

# Rifondazione Comunista at its 6th National Conference : a strategy of textual and semantic analysis<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

In the last years the new Italian Communist party (Rifondazione Comunista) has acquired such a national and international importance to provoke the interest of political scientists. The 6th conference of the party (spring 2005) was very important because of the change from a traditional opposition attitude to the decision to form an alliance with the future Left government, in the case Romano Prodi wins the competition with Berlusconi. This change of perspective was long discussed within the party. As a matter of fact, during the 6th conference, five alternatives motions were discussed : the first was proposed by the secretary Fausto Bertinotti, who decided the alliance with the others Left wing parties, while the other four motions proposed alternative strategies.

To analyse this process we have considered 72 articles, published before the conference in the party newspaper (*Liberazione*) to support the different motions (18 for each motion). The textual analysis we carried out with the new release of TaltaC2 allows us to describe the contents of five groups of articles, the specific language utilised, the kind of actors cited in the corpus and the negative language used. This description is carried out also in a multidimensional perspective.

**Keywords :** Left wing party, political movement, Communism, semantic analysis, multidimensional textual analysis.

## Riassunto

Negli ultimi anni il Partito della Rifondazione Comunista ha acquisito un ruolo di rilevanza nazionale e internazionale tanto da suscitare un crescente interesse da parte della comunità politologica. Il VI Congresso del partito (del, 2005) segna un momento di radicale rinnovamento strategico rispetto alla vocazione oppositiva e resistenziale che ne avevano caratterizzato la prassi fino ad allora. La scelta di ingresso organico in un'alleanza di centro-sinistra, a livello nazionale ; la prospettiva della sinistra europea, a livello transnazionale, non sono altro che l'approdo di un percorso accidentato che si realizza attraverso un processo di strutturale rinnovamento della cultura politica comunista che, dall'internità ai movimenti, passa per la critica al potere e alla sua presunta neutralità e per il rifiuto della violenza come strumento della politica. Per analizzare questo processo si è scelto di analizzare i 72 articoli di stampa comparsi sull'organo di partito (*Liberazione*) a sostegno di ciascuna delle 5 mozioni presentate al congresso.

La strategia di analisi adottata utilizzando la nuova versione del software TaltaC2 ha consentito la descrizione anche di tipo multidimensionale del contenuto del corpus, attraverso lo studio del linguaggio peculiare, la ricostruzione di alcune categorie semantiche come il tipo di attori citati e l'analisi dei diversi livelli di criticità dei cinque gruppi di articoli.

**Keywords :** Rifondazione ; Partiti ; Movimenti ; Cultura Politica ; Comunismo ; analisi semantica ; analisi testuale multidimensionale.

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<sup>1</sup> This work comes from a common effort ; paragraphs 1 and 2 are written by Fabio de Nardis, paragraphs 3 and 4 by Francesca della Ratta, paragraphs 5 by Fabio de Nardis and Francesca della Ratta.

## 1. Introduction : the Prc between tradition and innovation

The new Italian Communist Party (Rifondazione Comunista) was born from the cinders of the old PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano) thanks to the work of a group of delegates of the party's XXth National Conference who opposed Achille Occhetto's decision to interrupt the traditional communist inclination towards a simple realignment of objectives (Panebianco, 1989) by their replacement via a profound and radical transformation of communist DNA. Almost immediately a group of "imprenditori politici" (political entrepreneurs) (Offerlé, 1987) is formed to announce its intention, the 3rd of February 1991, to create a new political body that can claim the inheritance of Italian communism and obtain a leadership position at European and international levels. To do so, the predominant coalition inside the Prc has had to handle a switch in policy still to be concluded, moving the party away from the cultural and organizational logic of classic mass parties (Mair, 1992) and pushing it towards the structure of an elastic movement, inside which different political components live together, often with difficulty and with a subjectivity and a rigidity of their own.

Lately the party is going through a real genetic turn, characterized, first by the radicalization and the consolidation of historical revisionism towards communism and the labour movement ; then, by the approval of an organic alliance with the Centre-left parties in the prospect of a future Centre-left government capable of defeating Berlusconi's Centre-right. This debate was held at the 6th Party Conference (March 2005), and to which refer the articles analysed in this paper.

The conference was characterized by strong unrest, resulting in the presentation of five conference papers, four of which alternative to the secretary's, who at the end prevailed, however, in the district conferences with a percentage slightly under 60%.

