

ONCE MORE ON FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

[Paper by PRC, CPI (ML) for 'All India Consultative Meet of Radical Left Forces' on 14-15th Dec 2024 in Delhi]

1. Definition and Class Character of Fascism

When fascism is in power, it is *the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital (Dimitrov)*. Under fascist dictatorship, the old state form of bourgeois class rule is replaced by a different aforementioned state form of bourgeois class rule of open dictatorship, in which the fascist party rules by destroying not only other political parties except their allies, but also every semblance of democracy and political liberty associated with it. It not only robs the political liberty and existence of the working class parties, but also of other bourgeois parties one by one. And what is a fascist party? It is not a political party as such but a gang of political mercenaries of the worst elements of finance capital. It can be seen in the vastly reactionary socio-political and ideological movement that history has ever witnessed, which is mainly based on conspiracies and falsification of history as well as lies and slander, which precedes this form of bourgeois dictatorship. It springs from this movement, feeds on it and thrives on it. Hence it is entirely different from the normal bourgeois dictatorship that resides in and works behind the political shell of democracy. Fascism not only destroys the political shell and brings the veiled bourgeois dictatorship in the open completely naked, but also enforces a regression. History starts moving in backward, rather than in forward direction. The progress achieved by Mankind so far in every field is under direct assault. Mankind is thus led to the darkest era. As such it is the crudest political expression of the economic monopoly of finance capital and in complete conformity with its nature of establishing monopolistic domination that, starting from the economic field, seeks to take under its control every field in which politics and state are on the top as it helps eliminate all opposition as far as possible before it really embarks upon the path of establishing a single world trust (this is what the laws of capitalist development are ultimately directed towards) that will absorb all the social wealth, enterprises and states. But first of all, it will lead to complete expropriation of society sans a few. It also means that the highest possible level of socialisation of capital and capitalist production coexisting with the system of private appropriation will be materially achieved thereby pushing contradictions inbuilt in capitalism at the stage of imperialism to zenith. But it is only theoretically possible. Practically, if finance capital tries to achieve it by resorting to fascism and thus try to overcome or quell the intra-class contradictions and antagonism, and tread the ultimate path the laws of capital accumulation naturally envisage for finance capital, it will accentuate the same (class antagonism) to such a point of unprecedented devastation that may threaten the very existence of the human civilization and the whole capitalist-imperialist system may explode from within as well as from without. This is where the laws of capitalist accumulation ***naturally and tendentially*** lead the world to, if it is not transformed and freed of capitalist relations which is the main source of all evils. The rise of

fascism, which is the most violent and reactionary expression of this tendency, however, confirms that world capitalism will explode and society will be freed of its capitalist chains.

When fascism is not in power, it remains active in society as an ultra reactionary mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie based on racial, communal, cultural-ethnic and national hatred of the worst kind. Then, it is an enemy lying in wait, which can be used by big capital whenever it is favourable to do so. It means that fascism, even when it is not in power but being financed, can be menacing.

Though in formal sense it is a mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie whose existence is precariously endangered and who either have been expropriated or have come on the verge of expropriation, yet on the whole it is led from behind the curtain by the most reactionary elements of finance capital that ignite and nurture it, and paves its way to power by financing it.

However, a difference exists between situations, when fascism is not in power and when it is. When fascists capture state power, either from **within** (peacefully, by winning parliamentary elections and grabbing state institutions one by one gradually) or from **without** (violently, by organising coup d'etat), this movement becomes a serious menace on a day-to-day basis **as** it starts enjoying the direct support of the state machinery. This means a fight against it gets hindered and hence proves to be even more acute.

