# Vladimir Filippovič Gryzlov

Two lines on the national issue. Communists against nationalism

After the October Revolution, we entered a historical tending, with its own development, towards socialism. The imperialist reaction and that of the ideologues of the bourgeoisie is the attempt to deform the fundamental features of the contemporary era, denying the existence of class antagonisms in history, depriving the present class struggle of its "political connotation" and coming to the conclusion that the nation today "is the main fact of the political system in the whole world". The thesis of these bourgeois ideologists and political scientists demonstrates the absence of a historical-concrete approach and represents the extreme abstraction of reasoning. One must not only focus on the most manifestly violent, dangerous and chauvinistic forms of nationalism, but one must observe how the entire bourgeois ideology is permeated with the nationalism. In our time, which the ideologists of the bourgeoisie call "the era of nationalism", the communists must not lose their main instrument: proletarian internationalism.

## Valter Pomar

The strategic implications of the right turn in Brazil

The promotion of the 2016 impeachment and the related media campaign against the former presidents of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff and Lula, have put a lot of emphasis on the problem of corruption in the country. The middle classes or sectors have been particularly receptive; they provide most of the Brazilian tax revenue and are firm opponents of the policies of the PT in favor of the working class, interpreted as unfair and not meritocratic measures. The aversion to such public and income redistribution policies, in recent years, has pushed more and more decisively the middle sectors to the right, to the point of making them the main supporters of the ultraliberal Bolsonaro in his race for the presidency. At the root of this distance between the middle classes and the PT, there are

essentially strategic errors by Brazilian left-wing governments, which have alienated the support of most of the electorate. Despite of this, the 2018 presidential elections were expected to normally be polarized around Brazil's two largest parties, the PT and the PSDB, and polls showed that the former's candidate would still hold the presidency. For this reason, it was strategically necessary to resort to the artifice of impeachment and arrest of Lula shortly before the elections. The elimination from the electoral scene of the main candidate of the PT, together with the unexpected support of the middle classes in addition to that of the great Brazilian capitalists, made Bolsonaro, which has inaugurated the new course of the country in a far-right direction, win the election. In order to resist this drift and to survive, the Brazilian left must necessarily reorganise itself and prepare new strategies, addressing itself directly to the working class.

## Fábio Palácio de Azevedo

Bolsonaro and the fascism of the twenty-first century

In the current context of the advancement of the extreme right, whose paradigm is the election of Trump can we talk about a form of fascism? And what are the relationships between today's extreme right movements and the economic crisis? The rise of Bolsonaro in Brazil adds new elements to this debate, and his victory recalls in some ways the appointment of Mussolini as head of government, as a result of a serious crisis of the liberal regime. Fascism, which in the 1920s imposed itself in Italy as a conservative alternative to the organic crisis of bourgeois hegemony, lacked a coherent political programme (in the words of the Peruvian Mariátegui, it was "an irrational phenomenon", not "cerebral") but was able to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie and address the middle class effectively, with demagogic instruments and exploiting Mussolini's peculiar personality. It is undeniable that the growth of fascist-type forces today is qualitatively different from that of the first decades of the twentieth century, but there are similarities, especially considering the ambiguities of the bourgeoisie, which can tolerate the attack on democratic freedoms in the name of the protection of their economic interests, but now faces Abstracts 189

economic policies (protectionism and political isolationism promoted by Trump, criticisms echoed by Bolsonaro to the international institutions of contemporary capitalism) that may not lead to the desired stability.

### Alessandra Riccio

A short history of Venezuela, and how and what it is intended to destroy

The history of Venezuela is similar to the history of all the colonized countries of the Americas: after several centuries of inertia it enters the contemporary world, until it takes on a democratic role in the twentieth century that allows the abuse of private interests and sees Venezuelan industrialists, politicians and businessmen closely linked to the fortunes and interests of the United States. After winning the 1998 elections and obtaining a majority in 2000, Chavez articulated a five-point government program that transformed the face of the country and upset the balance in the region. Later on, the relationship with the United States was further exacerbated by the establishment of the ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America), wanted by Chávez and Fidel Castro, as an alternative to the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas) promoted by George W. Bush. It is the opinion of many political scientists that the resistance against the FTAA as a neocolonial instrument, together with the Venezuelan control of huge oil resources and the irreversible crisis of capitalism at a global level, have pushed the United States to a crescendo of attacks of all kinds against the country of Chávez and Maduro: media wars, wars of low intensity, destabilization, sabotage, golpes suaves, until the failed attack of August 2018 and the contribution to the crisis today.

