppressed realities in southern Italy and Sicily only in terms of the forms deriving from a previous feudal phase characterized at the time by greater fragmentation of agricultural land. The solution to the Sardinian Question requires, first and foremost, as far as the economic and social structure is concerned, an alliance between the Sardinian people and the popular masses of the peninsula within the framework of the formation of a revolutionary bloc with proletarian hegemony for an Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism, directed in particular, as far as Sardinia is concerned, against northern Italian imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, and the reactionary Sardinian bourgeois classes.

The political and state oppression of the Sardinian people

The political superstructure corresponding to this type of economic and class relations is that imposed by the state and by Italian military servitudes linked to NATO, which operate in Sardinia with the support of a large parasitic bourgeoisie. This

superstructure exposes the collusion and collaboration of all those bourgeois and opportunistic forces that propose to “engage in politics” and “express the interests of the Sardinian people” within the “representative institutions” of the Italian state. The oppression of the Sardinian people, as far as politics is concerned, pertains to the superstructure. First and foremost, it is related to the oppression exercised by the state on the Sardinian masses. In this framework, the state acts as an expression and synthesis of economic and structural relations.

On this level too, the Sardinian Question is an integral part of the Southern Question, and this dimension of political oppression can only be resolved through an Antifascist People’s Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism.

Specific elements of the Sardinian Question related to the National Question

The Sardinian Question also contains, as far as the superstructural level is concerned, some aspects related to a National Question.

These aspects consist in the crystallization, first sanctioned by the so-called “perfect fusion” of 1847 and then by the formation of the “unitary state” of 1861, of the line of significant bureaucratic-administrative continuity between Spanish feudalism and the Piedmontese state relating to colonial-type oppression. This “crystallization” has continued to persist to this day, albeit through various developments and modifications, ending up representing, at least in part, the specific form in

which the bourgeois state has exercised its domination over the Sardinian popular masses.

The history of Sardinia's oppression, as far as aspects related to the National Question are concerned, goes back a long way, starting with the defeat of the most progressive line of Sardinian feudalism, famously represented by the Judicate of Arborea (1350-1400) and the related Carta de Logu. A line that could have paved the way for the formation of a commercial and banking bourgeoisie capable of leading the Sardinian people towards the organic formation of their own national entity. With the Aragonese gaining the upper hand, Sardinia declined and the emerging bourgeoisie became parasitic and dependent on Spanish feudalism. The "prinzipales" emerged as representatives of this "bourgeois-feudal" class and thus as the true social and political support of feudalism, first Spanish-Catalan and then Savoyard. In the early 18th century, Sardinia became a bargaining chip between the major powers of the time. For some years it also became a fief of Austria. Then, in 1720, it was ceded by Austria to the Savoy monarchy. In 1847-1848, the so-called "perfect fusion" was achieved under the rule of the Piedmontese state.

In general terms, Sardinia is part of the Southern Question in its economic and political dimensions, but it also has specific characteristics that transcend it. These revolve largely around aspects of the national question that are more pronounced than in the rest of the southern regions.

These aspects of the National Question, as specific elements of a more general economic and political oppression, can also only

be resolved through an Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism. Only the victory of the People's Revolution based on the hegemony of the proletariat can create the conditions for the Sardinian people to freely exercise their right to self-determination and, therefore, to decide whether to choose the path of independence on democratic and internationalist grounds.

The proletariat, led by a genuine Maoist party, must therefore enshrine in the general program of the Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism the self-determination of the Sardinian people, who will then have to decide whether it is better to choose the path of an internationalist and anti-imperialist federation of independent People's Democracies, or whether to decide to become part, possibly on a federal basis, of an "Italy" embarked on the path to socialism.

On the history of class struggle in Sardinia

The history of the Sardinian people is a history of class struggle, in which shines the red thread of the struggle first against the Roman and Aragonese invasions, then against baronial feudalism, the Church and the Piedmontese state, and then against fascism, the Italian bourgeois state, northern Italian imperialism and military servitudes.

These struggles gradually developed into genuine class struggles, starting with the Jacobin sectors of the bourgeoisie, who promoted the epic Sardinian revolutionary uprisings characterized by the armed organization of the pastoral and

peasant masses, and continuing with the persistent and endemic struggles of shepherds, oppressed intellectuals, and, in particular in the last century, albeit quantitatively limited proletarian and working-class sectors.