In table 1 are reported the titles of the five conference papers, all of which expression of a definite component provided with an organization, a certain presence in some districts and a system of external relationships. Each group possesses a centre for political and cultural formulation in one or two reference journals, where the "compagni d'area" (comrades) discuss the political situation and define the parameters of a world vision which often does not coincide with the strategic line decided by the party leaders.

The main contents of the motions are outlined below :

1) The first motion, «*L'alternativa di società*» («*The social alternative*»), expresses the approach of secretary Bertinotti's predominant coalition. The paper begins with a short introduction which assumes the world and Europe as the two great arenas where the new political Left parties and movements should act. In this motion central is the issue which in concrete becomes the thorny question of the 6th Conference, that is the government shift started by the majority coalition. The choice to take part organically in a coalition Centre-left government is taken in a particular way. Within a precise strategic situation, the entrance to decision-making rooms is not interpreted as an opening to alternative policies, but rather as an historical necessity due to the results of Berlusconi's Government which «*deve essere mandato a casa*» («has to be sent home»).

With respect to the organizational issue, reference is made to the need to redefine politically a party that finds it difficult to act as such and to satisfy the «*domande ricche*» (many requests) coming from outside, from women, young people and immigrants, those who represent differently the protagonists of a new revolutionary pathway and of a radical transformation of social life.

Motion N. and % of consent	Motion title	First signer	Reference journal
Motion 1 (59.1%)	«L'alternativa di società»	Fausto Bertinotti	- <i>Alternative</i>
Motion 2 (25.9%)	«Essere Comunisti»	Claudio Grassi	- <i>L'Ernesto</i>
Motion 3 (6.8%)	«Per un progetto comunista»	Marco Ferrando	- <i>Progetto comunista</i> - <i>Marxismo rivoluzionario</i>
Motion 4 (6.7%)	«Un'altra rifondazione è possibile»	Gigi Malabarba	- <i>ERRE (ex Bandiera Rossa)</i>
Motion 5 (1.5%)	«Rompere con Prodi, preparare l'alternativa operaia»	Claudio Bellotti	- <i>Falce e martello</i>

Table.1 – Structure of the Prc components at the 6th National Conference

2) The second paper, «*Essere comunisti*» («*To be communists*»), is the one which most protests against the cultural and identity transformation of the party, expressing the need to strengthen the historical and identity background of Italian and international communism insisting on its political cogency and social value. Despite this, on home issues, the signatories of the second paper do not exclude the possibility of a Prc participation to a government team, considering this fundamental to defeat Berlusconi and the Right parties, after that in four years the economic and social setback of the country has worsened ; at the same time, however, they stress that this participation will not come beforehand, but will have to be subordinate to precise programme requests that the leadership of Rifondazione still has not placed on the scale. Among these, the refusal of war ; the refusal to offer the use of military basis, air zones and logistic support for war purposes ; the repeal of the «reactionary» laws of the Centre-right ; the introduction of an automatic mechanism for salary, wage and pension recovery ; the fight against tax evasion ; a law in favour of representation and democracy at work to give back to all workers autonomous bargaining power. In this context the party must not lose its disposition to fight and to support strongly the great antagonistic subjectivity expressed not only by the *No Global* movement, but especially by those trade-union and other realities that have contributed in recent years to the reopening of the labour question in Italy.

3) The third paper, «*Per un progetto comunista*» («*For a communist project*»), unlike the second, expresses a totally alternative position to the first motion, both on international issues, with a sharp criticism of the substantially non-communist and socialdemocratic nature of the European Left-wing party, headed by Bertinotti, and on national issues, with reference to the government shift decided by the secretary. Indeed, for the advocates of this motion, no possibility of compromise with the economic proprietorship and its political references exists. The entrance of the Prc in a future Prodi government would prejudice the very name of the party, because it would force the Italian communists to be contemporarily on the side of the workers of Melfi and in a government blessed by the Fiat and by Confindustria ; on the side of the no-global movements as well as of the Maastricht bankers ; on the side of the pacifists as well as of the supporters of a Europe in arms ; on the side of the oppressed populations as well as of the hypocrisy of the United Nations.