2. Home and Foreign policy of fascism

In home policy, it is the organisation of terrorist conspiracy and vengeance of capital (particularly big capital) against the working class, the revolutionary sections of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, as well as the revolutionary progressive intelligentsia. Although it may be able, for a time period, to attract the support of the people by demagogically presenting itself as “an honest and incorruptible government” that works for the general welfare of the people and country. It appeals to “the most urgent needs and demands” of the people. It also “plays on their sense of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions” and utilizes them to its own advantage, even though the fascists are never a part of, or rather they are opposed to, those traditions.¹ Its special ability lies in this fact that it can combine the art of inflaming the popular reactionary prejudices deeply ingrained in the masses with the art of playing on their *sense of justice*. It thus presents itself as the champion of the ill-treated people and their sentiments. In this it takes advantage of the anger entrenched in masses against the plunder of the ruling bourgeoisie and misgovernance of the erstwhile ruling parties².

In foreign policy, it is the organisation of war, making alliances with aggressive imperialist powers based on geo-political rivalry, against other imperialist powers and their blocks for control over markets, sources of raw materials and for grabbing spheres of influence. It is the spearhead of bestial hatred and jingoism against weak countries and people. It must be noted

¹ Quotes from Dimitrov's Report in 7th World Congress of Comintern (1935).

² In India, we can see how BJP still exploits the anti-people, pro-capital and corrupt policies of the previous governments of Congress, revisionists and other parties, and takes advantage of them to rally the masses behind.

that even this is utilized by the fascists to serve their home policy. Actually, the reactionary policies of war and plunder pursued abroad by them are portrayed as their policy of patriotism. This is one of the fascist agenda which must be fought seriously.

In a nutshell, the home policy and foreign policy of fascism are the same. In both, fascism is the organization of the worst form of war against people at large, whether at home or abroad. It is an open display of religious-ethnic-cultural hatred and fiendish nationalism and, based on this, an organisation of ferocious attacks on democracy and political liberty. Its system of governance is the system of political gangsterism, provocation, threat and torture. On the whole, it is an organisation of medieval barbarity and bestiality unleashed on people. All power is concentrated and centralised in a few hands at the top with the result that democracy is turned into democracy of unfreedom as young Marx wrote about monarchy of the feudal era.³ The idea and politics of Hindu Rashtra or *Ramrajya* is just a means of achieving this. However nothing stops the fascists from using popular phraseology and peddling social demagoguery to artfully exploit the popular prejudices ingrained in the minds of oppressed people of one community against other communities, to gain the following of the **same** oppressed people who suffer at the hands of the same exploiters and oppressors that support the fascists. Here, we can see the artifice of RSS and BJP. We can also see how fascists have been able to win the support of the same petty bourgeois strata which has been under severe attack by the ruling big bourgeoisie who finance and support the fascists by every possible means. It is in the nature of things that if there is no progressive and revolutionary alternative, the petty bourgeois masses and even the backward sections of working class tend to fall in the trap of their own exploiters and oppressors. It happens to be possible due to the absence of class struggle of the proletariat which could have caused their political disillusion. They or at least the vast majority of them wouldn't have supported the fascists, had they realised the true character of fascism through the experience of class struggle. Hence the need to expose its true character by waging class struggle is of paramount importance for the working class.

3. Why Fascism today?

It is a question that is being frequently asked and debated: why is fascism emerging today when there is no immediate threat of proletarian revolution to capitalism in any corner of the world? To many of us, the question seems to bear relevance and sounds credible if considered superficially i.e. if we mechanically draw historical parallels to the advent of fascism today with the one that arose in the second and third decade of 20th century, when the working class and its revolution was an immediate threat⁴ to world capitalist system. The very existence of the Soviet

³ Karl Marx, Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843-44).

⁴ The Comintern documents reveal that the events that occurred in Poland, Bulgaria and Germany between May and October in 1923 were a proletarian revolutionary war aimed at overthrowing the capitalist rule in those countries and hence represented a threat to world capitalism, **although** it is also true that the working class faced defeat in all of them which opened the floodgate of the war of vengeance of capital on the proletariat in the form of fascism. Particularly in Germany, ECCI documents inform us that "*in connexion with the development of the Ruhr crisis, the proletarian class struggle entered on a new phase, passing from that of the gradual mobilization of revolutionary forces into one concerned with the struggle for power.*"

power in spite of encirclement and attacks of imperialist powers, even after a series of defeats of proletarian revolutions in Europe, was haunting the capitalist world like a living spectre.

