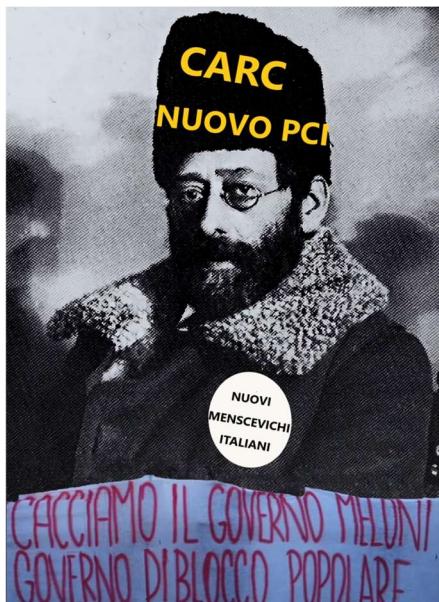


# THE NEO-MENSHEVIKS

CONCERNING THE CARC-nPCI LINE  
OF THE “PEOPLE’S BLOC  
GOVERNMENT”



**NUOVA EGEMONIA**



*THE NEO-MENSHEVIKS*

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THE “PEOPLE’S BLOC GOVERNMENT”

NUOVA EGEMONIA

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## **1. The CARC and the self-interview of October 5**

On October 15, the CARC published an article on their website entitled “Interview with Pietro Vangeli, National Secretary of the CARC Party”.<sup>1</sup> This article, concisely, sets out the CARC’s general political line for the “people’s bloc government” and its alleged connection with the question of socialist revolution in Italy. Militants who want to build the Communist Party to promote and lead the proletarian revolution must read, study, and know how to criticize this article. There is, in fact, a harmony, a significant fundamental identity between the theses of the CARC-nPCI on the path to follow to achieve socialist revolution and the positions of opportunist activist groups.

The history of the International Communist Movement and of the class struggle in our country has shown that only based on a correct proletarian ideology, represented yesterday by Marxism-Leninism and the Third International and today by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, can fascism, imperialism, revisionism, and opportunism be fought and defeated.

Without carrying out the struggle against revisionism to the end, there is no possibility of victory for the working class and the proletariat. For this reason, exposing the falsely Marxist-Leninist-Maoist positions of the CARC-nPCI is an integral part

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.carc.it/2025/10/15/intervista-a-pietro-vangeli-segretario-nazionale-del-partito-dei-carc/>

of the work to win over and train new proletarian militants, unify the Maoist cadres, rebuild the Communist Party, and advance toward the proletarian revolution.

This article criticizing Vangeli, the CARC-nPCI, and the so-called “people’s bloc government” line is a theoretical-political contribution to this battle.

## **2. Reaction and revolution: the two opposing paths of development of the Italian crisis**

The general crisis of imperialism has taken on a terminal character. This crisis is due to the increasingly accentuated disproportions between the various parts of the world economy because of the general domination of monopoly capital, and to the gap between the economic and military potential of the various imperialist powers and the spheres of influence, semi-colonies, and sources of raw materials that they control from time to time. Within the context of this crisis, the reactionary offensive against oppressed peoples (as clearly evidenced by the situation in Palestine) and small nations (as in the case of Venezuela or, on a different front, Ukraine itself, a battleground for inter-imperialist conflict) is intensifying. Fascism is advancing in all countries of the world, fueled primarily by the US, Russia, and China.

On a general level, the inter-imperialist war of position continues and intensifies day by day. In the imperialist countries, the hegemonic crisis of the reactionary state is spreading, and

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the decomposition of the so-called representative institutions is becoming evident.

In Italy, which has always been a weak link in the chain of imperialism, the fascist government and the pseudo-social-fascist opposition are united in substance. In fact, they are working in concert on the fascistization of the state, Italy's imperialist projection abroad, the offensive against the living and working conditions of the popular masses, the economic, political, and cultural oppression of the South and the Islands, rearmament, support for NATO and the EU, and inter-imperialist war.

This overall situation, at the international and national level, may continue to fester for a few years, at most for another decade or two. In any case, it cannot last long. Regarding the oppressed countries, we are moving towards a clash between the World Proletarian Revolution (including wars of national liberation) and the imperialist powers. In the imperialist countries, we are moving towards the establishment and stabilization of openly fascist regimes and, on a general level, towards qualitative developments in the inter-imperialist war of position.

In the world, within the framework of dying imperialism, the objectively main trend is that of proletarian revolution. Its most advanced forms in terms of the development of subjectivity are those of the New Democratic Revolutions<sup>2</sup> , which may also

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<sup>2</sup> See the important text published by the CC of the PCB, which reports the theses of the Maoist movement worldwide: "THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN FORCE OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN

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include wars of national liberation, the Anti-fascist People's Democratic Revolutions on the Path to Socialism (in the most backward and marginal imperialist countries such as Italy) and the Directly Socialist Revolutions (in the strongest imperialist countries).

Regarding the development of the tendency towards revolution on the level of subjectivity, the main forces are the New Democratic Revolutions led by Maoist parties and the revolutionary struggles undertaken by Maoist parties that are creating the conditions for the beginning of new people's wars.

In all imperialist countries, including the US, Russia, and China, Maoist organizations are operating and new Maoist parties are being formed as part of the process of forming a new international. In these countries, these organizations and parties today represent the main subjective conditions for advancing towards People's Democratic Revolutions (Italy) and directly socialist revolutions.

The continuous semi-insurrectional rebellions, people's wars, revolutionary struggles, and national liberation wars (such as the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people) of the oppressed peoples correspond, even in the imperialist countries themselves, together with the process of formation of Maoist forces, to a growing upheaval which, although mainly focused on support for the Palestinian people, is increasingly extending

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REVOLUTION" <https://nuovaegemonia.com/2025/05/23/la-rivoluzione-di-nuova-democrazia-ela-forza-principale-della-rivoluzione-proletaria-mondiale-2/>

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to protest against repression, war, and current living and working conditions.

As far as Italy is concerned, the bourgeoisie is once again “leading the masses to ruin” (Gramsci). There is no possible way out of the Italian economic and political crisis and its legacy of fascism and death except through the preparation and initiation of an Anti-fascist People’s Democratic Revolution. In the current situation in Italy, no significant and lasting achievements or improvements can be obtained, except through the victory of the revolution, neither in the field of democracy and democratic rights, nor in that of health, welfare, education, culture, and research, nor in the trade union field, nor even, finally, on the Southern and Insular Question. At the mass level, therefore, this reality must be brought to life and the link between the struggles to defend democratic rights and economic and social interests and the program of the New Resistance and the Anti-fascist People’s Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism must be affirmed. To this end, it is necessary to build the communist party in the struggle against revisionism and opportunism and to proceed with the progressive incorporation of advanced sectors of the masses and their mobilization in the context of the development of the contradiction with the bourgeoisie, imperialism, fascism, social fascism, and opportunism.

Maoists affirm that class consciousness, when it spreads among the advanced sectors of the masses, translates into revolutionary force and material practice. Today is the time for class consciousness, revolutionary propaganda, mobilization on clear

ideological and political bases, active boycott of opportunism within the advanced sectors of the masses and work for the formation of the communist party.

### **3. The deception of the “third way” that paves the way for fascism**

In Italy, with the upcoming elections, the supporters of the electoral route (PRC, PAP, PCI, Prospettiva Unitaria) want to capitalize on the growth, which they themselves have influenced and conditioned, of the student and popular mass movements of recent years.

Until now, they have worked to give mass movements a reformist stamp, to lower their ideological level as much as possible, to confuse them with a “revolutionary ethic” and with generic and bombastic slogans (“let’s block everything,” “let’s change everything!”). Today, these forces are participating in the current regional elections, in which they are already shamelessly focusing on the 2027 elections to reap the fruits of their “labor”.

These political and intellectual classes are an expression of privileged sections of the petty bourgeoisie. They are represented especially by intellectuals, technicians, and sectors of the labor and service-sector aristocracy. They are an integral part of the economic, political, and social power system of the bourgeoisie and, particularly, of the “center-left”. As bearers of their own specific class and social stratum interests, they carry out their work as professional manipulators.

In the name of the need to “overthrow the Meloni government,” on the one hand they give their support to the PD, the M5S and AVS, always ready, when necessary, to join the “center-left” lists (such as the PRC in the Veneto regional elections) and to appeal to the “Anti-fascist Popular Front” with the PD and the M5S (see the last PRC congress), while with the other they present themselves as those who chastise the “center-left” for “weak and cowardly opposition to the government in office” and for “its lack of consistency with regard to rearmament policies.”

