

THE ELECTIONS IN SAXONY-ANHALT FASCISM'S WAR OF POSITION IN EUROPE AND THE POSITIONS OF OPPORTUNIST GROUPS



NEW HEGEMONY



Contents

- 1. The 6 September elections in the state of Saxony-Anhalt**
- 2. Three opportunist blocs of far-left parties and groups in the run-up to the German elections on 6 September**
- 3. The opportunist Trotskyist and Bordigist groups**
- 4. The opportunist bloc of the ‘red-browns’, left-wing populists and groups such as the CARC-nPCI**
- 5. The bloc of forces supporting social-fascism**
- 6. Fascism as the embodiment of imperialism’s reactionary war of position**
- 7. The rise of fascism and the question of the proletarian revolution**
- 8. Against the advance of fascism: for the Anti-fascist People’s Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism**

edited by the Editorial Board of Nuova Egemonia

1.The 6 September elections in the state of Saxony-Anhalt

The recent elections in the state of Saxony-Anhalt (formerly part of the GDR) saw further growth for the AfD, which, in addition to drawing support from the traditional ruling parties of the German bourgeoisie and from the radical left itself, also secured votes from a large section of the electorate that had previously chosen to abstain. In addition to all this, the AfD has already received declarations of support for the formation of the new state government from Sahra Wagenknecht, the undisputed leader of the BSW, a party that surpassed the 5 per cent electoral threshold. Among the various theoretical possibilities for state government open to the AfD, a coalition with the BSW already appears entirely feasible.

As evidence of a shared ideological and political background, the AfD promptly received congratulations from Trump.

The situation that has arisen in the state of Saxony-Anhalt, on the one hand, reflects quite accurately that which emerged following the 2025 elections in the other states of the former GDR and, on the other hand, points to the continued rise of the AfD in the rest of Germany, where it currently stands at 20 per cent and where, moreover, around 65 per cent of the party's voters reside. It should, however, be borne in mind that the most recent polls put the AfD at 30 per cent across the whole of Germany.

In various forms, with fluctuations of little significance or, in any case, insufficient to guarantee a medium-term alternative, this trend towards the advance of the fascist or Nazi-fascist far right is effectively at work in all European countries. Essentially, it is characterised by the tendency to form a genuine regime, in the form of a single bourgeois party or a fascist governing coalition.

This trend manifests itself on three fundamental levels:

- 1) the complete disintegration of the traditional bourgeois parties,
- 2) the growth of far-right forces which are capitalising on the crisis of hegemony facing the traditional parties,
- 3) the nature of voter abstention, which is only partly an expression of a progressive mass trend and which, therefore, also constitutes a breeding ground for the growth of far-right forces.

It is by considering this broader picture – in which the elections in the state of Saxony-Anhalt clearly represent yet another symptom of an overall situation and dynamic affecting the European imperialist countries as a whole – that we must identify, highlight and criticise the positions taken by the main factions within the small parties and opportunist groups of the Italian radical left and far left regarding their assessment of the rise of the Nazi -fascists of the AfD, supported by the ‘National-Bolshevik’ fascists led by Sahra Wagenknecht ¹.

2. Three opportunist blocs of far-left parties and groups ahead of the German elections on 6 September

Before delving into a more specific assessment of some of these forces, three fundamental blocs can be identified:

- a) that represented by Trotskyist, Bordigist, workerist and similar groups, which traditionally underestimate the problem of fascism to the point of collusion and complicity;
- b) the red-brown, left-wing populist bloc, which effectively represents a transition between adherence to communist ideology and the promotion of objectively right-wing themes,

c) the one that supports the 'centre-left', viewing it as a bulwark against the advance of the right, and which ends up disarming the masses at every level in the face of the very advance of fascism.