## Raúl Castro Ruz

60 years after the victory of the Cuban revolution

This year Cuba is celebrating the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the triumph of the Revolution, which was the culmination of over 150 years of struggle by the Cuban people for their independence and which has

seen the commitment and heroism of many revolutionary figures, from the father of the country José Martí to the Head of the Revolution, Fidel Castro. In 1959, Fidel announced that, although tyranny had finally been overthrown, future times would be difficult: in fact, since that revolutionary triumph, Cuba has not had a minute of peace, while 12 U.S. administrations have not stopped working to promote a regime change on the island, by various means. Today, Cuba aspires to a relationship of peace, respect and mutual benefit with the United States, and can only note with concern the tightening of the imperial blockade around Venezuela and Nicaragua and the promotion of coups d'état (military or parliamentary-judicial) in Honduras and Brazil. Against the living and current legacy of the Monroe Doctrine, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean must continue to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, aspiring to peace but remaining ready to defend themselves even in the worst scenarios. Furthermore, Cuba must keep the fire of the revolution burning and pass it on to the new generations through education and popular involvement, for example with the recent production of the new Cuban Constitution through amendments proposed by the citizens, which was then submitted to a popular referendum.

# Alessandra Algostino

Towards a authoritarian nationalism against the Constitution

On December 4, 2018, Law No. 132 entered into force, converting the so-called "security decree" or "Salvini decree" into law, with amendments. It is inserted without interruption with the previous provisions (lastly the "Minniti decrees"), combining security and immigration, continuing the path of criminalization of migrants and of dissent. On the one hand, there is the decision of closing the borders, of restricting the space of asylum and of making it increasingly hostile and "empty" of rights; on the other hand, there is the will to repress dissent and make social poverty invisible. It is a measure lacking the requirements of necessity and urgency, studded of issues of unconstitutionality and heterogeneous, but crossed by a *fil* 

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*rouge* (or, better, black): a repressive intent, a limitation, if not denial, of the rights, from the right to asylum to the freedom of expression, in the perspective of an authoritarian iure sanguinis nationalism.

#### Andrea Catone

To arms, they are leghists!... Say no to "strengthened autonomy" of the northern regions

The sword of Damocles hangs over our Country: that is the agreements on the "strengthened autonomy" of the northern regions, strongly desired by the Northern League, the party born at the end of the 80's with the declared objective of the secession of the "Padania". If achieved, it would constitute a profound and deleterious upheaval of the form of State of the Republic born of the Resistance. Against such a measure, which would break the country and make us regress more than a century and a half, it is necessary to build the largest and most organized unitary opposition of all political forces, associations, citizens who see in the Italian Constitution of 1948 the compass of their political action and civil coexistence.

# The European populist right: Rassemblement National

The Front National changed its name to Rassemblement National on a proposal from Marine Le Pen at the 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress held on 10 and 11 March 2018 in Lille, where the cumbersome founder of the party, Jean-Marie Le Pen, ceased to be its honorary president. The symbol of the tricolour flame survived as a visible sign of continuity through the renewal operations with which Marine Le Pen tried to "clean up" the party of its neo-fascist and anti-Semitic past in order to approach a larger electorate and propose itself as a viable alternative to government. With the 144-point programme for the 2017 presidential elections, it presents itself as a secular party – unlike other European populist rights – oriented towards restoring national sovereignty to the French people, freeing it from the constraints of the EU and the euro, but also of NATO, and towards bringing France back to its *grandeur* in a multipolar world; it

supports state interventionism in the economy, with public control of strategic infrastructures and industries and the maintenance of welfare. It obsessively advocates the defence of a French national identity that does not distance itself either from the colonial past or from Vichy's pro-Nazi regime and proposes the reduction, if not the elimination, of the foreign presence, both of people and of capital.

In the 2019 European elections it was the first party in France, with 5,282,000 votes (23,3%) and 22 deputies out of 74.