These political classes and social strata present themselves as proponents of a “Third Way” between fascism and revolution. They speak of the possibility of a peaceful and satisfactory escape from the crisis and contradictions of imperialism and of the bourgeoisie. This is a Third Way that smuggles in the BRICS, grouped under the hegemony of ravenous Russian and Chinese imperialism, and the relative supposed multipolarity as a possible path to world peace<sup>3</sup>. A Third Way that goes so far as

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<sup>3</sup> The CARC-nPCI shares most of the reactionary positions, ultimately in favor of Russian imperialism and Chinese social imperialism, of the supporters of the Third Way on the BRICS issue, as well as emphasizing a chauvinistic view of the current inter-imperialist war of position. This vision is fundamentally opposed to proletarian internationalism and the Ukrainian people's right to armed resistance and independence against the US, Russia, and European imperialist countries. In the CARC interview, their secretary Vangeli states: “... *there is an ongoing revival of the political action of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party with the formation of BRICS+, composed of those peoples who are organizing against the international community of US and European imperialists to seek a way out of the disastrous course of events that imperialism generates in all peoples and which represents a new development of the last 10-15 years.*” To avoid any possible misunderstanding, Vangeli also specifies that imperialism

to support the possibility of conquering, through the pressure of mass movements and their hypothetical reflection in the electoral arena, bourgeois representative institutions that are, however, increasingly oligarchic and corporatist, centered on the excessive power of the executive and a privileged terrain for the advance of fascism itself.

This supposed Third Way is a deception, a political and ideological poison spread generously among the youth, workers, and the popular masses. It represents in particular: 1) the attempt by privileged reactionary strata of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy to use and channel mass movements in order to acquire greater economic and political power, particularly at the institutional level, in support of their class interests; 2) a ball and chain on the necessary work for the development of class consciousness, for the formation of the communist party, and for the construction of proletarian hegemony; 3) an operation to recycle the political wreckage of the “radical left” and “left-wing” populism; 4) the desire to reconcile rising fascism with the tendency towards proletarian revolution, in order to prevent the development of the latter in terms of subjective conditions and to use the mobilization of the masses in bargaining with the forces of the fascist government and those now aligned with social fascism (PD, M5S).

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and the imperialist system should be understood to mean only “the US and the European imperialist countries”: “...war in Ukraine, which is precisely the war of the NATO imperialists and the US and European imperialists against the Russian Federation.”

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The supporters of the Third Way are dangerous reactionaries who throw smoke and mirrors over the eyes of young people and proletarians in front of schools, factories, in neighborhoods and in the countryside, in social protests and mass mobilizations.

**Against them, we must propagate and assert:**

**“Let’s separate ourselves from these politicians!”**

**“Let’s boycott them among the masses!”**

**“Let’s boycott the electoral farce!”**

### **4. The “extreme left” and its centrist role**

What does it mean to talk about centrism? Who are the centrists in the current political situation and phase?

Today in Italy, “centrist” opportunism coincides with the main groups of the extreme left.

Lenin pointed out that centrists are those who, presenting themselves as advocates of the socialist revolution, work to reconcile the advanced sectors of the proletariat and the popular masses with the revisionists, with the traitors of the proletariat. After 1914, Lenin identified Kautsky and the so-called

“revolutionary left” of social democracy of the time as the main representatives of “centrism”.<sup>4</sup>

Today in Italy, the “centrists” are the extreme left-wing groups which, instead of bringing the line of anti-imperialism and Anti-fascist People’s Democratic Revolution to the movements and advanced sectors of the masses, and on this basis that of political and ideological split with the supporters of the Third Way, either collaborate with them and support them (e.g., by giving voting instructions in their favor, as the Rete dei Comunisti or the CARC-nPCI do) or do not openly and clearly oppose their political line and practice. Centrists are generally recognizable because they affirm the need for a movement-based approach that should gradually lead to revolution.<sup>5</sup> Centrists are proponents of an approach that theorizes and pursues the development of movements and the progressive accentuation of slogans, demands, and forms of struggle, with a view to ousting

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<sup>4</sup> Centrism is more reactionary and shifted to the right than it was in Lenin’s time, given that in the meantime the tendency towards world revolution, as a result of the accentuation of the terminal crisis of imperialism, has become the main one, with the consequence of increasingly taking away space and room for maneuver from the “intermediate” forces. This was already evident a few years after Lenin’s death in the case of social democracy with the transformation, as Stalin and the Third International rightly pointed out, of social democratic centrism into the left wing of social fascism.

<sup>5</sup> Therefore, most of today’s extreme left, with all the groups directly or indirectly linked to it, must be considered centrist. As far as political groups are concerned, this extreme left is composed of: Rete dei Comunisti/OSA/Cambiare Rotta, the FGC and the FC, the Trotskyist PCR, the CARC-nPCI, the PMLI, Piattaforma Comunista, ISKRA, Proletari-Comunisti PCm, the leadership of SI Cobas and TIR, etc.

various bourgeois governments, starting with Meloni's, in an attempt to create an increasingly strong, widespread, and radical mass mobilization, eventually "leading to revolution".

A variation on this approach is that represented by the CARC-nPCI line of a people's bloc government, which should open the phase of the actual revolution either directly or by forcing the bourgeoisie into civil war.

## **5. The question of the "blueprint of revolution"**

The blueprint of revolution outlines the path to revolution and to victory. Any force that proposes to achieve socialism through revolution, in terms of its theoretical and political positions and in its practice, whether explicitly or implicitly, whether consciously elaborated or mechanically implemented and therefore, so to speak, "unconsciously," is objectively the bearer of a specific "blueprint of revolution."

Ultimately, any political force that declares itself revolutionary and communist must be evaluated, first and foremost, based on the type of "blueprint of revolution" it objectively proposes and, therefore, on its degree of elaboration and specification with respect to the national reality.

In this sense, the blueprint of revolution of a given political force contains, in concentrated form, its real ideology of reference (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, neo-revisionist Marxism-Leninism, Trotskyism, the theoretical workerism of the

Quaderni Rossi, Autonomia Operaia workerism, syndicalism, anarchism, etc.). This ideology, as in the case of the CARC-nPCI, may also be opposed to the one that is declared and formally professed (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism).

To contextualize the political positions of a particular political force that presents itself as “revolutionary,” the main criterion is to identify its “blueprint for proletarian revolution.” From the point of view of dialectical materialism, it is obvious that this criterion for evaluating different forces is diametrically opposed to the common empiricist and pragmatist criteria of opportunists and centrists, who eclectically mix quantitative elements (number of militants, technical, economic, and legal resources, publicity, number of public initiatives, etc.) and qualitative elements, often ending up giving particular emphasis to the former.

## **6. The blueprint of “revolution” of centrist opportunism**

This blueprint of centrist opportunism is always based, although with different variants, on the presumed objective possibility of an expansive dynamic starting, on the one hand, from spontaneously existing movements and struggles and, on the other, from the response of the adversary, to these spontaneous dynamics, in terms of government policies, repression, etc. The idea is that if this dynamic is adequately represented on the political and organizational level, it would lead to a virtuous

circle, with the corresponding outcome of a victorious revolution.

In essence, it is believed that:

- The development of trade union struggles, the radicalization of social struggles, the growth and coordination of social and political opposition movements<sup>6</sup> will increasingly be met with repression by governments and the state.
- Consequently, ever-larger masses will tend to experience the real class nature of governments and the state, and thus the conditions will be created for new and more radical movements that will move towards revolution.
- In this way, the centrists argue, revolution will at some point become inevitable.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Against employers and the government in power at the time, against repression and war, in support of Palestine, etc., against large-scale projects and military servitudes, in favor of public social services—education, health, transportation, etc.

<sup>7</sup> The various centrist forces differ in their views on the form that the revolution should take, whether it should be an insurrection (with a crude and dogmatic revival of October 1917), insurrectionism (Autonomia Operaia and anarchism), or guerrilla warfare (the Latin American model and a revival of the experiences of the combat groups of the 1970s). In the latter case, we must specifically consider the experience of the Red Brigades, its theoretical conceptions, and its different phases. The CARC-nPCI seek to create confusion to misappropriate the Maoist theory of people's war, leaving out the substance of the matter, namely that "people's war" is the expression and outcome of an overall Maoist approach and the development of an organic

## **7. The thesis of the “objective engine” of the revolution of centrist opportunism**

To function on a theoretical level and thus gain enough political credibility to be able to operate within a given organization as an element of ideological cohesion and cadre training, the blueprint also presupposes an engine that objectively drives struggles and movements forward.

From this point of view, all centrist opportunist forces have a very similar blueprint of revolution.

Whether it is Trotskyism, Bordigism, workerism, the militarism of various groups in the 1970s, or anti-Maoist “Marxism-Leninism,” we always find a scheme of spontaneous, movementist, and, in the final analysis, economicistic revolution.

This, moreover, refers to Gramsci’s extremely precise judgment on the fundamental identity between formally opposed tendencies such as syndicalism, councilism, Trotskyism, and Bordigism. Gramsci himself pointed out that the same movement-based-insurrectionist model of revolution is characterized either by an “objectivist” variant (Bordigism, councilism), which presupposes a catastrophist conception of

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link with the masses. What the CARC-nPCI peddles as “people’s war” (the first phase for them would be the one leading to the “people’s bloc government” [sic!]) is based on a spontaneous vision that, already in the 1970s, showed its disastrous course of failure.

economic crisis as its “engine,” or by a “subjectivist” variant (then “revolutionary syndicalism”), which emphasizes the supposed disruptive side of spontaneity as its “engine.” Gramsci’s greatness lay in emphasizing how mechanistic thinking was not, in fact, inherent only in “objectivism,” but also in “subjectivism,” that is, in the presumed claim that “spontaneity” tended to evolve progressively in a revolutionary direction.

In this regard, it is worth bearing in mind that, for Gramsci, “spontaneous” does not mean devoid of ideological and political direction, and that therefore only the real direction of the proletarian party can ensure the possibility of diverting “spontaneity” towards an independent revolutionary mass movement.