These factions share a common ideological and political nature, characterised by the fact that they work together to:

- conceal the fact that the relationship between the big monopolies and the state in imperialist countries objectively embodies fascism;

- ignore the fact that bourgeois democracy is a historical phenomenon and has therefore undergone five transformations which have made it increasingly corporatist and reactionary;

- deny that, since the 1970s, a process of the fascistisation of the state has been developing;

- to obscure the link between the phenomena relating to the process of fascistisation and the dominance of state monopoly capital (public and, following the 1970s, primarily private ⁱⁱ);

- to conceal that the intensification of the general crisis of imperialism, the deepening of the oppression of oppressed peoples and small nations, the development of inter-imperialist war, and the economic offensive against the proletariat and the popular masses are forcing the big bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries down the path of the full fascistisation of the state;

- thus, to confuse fascistisation with the mere rise of far-right political forces;

- erroneously seeking the driving force behind the processes of fascistisation in the initiative of the masses of the small sections of the bourgeoisie affected by the crisis, who are

therefore assumed to be ready to take to the streets, both, on the one hand, against the bourgeoisie itself (through abstention or the so-called ‘protest vote’ for the far right and thus against the established parties), and, on the other hand, against the unionised working class, immigrants and mass progressive opposition movements, which would be identified as the privileged beneficiaries of specific economic and legal protections;

- thus, denying that the essential nature of the rise of fascism lies in the actions of large monopolistic financial and industrial capital linked to the state (in particular to its military and repressive apparatus), serving to dismantle representative institutions, liberal bourgeois legal systems and the ideology of formal democracy;

- identifying fascism, instead, with full-scale counter-revolution and with open and widespread terrorism.

3.The opportunist Trotskyist and Bordigist groups

The first camp is represented by those groups which, whilst denying the fascistisation of the state, describe the repressive measures – which have been in place for decades and have intensified particularly in recent years – as a typical manifestation of ‘bourgeois democracy’. The essence of this tendency is the revival of Trotskyist, Bordigist and social-democratic conceptions of fascism as a mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie aspiring to seize control of the state. This is the theory of fascism as Bonapartism. The consequence of this theory is that the bourgeoisie, or a significant section of it, is seen as having an interest in defending its positions against the very advance of fascism. The traditional parties of the bourgeoisie are

viewed – even whilst they themselves are undergoing a reactionary transformation and thus giving rise to more repressive forms – as capable of opposing the rise of fascism, which is assessed as ultimately counterproductive to the bourgeoisie itself. ⁱⁱⁱ These Trotskyist positions result in an underestimation of the problem of fascism and the adoption of categories such as the ‘police state’ or ambiguous and eclectic formulations relating to a supposed ‘modern-type fascism’. In Italy, this camp comprises SI Cobas, Iskra, Pungolo Rosso (TIR), the PCR and other Trotskyist groups, as well as theorists of ‘modern-style fascism’ such as Proletari Comunisti-PCm. The Trotskyist PCR’s stance on the elections in Saxony-Anhalt neatly summarises this tendency. In the article ‘*Saxony-Anhalt – What are the reasons for the AfD’s victory?*’^{iv} of 11 September 2026, they state:

“The election result in the state of Saxony-Anhalt struck the German ruling class like a bolt from the blue.”

“There is confusion. Racist and anti-immigrant sentiments exist. All of this is very real. But although the result has caused natural alarm amongst many young people and those on the left, we must warn against the idea that this represents a ‘shift to the right’, let alone a growing wave of ‘fascism’.”

“This is class anger, a confused form of class anger.”

“Would the AfD in power herald a period of reaction or even ‘fascism’, as some have suggested? No. That is not the prospect.”

“For the broader sections of the population who voted for the AfD, the party has nothing to offer but false promises. Ultimately, for them, the party’s appeal will fade.”

For their part, the theorists of ‘modern-style fascism’

represented by Proletari Comunisti-PCm (a group from Taranto and Palermo that claims to fuse Maoism with workerism and Trotskyism) typically assert:

“The victory of the electoral list associated with neo-Nazism in Germany took place in an extremely small state, with around 2 million voters, within a country of 83 million. From this perspective, it must be stated straight away that we are not on the eve of Nazism spreading in these forms throughout Germany. The percentage achieved in Saxony is not easily replicable in many parts of Germany; we are not, in the immediate future, on the brink of the Nazis coming to power in Europe’s leading country, in Europe’s leading imperialist power. In this regard, the hype surrounding the German election clearly serves a political purpose for the imperialist bourgeoisie and its press outlets: to sound the alarm about the advance of Nazism in an attempt to defend the current governments which represent the interests of the ruling class in Europe – in Germany first and foremost – when it comes to the Nazis, but this also applies to other imperialist European and Western countries in general”^v.