This red thread has always been reflected in various aspects of customs, art, folk traditions, poetry, literary works, and in a linguistic articulation that has often presented the phenomenon of a distinction between the “high language” of the exploitative and parasitic classes and the “low language” of a people of shepherds and farmers.

All this testifies to the profound validity of the teachings of Gramsci, Lenin, and Mao, according to whom internationalism necessarily also involves the defense and enhancement of everything that, in various countries and in various territorial realities, the red line of class struggle and the social practice of human development has produced in various countries on a cultural, artistic, literary, and linguistic level.

The class struggle in Sardinia went through phases of greater intensity and radicalism, such as those represented by the Sardinian Revolution, the struggles against the enclosure (“chiudende”) of collective lands, opposition to the monarchical-liberal and autocratic-bureaucratic state of Piedmont first and then of Italy, and eventually the struggle against fascism and the great popular, workers’ and student struggles of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the history of class struggle in Sardinia, two phases are of particular importance. The first is that of the Sardinian revolutionary uprisings. At the end of the 18th century, the most

advanced part of Sardinia attempted the path of Jacobin bourgeois-democratic revolution; this was a unique attempt compared to other regional and territorial realities that, in 1861, would go on to form the “Italian nation.” In Sardinia, the most advanced bourgeois circles placed themselves at the head of the masses of shepherds, peasants, small artisans, and anti-feudal intellectuals, and promoted the establishment of an embryonic people’s army, placing the destruction of feudalism and the construction of a bourgeois democratic republic on the agenda.

The Sardinian Revolution, which lasted from 1794 to 1812, taking as its date the martyrdom of the last Jacobins (martyrs of the anti-monarchist revolt of Palabanda), however heroic and worthy of celebration by the Sardinian people, did not win and perhaps could not have even won. The reactionary classes linked to feudalism and the moderate bourgeoisie had joined forces with the Piedmontese state and the papacy in the counter-revolution.

The second phase is related to the radicalism and extension of the popular, workers’ and students’ struggles in Sardinia in the 1960s and 1970s. This phase developed in substantial continuity and correspondence with the development and intensification of the class struggle on the Italian peninsula.

Taking these two different historical phases into consideration leads us to highlight two issues on the political level linked to the present day.

The first is that the failure of the Sardinian bourgeois-democratic revolution showed that the Sardinian Revolution had to build a

sufficiently broad social and political alliance to create an independent state on democratic and progressive foundations and thus be able to defeat both the reactionary Sardinian classes and the reactionary feudal Piedmontese bureaucracy. In the circumstances of the time, the only basis for such an alliance could have been a Jacobin party operating on the peninsula, which would have sought to mobilize the broad peasant masses in a revolutionary war capable of striking at the foundations of the Piedmontese autocracy and the papacy. As is well known, however, no such party existed. Applied to the present situation, this historical experience attests that, both with regard to the resolution of structural issues and those relating to the domination of the bourgeois state, and those pertaining to the resolution of the national aspects of the Sardinian Question, it is necessary for the Sardinian people to form a revolutionary political alliance with the proletariat and the popular masses of the peninsula, thus becoming an active and leading part of a people's bloc capable of asserting itself against northern Italian imperialism, thereby also breaking military servitudes such as that represented by NATO, within the framework of the Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism.

The second consideration is that the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated that the dynamics of class struggle, while taking specific forms in Sardinia compared to the peninsula, have the same pace of development and therefore the rise of the revolutionary movement in Sardinia corresponds to a similar rise in the peninsula and vice versa. There is therefore not only a need for the Sardinian people to contribute to the construction of a revolutionary people's bloc that also includes the proletariat

and the popular masses of the peninsula, but there is also an objective dynamic that is working in this very direction. In the 1970s, it was not until the potentially revolutionary situation had subsided on a general level for various reasons that demands for direct independence emerged. These demands were the result of a fundamental skepticism about the actual possibility of developing a class struggle on the peninsula that could also guarantee self-determination for the Sardinian people in the long term. There was a lack of understanding that the causes of the general subsidence were to be found in the ideological and class limitations of the organized political experiences of that phase and in the relative absence of a party capable of effectively adopting the centrality of the Southern Question and that of Sardinia, and thus of organizing and launching a protracted Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution. From the late 1970s to the present day, this situation has recurred several times in Sardinia and has marked and characterized various attempts by left-wing independence forces. Today, a significant portion of the Sardinian population aspires to greater autonomy from the decisions and impositions of the Italian state, and various Sardinian anti-imperialist opposition forces support the option of independence.