As in the days of *the Prison Notebooks*, opportunistic centrism today supports its movement-based model of revolution with a theory of the “engine” of the dynamics of movements and struggles. This is a general vision that differs between an “objectivist” and a “subjectivist” line. The former emphasizes a specific theory of crisis-collapse and the relationship between such a crisis and imperialist war. The latter, of a workerist, liberal-radical, anarchist, and left-wing social democratic nature, emphasizes the supposedly spontaneous antagonistic character of spontaneous movements.

In both cases, the argument is that the masses, either because they are under pressure from the crisis-collapse or because they are, as such, an “antagonistic subject” to Capital and its State,

contain within their immediate movement of opposition and struggle a character and a growing revolutionary propensity which, if well organized and tactically directed, cannot be pacified by the bourgeoisie and its State.

In essence, the problems of the proletarian revolution and of the communists related to the construction of a revolutionary mass movement and the beginning of a mass revolutionary process are denied by the centrist opportunists, who delegate their solution to the mechanical workings of the crisis-collapse and the supposed antagonistic character inherent in the social subjects who are the protagonists of the immediate economic and political struggles against the bosses and governments.

## **8. The blueprint of revolution of today's centrists and the positions of the opportunist groups of the 1970s**

As Mao teaches, if weeds are not eradicated, they will continue to reproduce and infest the soil.

The theories of the “engine” and the “general blueprint of revolution” of the centrist groups therefore remain, even today, essentially the same as those of the 1970s.

These are anti-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theories which, not only in the 1970s but in general throughout the history of the last few centuries, have always proved to be failures. The reasons for this

are obviously to be found in their gradualist and mechanistic, spontaneous and movementist theoretical assumptions.

In general, within the framework of this blueprint, there were several lines of differentiation in those years, some of which also overlapped. One of them was related to the role of political struggle in relation to economic and social struggles. On the one hand, there were the supporters of workerism, starting from Autonomia Operaia, with the theory of the radicalization of economic and social struggles. On the other hand, there were the supporters of the primacy of politics, who, in turn, were divided between the theorists of “politics by force of arms” and those of “alternative government” as a stage in the development of the revolutionary process. Finally, even in the latter case, a distinction emerged between more legalistic sectors, which downplayed the role of armed revolution, and others who, on the contrary, emphasized the revolutionary role of “alternative government” as the center of a proletarian state in formation.

However, these two lines of differentiation often overlapped, with the result that, for example, a group linked to workerist theories such as Lotta Continua also became the bearer of the goal of a “Government of the Left.” Or it happened that, on another front, various splits occurred within the Red Brigades movement linked to the different weight to be given, in the field of armed initiative, to the presumed representation of economic and social struggles. This was sometimes in partial contrast, due to a more marked influence of workerism, with the question of the primacy of politics understood as armed initiative to

dismantle the supposed inter-bourgeois balances that were believed to be condensed in the so-called “heart of the state.”<sup>8</sup> This was also the meaning of the theoretical-political struggle waged at certain stages by the leadership of certain factions of the Red Brigades against Autonomia Operaia or tendencies such as that represented by the Walter Alasia Column linked to workerism.

What matters most, given that the interview with Vangeli focuses on the line of the “people’s bloc government,” is the fact that in the 1970s, except for Autonomia Operaia, a significant part of the groups had raised the question of an “alternative government” as an outlet for the struggle movements. These ranged from a “Government of the Left,” which was interpreted as the most advanced step toward breaking up the ruling bloc and thus bringing about a revolutionary situation, to formulas such as a “Workers’ and Peasants’ Government,” a “Workers’ Government,” a “Popular Front Government,” etc.

## **9. The formulas for an alternative revolutionary government of the opportunist forces of the 1970s**

In general, both in the case of the formulas for an “alternative government” and in the case of the actions of the Red Brigades, instead of relying on the formation of the party, the progressive

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<sup>8</sup> This was clearly demonstrated by the Moro case and, on a more trade union and protest-related level, by the various “selective eliminations” of technocrats and economists.

incorporation of sectors of the masses, the construction of an independent revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and a hegemonic popular bloc, the focus of the initiative was placed on the question of tactics aimed at accentuating, at various levels, the alleged inter-bourgeois contradictions.

**Firstly**, underlying all this was opposition to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory of the state in favor of social democratic and “left-wing Althusserian” conceptions of a theory of the state and politics centered on the condensation of unstable equilibriums between power apparatuses and groups, forces, and political tendencies.

**Secondly**, there was a rejection of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory of imperialism because, on average, a line was proposed which, in the name of exploiting “international contradictions,” supported Russian social imperialism, its puppet regimes, its guerrilla warfare (related to low-intensity warfare), and its warmongering enterprises around the world.

**Thirdly**, it proceeded with the denial of Gramsci’s theory of the specific characteristics of the development of Italian capitalism as the foundation of a dominant bloc in which the various factions of the bourgeoisie, despite internal contradictions, always find themselves united on fundamental interests and objectives.

**Fourthly**, a classically aristocratic-intellectual and petty-bourgeois vision was promoted, characterized by distrust in the possibility of an independent and hegemonic revolutionary

movement of the proletariat. Looking at the history of the ICM, this is a pessimistic and dismissive vision, of an exquisitely Menshevik nature, on the impossibility of developing a revolutionary process without leveraging alleged contradictions between the various powers on the international level and alleged inter-bourgeois contradictions on the national level.

**Fifthly**, it supported and affirmed the idea that revolutionary political organization essentially has tactical leadership tasks because either the crisis-collapse (the theory of crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital of the Red Brigades taken up by the CARC-nPCI) or the alleged antagonistic character of the proletariat and new social subjects (workerism and Autonomia Operaia) already mechanically resolve the question of the strategic leadership of the mass movement towards revolution.

Contrary to what the CARC-nPCI claimed, the Red Brigades were not a second attempt to build a communist party but, on the contrary, a center of so-called “political engineering” combined with an armed movement of a frontist nature, aimed at developing a tactic focused on exacerbating alleged inter-bourgeois contradictions, to be implemented as a line of top-down leadership of the supposed progressive development of the mass movement.

This is the complete opposite of a Maoist party, which focuses, as clearly demonstrated by the international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement and the revolutionary struggles and People’s Wars of New Democracy directed by it, on building a deep understanding and mass support for the strategy of people’s war

as the basis for the development of the revolutionary process starting from the advanced sectors of the masses themselves.

## **10. The CARC-nPCI line of the “people’s bloc government”**

### **10.1. The theory of the levers**

The CARC-nPCI are a particular form of centrism, which today focuses its political activity on working within the supposed various levels of inter-bourgeois contradictions. In this context, the CARC-nPCI give particular importance to the problem of putting pressure on the supporters of the Third Way and other centrist trade union and political forces to move towards the formation of the so-called “people’s bloc government” (sometimes referred to as the “government of national salvation” or “new CNL”). All their critical support for the forms of the Third Way with regard to the various electoral campaigns, on the level of frontist tactics, is characterized by the exercise of this type of “pressure.”

The CARC-nPCI have also developed an opportunistic theory of “levers,” with which they argue that if adequate pressure is exerted on the supporters of the Third Way and the “centrists,” the result will be that a part of them (the so-called left of the various groupings) will in turn exert pressure on both broader sectors of the popular masses and sectors of the bourgeoisie

itself, thus pushing both further in the direction of the realization of the “people’s bloc government.”

Instead of working to leverage the independent and progressive organization of the advanced sectors of the masses, they propagate the need to leverage the opportunists and reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie itself or, as in the case of the Sindacato dei Lavoratori in Lotta (Union of Workers in Struggle) in Naples, they proceed to scuttle and place under administration, in the name of the struggle against “economism” (sic!), those organizations which, however confusingly, tend to arise and develop in the direction of an independent class movement, even if they originate from the initiative of groups of militants of the CARC themselves.

## **10.2. The assumptions and main pillars of the CARC-nPCI’s “people’s bloc government” line**

These assumptions and main pillars are:

- 1) the thesis that the revolutionary mobilization of the masses is determined because of the “crisis of absolute overproduction of capital.”
- 2) the thesis that this mobilization, which would be expressed in opposition to the economic, repressive, and warmongering policies of what at any given time presents itself as the dominant project of the bourgeoisie (“broad coalitions”), would require, to concentrate and

direct the initiative, the pursuit of the stage of “people’s bloc government.”

- 3) the theory of the two stages of the long revolution and the line of the people’s bloc government to complete the first stage, which aims to leverage the contradictions related to: a) the forces excluded from the broad coalitions (it is worth remembering the support given by the CARC-nPCI to the M5S even after the formation, following the March 2018 elections, of the fascist-populist government with the Lega, which lasted a full 17 months and was defined by this group as an “anti-system government”<sup>9</sup> ), b) those between the right and left that would be present in the M5S, in the CGIL, in the grassroots unions, in the radical left groups (PRC, PAP, PCI, Prospettiva Unitaria), in extreme left-wing groups (FGC/FC, Rete dei Comunisti, etc.) and in thousands – they claim – of organizations built by the masses to defend their interests, c) the contradiction between the US and imperialist countries on the one hand and Russia, China, and the BRICS countries on the other, where the

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<sup>9</sup> Among the countless possible quotes on this subject, we report the following: *“In 2018, in the face of the M5S’s landslide victory in the elections, the leaders of the Pontifical Republic were forced to swallow a government over which they did not have full control – and against which they maneuvered in every way possible – and which, despite a thousand contradictions (starting with the “government contract” between the M5S and the Lega) had momentarily broken the continuity of the broad coalition governments and ‘opened a breach’ in the political system of the Pontifical Republic”* [\[https://www.carc.it/2025/05/02/puntare-a-governare/\]](https://www.carc.it/2025/05/02/puntare-a-governare/)

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latter are presented from time to time as anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, or socialist;

- 4) The thesis that the alleged tendency to form such a government would exacerbate contradictions, both within the bourgeoisie and between the bourgeoisie and the popular masses, leading to an inevitable transition to civil war.