4.The opportunist camp of the red-browns, the left-wing populists and groups such as the CARC-nPCI

The second camp is made up of the ‘red-browns’, stemming from the splits in Rizzo’s Communist Party (represented in particular by the PCUP), the revisionists and left-wing populists of the Rete dei Comunisti, and the right-wing opportunist line (Italian ROL) of ‘Marxism-Leninism-Maoism’ represented by the CARC-nPCI.

This tendency adopts the Trotskyist framework of Bonapartism

with an even more pejorative twist. Indeed, it further emphasises an interpretation of the rise of far-right forces as relating to a supposed combination of progressive and regressive aspects. The rise of far-right forces is therefore viewed directly as a symptom of a situation brimming with the potential for change, or even linked to a deepening of the contradiction between reaction and revolution.

The red-brown PCUP party (the so-called Communist Party of Popular Unity, originating from Resistenza Popolare) appeared on Instagram with a post by its national deputy secretary, Salvatore Catello, which speaks for itself, given the party's defence of (in line with the positions taken in previous years by Resistenza Popolare) the views of the red-brown, AfD-aligned fascist Sahra Wagenknecht:

“The success of the AfD, the German far-right party, in the Saxony-Anhalt elections is yet another demonstration that the ‘systemic’, warmongering and imperialist line pursued by the centre-right and ‘liberal’ left does not serve the interests of the people, but those of big business... Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, only Sahra Wagenknecht’s courageous party has revived a policy close to the working classes; indeed, it secured 5 per cent of the vote on its own... A genuine alternative is needed, in Germany as in Italy, where for far too long the interests of those who live off their own labour have been ignored by the political agenda”.

Similarly, in its online newspaper Contropiano, the Rete dei comunisti avoids considering the election result within the context of the general advance – now underway for several decades – of the far right in Europe. Instead, by attempting to confine the issue solely to Germany or even the former GDR, it

argues – amongst other things, using a blatantly pro-Putin logic – that this result is due to the ongoing war in Ukraine and the related sanctions against Russia, going so far as to claim that it was the working class that voted for the AfD as the vanguard of opposition to the inter-imperialist war:

“There is no doubt that the war is producing increasingly evident political effects and that the social bloc of labour rejects the militarised and paternalistic model of a European Germany.” ^{vi}

A typical expression of this tendency is also found in the positions of the CARC-nPCI. In the CARC’s recent article of 12 September entitled ‘*On the AfD’s victory in Germany and the tasks of the socialist revolution*’, which takes up the red-brown theory attributing the AfD’s rise to the war in Ukraine and Germany’s alignment against Russia,⁷ it states:

“In the regional elections of 6 September in Saxony-Anhalt, the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) secured a victory with 43.8 per cent–44.6 per cent of the vote... A protest vote and an expression of the discontent of the masses against the German grand coalitions... The programme with which it achieved this result was contradictory. On the one hand, the AfD proposes measures that reflect the practical needs of the masses

Gerrman working-class parties... On the other hand, a mixture of ultra-liberal ideas combined with reactionary measures.”

“The election result is sparking debate within our country’s communist movement, particularly regarding interpretations that view the AfD’s victory primarily as evidence of discontent amongst the masses.”

“That discontent is the main obstacle, in terms of prospects, to the drive towards war. Its direction is a source of

contention between these forces and the communist movement. From the outcome of the vote in Germany, we must take the lesson that the communists' field of action is vast, fruitful and full of promise."

"What is happening in Germany? Germany, once the industrial powerhouse of Europe, is now plunging into an ever-deepening crisis. First the pandemic, and then its involvement in the proxy war against the Russian Federation – which for decades had supplied Berlin with cheap energy – have overwhelmed the country. The end of energy supplies from Russia was definitively imposed by the sabotage of the Nord Stream gas pipelines, orchestrated by the US imperialists in 2022. Since then, Germany has been forced to buy gas from the US at much higher prices. The high cost of energy is causing serious difficulties for the industrial sector, exacerbating the effects of the general crisis. The deterioration in relations with the People's Republic of China – the leading market for German industry – also plays an important role in this process, due to the German government's adherence to the anti-Chinese manoeuvres sought by the US. And the tariffs imposed by Trump, particularly on cars, also play their part." ^{vii}