Only unity between the proletariat and the popular masses of the North, South, and Islands can guarantee the victory of the People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism and, with it, the complete resolution of the various aspects of the Sardinian Question. In the 1960s and 1970s, the banners of anti-imperialism and internationalism guided the revolutionary struggle on an international scale, with the contents and guidelines of Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

playing an essential role. There can be no democratic and internationalist solution to the Sardinian Question without the revival of these flags. It is necessary to develop a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization in Sardinia that will become a protagonist of this path and thus an integral part of the reconstruction of Antonio Gramsci's Communist Party on the basis of Maoism.

III. The People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism

The dualistic structure of the Italian economy determines the specific character of the proletarian revolution.

In order to be addressed and resolved today, the Southern and Insular Question requires the unity of the proletariat of the North and Center and the most exploited petty bourgeois strata, with those popular masses that constitute the vast majority of the population of the South and the Islands.

The intrinsically dualistic structure of the Italian economy determines the specific character of the proletarian revolution in Italy. This revolution can only be characterized by an uninterrupted revolutionary process. It will be proletarian from the outset, insofar as it will be based on the hegemony of the proletariat and linked to the prospect of socialism, but in its initial phase it will also be of a people's democratic type, as it will be the expression of a system of class alliances that includes

broad sections of the intermediate petty bourgeoisie, especially in relation to the South and the Islands.

Directly Socialist Revolution or People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism?

If we start from the simple assumption of Italy's imperialist character and the undoubted preponderance of capitalism linked to industrial production, and if at the same time we abstract from the question, albeit decisive in itself, of the advance of the fascistization of the state, we should conclude that the proletarian revolution in Italy must be directly socialist. A revolution that should therefore aim to channel and concentrate the country's resources in favor of industries in the North and Center-North in order to quickly establish the conditions for socialization, on a general scale, of the means of production. On this basis, it should be assumed that the industrial proletariat of the North and Center-North, advancing in the course of the revolution, will be able to push forward, by its example, the petty bourgeoisie of the South and the Islands, leading them to side with the socialist revolution and accept a sudden renunciation of private ownership of the means of production.

Understood in these terms, as it commonly is, the strategy of a Directly Socialist Revolution² is theoretically and politically

² This strategy was supported in the 1970s by all opportunistic forces of a "Marxist-Leninist" orientation (from the remnants of the PCdI (Nuova Unità to the PC(M-L)I, formerly also known as Servire il Popolo and then La Voce Operaia), Trotskyist, Bordigist, and by combatant forces such as the Red Brigades and their various splinter groups and, of course, even if in an extreme form linked to the theory of the relevance of communism, by the

incompatible with effectively addressing the Southern and Insular Question.³

Only the strategy of the People's Democratic Revolution starts from the assumption that the Southern and Insular Question is the central theoretical and political question for determining the form and content of the proletarian revolution. Only this strategy affirms the need for an initial phase of People's Democracy based on the hegemony of the proletariat within the framework of a system of alliances between the proletariat, the lower and middle strata of the petty bourgeoisie, and the popular masses of the South and the Islands. This strategy assumes that once the proletariat has won the Antifascist People's Democratic Revolution and socialized most of the industries in the North and Center-North, instead of immediately raising the issue of

more strictly workerist forces such as Potere Operaio and Autonomia Operaia. This strategy contributed in no small way to the defeat of the potentially revolutionary mass movement of those years. Today, this strategy is supported by all the forces that refer, in opposition to Maoism, to Marxism-Leninism (FGC, FC, Piattaforma Comunista, etc.), to Mao's Thought (PMLI), to Bordigism (SI Cobas, TIR, etc.), Trotskyism (PCL, PCR) and, in some ways, even workerism (among the forces that combine references to Marxism-Leninism and workerism, the Rete dei Comunisti should also be considered). Even the two main Italian groups that claim to refer to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (CARC-nPCI and Proletari Comunisti-PCm) reject the strategy of people's democratic revolution and instead support the strategy of directly socialist proletarian revolution.