The “people’s bloc” line was set out in the 2008 Manifesto of the nPCI [Edizioni Rapporti Sociali] on pages 223-224, as part of the so-called “general plan” for the first phase of “accumulation of forces.” The plan distinguishes four fronts for mass work: 1) struggle against repression, 2) mobilization of the popular masses in the electoral arena of bourgeois political struggle to promote the accumulation of forces, the improvement of living and working conditions, and in order to “exacerbate the contradictions between the groups and forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie,” 3) support for the struggle of the masses for economic improvements and the expansion of rights, 4) support for the construction of people’s houses, cooperatives, sports associations, etc. in favor of the life of the popular masses.

The Program Manifesto states: *“The party’s work on these four fronts, combined with the progress of the general crisis of capitalism, the activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and the rebirth of the communist movement at the international level, will result in the gathering of the revolutionary forces of the working class, which will learn to lead the proletariat and the*

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*rest of the people. This will make the struggle of the oppressed classes against the imperialist bourgeoisie longer and more acute and will lead to their growing alignment in a front that ... will create the conditions for the transition from the first to the second phase of the revolutionary people's war.” [p. 224]*

The line of the “people’s bloc” is an expression of all four fronts indicated in the Manifesto Program, although it is especially an expression of what is defined as the second front.

This line is therefore only a variation on the tactics of the opportunist and petty-bourgeois revolutionary groups of the 1970s regarding the goal of achieving an alternative government, supported by the mobilization of the masses, capable of opening the phase of transition to the proletarian revolution.

### **10.3. The line of the “people’s bloc government” in the CARC’s self-interview with their secretary Pietro Vangeli**

The line of the “people’s bloc government” is explicitly referred to in the interview with Vangeli of October 15. Studying this interview is therefore important in order to grasp the organic relationship that exists between the positions expressed by Vangeli on behalf of the CARC and the opportunist and centrist deviations of the various groups of the radical left (PRC, PAP, PCI, etc.), the so-called alternative trade unionism (USB, SI Cobas, etc.) and the extreme left groups (Rete dei Comunisti, FGC/FC, Iskra, TIR, PMLI, etc.).

Let's see what Vangeli says in his interview: *Today, the question is whether the organized masses will build their own government that will implement the necessary measures, or whether they will continue to suffer the consequences of the disastrous course imposed by the imperialist bourgeoisie in the world and in our country. What has been happening in recent weeks shows that the popular masses are willing to do so: they have violated all the rules and measures that the Meloni government had imposed with the security decree by occupying stations, highways, ports, and blocking cities.”<sup>10</sup> [emphasis added]*

According to the CARC, the large mass demonstrations for Palestine have shown that the popular masses are willing to implement measures that oppose the “*disastrous course imposed by the imperialist bourgeoisie in the world and in Italy.*” Since the only measures that can oppose this disastrous course are revolutionary measures that imply, in order to be realized, effective and predominant political and military power, it follows that the CARC argues that the mass demonstrations of the previous months were at least tendentially revolutionary, not only in terms of class consciousness and organization, but also in terms of the exercise of political and military power. The CARC-nPCI casually throw out statements with objectively

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<sup>10</sup> This statement also forms the core of the CARC-nPCI article of October 6 entitled: “*Dare subito un seguito pratico al messaggio che il 4 ottobre le masse popolari hanno mandato al governo Meloni*”. (Give immediate practical follow-up to the message that the popular masses sent to the Meloni government on October 4.)

delusional political content, aiming to give the impression that they are based on empirical evidence. This is not only the result of politicking and empty revolutionary rhetoric, but also of an actual theoretical framework.

The CARC obscures the fact that the large mass demonstrations were in fact led by centrists, supporters of the “third way,” the CGIL, and even, at least in part, the PD and the M5S. Therefore, there was no organization with any influence that wanted or was able to impose, based on political and military power, “revolutionary measures” against the bourgeois and imperialist state in order to impose a course corresponding to the interests of the masses.

On the contrary, in one way or another, the reactionary bourgeois forces of the “center-left” and the CGIL, and the opportunist forces of the Third Way, systematically worked to prevent genuine combative sectors of the masses from acquiring elements of class consciousness and merging the question of support for the Palestinian people’s struggle with that of the struggle against imperialism and fascism, to the point of recognizing and assuming, on the simple level of class consciousness, the necessity of revolution.

The centrist groups have in some ways joined this bourgeois camp and have simply sought, within the framework of their usual sectarian backyard politics, to contain and direct the demonstrations towards movementist positions under the banner

of insubstantial and unrealistic barricade-style slogans such as “let’s block everything.”

Today, for example, in the face of the partial ebbing of this great movement involving millions of people, it is clear that the CGIL mobilizations also had the specific aim, alternating moments of mobilization with others of deliberate desertion, of controlling, channeling, and directing the movement towards the center-left and thus breaking the development of the mass movement.

Most of the initiatives to block “*stations, highways, ports, and... cities*” were purely symbolic, momentary episodes essentially controlled by the CGIL and supporters of the Third Way and, at least in part, by the M5S and PD themselves. So, overall, they had, at least for the time being, the green light from the fascist government and the state, which, from their point of view, are able to assess the real situation in a fairly sober manner and therefore unaltered by “revolutionary” trips. When these mobilizations, commendably, broke the mold, as, for example, happened in Milan during the occupation of the Central Station, this was an exception and not the rule. Moreover, this exception was an expression of a movementist line, albeit, so to speak, effectively antagonistic. It was certainly not a line scientifically aimed at preparing and organizing the Anti-fascist People’s Democratic Revolution.

All this is highlighted today by the various rounds of regional elections, where it is clear that the forces supporting the “Third Way” (with the support of the CARC themselves) have from the

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outset sought to promote and organize the mobilizations of recent months in order to build a political and social bloc to assert themselves in the institutional arena. This is in contrast not only to the necessary revolutionary work among the advanced sectors of the masses, but also to the generalized distrust that exists today among the proletariat and the popular masses towards the decadent and reactionary bourgeois representative institutions.

Taken together, all this shows once again how the political line of the CARC-nPCI attests to the idea of “*scientifically building the revolution*” by leveraging a supposed possibility of a shift to the left by significant sectors of the supporters of the Third Way, the CGIL, the “bourgeois left,” and the M5S itself. This means wanting to pursue a “revolutionary policy” in the wake of the privileged petty bourgeoisie and the labor and service-sector aristocracy and working to keep or bring the advanced sectors of the proletariat, the youth, and the popular masses under the influence of these social sectors. In other words, this line confirms the Menshevism of this political group or, indeed, its neo-Menshevik character.

Vangeli continues: “*The problem, however, is to build that Front of political and trade union forces that already exists and is composed of hundreds and thousands of workers' and popular organizations throughout the country that take charge and become the architects of the new government of the country, of what we call the People's Bloc Government*” [emphasis added].

The CARC propagates the thesis that there are dozens of political groups and trade unions and thousands of workers' and popular organizations throughout the country, waiting only to implement revolutionary measures and organize themselves to become a people's bloc government capable of functioning as a national center of political and military counterpower to the bourgeois state.

This thesis is based on the delusion that, in every group, union, organization, association, etc., there exists a left wing that genuinely represents the interests of the masses. A left wing which, starting from the impetus of the crisis-collapse (the CARC-nPCI theory of the crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital), would be led to radicalize towards the proletarian revolution to the point of being able to form a People's Bloc, the basis of a revolutionary government.<sup>11</sup> That there are a "right wing" and a "left wing" in every group, union, and organization is inevitable. That a "genuine left," an effective expression of the fundamental interests of the popular masses, is present or even hegemonic in this "left" is, on average, to be excluded. The "left"

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the article of Resistenza "Sommovimenti nella sinistra CGIL e nei sindacati di base (Upheavals in the CGIL left and grassroots unions)" no. 4/2015: "*Neither il Sindacato è un'Altra Cosa nor the USB and other alternative and grassroots unions are still concerned with creating a government that is decisive and capable of implementing the measures that they themselves indicate as necessary to change course in capitalist companies, public companies, and throughout the country. But they will have to get there, because it is the only policy that, as the USB writes in the convocation of its Organizational Conference, today 'serves the people and not one that serves itself and the economic and financial powers.' There are no other ways.*" [emphasis added]

that is present or even often hegemonic in such unions, organizations, and political forces is composed of, managed, and directed by long-standing politicians or young apprentice politicians. A “left-wing” class which has fully embraced the liberal, revisionist, and opportunistic concepts of the art of reactionary politics, that is, the creation of a relationship with sectors of the masses in the name of exploitation, manipulation, and political, ideological, and material corruption.

