

## INTRODUCTION

This article, published in what was at that time the review of our Party in Italian, *il Programma Comunista* no. 18/1969, sets down a problem that is always trending as long as the bourgeoisie feels that its system is in crisis and some fractions of the bourgeoisie get ready for the direct repression while others try to ideologically bind the working class for the struggle, not against the capitalist system, but against the "right" or the "extreme right". The usual scarecrows are wagged, whatever their name is: Salvini (La Lega), Meloni (Fratelli d'Italia), Orbán (Fidesz), Trump (Republican Party), Bolsonaro (Partido Social Liberal), Le Pen (Rassemblement National), Abascal (Vox), Meuthen (Alternative für Deutschland), Michaloliakos (Golden Dawn), Ventura (Chega), Kasczinski (Right and Justice), etc. and once the scarecrows have been wagged, they try to convince us the proletarians that our

fight is always that of defending the "democratic" or "progressive" fraction against this worse evil.

All the fractions of the bourgeoisie pursue the same purpose which is the defense of the capitalist system, and whatever differentiation between them is a defeat coefficient for the proletarian class. The position which identifies fascism as a return to feudalism, when it is actually a more modern form of defense of capitalism, the last resort against the proletarian revolution, is particularly poisoning. Our current established the correct tactical directives to frame this recurrent and traitorous pretension that the working class should allegedly be the insurer of the existence of the democratic bourgeoisie.

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## THE ONLY TRUE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST REGIME

During the whole electoral period in Germany, but as well anywhere else, the battle cry of the democratic Saint George that departs with his spear against the fascist dragon was echoed. All the "true democrats" – and who is not? – the "friends of the peace" and the Maoists, the student associations and the "reborn" German communist party, the Kremlin and the... White House, have called and call to the saint war against the rebirth of "Nazism". Merely 25 years after the end of the second world war, after the alleged definitive victory of democracy over fascism, we are therefore again at the starting point!

By watching things only on the surface, one could be tempted to pity that poor Saint George: he beheads the dragon again and again, but new heads always grow: this must be the hand of the devil! And actually, all the attempts of the democrats to explain fascism can be reduced to spells: *Vade retro, Satana!* Those who believe in the devil, can be satisfied with such explanations, and they grab the stylographic against it. For what has to do with us, we repeat the following Marxist thesis:

1. Fascism is neither a "return" to predemocratic forms, nor a "madness", but a *necessary tendency* of the capitalist society.
2. Therefore *no struggle against fascism exists outside the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism* by means of the revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.
3. Any call to the defense of democracy, any attempt to oppose fascism in the name of democracy, any alliance of the proletariat with "democratic" classes and parties, leads to the destruction of the proletarian movement and sets the stage to fascism.

We have not discovered these thesis today; the Marxist Left, which in 1921-23 led the Communist Party of Italy and which afterwards fought against the degeneration of the III International, formulated them ever since the first appearance of fascism, and the experience of half a century has done nothing but confirming them.

For the democrats, the distinctive character of fascism is the fact of openly exercising an "illegal" violence and abolishing the democratic rights and freedoms, something that makes the democrat uneasy. For us, not only there is nothing to cry for in

this, but the aspect mentioned above is not even absolutely sufficient to characterize fascism. We have always denied that class struggle can ever be refereed – as a football match – by a "legality" superior to the classes; we have always stated that the working class *cannot democratically* conquer the power, that the most democratic of all Constitutions protects capitalist production relations, and that democracy is only a masked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, when it does not watch out – and how many times has it done so! – to choke in blood the working-class movement.

*Refuse violence, call upon legality and democracy, and therefore renounce once and for all to the revolution!* We, on the contrary, are happy to see that the bourgeoisie is forced to remove the democratic velvet glove and to openly show to the workers its iron fist, demonstrating in such a way that there is no "right" above classes and that the right is only the mirror of the *force relations between classes*.

For us (and we have always stated so), fascism represents the attempt, 1) to overcome the contradictions inside the bourgeoisie, 2) to forbid all independence to the working-class movement.

Democracy was the political form that allowed the interests of the diverse bourgeois strata to express and defend themselves. In the period of the so-called "pacific expansion" of capitalism in the whole world (around 1870-1910), this form could prevail in the strongest bourgeois States; at that time the bourgeoisie could also tolerate an independent working-class movement, because it had the conditions not only to satisfy some of the immediate claims of the workers, but even to corrupt them by means of economic concessions, deviate them from the revolutionary struggle, and turn their organizations into reformism.