It is nonetheless true that ***although today*** there is no serious, neither direct nor indirect, proletarian threat to the capitalist-imperialist rule in any corner of the world, ***yet today*** there is an unprecedented rise of far-right forces including fascist forces in almost every country of the world. The fascist offensives are taking place *from within* as well as *from outside* in all seriousness. This is an objective reality that no one can deny and hence it owes an explanation.

We know there are many explanations that vary from each other. To us, the main reason lies in this fact that a very deep economic crisis has engulfed the present day world capitalism. The particularity of this crisis is that it is unyielding and proving to be a **general** crisis as it in no way seems to be stymied in near future by any capitalist-imperialist measure whatsoever. As its underlying cause and internal dynamics are proving to be long term, it has the potential of causing irreparable damage up to destabilising and blowing up the whole capitalist system *from within* with disastrous *external* impact because, most importantly, it is revolutionising the proletariat in such a manner as never seen before. It can be ***convincingly*** said that this crisis has thrown the working people in hopelessness by enabling the workers and common people to ***clearly see*** that there is going to be no end to their woes. They see that the opposite is happening *as* the ruling bourgeoisie, chiefly the captains of monopoly finance capital are taking exceptionally harsh measures, both economic and political, against labour and common man's interests *so as to* maintain its super profit and thus transfer the burden of the unrelenting economic crisis *wholly* on to the shoulder of the working class and the common man. But this shift is not possible if the ruling bourgeoisie maintain even the modicum of decorum of bourgeois democratic rule and old form of bourgeois legality. Not only this, we can also see that the overthrow and destruction of bourgeois democracy and rise of fascism, taking place either from ***within*** or ***without***, is also nurturing revolt and rebellion in the masses. This is what's frightening the bourgeoisie. Seeing that this distant possibility is rushing nearer, the captains of monopoly capital, chiefly the finance capital, have embarked upon a wide offensive and sought the path of fascism, either of one or the other variety, to pre-empt the possibility of working class revolution, however distant it may appear for now. It is here that a shift from 'democracy' to fascism is needed.

4. Impact of Irreversible Mode of Crisis on Fascism

Moreover, as the crisis is in an irreversible mode⁵, so will be these ***exceptionally harsh measures*** against labour and working people. So, while the ruling bourgeoisie in the whole world

⁵ Ruling bourgeoisie knows it well that the present crisis is such that world capitalism may not be able to fully recover from it so as to usher in a period of sustained and substantial growth above the previous trend growth rate, as the profitability of capital is in a condition of continuous decline since 1973 i.e. it has never attained the level it had reached in 1973. What we have witnessed since then is that economic crises strike again, even more fiercely than before, well before it could be fully stymied. We see that the crises has come in succession, overriding one recovery after another, every time deepening and widening its base in this process since 1973, so that devalorisation of capital taking place on a very big scale only can lead to sustained and substantial growth, however, about which even the economists hired by capitalist class are not optimistic. If we examine the trajectory of crises

