

CONTROVENTO FOUNDING STATEMENT

The Revolutionary Marxist Association [RMA] ControVento is a political laboratory. Its aim is to rethink a communist and revolutionary project in the Italian context, in the face of the setbacks and defeats of the last decade: the profound retreat of working-class organizations and consciousness, the marginalization of the left, the development of mass reactionary movements even in the lower classes, the self-referential drift of *centrist* and revolutionary organizations. *ControVento*, therefore, intends to propose itself as a plural and temporary grouping in which to collectively redefine a political and organizational proposal for the revolutionary communists in this country. To this aim, it interacts with the concrete dynamics of conflict and self-organization in the relations of production [the molecular experiences of class struggle and working class self-organization, the resistances in industrial crises, the broader trade union struggles for rights and wages], in relation to with the mass movements that develop both in the imperialist metropolises [such as *Black lives matter* in the USA, the workers' struggles of the last twenty years in China or *Nuit debout* in France] as well as in the peripheries and semi-peripheries of the world [such as the Arab springs, Gezy park, students in Chile, the struggles for water and wages in Iran, the youth movements in Iraq and Lebanon, the revolts in Sudan, Kazakhstan and many other countries], as well as transversal to these different contexts [*Friday for Future* and the struggles for the environment, *Nonunadimeno* and those for gender equality].

ControVento, then, includes comrades who may have different analyzes, political placements and positions, but who find themselves within the programmatic perimeter of this founding-Statement. The *ControVento* initiative is based on the historical heritage of over 150 years of the labor movement, marked by revolutions such as the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian 1917, the construction of People's China, the Cuban '59 or the Vietnamese liberation war; but also, from devastating defeats such as the affirmation of Stalinism, its hegemony over revolutions and liberation movements in the world, the disintegration of the USSR and the return of capitalism to China. The objective of the collective redefinition of a political project is pursued on the basis of the struggles and revolutionary drive of the working class (as in Italy in the long season opened from 1968/69, where some organizations of the *revolutionary left* were protagonists), as well as the experience of the revolutionary Marxism of the twentieth century (aware of its programmatic affirmations and methodological practices, but also of its sectarian or *movementist* tendencies). *ControVento* therefore bases its action of political grouping, his redefinition of the communist and revolutionary project, on six programmatic points.

- **Opposition to the ruling classes and their governments:** the revolutionary Marxists, siding for the independence of the working class, oppose any hypothesis of political coalition or government collaboration with the ruling classes. With this perspective, they are committed to working class unity and to the development of working-class fronts, as well as in any movement of struggle of the lower classes.
- **The perspective of a government of workers:** the revolutionary Marxists set themselves the task of overthrow the current mode of production based on exploitation, the plundering of the environment and the development of imperialism. The conquest of power by the working class to collectivize the means of production, through workers' control and councils, are a decisive step in this transition.
- **The link between immediate objectives and anti-capitalist perspective:** the revolutionary Marxists strive to develop antagonism in the relations of production in a political project of social transformation, linking the immediate and partial demands that arise from working class resistance with the socialist perspective: a span above class consciousness!
- **A dialectical relationship between vanguard and working-class self-organization:** the revolutionary Marxists are aware of the tension between party (political project) and class (revolutionary task arising from the struggle). The party without the working class is only *spirit*, the working class without a project is only antagonism. Therefore, it is important to commit to keeping them in relationship, opposing any substitute tendency and supporting working class self-organization.
- **A councils practice:** the revolutionary Marxists have drawn from the Bolshevik experience the importance of expressing this relationship between class and party in the revolutionary process through the development of councils and a councils practice: before the seizure of power to avoid any vanguard temptation, after the seizure of power to contain possible *bonapartist* degenerations.
- **An international perspective and practice:** the revolutionary Marxists, within the framework of imperialist tendencies and the unequal and combined dynamics of capitalism, consider it indispensable to set up a project of permanent revolution that affects the entirety of the various social formations and therefore to develop a consequent communist and revolutionary international organization.

In this programmatic framework, the tragic experience of the communist movement, starting from the authoritarian and Bonapartist twist of Stalinism, underlined that in every communist and revolutionary organization the free and equal confrontation between the different positions is not an accessory element. It is not enough in a party to guarantee the so-called right to dissent, but it is necessary to promote free and equal confrontation between different positions, also organized, to avoid degeneration in the party and in the relationship between class and party. This relationship, in fact, always risks being stretched within the framework of a mode of production in continuous movement (cycles, long waves, great crises), developing in the revolutionary parties on the one hand a centrist and *tailist* drift (which passively undergo the dynamics of class), on the other hand substitute and vanguard temptations (which focus on their role and detach themselves from mass dynamics). A lively and open democratic centralism, within a common programmatic framework, is therefore fundamental to allow these tendencies to express, be contrasted and balanced, thus containing the ever-present risk of the imposition of a drift in one direction or another. Furthermore, in the awareness that democratic centralism is alive and implies the need to respect gender equality and value the participation of oppressed subjectivities (migrants and foreign minorities, LGBTQ* activists, etc.). It is important for communist and revolutionary organization to actively commit itself, in practice and rules, to have their representation in the party's bodies

ControVento, to pursue its purpose and its programmatic principles, therefore uses its own structure and uses its own resources in order to:

- promote and support confrontation initiatives and reconstruction paths of Marxist and revolutionary political organization;
- support, connect, join and spread struggles and resistances of the working class and its *vanguard*, also with mutual aid initiatives, resistance funds and self-defense of social movements;
- develop movements against a depredation of the environment inscribed in the expansive logic of this mode of production, starting from the exhaustion of finite resources and the achievement of points of no return in the change of ecosystems (as in global warming);
- participate and contribute to the movements of all oppressed and discriminated subjects, such as for gender rights, LGBTQ*, the rights of migrants and against racism and any discrimination;
- contribute to the formation and development of a class consciousness, also through the confrontation between workers, activists, trade unionists and intellectuals, associations, political and trade union organizations, on the class struggle and on the prospect of building a communist society, egalitarian, peaceful and sustainable;
- For all this and for the development of its debate and the dissemination of its elaborations, analyzes, proposals and interventions, *ControVento* is equipped with a website and a magazine.

Finally, ControVento, in order to pursue its purpose and its programmatic principles, in compliance with its plurality of analyzes, positions and political placements, recognizes the need to develop internationalist action and an international organization. *An internationalist action:* as it considers it fundamental to put the labour and its antagonism with the capital at the center of social conflicts in the unequal and combined dynamics of capitalism. So, it supports the unity of the working class, contrasting any nationalist, *campist* and sovereign temptation that finds support from the structuring of international hierarchies between different countries and different social formations, while respecting the right to defense and self-determination of oppressed peoples. An international organization, as it considers necessary to reconstruct a revolutionary international to avoid the prevalence of national perspective and interests. An International with a general reference to the paths of anti-stalinism and revolutionary Marxist movement, Trotskyism and the Fourth International. So, *Controvento* is aware of the importance of their experience and programmatic definition, but it is also aware of the *movementist* or sectarian degenerations that often characterize them, with the multiplication in a limited political field of projects, strategies and practices that are very different. However, waiting for the international class struggle and the historical development to bring out new and more adequate flags, this reference remains useful in defining the programmatic camp of the revolutionary communists and supporting the reconstruction of international structures. To this aim, *Controvento* promotes, supports and organizes confrontation initiatives, connection, solidarity, mutual aid and joint action with international associations, organizations or groupings, as well as with social and trade union movements, of other nationalities, ethnic groups, countries and regions of the world.