In the period of imperialism, things turn out to be more difficult. Imperialism pushes not only to the *concentration of capital*, but also to the *exasperation of all the contradictions of the capitalist society*. The bourgeoisie must try to dominate these antagonisms; this means that the interests of the capitalist "individual", of the single company, or of this or that social stratum, have to bow when facing the *general interest* of

national (and sometimes international) capitalism. As a representative and administrator of this general interest, the State needs to get more and more centralized; even the legislative power cannot be trusted to the free debate of the parliamentary spokesmen of all the bourgeois interests, but it ends up more or less directly in the hands of the big capital, which already has to "administrate" the whole.

In the same way, the bourgeoisie cannot tolerate an independent working-class movement. This does not mean that it does not tolerate any working-class organization (as in its revolutionary phase), but that it seeks to deprive these organizations of any *class political nature*, transform them into corporative organs and integrate them in the state administration.

In a nutshell, the bourgeoisie tries to prevent the fight between classes, *unitarily* organize its own society and "administrate" it in the alleged "interest of everyone". Of course, this attempt is doomed to fail, or better, it can only triumph for a certain time. In fact, the "free play" of the capitalist production laws that in this moment develops itself based on (apparently!) exclusively "technical" criteria, reproduces the traditions of capitalism on an even bigger scale, and it inevitably leads to *new social crises*. It is for this reason, after all, that fascism is right from its birth nationalist and an enthusiastic supporter of war: the bourgeoisie can "resolve" crises only by means of war, in order to restart a new cycle afterwards.

It is evident that this *general and necessary tendency* of capitalism is not performed in a straight and homogenous way; the ways and the speeds of this development depend on the particular conditions of this or that country. After the first imperialist war, it has appeared first in the *weakest* capitalist countries, Italy and successively Germany. Even though the bourgeoisie of those countries succeeded, thanks to social-democracy, in escaping from the first revolutionary assault, the proletariat remained in a threatening position and, on the other hand, the return back to movement of the economy presented not slight difficulties. Hence, here appeared for the first time the need to unify all bourgeois strata, whether in order to fight against the proletariat or in order to reorganize capitalist economy. The Italian bourgeoisie, one of the weakest, has shown the path to the rest. And it has also been in Italy where fascism has made most use of brute violence, since the proletarian movement was still powerful and it could only be torn apart by force, whereas in 1933 Germany it already was in the middle of its decomposition.

It was a big mistake of the Communist International, to define fascism as "reactionary". Of course it was reactionary, *but only regarding the proletarian revolution*: it was the completed form of the *bourgeois counterrevolution* and it was, at the same time, *the bourgeois progress*, as it could be more clearly seen after the second imperialist war, when the "democratic" States have even defeated the "fascist" ones, but fascism has defeated democracy, and sooner or later all countries have become fascist. We had foreseen it. We have not let the "pacific" appearances of this fascistization fool us and we still do not: on 1922-24 it was still necessary to attack workers in the streets and squares; in Germany, after 1933, police terror and concentration camps were still needed in order to intimidate and submit them; but after 1936 the Communist International was already so rotten, that the French "communist" party looked after subjugating the workers to the interests of the "Homeland" and to prepare them for the *union sacrée*: not to speak about England and America – for what reason should the bourgeoisie beat the workers that yield to its interests?

The degree of open violence only depends on the resistance capacity of the workers; but what we are most interested here with is the *content* of fascism and, after the war, it is clearly revealed everywhere: concentration of capital and political power, integration of the proletarians into the "people", into the national unity. And it is very characteristic that the evolution of the unions gets closer to the model of the Mussolinian "corporations", that is, that those tend to become "unions" that accept as definitive the capitalist production mode, defend the interests of the company and the nation, and in the best case limit themselves to protect the particular interests of certain categories as "shares" of the company or national production.

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Workers are not the only ones oppressed by the totalitarianism of big capital: the middle classes also suffer it. In the first postwar, this pressure was still weak, since the general reconstruction provided a way out for all the merchandises. But, with the first signs of the future saturation of the world market, with the first earthquakes that announce the crisis, international competition gets to its peak, every nation is forced to "rationalize" production, reduce costs, and it does so on the shoulders not only of the workers, but also of the petty bourgeoisie and small capitalists. The example of France is paramount: the old "usurer capitalism" has had to "modernize" itself and, for example, in the last 10 years it has been forced to eliminate close to 300.000 people from agriculture, while a great offensive against the small trade is in course and the State openly favors the concentration of the companies in order to make production competitive. As it is natural, this "modernization" gives raise to the resistance of the petty bourgeoisie, which is even stronger as long as no proletarian attack threatens the basis of capitalism. The history of Gaullism, which has only partially reached its goals, shows how the bourgeoisie has troubles in performing its unity when an acute class struggle is lacking.