4) The fourth paper, «*Un'altra rifondazione è possibile*» («*Another "rifondazione" is possible*»), more than the others, calls for the return to the movement spirit the Prc began at the Vth National Conference, showing that pro-government choices at national level and shyness in international solidarity, could damage, as in part has already happened, the relationship once stable between the party and the movement. Internationally, the drafters of the fourth paper could not but concentrate their attention on the war issue, asking for a policy

of radical pacifism, distant however from the official formulation of the party attributable to the criticism of the spiral war-terrorism. At home, the prospect of an alliance with the other parties of the Centre-left seems to be to the drafters an extremely unhappy one. Prodi, like the moderate parties of the Union, looks after capital and does not oppose it, while Rifondazione should keep to an alternative anticapitalist plan for society. Although the «Ulivo» (Olive tree coalition) for its history, culture and social presence cannot be put in common with the Right parties, it places itself as a horizon for capitalist interests in a context where Centre-right and Centre-left present themselves as two moderately alternative forces in the same capitalist formation. Rifondazione should therefore stay away from the risk of reaching a compromise on programme contents, and declare rather the programme priorities which express its diversity and its radicalism.

5) The fifth paper, finally, «*Rompere con Prodi, preparare l'alternativa operaia*» («*Break away from Prodi, prepare the labour alternative*»), aims mainly to criticize the government choice of the party, inserting it even in the title, so to propose a radically alternative pathway towards a party capable of leading the class struggle, which in Italy and in the world has acquired new strength. In this motion international issues are in the front-line : one can see the worldwide organic crisis of the capitalist system that emerges also from the great popular mobilizations in Europe, India, South Africa, and especially in Latin America, the most advanced battleground where great masses of destitute factory workers and farmers have fought against the oppression of a capitalist system more and more authoritarian and less and less capable of producing wealth. The resurgence of worker mobilization is fundamental also with reference to the national situation. The working class protests and it does so exactly in the area of Italy considered the most depressed, the *Mezzogiorno* (Southern Italy). At the core of the party's initiatives there should be the fight for worker's rights, for salary rises, for the nationalization of all privatized sectors under labour control, but also for school and research, for house accomodation, for the taxation of finance surplus hitting bourgeois privileges. In this scheme there is no space for a government alliance with political forces that assume a specific class connotation in contrast with the real interests of the subordinate classes. It would be necessary in addition to pursue an Alliance of the Left which openly aims at breaking any kind of dialogue with the bourgeois parties, making a strong and radical swing in comparison with the moderate and liberal policies of the last years.

## 2. The Conference debate : the text analysed

The text we analyse in this work is the sum of 72 articles, eighteen for each motion, published by *Liberazione* (the Prc party press organ) for a pre-conference political debate. The articles analysed allow us to understand the kind of debate inside the party as well as the process of political and cultural transformation the party is living. The articles were written by leaders, activists, trade-unionists who wanted to contribute to the conference debate with an address in favour of one or the other of the five motions then voted by the party members during the district conferences. The strategy of textual analysis<sup>2</sup> we have utilised has allowed us to single out the political and cultural aspects which characterize and differ the five groups of documents and which sometimes do not emerge from the simple analysis of conference papers. The *corpus* so obtained counts 63.719 occurrences with 10.214 different words and a medium-high lexical richness index, equal to 16%. The *corpus* is divided into five parts or documents, which have in common the motion they refer to. For brevity, we will refer to the different texts considering the motions they stand for.

<sup>2</sup> For the analysis we utilised the second version of TALTAC (TaltaC2, Bolasco, Baiocchi, Morrone 2005).

Theme words condense the main topics considered in the articles : *partito*<sup>3</sup> (*party* - 360 occurrences), *governo* (*government* - 313), *politica* (*politics* - 230), *movimento* (*movement* - 199), *alternativa* (*alternative* - 180), *sinistra* (*left* - 137) and *sociale* (*social* - 136).

A more detailed picture of the contents of the text is obtained through the analysis of its significant repeated segments : convenience has suggested us to connect these to a few thematic categories (party, society, home, movements, foreign, work).

The discourses concerning the “party” (“partito”) concentrate on key issues of the Prc internal debate. In addition to the great significance expressed by segments such as *rifondazione comunista* (*communist refoundation*), *essere comunisti* (*to be communists*), *progetto comunista* (*communist project*), which represent expressions indicated in the very titles of some motions, attention is given to issues such as the creation of a *polo autonomo di classe* (*autonomous class centre*), pointed out by the third motion as the possible alternative to the highly criticized agreement with the Centre-left moderate forces. *Non violenza* (*No violence*), crucial in party debate since the 5th National Conference, is then discussed ; expression of the cultural innovation the predominant coalition proposes as a new guideline in the practice of “nuovo comunismo” (“new communism”). *Nichi Vendola* is then mentioned, because after his historical victory at the primaries and at the presidential elections of the Region Apulia, he has become for many the symbol of Rifondazione’s ability in obtaining a cultural and political hegemony among extensive areas of society. *Alternativa di società* (*Alternative society*), *sinistra critica* (*critical left*) and *opposizione comunista* (*communist opposition*) are then discussed to express clearly the different political options the drafters of the motions use as foundation of their own political rhetoric. The *quindici tesi* (*fifteen thesis*) written by the secretary *Fausto Bertinotti* as a contribution to the pre-conference debate, but which were to become the core of the majority coalition motion, are also quoted.