seek salvation in fascism despite temporary absence of proletarian revolutionary threat, now-a-days they are trying to seek salvation in fascism on a long term basis. This is directly linked to the unyielding nature of the present day crisis of world capitalism. It means that today's fascism is not going to be a temporary phenomenon. It, however, also doesn't mean that it is going to be a stable phenomenon. Of course, its underlying factors, reasons and their overall dynamics (crisis of world capitalism) are relatively more stable than those which gave rise to its 20th century counterpart, but whether fascism and fascist dictatorship will be a stable phenomenon is questionable as it depends on many other factors. However, this relative stability entails some specific features to the present day phenomenon of fascism. For example, its occurrence might not be taking place in one single giant step using extraordinary violence, *meaning thereby* that its arrival will be in the form of recurring waves. It requires that the old political shell or form of capitalist rule is not shed off or overthrown *immediately*. This is what we call the peaceful or gradual takeover of bourgeois democracy from within. This requires that the signboard of democracy, mainly the Parliament or Elections, may remain intact for longer period of time (though in subverted and badly soiled form that may be beyond recognition) even when the bulk of fascist takeover is already completed. Similarly the degree of violence used by such a fascist regime will be lesser in amount than was used in the 20th century. It will be a matter to be decided according to necessity of its use, depending on various factors ranging from the balance of social forces at a particular time in a particular country, the intensity of inter-imperialist conflicts giving rise to revolutionary struggles and civil war, the degree of acuteness of class-conflict between the bourgeoisie and proletariat and the possibility of its growing into a successful proletarian socialist revolution. There can be many more situations that may necessitate the use of the highest degree of fascist violence. The main thing is that so long as the struggle of overthrowing the fascists from power is confined to the opposition sections of the bourgeoisie and parties that have erstwhile ruled, the fascists will respond to it relatively peacefully and meanwhile the old political shell of bourgeois rule will remain intact, at least for show. But if there arises an anti-fascist people's struggle which takes a decisive revolutionary turn⁶, even if its immediate aim is to ***decisively*** win the battle of democracy in favour of people at large by decisively defeating fascism *once and for all* which may throw a ***revolutionary government of transient nature*** as

in capitalist growth, the kind of the long and chronic depression world capitalism was suffering with till the 1890s would have certainly destroyed capitalism had monopoly capitalism not arrived and brought with it the two world wars in quick succession, the latter happening in the wake of rise of fascism. As world capitalism survived from this, the destruction caused in the two wars brought relief in the form of golden period of growth to world capitalism as that led to devalorisation of capital on a big scale bringing a period of sustained growth for two successive decades. The theory of this clustering of developmental factors beneath the layers of devastation and destruction is becoming more and more difficult now as a decisive world war may not be fought, due to the looming danger of it turning into a nuclear world war that may cause a complete destruction of humankind and the earth itself. Hence, the uniqueness of the present day crisis is due to both, monopoly capital depending for profit on unproductive financial sectors rather than on productive sectors where new values are created, as well as the impossibility of a decisive world war causing as much destruction as is necessary to give the devalorisation process of capital a very big push that may lead to substantial and sustained growth period.

⁶ And it will take this decisive turn only when the proletariat is at its helm and leading it from the front. It no doubt means that this will be a proletariat-led people's revolutionary struggle against fascism. We call it the immediate revolutionary program of the proletariat. If such a struggle wins, its immediate aim will be to destroy the very roots of fascism.

its organ, the fascists will immediately show their true colours and resort to extreme violence, and the greater possibility is that the old political shell of bourgeois rule will be finally thrown off. A naked and crude fascistic rule (in India it may take the form of Hindu Rashtra, a variant of monarchy) will be eventually established in that situation. So, to define the 21st century fascism *generally as something* (on any pretext or ground) that "doesn't give up the shell or veneer of bourgeois democracy" (The Anvil, March 2023) is a crude over simplification.

Apart from this, fascism can't be a stable state form of bourgeois dictatorship *ultimately*, because, as the Comintern also says, though "fascism undertakes to overcome the antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, but it makes these antagonisms even more acute" and fiercer by establishing its political monopoly and destroying other political parties. Such a situation cannot exist for long as it will ultimately accentuate intra-class as well as inter-class contradictions to a point where they will explode the political monopoly of fascism. After all, fascists can't abolish classes and class contradictions. Hence if it makes the existence of all opposition illegal, even then their parties, at least a number of them, will continue to exist and make progress, though illegally. It will not finish them rather will make them steeled and tempered and capable to lead the struggle against the fascist dictatorship more strongly. It is true for all parties of democracy, but it is truer for the party of the proletariat as it has always borne the brunt of struggle against the attacks of capital. Hence, such illegality will further strengthen it and sharpen its blows of class struggle. We have already written above that rise of fascism shows that the political shell of bourgeois rule is bound to explode and turned into its opposite as the pace of centralisation and concentration of social wealth as per the laws of capital accumulation is too high.