This type of left does not belong to the proletariat at all. On the contrary, it is often precisely this “supposed left” that is most dangerous, most difficult to unmask and oppose, precisely because it presents itself as more progressive, more left-wing, or even more revolutionary. See, the Collective of the former Gkn, touted as a model by the CARC-nPCI, which supports a project such as the transformation into a cooperative, useful for the reproduction of the sectors of the labor aristocracy that lead this “union left,” but in the name of self-exploitation and the precariousness of most workers. A project, supported by the famous fraudulent motto “Insorgiamo (let’s rise up),” which, not surprisingly, the political and social class that is hegemonic in the collective, a link in the chain of reactionary unionism, wants to carry out by collaborating with the PD monopoly consortia (League of Cooperatives) known for the servile and semi-feudal conditions to which they force their worker-members. See also USB, which aims to compete with CGIL, CISL, and UIL in the workplace to monopolize rights, representation, and bargaining, always to the detriment of workers’ democratic rights, and which, while today it praises “let’s block everything,” on

January 10, 2014,<sup>12</sup> signed the fascist and corporatist inter-confederal agreements.

The entire political history of our country, from the final years of the resistance to the present day, has demonstrated that it was the “left” of modern revisionism (from Secchia to Cossutta), the confederal trade unions, in particular the CGIL, and the experience of the Consigli di fabbrica (factory councils) of the 1970s, etc., that has always played a decisive role in supporting the right, acting as a mediator that, enjoying the trust of the advanced sectors of the masses, worked to reconcile these sectors with the bourgeoisie and the state.<sup>13</sup> There are therefore two possibilities: either the CARC-nPCI have been living on Mars until now and are therefore unaware of this reality, or they are part of this type of “left,” perhaps representing its most extreme wing.

**This “left” has always worked to scientifically sabotage everything that could lead to revolution (starting with the anti-fascist resistance itself) and to prevent the advanced**

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<sup>12</sup>[https://www UIL.it/documents/Rappresentanza\\_TestoUnicoConfindustria\\_10gennaio2014.pdf](https://www UIL.it/documents/Rappresentanza_TestoUnicoConfindustria_10gennaio2014.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> Linked to the evidence of everyday reality, which is fully perceived by the most exploited workers, young people in precarious employment, and the unemployed (who, not surprisingly, abstain en masse from elections, deserting even this supposed “left”). The problem is that the proletariat and the popular masses, without adequate political leadership, are unable to elevate this perception to effective awareness because they cannot spontaneously produce class consciousness on their own.

**sectors of the masses from breaking with the bourgeoisie and tending towards the development of an independent revolutionary movement.**

Admittedly, there are thousands of workers' and popular organizations in Italy, but the problem is that these organizations are either led by a reactionary, opportunist, or centrist political class (and this applies both to the so-called "right" of these organizations and to the supposed "left") or remain under the hegemony of this class due to a lack of class consciousness. The reality is that the CARC-nPCI engage in politics and parasitize these organizations no more and no less than the other forces supporting the Third Way, the CGIL, and sectors of the M5S. All of this instead of focusing on the formation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist party and the problem of the next step in its construction, with the incorporation of advanced sectors of the masses and the construction of its own organizations linked to the masses.

The CARC-nPCI claim, at least since 2008, to have built the party, but all the data that can be gleaned from their periodical press, their public initiatives, and their participation in mobilizations and demonstrations attest that they have not yet emerged from the phase of simple propaganda and have not yet begun the phase of party building (assuming, without conceding, that they have actually moved from the organized group phase to the formation of the party). Under these conditions, wanting to be part of a national "political and trade union front" for the realization of a "people's government" and, moreover, claiming

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to lead it, inevitably means being an appendage, formally revolutionary but essentially opportunistic, of other forces.

This is because the only possibility of operating in a non-reactionary and non-opportunistic manner in a front composed of non-proletarian forces is given not only by an adequate ideology and a correct strategy and line, but also by the existence of one's own effective party organization and the consequent capacity for independent mobilization. This is true both as independent bearers of the same front politics and as part of the front, and finally as a component external to the front itself. Maoism has established this basic principle very well. Now, in order to carry out an independent policy, it is necessary to have one's own independent revolutionary movement characterized by the incorporation of mass sectors and the mobilization of mass sectors.

The CARC-nPCI interpret front politics not as the concrete destruction of hegemonic and organizational ties on the basis of an appropriate combined initiative in which independent mobilization must be the prevailing and decisive aspect, but as a politics nourished by an entirely idealistic dialectic and therefore devoid of materialistic substance. A policy made up of criticism from schoolmasters with red pens, abstract assessments, and convoluted "model proposals" that others should implement and, if they do not, then they will have to suffer the political consequences in terms of punishment administered by the CARC-nPCI itself.

The CARC-nPCI's united-front politics, behind its very revolutionary appearance with its theory of measures to be imposed immediately on the bourgeoisie, lacks any significant independent mobilization to support it, even in the smallest sectors of the masses.

Let us see what Vangeli says: "*The People's Bloc Government is a government in which workers, young people, and the organized masses are at the center, dictating the measures that the country needs, such as those needed to stop the war and interrupt all the criminal actions of the bourgeoisie in the world. All the measures needed to ensure that the masses have jobs, quality healthcare, etc.*"

That the worsening crisis objectively tends to bring the “left” of these reactionary political and trade union forces (M5S, No Vax, CGIL, etc.), opportunists (supporters of the Third Way) and centrists towards the construction of a revolutionary government is a display of sophistical and idealistic dialectics which, as in Hegel's night in which all cows are black<sup>14</sup>, makes all the not insignificant political, ideological distinctions disappear, as well as those relating to the distinctions between the representation of concrete interests of blocs, classes and social strata. It therefore obscures the clearly significant differences between

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<sup>14</sup> “To pit this single assertion, that ‘in the Absolute all is one,’ against the organised whole of determinate and complete knowledge, or of knowledge which at least aims at and demands complete development – to give out its Absolute as **the night in which, as we say, all cows are black** – that is the very *naïveté* of emptiness of knowledge.” [Hegel, *Preface to The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807); bold and underlining added].

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the M5S, CGIL, alternative unions, the radical left, movements, organizations, and various groups of the extreme left.

Not only is this theory of the CARC-nPCI of the supposed “left” of groups, unions, and organizations spontaneous and movementist, but as far as unions and organizations operating on the economic and social level are concerned, it is also pure economism because it merely assumes that from the economy, i.e., from conflicts in the union and social arena (health, education, welfare, transportation, etc.), the tendency towards class consciousness and revolutionary politics would arise, which communists, therefore, should not determine but only encourage, support, organize, and direct.<sup>15</sup>

In the interview with Vangeli, the CARC continue on the basis of this theoretical-political approach and this blueprint of revolution, stating: ***“What are the tasks of communists? Communists must become the center of the organization of the popular masses’ resistance to the advancing general crisis... [they must] build a front of political, social, and trade union forces that aim to provide a political outlet... Communists must place themselves at the center of the anti-broad coalitions Front. They must be its driving force and promote its development in order to build a People’s Bloc Government, which is...only one stage of the socialist revolution in our country...It makes no***

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<sup>15</sup> It is no coincidence that all this is inscribed in the very acronym “CARC,” which stands for “Committees to Support the Resistance for Communism.”

*sense to call oneself a communist if one is not an architect of the socialist revolution in our country.”* [emphasis added]

Here, then, is a summary of the CARC’s theory of the first phase of the “scientific construction of the socialist revolution”. In different words and in a more articulate way, it says the same thing that (as explained in the previous pages) is stated on page n.224 of the Program Manifesto of the nPCI. Despite the heavy and pompous language relating to the *“construction of the socialist revolution,”* here we don’t have any politics of real preparation of the subjective conditions for the socialist revolution, no minimal relation of organization and incorporation of advanced sectors of the masses.

Here we have only, in addition to a lowering and debasement of the tasks of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, the theorization, in line with the classic Trotskyist tradition, of the need to work along “internal lines” with the CGIL, the supporters of the “Third Way,” alternative unions (USB, SI Cobas, etc.) and opportunists and centrists of all stripes, leveraging their supposed “leftism” to build the so-called “People’s Bloc Government.”

### **10.3. The CARC-nPCI line for the people’s bloc government during the pandemic**

During the pandemic, the CARC-nPCI gave an instructive, indisputable, and concrete example of how and with whom, in

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their opinion, one must work to proceed with the formation of the so-called “revolutionary government.”

In the three articles in Resistenza (the CARC monthly journal) in November-December 2021, “Sulla Piazza di Trieste (On the mobilization in Trieste),” “La linea rossa-unire tutte le forme di mobilitazione e di protesta per costruire un governo di emergenza popolare” (The red line—uniting all forms of mobilization and protest to build a people’s emergency government), and “C’è bisogno dei comunisti” (We need communists), the CARC-nPCI, regarding the line of the people’s bloc government and its application at that stage, argue:

*“Driven by events, the masses are mobilizing widely and extensively... hundreds of thousands of people have been taking to the streets since July 24, every week in dozens and dozens of large and small cities, against the Green Pass... All the mobilizations of the last 18 months... have as their common denominator the protest against the governments and the political system of the Larghe Intese (Broad Coalitions)... “Regardless of who promotes them and the objectives around which they arise, they are potentially revolutionary: they express the tendency toward unity of the masses against the class of parasites that governs the country.”*

The mechanistic-movementist and spontaneist blueprint of revolution leads the CARC-nPCI to smuggle in the movements against the Green Pass, promoted and managed by murky ultra-

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reactionary forces, as an expression of the masses, their interests, and their struggle against the governments in power at the time.