Segment	Total Occ.	Segment	Total Occ.	Segment	Total Occ.
<b>PARTY</b>		<b>HOME</b>		<b>FOREIGN (continues)</b>	
Rifondazione Comunista	15	governo Prodi	32	popolo iracheno	4
Essere Comunisti	14	cacciare Berlusconi	20	America Latina	3
Progetto Comunista	14	Ds e Margherita	4	Iraq libero	3
polo autonomo di classe	10	alleanza di governo	3	no a qualsiasi guerra	3
non violenza	10	enti locali	3	<b>WORK</b>	
Nichi Vendola	7	Romano Prodi	3	Movimento operaio	45
alternativa di società	7	<b>MOVEMENTS</b>		legge 30	13
sinistra d'alternativa	7	democrazia partecipativa	10	scala mobile	11
Fausto Bertinotti	6	beni comuni	9	controllo operaio	11
Ernesto ed Erre	4	Porto Alegre	5	classe lavoratrice	7
opposizione comunista	4	no global	5	contratto nazionale	7
sinistra critica	3	social forum	4	aumenti salariali	6
quindici tesi	3	diplomazia dal basso	3	società capitalistica	5
<b>SOCIETY</b>		cariche della polizia	3	Termini Imerese	5
conflitto sociale	12	<b>FOREIGN</b>		pacchetto Treu	5
Bossi-Fini	10	ritiro delle truppe	11	redistribuzione del reddito	5
liberismo temperato	4	Sinistra europea	8	articolo 18	3
legge sulla fecondazione	4	elezioni irachene	7	leggi precarizzanti	3
Berlinguer-Zecchino	3	resistenza irachena	7	salario sociale	3
classi subalterne	3	spirale guerra-terrorismo	4	Fiat di Melfi	3

Table. 2 – Selection of significant repeated segments

<sup>3</sup> From here onwards the words in italics are used to indicate those really present in the text.

In the social sphere the activists' attention turns essentially towards the need to increase the level of *conflitto sociale* (*industrial strife*) and to be present in the places where this appears, expressing the contradictions of an instable system of production. In this sense, a particular call is directed to the *classi subalterne* (*subordinate classes*), generally the protagonists of such fights, like the immigrants, talked about with reference to the law *Bossi-Fini*, or the students and the temporary researchers, quoted with reference to the law *Berlinguer-Zecchino*; the law that according to many paved the way to the "contro-riforma" ("counter-reformation") of the educational system wanted by the Centre-right government minister Letizia Moratti. The recent law on artificial insemination, strongly connected to topics such as the laicity of the State, the freedom of scientific research and, of course, women's right to self-determination, are then talked about. Everything is dressed with sharp criticism – which touches to some extent all the motions – of the reformism expressed by the Centre-left, a kind of *liberismo temperato* (*temperate liberalism*) indifferent to the problem of social transformation.

Especially the most critical motions give extensive relevance to the topic "lavoro" ("work"), which is tightly connected to the above mentioned social ones. Here we talk about the *movimento operaio* (*labour movement*), the *legge 30*, the labour market law passed by the Berlusconi government and which Rifondazione comunista aims to repeal; about the *classe lavoratrice* (*working class*), about *controllo operaio* (*working control*), which refers to the workers' need to have voice in the running of an enterprise; about *aumenti salariali* (*pay increase*), *società capitalistica* (*capitalistic society*), *redistribuzione del reddito* (*redistribution of wealth*), revealing a radically socialist political culture. In addition the *Fiat* of *Melfi* and of *Termini Imerese* is mentioned with explicit reference to the explosion of labour unrest in the South of Italy; so are also the *leggi precarizzanti* (*precarious laws*) and the *pacchetto Treu* (*package Treu*), passed by previous Centre-left governments and accused of paving the way to the *Casa della libertà* deregulation policies. A reference to the mobilization for the referendum on the *articolo 18* (*article 18*), which saw all the alternative Left-wing forces of the country united against the risk of a new law on employment dismissal, could not be missing.