Another reason is the increasing contrast between the social-political demagoguery of fascists (according to which they talk of promoting the general interest of the nation and people) and its actual policy of enriching the monopolist bourgeoisie. It enables the people and particularly the proletariat to expose the fascists and shake their strength by narrowing their following. Furthermore, the above enriching policy of the fascists⁷ will ultimately arise a sense of deep hatred and indignation in the masses and revolutionize them. It will awaken not only the working class but the whole people who are oppressed and exploited under fascism. A violent government of this character cannot for long maintain its authority in the eyes of the broad mass of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie.

5. Basic elements of Indian Fascism

India bears witness to all the basic features of fascist offensive as mentioned above in the form of Modi's rule, though with certain specific characteristics, that needs to be mentioned and discussed.

⁷ Which not only includes enriching the monopolistic bourgeoisie, but also seizing the greater part of national income for preparing the machinery and instruments to wage a reactionary war abroad as well as against its own people. It naturally undermines the economic life and well-being of the whole country and the people who are being increasingly starved by unemployment, price-rise, lack of welfare measures and unbridled loot of the social wealth.

In India, caste-based hatred and Brahminical supremacist ideology (Hindutva ideology) is one of the basic elements of the fascist movement and a specific characteristic feature of Indian fascism. The rise of Indian fascism reflects itself as movement whose aim is to turn India into a Hindu Rashtra which will eventually be a Hindutva-based Monarchist rule. It's exact variety may still not be clear, but one thing is clear that it will, in the main, serve the interests of big monopoly capitalist class, chiefly the monopoly finance capital.⁸ **However, this element of caste-based division is purposefully downplayed and its rhetoric sought to be toned down as this fascist project cannot be victorious without 'uniting' all so called caste Hindus.** It is another matter that the problem of caste disunity is not going to be resolved, and elimination of the competition associated with it is not possible by such superficial and verbal unity espoused by the fascists. It needs caste annihilation which itself needs the abolition of the capitalist system based on private property.

As everyone knows fully well, the so called Hindu Rashtra will be based on the sanatan religion which cannot work and sustain without the existence of caste hierarchy based social structure. So what they actually want is different from what they politically profess in order to dupe the oppressed masses. They want not the end of caste hierarchy. Not at all. Rather, they want its re-birth, re-assertion and resurgence. That is why they work for establishing the Hindu Rashtra by re-vitalising Sanatan on the one hand, and demolishing democracy to establish monopoly capital led modern day monarchy, the much touted Indian variant of fascistic dictatorship, on the other. Once they are victorious in establishing Hindu Rashtra by defeating and smashing democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces of this country, they will resort to establishing old barbaric system of social oppression on a new modern base, that is, the base of monopoly capitalism. The rule of capital will remain, but will wear a new façade of Hindu Rashtra or *Ramrajya* then. We must however characterise it as the rule of monopoly finance capital that chiefly strives for domination and not for freedom. This will be the quintessence of the new rule.

Coming back to the point that the fascists are trying to unite all caste Hindus, they know that for this some common enemy needs to be invented so that all caste Hindus are easily mobilized against that common enemy. Here comes the role of creating an atmosphere of hatred and despise against Muslim and Christian community. But, it seems that they have chosen the Muslim community as their chief target, at least for now. Their tactics is to keep the anti-Muslim feeling in all castes Hindus high to the brim so that caste-division and competition between them are 'vanquished' (covered and made out of sight). Caste identity is sought to be suppressed with a bigger identity (Hindu identity) under a *design*. It's a well-orchestrated tactic based on a policy of *co-option* of few at one level and *continuation of suppression of all* under the age-old caste hierarchy at another level. That's why the post of President is "given" to an adivasi or a dalit, but they are "kept out" from the places of worship and important happenings. This became evident at the time of inauguration of the new Parliament building as well as the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya.