5.The alliance of forces supporting social fascism

The third camp is represented by AVS, the PRC, the newspaper Il Manifesto and the entire vast network of associations situated immediately to the left of the PD. This tendency is characterised by ideological and electoral support for the centre-left (currently the M5S and the PD). The most characteristic positions are those of the PRC, which speaks of the need for a 'united anti-fascist

front' to confront the right. Positions of this kind are also often glimpsed in the initiatives of opposition movements. The essence of these positions is one of open collusion with social-fascism, that is, with the forces in power such as the PD and, subsequently, the M5S (which has shifted from the fascist-populist camp of governments with the Lega to 'centre-left' governments), which are themselves organically linked to big finance capital and Italian imperialism, and which have worked over several decades – often in government roles – towards the fascistisation of the state, the economic offensive against the proletariat and the popular masses, and imperialist and warmongering policies. These positions therefore represent the left wing of social-fascism and, as such, must be identified and fought against. To claim that the M5S and the PD are opposing fascism—both the fascistisation of the state and the forces of the far right—is to spread falsehoods, to deceive, to create further confusion amongst the masses and to facilitate the plans and manoeuvres of big finance capital and Italian imperialism. Ultimately, it means working to prevent the formation of the subjective conditions necessary for the development of a mass opposition to the advance of fascism.

6.Fascism as the embodiment of imperialism's reactionary war of position

Fascism consists in the transformation and hollowing out of the liberal-democratic form of the state. This transformation in an ultra-reactionary direction takes place during the transition from free competition to imperialism and, subsequently, against the backdrop of the deepening of imperialism's general crisis. It is therefore a process that passes through different stages over time

and is, on the whole, characterised by an oscillating trend that can essentially be defined by a line of interpolation linking the form of nineteenth-century bourgeois democracy to the current perspective represented by the development of fascism on a global scale. Dying imperialism not only tends towards fascism, but is also increasingly explicitly and directly fascist in nature. It is therefore entirely opportunistic to conceive of the question of fascism in a mystical manner, as if, at some point, the rise of fascism were to occur suddenly in the form of the seizure of the state by an ultra-reactionary, militarised mass movement characterised by squadrist and militaristic initiatives, or in the form of a military coup. Fascism asserts itself progressively and therefore, certainly, through qualitative stages, but within the development of the reactionary war of position, as clearly highlighted by Gramsci, who emphasised the police-state, rather than military, nature of its rise. This strategy can be illustrated, again drawing on Gramsci's categories, as a siege war that advances by progressively scaling back and eliminating everything that still points to some form of 'liberal-democratic' state and, therefore, also to the corresponding legal systems and ideological forms. The 'artichoke' strategy can serve as a useful metaphor for such a reactionary war of position.

7.The rise of fascism and the question of the proletarian revolution

If the world proletarian revolution is the main trend in the world, originating from the oppressed countries and peoples, the counterpart to the development of this trend is inevitably fascism, driven by the various imperialist powers, starting with the USA, Russia, China and the European powers. In the

imperialist countries, the rise of fascism favours the tendency towards revolution, but certainly not in the sense of the Trotskyists, the left-wing populists and the ‘red-browns’, who equate the electoral success of far-right forces with an expression of protest by the masses who, at a certain point, miraculously—and through some unclear direct political experience—would abandon the nazi-fascists and switch to the camp of communism and the proletarian revolution. The processes of fascistisation and the rise of fascism, so to speak, favour the proletarian revolution insofar as they are themselves an expression of a general crisis of imperialism and of the vitalnecessity for the imperialist bourgeoisies themselves to intensify the confrontation with the proletariat, the masses and the oppressed peoples – a situation which, taken as a whole and over time, obviously amounts to a sort of gigantic paradox. What matters is that, with the advance of the processes of fascistisation, the tendency towards the disintegration of the historical parties of the bourgeoisie, and the rise of far-right forces suitably directed and fueled by the big bourgeoisie, the trend towards proletarian revolution is developing not as a directly anti-capitalist and socialist revolution, but on the one hand in the form of a strategic defence and on the other in that of an anti-fascist democratic-popular revolution.

It is therefore necessary to oppose with determination, in our country, the falsely militant, maximalist and ‘anti-capitalist’ rhetoric of the various opportunist groups on the far left, all of which are invariably characterised by a general underestimation of the advance of fascism.

This underestimation essentially amounts to the revival of a reformist and legalistic perspective, characterised by illusions regarding the supposed solidity of ‘bourgeois democracy’, within which one could proceed with a strategy of the peaceful

accumulation of trade union, political and opposition forces, which it is believed might eventually, at some point, lead to the formation of a party and the launch of a revolutionary process.