The CARC also want to make it clear that it does not matter who promoted and managed these reactionary movements. This statement reflects much of their typical eclectic pragmatism, which is ultimately Machiavellian. This eclecticism leads them to emphasize the existence of opposing aspects in phenomena, and then to choose, on subjective grounds and criteria, what to consider and privilege at any given time, without, of course, feeling the need to account to anyone for these choices.

Why should the fact that the No Green Pass movements were essentially promoted and managed by far-right forces not matter?

In reality, they immediately contradict themselves and it turns out that all this does matter, but in the sense that the fascist-populist exponents of these movements would have been welcome, at least for the CARC-nPCI. This is “if they had been designated by the masses” (sic!) as representatives of a “people’s bloc government.”

*“We say that the government must be composed of figures who enjoy the trust of the workers’ and popular organizations: the workers’ and popular organizations must appoint the head of government, the ministers, the program, and the measures to implement it. **Main objection:** it is risky because the masses of sheep would appoint Enrico Montesano, Stefano Puzzer, and*

*Gianluigi Paragone... Any Mr. Nobody chosen by the popular masses, appointed by acclamation and controlled by the network of workers' and popular organizations that exist in the country, would be far more reliable and responsible than any parasite that the bourgeoisie 'places' for the merits it has accumulated in destroying the lives of millions of people!"* [emphasis added]

Obviously, the CARC-nPCI, as seasoned eclectics and professional tightrope walkers, say one thing and then immediately say something else. This is to temper what they said a moment before and to try to capture both populists and opportunists, as well as revolutionaries, in their net.

In this case, they claim that fascists as *Enrico Montesano, Stefano Puzzer, and Gianluigi Paragone* could certainly be acceptable if they were designated by the masses by “acclamation,” but *only if controlled by the network of workers' and popular organizations.*” In this way, the mechanistic-spontaneist conception of the CARC-nPCI invents the “revolutionary subject” of the masses who, on the one hand, choose the fascists as their representatives, but on the other hand “control” them with their own network of “thousands and thousands of popular organizations,” thus inhibiting their own fascist character.

All this in politics, for Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, has a very specific name: it is called eclecticism, left-wing populism, and above all, Trotskyism. These theories are in fact classically Trotskyist because they identify fascism and Bonapartism, that

is, they tend to attribute a dual character to fascist “mass” movements and forces (remember the CARC’s attempts to establish relations with movements linked to the nazi Lega), reactionary on the one hand and revolutionary on the other. The latter, in the language of the CARC, is presented as the coexistence and struggle between “the tendency of the masses towards reactionary mobilization” and “the tendency of the masses towards revolutionary mobilization.”

Everything becomes immediately clear and obvious, however, because the CARC state: “*The dockworkers of Trieste set an example: all workers who realize the need to assert the strength of the working class must follow their example.*” The fact is that these dockworkers were not exploited workers at all, but a corporate clique made up of members of the labor aristocracy who negotiated privileges with counterpart companies and institutions. Their representative and undisputed leader was Stefano Puzzer who, in addition to being anti-vax, was a candidate on Gianluigi Paragone’s notoriously fascist “*Ital Exit per l’Italia*” list (with various members linked to Casa Pound, including three regional leaders, Forza Nuova, Patrioti d’Italia, etc.), a former contributor to *Libero* and editor of *La Padania*.

“*For all communists, for all those who really want to overthrow the Draghi government, valuing these experiences means above all maneuvering so that every spontaneous mobilization of the popular masses, whatever the reason for its origin, is linked to the mobilization of the organized working class... strengthening*

*the struggle to bring down Draghi and replace him with a people's emergency government. ”*

Once again, the dark soul of the Machiavellianism of the CARC-nPCI rears its head. Contrary to what they claim, it is by no means irrelevant what movements such as the No Vax have been and who has run them. It is not at all the same thing whether the struggle against a given government includes murky and ultra-reactionary forces or not. Finally, it is not irrelevant who leads the “workers” mobilizations against the government, whether it is the fascist No Vax, reactionary unions such as the CGIL, supporters of the Third Way, centrist opportunists, or some other force. The CARC’s theory of a people’s bloc government is like the well-known theory of modern Chinese revisionists: “*It doesn’t matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice.*”

#### **10.4. The line of building the people’s bloc in the CARC article of January 2022**

In the article of January 5, 2022, entitled “*La spinta dal basso. Come si costituisce il Governo di Blocco Popolare? (The push from below. How is the People’s Bloc Government formed?)*”<sup>16</sup>, published shortly after those mentioned above, we find another long and instructive presentation of the “line of the people’s bloc

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.carc.it/2022/01/05/la-spinta-dal-basso-come-si-costituisce-il-governo-di-blocco-popolare/>

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government,” which further highlights the type of ideal candidates for such a government.

The CARC begin by stating:

*“At a certain level of mobilization, all vanguard organizations are united by the need to give political and practical expression to the mobilization they have sparked....This is a primary condition that pushes workers’ and popular organizations—regardless of their level of consciousness—to embark on the path of establishing a government that will implement their demands.” “This objective process occurs and reproduces itself, but in order to develop beyond the ‘elementary level,’ it must become a conscious mobilization to oust the governments of the ruling class and impose an emergency government of the organized popular masses.”*

This is the usual movementist theory of crisis-collapse, which would objectively push trade unions, supporters of the Third Way, centrists, and various organizations led by these forces toward growing mobilization, gradually and progressively setting in motion growing sectors of the masses, transforming a potential political and social bloc into an effective revolutionary people’s bloc.

*“If we analyze the political upheavals of recent years—let’s limit ourselves to the last ten—it clearly emerges that the workers’ and popular organizations that have been able to give continuity to the mobilization, and which for this reason have become points of reference for vast sectors of the popular masses*

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*(vanguard organizations), have directly influenced the political struggle. Their action has influenced election results (we need only recall the exploits of the M5S in 2013 and 2018) and local administrations (for example, the network of NO TAV mayors); it has brought to the fore a host of intellectuals, artists, technicians, and figures from the worlds of culture and science who have made themselves available for mobilization. Incidentally, this group will include the representatives of the People's Bloc Government."*

The CARC-nPCI invent thousands of spontaneous workers' and popular organizations which, regardless of their actual political and ideological direction, would have been able to influence the elections. As an example of a lasting mass mobilization promoted by such "organizations," they present the electoral results of the reactionary, populist, corporatist, and warmongering M5S, including the results of the 2018 elections, which inaugurated the fascist-populist M5S-Lega government. As if that were not enough, they claim that this type of mobilization and electoral results have given rise to "*a host of intellectuals, artists, technicians, cultural and scientific figures who will represent the People's Bloc Government.*" In practice, the entire "*revolutionary government of people's bloc*" would end up coinciding, modestly and obscurely, with a technocratic and populist government of representatives of reactionary civil society, operating in the shadow of the bureaucratic-military apparatus of the state. And in this way, the much-heralded civil war that the bourgeoisie would be forced to wage "against the People's Bloc government" would also disappear.

To avoid any misunderstanding, the CARC-nPCI provide full names: “*Since 2013, there have been at least two occasions when workers’ and popular organizations could have imposed their own government, composed of the representatives in whom they placed their trust at the time: from Maurizio Landini to Rodotà, from Cremaschi to Margherita Hack, from Gino Strada to Ugo Mattei, from De Magistris to Beppe Grillo, etc.*”...*In the 2013 general election, the M5S came second in terms of votes and assumed a decisive role in the political landscape because it refused to support the broad coalitions in the formation of the government...When Napolitano was re-elected to the Quirinale, Beppe Grillo called on the masses to mobilize against the “white coup,” and the masses responded. From all over the country, they prepared to leave for Rome*” ...

The CARC-nPCI assure us that “Maurizio Landini, Rodotà, Cremaschi, Margherita Hack, Gino Strada, Ugo Mattei, De Magistris, and Beppe Grillo” enjoyed such confidence among the masses at the time that “thousands of popular and workers’ organizations” could have “imposed them as representatives of a people’s bloc government.” It should be noted that the article in question is from 2022.

At the time, Maurizio Landini was secretary of FIOM, a reactionary and collaborationist trade union ultimately linked to the PD. Rodotà was for a long time a technocrat of the social-fascist PCI and PDS, then of the M5S, and a candidate for the office of President of the Republic, chosen by Monti for institutional positions, etc. Margherita Hack may have been a

prominent figure in her professional field, but politically she did nothing but jump from the PCI-PDS-PD to lists with Rifondazione Comunista, with interludes even linked to support for Renzi and Bonino.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it appears that she died in 2013, and perhaps the CARC should not have sponsored her after her death for their “government.” Gino Strada (who died in 2021) is known as the founder of Emergency. This organization is notorious for operating with government funds and the approval of imperialist powers (primarily the US and Italy); its activities fall within the scope of “civil society reconstruction” in areas of “crisis”. In 2022, Ugo Mattei was a staunch supporter of the anti-vax movement. Known as a member of a left close to the PD, he theorized the end of the distinction between “right” and “left”<sup>18</sup> and held government positions in areas of strategic interest to Italian imperialism.<sup>19</sup> De Magistris is a well-known

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<sup>17</sup> In 2013, she joined the “Emma Bonino President” committee to promote her candidacy as President of the Republic.