⁸ It is along with serving the interest of the whole capitalist system and its stability, because their interests exist only *as long as* the capitalist or better to say capitalist-imperialist system itself exists. However, it is also true that by depriving capitalism of its best political shell i.e. democracy, whatever be the reason for this, it is robbing/has robbed the capitalist class of its ability to dupe the masses.

We therefore see that a unique Hindutva-based nationalist politics has evolved that **even** tries to re-interpret Manusmriti and Hindu scriptures to justify the birth of varna system as something progressive and pro-people, and at the same time attributes the emergence of the highly rigid caste hierarchy based social division that shaped the destiny of a large number of people living in this part of the planet for hundreds of years, to those *who came from outside and ruled here*. According to the particular strategy, they mainly attribute it to the Muslim rulers of the medieval period. *On the whole*, we can clearly see that their attempt to at least verbally and superficially promote a unity among different castes is just a tactic and a design for the success of their main project, the purpose of which is to unite all caste Hindus emotionally and mentally against a particular community as the common enemy of all and thus a threat to the security of the whole country.

Even this purpose to unite all caste Hindus has a unique purpose i.e. to recruit *foot soldiers* from among the poor OBCs and Dalits or Adivasis in lieu of some meagre doles for waging ground war against Muslims and others who criticize it. As they are deprived of any social prestige and respect, they are offered, it is so argued, an opportunity to feel prestige when they march through the streets of Muslim *mohallas* wielding weapons and shouting abusive slogans. They have been tutored to feel pride in this. They have been mentally trained to feel from this that they too have some worth. But they don't know that once the project of Hindu Rashtra becomes victorious, they won't have any worth. The class of working people, to which they belong, will suffer the most and the monopoly capitalist class will benefit the most from this. Naturally, such a system will give rise to all types of inhuman systems and mode of exploitation and oppression including Brahminical caste based social exploitation and oppression, that too, on an intensified scale that erstwhile existed in India.

6. Essence of today's Fight Against Fascism

The essence of revolutionary struggle of the working class against fascism can be understood from the words of Marx & Engels, the greatest teachers of the working class, who say that "*the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy.*"⁹ That is, winning the battle of democracy so that the working class is raised to the position of the ruling class is the revolutionary essence of any working class revolution striving for liberation worth its name. It is **a condition** for the political victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie.

Hence, by the same logic as arising from this fact that fascist dictatorship is nothing but the most ferocious state form of the **same** bourgeoisie and the deadliest ever enemy of human emancipation, it (winning the battle of democracy and raising the working class to the position of the ruling class and state power) also becomes a condition, **rather a far more necessary condition**, for its complete defeat, as complete as is necessary for saving the society from savagery of fascist regression. Far more necessary because fascism is far more ferocious and due to this it necessitates far more exemplary commitment and determination that only the

⁹ The Communist Manifesto (1848).

revolutionary proletariat can consistently display in this fight. Clearly, the difference is minor and formal, while the essence is the same i.e. the working class needs to raise itself to the position of ruling class as a far more necessary condition to defeat fascism decisively while aligning itself with such steadfast anti-fascist forces revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie, revolutionary peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia. There might emerge some other temporary allies with whom the proletariat may have to align too, if they assist it in fulfilling the minimum task of completely eradicating fascist forces from every realm of society. Victory in this will naturally facilitate further domination of the proletariat. There will come then not the need to halt but advance it further on the road to complete liberation of the people living on this planet i.e. from class emancipation to complete human emancipation.

We therefore find that the possibility of ultimate and complete victory of fascism in the near future has made the question of winning the battle of democracy not only in India but in the entire world an immediate revolutionary political task for the working class. What does it really mean? It means **to win the battle of democracy in a manner that ensures the working class' position is raised to that of the ruling class, is the most important link between the proletariat's fight against fascism and its liberations from wage slavery.** It is the main link that ensures the working class intervention *from above as well as from below* in the revolutionary people's fight against fascism. Otherwise, whatever fight working class wages against fascism will go in vain and only benefit the opposition section of the ruling bourgeoisie that is vying for power against the fascists.