There is also a strong interest for movements, in particular for the *No Global* ones and for the innovations they have brought into the Italian political system, starting from the interesting experience of *Porto Alegre*, with the creation of *social forums* as an expression of *democrazia partecipativa* (*participatory democracy*) and of *diplomazia dal basso* (*diplomacy from the bottom*). Naturally every reference to social mobilization could not but include some critical observations on the climate of repression and the criminalization of movements the Italian Government has determined since the events of Genoa (*cariche della polizia-police charges*). In foreign affairs generalized attention is given to the need to demand a radical pacifist identity (*no a qualsiasi guerra-no to any war*), with the consequent necessity to call for the *ritiro delle truppe* (*pull-out of the troops*) from Iraq and the condemnation of the climate of tension in which the *elezioni irachene* (*Iraqi elections*) took place, making it more and more necessary to help the *popolo iracheno* (*Iraqi population*) obtain self-determination even through the controversial *resistenza irachena* (*Iraqi Resistance*), mentioned however only by the four motions of the opposition. The *sinistra europea* (*European left*) is then discussed and the attempt in Europe to close into one political organism the different formations which appreciate the values of a radical and anti-*laissez faire* Left-wing party is therefore mentioned. As to home politics, the main references regard the need to *cacciare Berlusconi* (*throw out Berlusconi*) and his government and the difficult issue of the new *alleanza di governo* (*government alliance*) with the leader *Romano Prodi*.

As well as the analysis of repeated segments, the comparison with lexicons of frequency allows us to single out the particular language, that is the sum of the words which are over-represented in the text when confronted with the reference model. This sum of words enables us to pick out the key topics considered in the text, beyond the frequency in absolute value of the single forms. As model of comparison we used the press lexicon inside TaltaC2.<sup>4</sup>

Among the most significative key words are the terms *migranti* (*immigrants* – 25 occurrences, with a standard deviation of 245), *lotte*, *mobilitazioni* (*fight*s, *mobilizations*), or also *lotta* (*fight* – with 85, 21 and 95 occurrences and deviation 144, 142 and 44 respectively), *movimenti* or *movimento* (*movements* or *movement* – 324 occurrences altogether, deviation 98), *anticapitalista* and *neoliberista* (*anticapitalist* and *neo-liberalist* – 14 and 29 occurrences, deviation 133 and 117 respectively). Among the words which refer to the government prospect followed by Bertinotti, it is interesting to notice that these are used especially in the most critical motions and not in the texts written in support of the majority coalition document : this is the case of words like *Ulivo* and *centrosinistra* (*Olive tree coalition* and *Centre-left* – 40 and 128 occurrences, deviation 133 and 127 respectively), adoperated more by who opposes the alternative prospect than by who hopes for it.

The dialectical cruces of Rifondazione's National Conference clearly emerge from this short reference to the key words. In addition to the obvious focus on internal issues with reference in particular to the opportunity, for some, and the risk, for others, of entering a government team, the National Conference discusses important aspects of the party's culture and political strategy : from the connection with the movements and from the party's closeness to all social battles to the reaffirmation of the anti neo-liberalist and anticapitalist nature of this complex intermediate body which, in line with the theoretical development of the new movements for another kind of globalization, does not renounce its own communist identity.

### 3. Differences between the five documents and textual criticism levels

In order to understand the level of criticism in the different articles, we used the dictionary of positive and negative adjectives (Bolasco, della Ratta 2004 ; Bevilacqua, della Ratta 2005) present in TaltaC2, adoperating which it is possible both to order the five documents on the basis of negative index values<sup>5</sup>, and to analyse in the specific the negative terms that characterize the different documents. Naturally, being motions of a radical Left-wing party, it is obvious that they all express a critical point of view towards the national and international situation. However it is interesting to observe that actually the most critical motions towards the motion of the majority coalition register the highest index values, while the articles with lower negativity tones are the ones that back the motion of the majority. The third, the fifth and the fourth motion reach in fact higher levels of "negativity" because they have to express their opposition not only to the predominant social system, but also to the majority coalition inside the party.

<sup>4</sup> The press lexicon present in TaltaC2 refers to the collection of all the articles published by the newspaper "La Repubblica" in the 1990s.

<sup>5</sup> The index is obtained calculating the ratio between the total of the negative occurrences and the total of the positive ones (tot. Occ. Neg/tot. Occ. Pos\*100). Analysis carried out on reference lexicons have shown that when the index value goes behind 40% the text presents characteristics of negativity higher than average (Bolasco, della Ratta, 2004). Before proceeding to the calculation of the index value, the adjectives were examined eliminating equivocal terms, like for example *sinistra* (*left*), which were badly classified.