In Germany, after the liquidation of any working-class movement, the military defeat and the war destructions have allowed the bourgeoisie to "pacifically" and "democratically" reach this unity: all the classes are subjected to the requirements of the reconstruction of German capitalism. But capitalist miracles do not last. Swollen by American capital, having gotten fat by means of the pacific exploitation of immigrant workers of a little bit from everywhere in the world, German capitalism (which Lenin already in 1916 defined as a concentration model) is today so plethoric that it suffocates inside its borders more and more as international competition tends to restrict them. (One of the root causes of the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968 has been precisely the need to forbid German capitalism to access this hunting reservation).

Thus, as it is in the order, not "of the things", but of the bourgeois economy, capitalist *expansion* leads to the *crisis*, which puts an end to the social peace and the international peace altogether. Classes enter again into a state of turmoil and the States start to clash: "pacific" fascism, the "democratic miracle", has gone down in history, and its *legitimate son*, brutal and warlike fascism, raises its head again. The NPD (German neo-Nazi party), for instance, expresses the objective expansion strength of German capitalism, as well as an intention to overcome the current crisis and the social conflicts.

It is clear, taking into account all that was stated, that shedding tears over this evolution has no sense. Statements such as: *"the behavior and declarations of the leaders and the speakers of the NPD... prove that in this party a militarist,*

*national socialist and in general antidemocratic mentality (!!!) rules" (7<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the DGB – the German worker union confederation), and assertions such as "It is necessary to impede that in Germany the process that led to the catastrophes of 1918 and 1945 is repeated" (regional secretary of the DGB of de Baden-Württemberg), are inoperant today as they were so yesterday. Their only true result it to maintain the illusion that men can freely "choose" between democracy and fascism, between pacific and violent exploitation, between peace and war. Behind all this phraseology, there is the old miserable petty bourgeois dream of the pacific coexistence between classes and States, the dream of capitalism without contradictions!*

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But it is not only a child dream. This ideology is *opium* fed to the proletariat *with ever more rush and insistence as long as the hard reality threatens to open their eyes and make them again accessible to the class positions.* One cannot "choose" neither between democracy and fascism (that is, between latent and open dictatorship of the capital), nor between peace and war. *As long as it survives, capitalism follows its path,* with its cycles of productive orgy and distribution madness, drinking now the sweat and then the blood of the workers.

This is the true alternative in front of which mankind is placed: DICTATORSHIP OF THE CAPITAL OR DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. Only the communist revolution, the destruction of the bourgeois State and the proletarian dictatorship, can break the yoke of the capital, turn into pieces its economic laws and rescue mankind from its "prehistorical" sufferings.

We do not grow vain nor want to delude the workers: we know that communist revolution will not happen tomorrow morning. Not because the workers do not have the strength to make it, but because this revolution is only possible if these ones

have their *class conscience* and their *class organization.* Those have been destroyed by the counterrevolution, and not as much with the baton and the rifle, but with *the democratic ideology.* The enemy that openly presents itself as such is much easier to oppose than the murky democrat that dilutes the clear consciousness of the class antagonisms in the unity of the poor, or the liberal petty-bourgeois that asks the proletariat to join it against big capital and, at the same time, strives to undermine all the *proletarian class politics* and afterwards turns into fascism since "at the end, there is no other option". The result of the wrong tactics of the Communist International has confirmed our position: these "friends" are the most dangerous!

**The true struggle against fascism is the struggle against democratism, the struggle for the reconstruction of the proletarian class movement with its class program and its class party, the Communist Party.** Some may argue that such a struggle requires too much time: "fascism is at the gates – they say –; let's all men of 'good will' join right now against it!"

That who reasons in such a way, is in reality nothing but a defender of capitalism!

The obstinate defense of the communist positions; the patient reimportation of such positions into the working-class; the daily union of the partial fights with the historical purpose of the proletariat; the stubborn fight against the democratic and pacifist ideology: those are the fundamental conditions for the class rebirth of the proletariat. These will require the necessary time; but this is *the shortest path, the only one!* The "struggle for democracy", today, is worthless. It had sense when the *precapitalist* structures and social relations needed to be overthrown. But now it is capitalism that needs to be overthrown, and, *this can only be done by the proletarian dictatorship!*

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