## The European populist right: Alternative für Deutschland

The Alternative for Germany party was founded in 2013 by Bern Lucke, professor of macroeconomics at the University of Hamburg, and a group of economists critical of the European Union. Originally conceived as an antieuro platform, in 2013 it was decided to take part in federal elections without, however, obtaining a seat. The first victory comes in the 2014 European elections, when AfD manages to get seven MEPs elected to the European Parliament. In the federal elections of 2017 AfD enters the Bundestag for the first time, ranking third with 12,6%, electing 94 deputies. In the 2019 European elections, it obtained 11% and 11 parliamentarians out of 96.

# The European populist right: Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) was founded in 1956 and had as its first leader Anton Reinthaller, a Nazi and SS officer with the rank of *Brigadeführer*. After the Second World War, Reinthaller was accused of "high treason against the Austrian people", of being one of the main perpetrators of the *Anschluss*, and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. FPÖ was born as a national-liberal and Pan-Germanic party, but from 1986 under the direction of Jörg Haider began an ideological shift towards right-wing populism and national conservatism. In the 1990s, the theme of immigration and "Islamisation" became of primary

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importance: with the slogan "Austria first!", the tightening of immigration policies was promoted in order to safeguard Austrian cultural identity. The Freedom Party also supports the South Tyrolean secessionist movement and called for South Tyrol to unify with Austria. In the Austrian parliamentary elections, the FPÖ reaches its historic highest consensus with 26% of the votes and 51 parliamentary seats. In the 2019 European elections, it obtained 650,000 votes (17,2%) and 3 deputies.

# Xi Jinping

On building a human community with a shared future

The idea of a battle for the construction of a community of shared destiny for all the humanity has made its way for some years now within the Chinese leadership, up to enroll it in the Statute of the CCP approved by the 19th Congress of 2017. In this speech, given in the early days of 2017 at the United Nations headquarters in Geneva, the Chinese President, inviting to learn the lessons of a millenary history, strongly affirms the importance and richness of a world in which different histories, national conditions, ethnic groups and customs have given rise to different civilizations, for which the world is a richer and much more colorful place. Every civilisation is a treasure of humanity, there is nothing superior or inferior when it comes to civilisations, but only differences in traits and position; different civilisations should draw on each other's strengths to achieve common progress.

The recognition of a multicoloured and multipolar world is the indispensable premise for establishing – in a world undergoing profound and rapid transformation, driven by economic globalisation, which must be recognised as an inevitable historical trend – a common path, a mutually beneficial cooperation between all the countries of the world. Xi Jinping reaffirms the four basic lines of Chinese foreign policy: 1) supporting world peace; 2) pursuing common development: China's development has been possible thanks to the world and China has contributed to world development; the "Belt and Road" initiative aims to achieve development with mutually beneficial results that must be shared by all; 3) promote partnerships, friendship and cooperation with all countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence (affirmed in the 1955 Bandung Conference); 4) multilateralism as an effective way to preserve peace and promote development.

## Andrea Catone

The community of shared destiny for humanity and Marxist internationalism

Internationalism is in the DNA of the workers' movement. In its essence, Marxism is universalistic. The song of the International captures well the universalistic thrust of Marxism when it affirms that with the international organization of workers the human race, the future humanity, is reborn. There is a very strong ideal link between Marxist universalism and the proposal to work and fight to build a community of shared destiny of humanity, included, during the 19th Congress, in the statute of the CCP. This proposal has its roots in the history of humanity, it is conceived as the result of a long journey, of a historical process of trials and errors and learning from errors. Historical experience poses a serious anti-fascist discrimination. Together with anti-fascism, Xi Jinping's community of destiny is based on humanity's common values of peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom. But these shared values would remain in the sky of good intentions if they were not immersed in social reality, in its contradictions: the community that here is foreshadowed cannot be built leaving the world as it is, with its deep injustices and inequalities, but must be based on the questioning of capitalism that blindly pursues profit. Xi Jinping prefigures a world that is not yet socialist, but that leaves behind aggressive capitalism and imperialism. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is an integral part of this proposal and has an overall strategic value, not only economic, but also cultural. The BRI and the Community of Shared Destiny are two proposals of a single path that aims at the unification of the human race. This strategic proposal, which embraces an entire historical period, must be taken as a compass to guide the action of the communist parties, the workers' movement, the socialist and progressive forces of the world.