8. Against the advance of fascism, for the Anti-fascist People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism

This opportunist, rhetorical and falsely 'barricade-minded' and internationalist approach must be countered by the necessity of forming a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party that fully incorporates the universal contributions of Chairman Gonzalo. A party that must be formed and developed by progressively incorporating—qualitatively rather than quantitatively—advanced levels of individual and collective subjectivity relating to the working class and the popular masses, with a view to forming an Anti-fascist People's Democratic Front representative of a new political power and a New State in the making.

As the terminal crisis of imperialism deepens and fascism advances, it is necessary to establish a strategy capable of fusing the struggle for democracy with that for socialism. This is obviously not a question of the struggle for workers' democratic rights, but of the need for an indirectly socialist revolution.

This type of revolution is the 'Anti-fascist People's Democratic' revolution. It is the type of revolution that the anti-fascist resistance in Italy was in fact pursuing, and which, solely because of the Salerno turning point and the rise of Togliatti's revisionism, was unable to develop and establish itself effectively. It is a People's Democratic Revolution on the Path to Socialism, which arrives at socialism through a prolonged process of uninterrupted development.

This strategy requires, following the model of the Great Anti-

Fascist Resistance, a protracted people's war ^{viii}. To this end, it is necessary to build a front of political and class alliances broader than that envisaged by a directly socialist revolutionary programme. In particular, for the formation of this political and social bloc under proletarian hegemony, it is necessary to organically link the Southern Question—with the associated need for a revolution against the semi-colonial economic and political oppression (perpetrated by Northern imperialism and the axis between that imperialism and the great bureaucracy and large landowning estates of Central Italy) of the popular masses of the South and the Islands—with the struggle against fascism and imperialism.

AGAINST OPPORTUNIST GROUPS, FOR MAOISM AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANTI-FASCIST PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION ON THE PATH TO SOCIALISM!

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ⁱ See the highly topical book published in January 2025 by the editorial team of Nuova Egemonia, entitled: 'SAHRA WAGENKNECHT AND THE RETURN OF "NATIONAL-BOLSHEVISM' <https://nuovaegemonia.com/2025/01/27/4907/>. This book accurately characterises the red-

brown fascist nature of Wagenknecht's party and foreshadows its evolution in terms which, today, are in fact finding precise political confirmation.

ii Generally speaking, liberalism, revisionism and opportunism confuse state-monopoly capitalism with one of its phenomenal forms, represented by the relationship between the state and the 'large public monopolies' (such as, for example, in their time, the State Holdings, the Bank of Italy, the public broadcasting system, the public health service, energy and telecommunications subject to state control, the Post Office, etc.). Conversely, from the Leninist perspective, the large private industrial and financial monopolies—relating to large-scale retail, healthcare and tourism, etc.—are also, and at times above all, an integral part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

iii This position is rooted in Trotsky's theory of 'Permanent Revolution', according to which big finance capital has an international and cosmopolitan character and stands in contradiction to forces such as the fascists, who promote protectionism and policies anchored to 'nation-states'. This position is even presented from a theoretical perspective, arguing that the principal contradiction lies between 'productive forces and national borders'. Similar positions are today upheld by supposedly 'Marxist-Leninist' forces such as the FGC and the Fronte Comunista, to deny the problem of fascism and reduce forces such as the Lega or Fratelli d'Italia to an expression of provincialism and corporatism

iv <https://rivoluzione.red/sassonia-anhalt-quali-sono-le-ragioni-della-vittoria-della-fd>

v <https://proletaricomunisti.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2026-09-11T07:52:00%2B02:00&max-results=>

vi <https://contropiano.org/news/news-economia/2026/09/08/la->

guerra-in-ucraina-ha-distrutto-la-sassonia-anhalt-019841

^{vii} <https://www.carc.it/2026/09/12/sulla-vittoria-di-afd-in-germania-e-i-compiti-della-rivoluzione-socialista/>

^{viii} A genuine mass ‘people’s war’, then, and not the farce of the CARC-nPCI, who define their strategy of accumulating political forces (certainly not shunning the electoral arena) as a ‘people’s war’ – a strategy aimed at establishing a people’s bloc government to which, in their view, the bourgeoisie will have no choice but to respond by resorting to civil war.