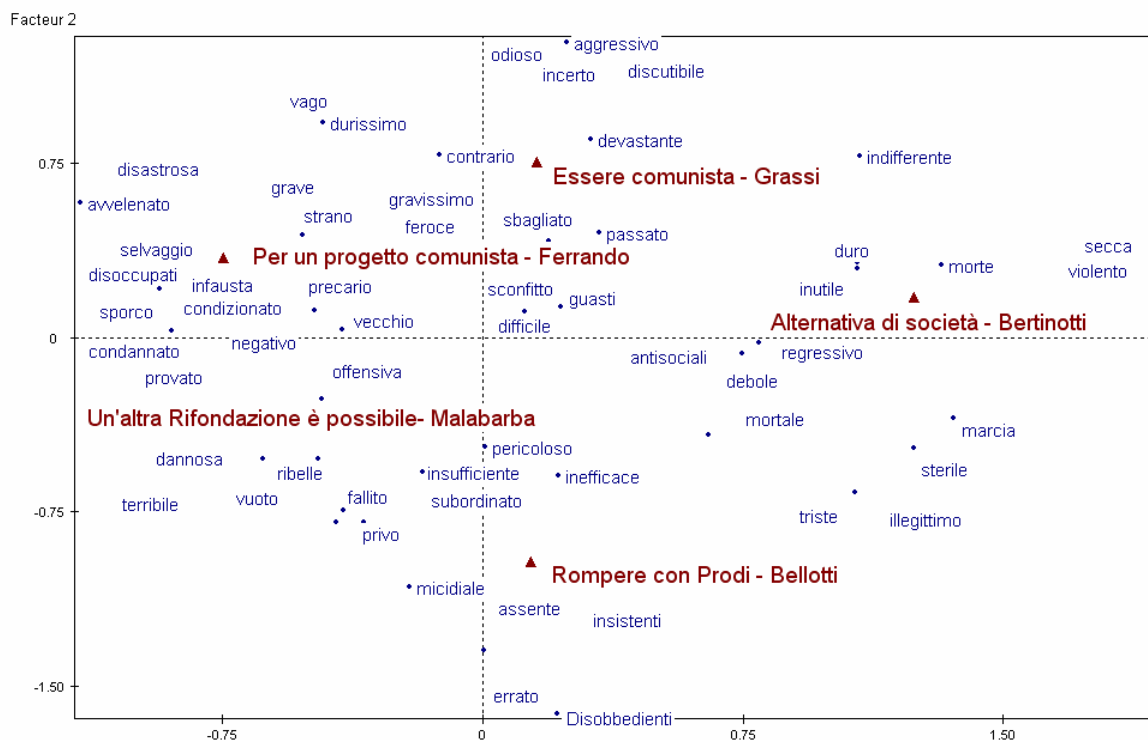
Documents	Negativity index
3. Per un progetto Comunista	46,2
5. Rompere con Prodi	38,3
4. Un'altra rifondazione è possibile	34,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>32,4</b>
2. Essere Comunista	28,9
1. Alternativa di società	21,0

Table. 3 – Documents ordered according to their negativity index

The distribution of negative adjectives between the five documents has undergone a correspondence analysis procedure.

The first factor proposes again the polarization between the documents with a higher negativity rate (“Per un progetto Comunista”-“For a Communist project” and “Un'altra Rifondazione è possibile”-“Another ‘Rifondazione’ is possible”) and the document of the majority coalition (“Per un'alternativa di società”-“For an alternative society”).

The second factor is instead characterized by the opposition between the second document (“Essere Comunista”-“To be Communist”), that although critical, results, even in its internal rhetoric, the most available to a synthesis with the majority coalition, and the fifth, proudly contrary from its very title to the prospect of an alliance with Prodi (“Rompere con Prodi”-“Break away from Prodi”).



Graph. 1 – Factorial plane of the negative terms that characterize the five documents

The strong differences between the five groups of articles are well represented also in the correspondence analysis carried out on the distribution of the vocabulary in the five documents. Also in this case the contrast between the motion of the majority coalition and the two most critical motions (the third and the fifth), is obvious.





reproduced the percentual distribution in the five documents of the different kinds of protagonists.