<sup>18</sup> In perfect populist and red-brown style, Ugo Mattei declares about the Italian population: *“A people divided by spectacular strategies, among which we must now include the false opposition between ‘center-right’ and ‘center-left’ (or, more generally, between right and left) as well as that between ‘public’ and ‘private.’ The same neoliberal logic feeds on these now false oppositions, obliterated by collusion and oligarchic revolving doors.”* [<https://ugomattei.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Presentazione-Prof.-Ugo-Mattei.pdf>].

<sup>19</sup> Ugo Mattei states: *“I have traveled extensively for research and teaching, especially in America (including Latin America) and Africa, and I have held several international positions of great responsibility, including the drafting of the provisional constitution of Puntland (Somalia), participation (as the only jurist) in the drafting of the World Bank’s 2004 World Development Report, participation in the Somali peace negotiations in Addis Ababa, and the protection of the legal sovereignty of the Holy See with respect to US*

exponent of “left-wing” populism, having served twice as mayor of Naples before the pandemic. Beppe Grillo is a demagogue, ultimately a classic right-wing populist who aims to promote a liberal version of fascism.

None of the figures proposed by the CARC-nPCI as representatives of the people’s bloc government present anything progressive or democratic, let alone communist or revolutionary. Instead, all of them, in one way or another, have been and are institutional members linked to the bourgeoisie and the state.

The CARC-nPCI work to pass off such figures as promoters of a revolutionary process. It is clear that, even if, absurdly, it was possible to establish an alternative government with representatives of this kind who have always operated within bourgeois institutions and civil society, such an “alternative government” would operate in the service of the state and Italian imperialism. If, again absurdly, such a government were conceivable and practicable, it would not represent a revolutionary transition but, on the contrary, a phase of “passive revolution” (Gramsci).

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*jurisdiction from 2000 to 2005*” [<https://ugomattei.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Presentazione-Prof.-Ugo-Mattei.pdf>].

## 10.5. The CARC-nPCI and the theory of making the bourgeoisie to swallow the “people’s bloc government”

In the article already discussed of January 5, 2022, the CARC further clarify their idea of a “people’s bloc government,” and the deeper they go into the details, the more they tie themselves in knots. In the article, they state: ***“Let us now answer the initial question: how is the PBG formed?”*** “*There are different paths, they proceed in parallel, and we must instead bring them all together: elections, referendums, demonstrations, strikes, mass disobedience, promotion of alternative networks for the production and distribution of goods and services... popular mobilization must grow until it makes the country ungovernable for any bourgeois government. We must create a situation in which the ruling class will have to swallow the People’s Bloc Government*<sup>20</sup>.... *Communists must lead the struggle to prevent*

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<sup>20</sup> In the same article, the CARC outline the following program for government. It makes for instructive reading. It is a confused assortment of formally socialist economic measures, but without the corresponding political and military power [points 1, 3, 5], and reformist rhetoric typical of supporters of the “Third Way” [points 2, 4, 6, 7].

*“The program of the People’s Bloc Government brings together the main demands of the popular masses and summarizes them in seven measures.*

1. *Assign each company useful production tasks suited to its nature, according to a national plan. No company should be closed.*
2. *Distribute products to families and individuals, companies and collective uses according to clear, universally known and democratically decided plans and criteria.*
3. *Assign each individual a socially useful job and guarantee them, in exchange for its conscientious execution, the conditions necessary for a dignified life and for participation in the management of*

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*the boycott and sabotage of the People's Bloc Government. Through this mobilization, the popular masses will be pushed to advance further so as not to lose what they have gained. This is the path that will lead them to put an end to capitalism and establish socialism.*

Here, the CARC-nPCI line is clarified in the sense that it affirms that the “people’s bloc government” must and will be able to force the bourgeoisie to swallow a series of conquests that benefit the masses. Obviously, the CARC-nPCI do not tell us how these gains can be “forced down the bourgeoisie’s throat” or how this can happen, given that, even if we accept this absurdity of a people’s bloc government, power will remain firmly in the hands of the ruling reactionary class. The CARC-nPCI do not stop there. In fact, after taking it for granted that there will be significant, albeit unspecified, gains, they continue with the idea that the masses themselves will be driven, once

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*society. No worker should be dismissed, every adult should have a useful and dignified job, no individual should be marginalized.*

4. *Eliminate useless or harmful activities and production, assigning other tasks to the companies involved.*
5. *Initiate the reorganization of all other social relations in accordance with the new productive base and the new distribution system.*
6. *Establish relations of solidarity and collaboration or exchange with other countries willing to establish them with us.*
7. *Purge senior public administration officials who sabotage the transformation of the country, bring the police, armed forces, and intelligence services into line with the democratic spirit of the 1948 Constitution, and restore universal citizen participation in military activities to defend the country and protect public order.*

again by their own accord, to advance revolutionarily toward socialism in order not to lose everything.

## **11. The CARC-nPCI and the question of the crisis-collapse due to “absolute overproduction of capital” as the objective engine of the revolution**

In the interview with Vangeli, the CARC make it clear that for them everything revolves around the question of the crisis and that, according to them, it is impossible to understand much of what is happening and the direction in which things are going without accepting the theory of the “general crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital.” Vangeli states: *“First and foremost, we must begin by situating this within the second general crisis of the capitalist system, which has been going on for more than 40 years now and which directs events both in the bourgeoisie and in the popular masses.”*

This statement clearly and precisely sets out the CARC’s basic thesis that the crisis is directing both the popular masses and the bourgeoisie in a process of progressive divergence. In theoretical-political terms, this means arguing that it is the crisis that dictates revolutionary strategy and that, therefore, the mass movement generated by the crisis contains within itself the strategic direction. This thesis is precisely the opposite of the Leninist one and, therefore, of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

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After discussing the various contradictions that are becoming more pronounced internationally and domestically, Vangeli reiterates: *“These are all events that only make sense and can only be understood if we link them to the second general crisis of absolute overproduction of capital, which took a turn in 2008, when the crisis of the capitalist system entered its acute and terminal phase.”*

Therefore, it is impossible to truly understand the general political line of the CARC and that of the so-called “Protracted People’s War” [GPdiLD] of the nPCI without considering the theory of crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital, which is the basis of these positions.

In other words, as far as the CARC-nPCI are concerned, there is indeed an internal consistency between the theory of crisis due to “absolute overproduction”, the conception of the organization and its tasks, and the general political line of the people’s bloc government (which this group sometimes also refers to as “emergency government,” “national salvation government,” “new national liberation committee,” etc.).

It is well known, or at least it should be, that this theory of “crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital” is not an invention of the CARC-nPCI. It was first put forward in Italy, given that the debate originated in the 1960s in France among the “Marxist” intellectuals of the PCF, in the text *L’ape e il comunista* (The Bee and the Communist) by the “Collettivo prigionieri delle BR” (Collective of Red Brigades Prisoners).

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The CARC-nPCI attempted to give a more detailed explanation of it in the 1980s, within the framework of the coordinating body of committees against repression and in the first issues of the magazine *Rapporti Sociali*. After that, they did not take up the issue again, except in summary form in the Manifesto Program of the nPCI written by Giuseppe Maj.

This theory is not Marxist. In the Third Book of *Capital*, Marx excludes the assumption that, on the contrary, plays a fundamental role in the CARC-nPCI theory, namely the thesis of the alleged inevitability (which is declared to be connected to the fall in the rate of profit) of the absolute and not simply relative decrease in the total mass of variable capital (i.e., the amount of labor power employed in the capitalist system). This theory directly contradicts Lenin's theory of imperialism, proposing in fact a different theory of imperialism, according to which it is the fall of the rate of profit that would have generated imperialism and that would determine, from time to time, the imperialist crisis-war dynamic. Lenin, however, based his theory of imperialism on the transformation of free competition into monopoly and gave a foundation to the question of imperialist war that was detached from the problem of economic crisis and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Finally, this theory contrasts with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which argues that the "general crisis of capitalism" is caused by the disproportion between the various elements of the "imperialist world economy."

This theory incorporates Lenin's contribution on the causes of imperialist war. Gramsci, in turn, proposes in *his Prison Notebooks* a conception similar to that which had become established in Third International in those years.

To understand the difference between a “crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital” and a “general crisis due to disproportions,” we must consider in particular the two different general conceptions of the party and the strategy that derives from them. To this end, we must highlight the close relationship between the theory of “crisis due to absolute overproduction” and the theories known as “theories of the collapse of capitalism” that emerged in the context of councilism, represented in particular by H. Grossman<sup>21</sup> and P. Mattick (which must be distinguished from the “subjectivist” theories that gave rise, at the end of the 1950s, to the theoretical workerism of Panzieri and the Quaderni Rossi) and from various Trotskyist forces at the international level and Bordigist forces at the national level (the leadership of SI Cobas-TIR).