³ Consequently, supporters of this strategy also deny, or acknowledge only in a purely formal manner, the possibility that, with the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the Sardinian people will be able to decide freely on the possible establishment of their own independent state.

socializing the means of production for the vast popular masses of the South and the Islands, it will first seek to resolve the Southern and Insular Question. This is in order to bring the South up to the level of the North, thereby supporting small-scale production and small businesses in the South and the Islands as a basis for creating a widespread industrial fabric linked to the resources and needs of the various regional and local realities. This also involves working to unify small-scale production, highlighting the economic advantages of supporting large and medium-sized socialized industry in larger economic associations that can act as transitional links towards socialism. With the People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism, the masses of the South and the Sardinian and Sicilian people can experience firsthand that the New State, in addition to guaranteeing self-determination and the possibility of independence, is nevertheless different and the opposite of the State dominated by the imperialism of Northern Italy, and that therefore the path of independence may not be indispensable.

If we consider these two different strategic hypotheses concerning the proletarian revolution, we must conclude that pursuing the strategy of a Directly Socialist Revolution tends, in general terms, to isolate the proletariat from broad sections of the petty-bourgeois masses and, in particular, to create a split and antagonism between the proletariat of the North and the bloc of the popular masses of the South and the Islands.

The centrality of the Southern and Insular Question for defining the strategy of revolution in Italy is therefore completely incompatible with the simple assertion of the need for socialist revolution. Indeed, the call for socialist revolution in Italy is

completely insubstantial or fundamentally erroneous if the character of the proletarian revolution that needs to be established is not precisely determined.

The thesis of the identification between the Southern and Insular Question and the National Question

In addition to these two different visions of the strategy of the proletarian revolution, we find, with regard to the approach to the Southern and the Islands Question, a further vision that focuses on the issue of national oppression. In this context, the struggle for the direct achievement of independence is proposed as a condition for the possibility of emancipation of the popular masses and, eventually, for socialism. A vision of this struggle, therefore, detached from the problem of building a revolutionary bloc with the popular masses of other areas of the peninsula for a common proletarian revolution.

This point of view is nowadays to be found not only in Sardinia, but also in Sicily and other regions of Southern Italy. In general, as well as being a consequence of the perception of oppression related to the domination of the Italian state, it is also a reflection of the hegemonic crisis of the state itself, and the forces connected to it. From the point of view of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it should be noted that the ideological limitation of such an approach lies in its tendency toward an idealistic view on the philosophical level and therefore an intellectualist view on the political level (see, for example, today's influence of post-modern theories of decolonization), which does not adequately consider the structural aspects of the Southern and Insular Question and

therefore the actual configuration of existing class relations. Today, this point of view represents an expression of the level of consciousness and aspirations of the oppressed middle strata of the south and islands petty bourgeoisie.

Gramsci had already clearly pointed out that the Southern and Insular Question, while it did indeed contain aspects of relevance related to the National Question, was primarily a structural and therefore class issue, hence the centrality of the proposed alliance between the proletariat and the peasants, and therefore between the predominantly proletarian masses of the North and the oppressed and exploited masses of the South and the Islands, who are predominantly petty bourgeois (peasants, farmers, small traders, etc.).

In this context, from the point of view of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it is necessary to struggle to build the bloc for the proletarian revolution by realizing the alliance between the popular masses of the North and those of the South and the Islands.

However, it is not possible to build this revolutionary mass bloc without fighting against the nationalistic and racist chauvinism of the labor and services aristocracies of the North and the political bloc organically linked to public and private sectors of state monopoly capitalism and to various privileged strata of middle and petty bourgeoisie. The issue also concerns the need to fight against reactionary center-left parties and collaborationist trade unions (CGIL-CISL-UIL) which, in the name of national interests and policies, foment division between North and South. It also involves the need for ideological and

political demarcation from extreme left-wing groups that deny the relevance and constant accentuation of the Southern Question.

On an apparently opposite side, we must also fight against southern separatist and/or independence forces which, in the name of a supposed unified culture, history, and identity of the South and the Islands, rehabilitate the feudal system, obscure the role of large rents and their links with the mafia and fascism, promote interclassism and corporatism, and fight historical materialism, class struggle, and proletarian revolution. Some of these forces in Sardinia are red-brown in character, proclaim themselves to be pro-independence, and hold reactionary positions aimed at linking Sardinia to the project of a confederation of small independent states in the Mediterranean, effectively revolving around an “independent Catalonia.”

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