Category	Occurrences Tot.	Alternativa di società - Bertinotti	Essere Comunista - Grassi	Per un progetto Comunista - Ferrando	Un'altra rifondazione è possibile - Malabarba	Rompere con Prodi - Bellotti
Foreign politicians	45,3	55,3	50,4	36,6	41,4	47,4
Italian politicians	23,8	20,9	20,1	30,5	29,8	15,1
Political organisms	16,4	7,5	16,4	21,4	16,1	17,7
European places	7,8	10,0	6,1	8,4	6,2	8,7
Places outside Europe	4,7	2,1	5,4	1,2	5,1	10,0
Other organisms	2,0	4,2	1,7	1,9	1,4	1,1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>2984</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>538</b>	<b>729</b>	<b>628</b>	<b>610</b>

Tab. 4 – Documents ordered according to their negativity index

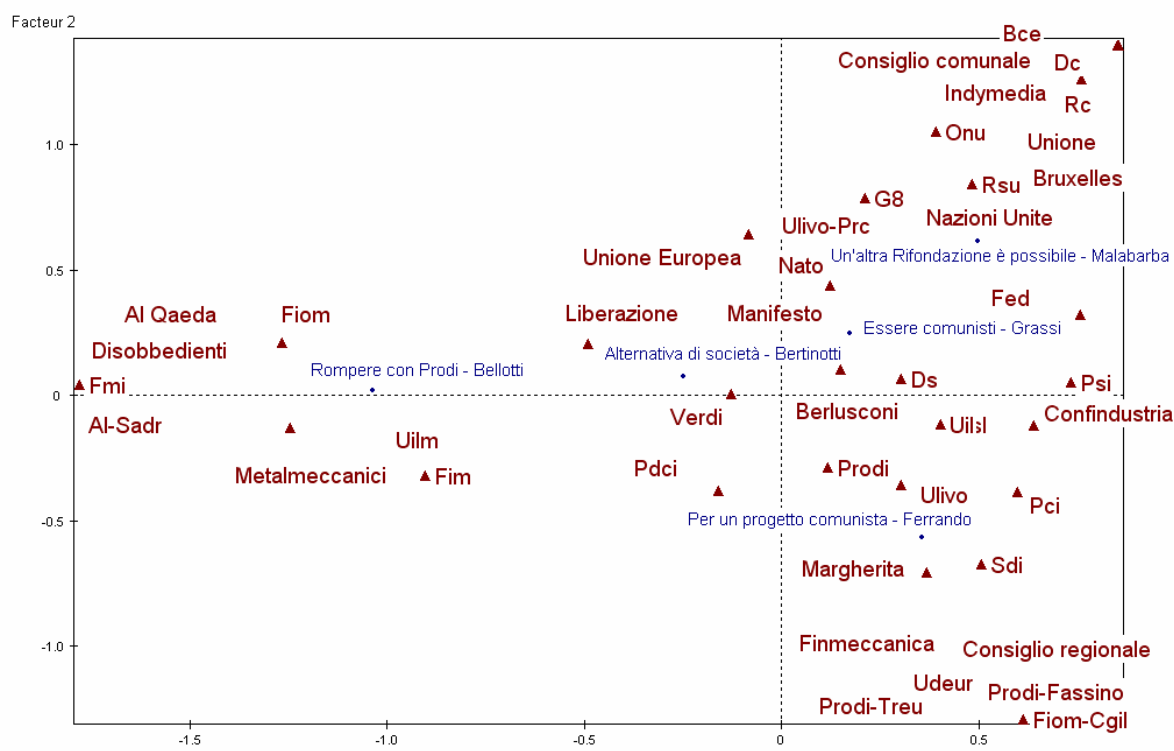
If the first and the second motion are characterized by an abundance of references to foreign politicians, it is especially the third motion (and in part the fourth), as we have already noticed in the correspondence analysis, to refer to the national debate and therefore to the Italian politicians and political organisms. In the first motion the references to national topics result rather from quotations of other organisms (basically national enterprises, state or private) or Italian and European places. On the contrary the fifth motion, more centred on the importance of the new cases of social strife, is characterized by a preponderance of references to places, both in Europe (in this case especially Italian, like Scansano, Melfi, Termini Imerese) and outside Europe (the Middle East, but also Latin America and South Africa).

The protagonists who correspond to each group of documents are analysed in the following factorial plane, which has been obtained reconstructing a lexical table, where in line are the five documents (assumed in this case as individuals) and in column the quotation frequency of each of the 252 subjects considered<sup>6</sup>.