In this sense, the ideological foundations of the CARC-nPCI are to be found not in Marxism-Leninism, much less in Maoism, but in “left-wing communism” (councilism, Trotskyism, Bordigism, workerism, militarism) with which they share the same basic theoretical core relating to mechanicism, movementism, spontaneism, and economism.

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<sup>21</sup> Henryk Grossman, “*Il crollo del capitalismo. La legge dell'accumulazione e del crollo del sistema capitalista*”, Milan, Mimesis, 2010.

Returning to the question of the crisis theories of the objectivist tendencies of “left-wing communism” and the “CARC-nPCI,” it would be wrong to define them simply as “theories of the collapse of capitalism.” More accurately (given that Marxism also espouses a theory of the inevitability of the end of capitalism), they can be defined as “catastrophist” theories because they hypothesize the alternation between peaks of recovery-expansion and peaks of catastrophic decline (those that, for example, lead the CARC-nPCI to speak of a second crisis of absolute overproduction following a supposed phase of expansionary recovery, which they apologetically define as “capitalism with a human face”).

According to this revisionist conception (which denies the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory that imperialism is characterized by the general crisis of capitalism, within which there is, in a more or less defined way, a cyclical trend), imperialist wars would be an expression of peaks of decline which would be followed by periods of recovery, which would remove the material basis for waves of proletarian revolution for an entire phase. In this way, the CARC-nPCI explain the ebbing of antifascist resistance not with the role of Togliatti’s revisionism but, precisely, as an expression of a supposed ascending capitalist cycle<sup>22</sup>. This conception leads them to

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<sup>22</sup> The CARC-nPCI criticizes the Togliatti leadership, among other things, for the fact that *“it did not realize that with the end of World War II, the capitalist system, despite its weakening due to the successes of the communist movement and the collapse of the colonial system, had emerged from its first general crisis”* and that it did not take into account the establishment of the “regime of preventive counterrevolution” which *“was consolidated thanks to*

conceal the passive revolutionary nature of the “Republican Constitution” itself and to demand its full application.

The representation in H. Grossman’s book of the crisis-collapse with the image of the teeth of a saw is effective in that, on the one hand, it highlights the apology of capitalism in the so-called recovery phases and, on the other, it proposes a catastrophic vision of capitalism itself, and therefore of the domination of the bourgeoisie and its state, in the alleged phases of collapse.

## **12. The CARC-nPCI from crisis-collapse to the revisionist conceptions of FAUS, the state, the party, and the revolution**

This catastrophic vision is well expressed by the CARC-nPCI’s theory of “FAUS.”<sup>23</sup> This is a theory of the so-called

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*the long period (1945-1975) of recovery and expansion of the productive apparatus that capitalism experienced throughout the world”... “the period 1945-1975 was also the period of capitalism with a human face in our country”* (Manifesto Program of the nPCI pp. 135-137). These quotations are significant because they coincide with the liberal, Trotskyist, and workerist theses on the transformation of countries oppressed by imperialism into dependent capitalist countries and on the substantial overcoming of the Southern Question, thanks in part to the so-called agrarian reforms of the 1950s.

<sup>23</sup> The theory of FAUS and their crisis is another link between the theory of “Crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital” and the line of the People’s Bloc government and the so-called “protracted people’s war” of the CARC-nPCI. The theory of FAUS rejects Lenin’s theory of monopoly capitalism (defined as “forms of collective management by capitalists that constitute a

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“antithetical forms of social unity,” acting at the economic, state, ideological-moral, etc. levels. According to the CARC-nPCI, these forms perform a function of mediation and conciliation, ensuring the stability of bourgeois rule and unity within its institutions and its state. With the outbreak of the so-called crisis of “absolute overproduction of capital,” these mediations would cease to exist, leading, on the one hand, to a crisis of the supposed internal equilibrium of the state with relative growing inter-bourgeois contradictions and, on the other, to the development of an increasingly broad and conscious mobilization of vast sectors of the masses.

This theory of the crisis of the state is opposed to that of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and leads to revisionism in that it postulates that, with the disappearance of the so-called FAUS, the state would tend to accentuate its internal contradictions, thus becoming a place in which to intervene in order to accelerate and deepen the crisis. These are old revisionist

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mediation of the individual ownership of the productive forces,” i.e., FAUS, p. 57 of the Manifesto Program of the nPCI) in the direction of super-imperialism. The CARC also replace the Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist concept of “socialization” of the productive forces with that of “collectivization” (much closer to workerism), which in turn forms the basis of the CARC’s revisionist theory of “preventive counter-revolution” (another legacy of the eclecticism and intellectualism of the Red Brigades, which were largely formed in the schools of French revisionism) and of the nature of the state in imperialism. The FAUS theory is set out in several places, but in particular in paragraph 1.3.4. of the Manifesto Program of the nPCI. The Manifesto Program is currently the subject of a long, detailed, and articulate critique by the editorial staff of *Nuova Egemonia*, which will be published next spring.

theories, particularly those of the Althusserian left, which conceive of the bourgeois state as an unstable set of balances between factions, parties, institutions, bourgeois cliques of various kinds, and external influences (the US, Zionism, etc.). The system would therefore tend, under the pressure of a catastrophic economic crisis, towards a dynamic of implosion and fragmentation and, consequently, it would be a question of favoring this process by dismantling, from time to time, “the dominant project of the bourgeoisie” (which in the modernized and watered-down theory of the nPCI becomes the “broad coalitions front”), aimed at trying to contain and stabilize this dynamic, which, in itself, would be catastrophic.

On the political theory side, the conception of the CARC-nPCI of the crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital, which would lead to an increasingly conscious mobilization of the masses (which they call “revolutionary mass mobilization”), is opposed to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory of class consciousness, hegemony, and the party that is built and operates on the basis of the progressive incorporation of mass sectors.

The party is seen by the CARC-nPCI as a class of supposed “political technicians”. When the CARC-nPCI speak of the “scientific construction of the revolution” they refer to an idealistic and subjectivist scientism typical of logical empiricism, rehashed in pragmatic and Machiavellian terms on the level of political theory and practice. The CARC-nPCI party opposes Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, which imposes the need to work with increasingly broader sections of the masses in

order to bring about ideologically independent mobilization and the relative introduction of elements of “war of maneuver” (Gramsci). A Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party that conceives the construction of the revolutionary people’s bloc as related to the formation of an increasingly vast and extensive pyramid, centered on an already constituted (formed) party. A party that, therefore, is built in that very process (concentric construction, Chairman Gonzalo).

The CARC-nPCI replace this conception of the party with an aristocratic vision of the party as the bearer of “tactics,” that is, of the line aimed at building the “revolutionary people’s bloc” with the “levers” related to the use of the alleged inter-bourgeois contradictions and those internal to the “right” and “left” of the various political and trade union forces.

It is no coincidence that the CARC-nPCI call themselves “Committees to Support the Resistance of the Masses for Communism,” where it is assumed that these Committees “lead,” but without promoting and mobilizing the initiative of the masses on an ideologically independent basis, and this because the masses themselves “would resist in the direction of communism.”

In practice, the conception of the party of the CARC-nPCI is that of a tactical leadership and organization of a contradictory reality within which the crisis-collapse caused by absolute overproduction would exacerbate inter-bourgeois contradictions and dictate a strategic direction to the masses, i.e., a direction

that the masses themselves would tend to follow objectively, beyond their subjective awareness.

The theory of the CARC-nPCI party therefore combines the conception of the party as the bearer of the organization and tactics of the theoretical workerism of the Quaderni Rossi and, in particular, of Tronti's "Operai e Capitale" (Workers and Capital), with the aristocratic-politicist conception of the Red Brigades.

### **13. Conclusions**

In summary, the line of the CARC-nPCI for a people's bloc government fits organically, starting from the conception of crisis-collapse, through to that of imperialism, FAUS, "preventive counterrevolution," the state, strategy and tactics, the Party, etc., in the field of "left-wing communism" tendencies that have always been fought as revisionist by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The CARC-nPCI is a centrist force that: 1) raises the banner of Maoism in order to sink Maoism, 2) exploits the figure and universal contributions of Chairman Gonzalo and then declares the people's war in Peru dead and sponsors in Italy, with special public meetings, the anti-communist LOD [right opportunist line of peace negotiations] of that country, 3) supports Russian imperialism (also participating in its propaganda initiatives in Russia) and Chinese social imperialism, which work against the struggles and the right to self-determination of oppressed

peoples (including the right to self-determination of the Ukrainian people) and against the Palestinian people themselves, and which aim at a new division of the world through inter-imperialist war, in mutual competition with US imperialism and that of the main European imperialist powers, 4) denies the imperialist oppression of the South and the Islands in the name of the supposed phase of expansion of Italian capitalism after the Second World War (theory of crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital), 5) supports electoralism and sustains and parasitizes opportunism and centrism, reproposing under the name of “theory of people's war” an eclectic concentration (Manifesto Program of the nPCI) of the opportunist and petty-bourgeois revolutionary conceptions of the 1970s.

**Unite communists under the banner of Maoism!**

**Unmask and defeat the revisionists and opportunists!**

**Reconstruct the Communist Party of Italy by resuming Gramsci's path on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!**

**NUOVA EGEMONIA, November 2025**