As far as the question of protecting bourgeois democracy is concerned, it's also an important task of the working class because bourgeois democracy, by providing formal political equality and freedom, provides an open space - an open battle field free from all pre-capitalist weeds - to the working class to wage open class struggle. Therefore, today when fascist forces are making a fatal attack on bourgeois democracy, it is necessary to save it, **although** saving it alone i.e. saving it in isolation from the above-mentioned condition that requires the working class to win the battle of democracy so that is raised to the position of the ruling class, cannot be the totality of its goal in the fight against fascism. It means that although the defense of the existing bourgeois democracy, however subverted it may be, is included in the context of fight against fascism, yet the **most** important task of the working class in this fight is to place itself, along with its allies who are fighting fascism alongside it, in the position of the ruling class in order to win the battle for democracy decisively, once and for all, against fascism. This makes one thing clear that **even** in the context of the defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism, the task of the working class cannot be to **just** follow the opposition bourgeois parties (tied to the same monopoly capital as the fascists) and **limit** its goal to merely saving bourgeois democracy. This requires the working class to unite with all who are in the fight against fascism and intervene from below as well as from above and work for a people's revolutionary upsurge and put its immediate agenda as the formation of a revolutionary government as its organ. Speaking concretely, the main task of the working class today is to fight to win the battle of democracy against fascism decisively and, for this, raise itself to the position of the ruling class by riding on the crest of the people's revolutionary upsurge and forming along with its allies a revolutionary government as its organ

which will have its minimum political agenda or task to eliminate fascism decisively so that society and mankind is first of all saved from its attacks once and for all i.e. decisively. Only this is in the spirit of what Marx-Engels say as quoted above.

A victory in such a battle of democracy, even when it is being fought in the stage of fascist takeover and hence the working class is obliged by material circumstances to fight in alliance with temporary allies, will lead to a democracy that will undoubtedly be more extensive, deeper and more real than bourgeois democracy i.e. one that is led by bourgeoisie which is always restricted, limited, stunted, obstructed and increasingly crippled by monopoly capital. But again, for this, the proletariat will have to fight to win the battle of democracy so that it is raised to the position of the ruling class, even though it will be obliged to share power with its temporary allies for the time being.

There are conditions to be fixed for this kind of intervention. First of all, it will have to bring unity of action of all the anti-fascist real forces on the basis of an anti-fascist revolutionary program that puts forward a concrete slogan for today's fight and leads them all from the front for the realisation of this slogan. According to us, as also told above, such a slogan can only be the formation of an intermediate revolutionary government whose minimum program will be the total destruction of fascism and fascist forces, so that the country, society and humanity can be saved from the threat of possible complete destruction. This is the most immediate, concrete and clear task before the working class, both in terms of protecting democracy from fascism and winning the battle for democracy in favour of greater humanity and for raising itself to the position of the ruling class.

Naturally, a victory in this battle will open the door, which otherwise seems closed, for the working class to go further directly into a fight for the fullest realisation of its long term goals. It means the revolutionary government will be of a transient nature, as once the unity of will and action against fascism is carried out successfully, a fight will emerge within it with regard to its future direction. The proletariat would like to go further, while some of its allies may not. The outcome of this fight will determine its future, but the formation of a revolutionary government will certainly be a great way forward in this period of darkness that prevails today and envelops all our hopes.

In the end, we feel most strongly that the biggest problem facing the forces standing against fascism is that there is no clarity about the alternative that addresses the problem of today's fight against fascism in a concrete manner. We don't have any concrete slogan for this fight. Whenever we take up formulating one, we get bogged down in something else (going with the bourgeois opposition) or formulate something abstract in the name of revolutionary propaganda against fascism. We even don't do or cannot do this concretely. We haven't yet learnt it. We often do not ask ourselves as to what a concrete revolutionary propaganda against fascism can be. The sooner we come out of this mess, the better!