With reference to the subject analysis, the document of the majority coalition (and in part of the second motion) seems nearly barycentric and it is characterized by the quotation of international political and institutional organisms : *Unione Europea (European Union)*, *Nato*, but also by politicized newspapers such as *Liberazione* or *il Manifesto*, or political parties such as the *Ds*, the *Fed*, the *Verdi*. The third motion (second quadrant) is characterized, as we have already seen, by the predominance of quotations of national subjects (*Prodi*, *Ulivo*, *Pci*, *Sdi*, *Margherita*, *Pdci*, *Verdi*, *Udeur*), but also of employer working associations such as *Finmeccanica* or *Confindustria*. The labourite and conflictual vocation of the fifth motion is well represented by the quotations of trade-unions (*Fiom*, *Metalmecanici*, *Uilm*, *Fim*), or of

<sup>6</sup> Also the possibility to obtain the lexical table "individuals x words" is one of the new opportunities offered by TaltaC2: the table is formed by the intersection of all the documents/individual responses with the vocabulary selected at a definite threshold or with a list of words decided by the user (in our case the 252 political subjects). The availability of this table, different from the traditional contingency table (words x texts), allows us to centre the correspondence analysis on the distribution of a portion of vocabulary inside different documents, releasing it from the relationship with the lexical profiles of different categories of the population. It is a very interesting opportunity especially in texts formed by numerous documents, as the case of open questions or interviews, but which can favour a significant close examination also in this case, considering the point of view of the protagonists mentioned.

highly conflictual national (*Disobbedienti*) and international (*Al Qaeda e Al-Sadr*) movements. The fourth motion is characterized by the predominance of quotations of institutional organisms renowned for their political and economic decisions (*Nazioni Unite-United Nations, Brussels, G8*), but also of “alternative” organisms such as the independent press agency *Indymedia* or the *Rsu* (Rappresentanze sindacali Unitarie).



Graph. 3 – Text protagonists : correspondence analysis of lexical table "individuals x words"

## 5. Conclusions

From the reading of the five conference motions and from the lexico-textual analysis of the articles published by *Liberazione*, the outlines of a party in movement clearly emerge ; a party which places together the tactical choices connected to the political situation and the attempt to redefine the strategical presuppositions which animate its daily activity. The choice of non-violence and of total pacifism, the criticism of power and of the twentieth century communist experience, represent a radical break away from the ideological tradition of the classic communist movement to move towards a new doctrinary project which proposes a new relationship between means and aims in the political battle against the capitalistic system of production and its militarist degeneration in the ways and methods of modern imperialism.

In the light of the social, economic and political transformations of the last two decades, the cultural crux is represented by the need to redefine the very idea of communism. This is the historical challenge of *Rifondazione*. The starting point is in the fundamental idea that communist is who assumes as strategic aim the abandoning of the capitalist social and economic system and its homogeneous state superstructure. In this sense, it is the revolutionary theory which has to be thought out again, liberating it from the “Messianics” of traditional marxism. According to this logic, Lenin’s reflections when he pointed out the weak points of socialdemocratic ideas and praxis, that is the conviction that capitalistic development could really bring to a more advanced society and consequently to a gradual

extension of labour power, are still considered modern. On the contrary, the gradual weakening of the middle classes would have pushed capitalism towards imperialism and war. Through these elements an indefinite postponement of the “catastrophic” crisis of the capitalist system of production, the structural condition for the revolutionary take off, would have occurred. The revolution is presented as a “process” rather than as an “instant”. «It is a real process which changes immediately the existent state of things [...] a real process which makes the impossible possible everyday» (Mordenti, 2003 : 93).

The very seizure of power which was at the basis of the traditional theory of communism, ceases to be a preliminary point of the revolutionary process. This because the construction of communism starts before the seizure of power and it continues after that moment. The State becomes therefore the ground for a political initiative where it is possible to bring out the internal contradictions of the system and this making the most of the areas of conflict. Conflicts caused by real tension among the social movements. The extension of the spaces for democracy has become the short-term aim of the communists, because only inside its institutes it can be possible to make conflict emerge. The revolution is therefore considered as a complete democratization of daily life. Communism is no longer a “destination” but a “journey” ; it is a real liberation movement which operates collectively also using organized forms of political action.

From the textual analysis point of view we have seen how the text used in our work, however simple in its structure (so simple that it was impossible to single out categorical variables to combine with it), results particularly rich of contents and well characterized in its parts. The strategy of analysis we adoperated aimed therefore to bring out the main differences between the five groups of articles from the point of view both of the contents and of the language and political culture, integrating the tools of lexico-textual analysis with the multidimensional ones.

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