

# C.I. Resolution on Fascism Shows Dangerous Omissions

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

The full text of the resolution on Dimitroff's report has now been published. In comparison with the report, the resolution is an improvement on several points tho it still contains a number of serious shortcomings which may have dangerous consequences unless they are corrected.

It recognizes the "temporary defeat of the proletariat in Central Europe." The belated official acknowledgment of this fact is a step of progress inasmuch as it presupposes the necessity of learning from the defeat.

## WHAT IS FASCISM,

Fascism is defined in two different ways: once correctly as a peculiar form of the dictatorship of finance capital as a whole. Secondly, incorrectly, as the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." The second definition leads to the conclusion that there are less chauvinist, imperialist elements of finance capital who are opposed to the fascist dictatorship. In fact, there have been various remarks in the press of the Communist Party of Germany to the effect that sections of the bourgeoisie may want to be rid of the fascist dictatorship. The German Social-Democracy is noted for its reliance upon the anti-fascist action of the Reichswehr, of the top bureaucracy and a section of the capitalist class. It is therefore necessary to meet such deviations and confusion with an unequivocal and clear definition of the fascist dictatorship.

The fact that the resolution warns "against dangerous illusions that fascism will collapse automatically" is not accidental. These illusions were very widespread in the Communist Parties, and they are closely related to the theory of the "third period."

The resolution correctly states that the united front movement is still "in the very first stages of development." It goes on to say that in France "the first advances of fascism have been defeated." This substantiates the widespread notion among the French working class and the French C.P. that fascism in France has been decisively defeated and repelled. On the other hand, one can interpret this to mean that the present stage of the united front struggle in France is not as yet completed but merely a beginning.

## THE UNITED FRONT

The resolution lacks a concrete analysis of the weaknesses and errors of the united front tactics in France. Such an analysis becomes all the more necessary in view of the fact that the united front in France has become the international model of united fronts. The warning against mechanical transference of tactics from one country to another as con-

tained in the resolution on the report of the ECCI, was not applied as the discussions of the 7th World Congress have clearly shown. The guarantee against such mechanical transference is a thoro criticism of the experiences and practice of the united front in France by the International. Only such a thoro examination of the question will make for a non-mechanical generalization of the experiences of France to all countries. There has as yet been no adequate discussion of the French united front.

The resolution states that the establishment of the united front will be "the most important immediate task of the international working class in the present historical epoch."

## UNITED FRONT AND SEIZURE OF POWER

After seven years of the ultra-left course, after the heavy defeats of the working class in Germany and Austria which were closely tied up with the failure to apply the united front it was undoubtedly necessary to emphatically point out the fundamental significance of the united front as a turn to the reformist organizations. If, however, the tactical turn on the united front question is not to lead to serious opportunist errors, the CI must at the same time determine the limits and the aim of the united front. A Congress of the CI does

(Continued on Page 4)

## Nazis Murder C.P.O. Leader

Inside of a year the Leipzig organization of the CPG (Opposition) has to mourn a second victim through death in its ranks. Within this year comrade Heinrich Plas was brutally murdered in the Leipzig police prison.

We are informed that on August 23, 1935, Comrade Anna Schumann, functionary of the German Communist Opposition died in the Waldheim prison. Comrade Schumann was a veteran of the Leipzig labor movement. She was active in the days of August Bebel and Liebknecht and then she first took her place amongst the front-rank fighters for socialism. Soon she became most active in the building of a left-wing in the German labor movement. During and after the war, she took the road leading to Communism and became a Communist representative in the Leipzig Municipal Council. In 1929 she lined up with the opposition to fight against the sectarian course of the Comintern. The numerous arrests in her active career did not break her physically or spiritually. Because of her age, the Nazis offered her freedom if she were to retire from the class struggle.

# CI Resolution On Fascism

*(Continued from Page 1)*

not lay down directives for merely a few months but for a much longer period. "The present historical epoch" of which the resolution speaks is not very closely defined. It is to include (and it does include) the prevention of the victory of fascism in countries such as France and the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in countries such as Germany, etc.

The application of united front tactics is the most immediate and most comprehensive task but it must reach its limit, its conclusion in this same period. The united front cannot lead up to the seizure of power. The true seizure of power by the working class is not possible thru the united front. It presupposes that the Communist Party has already won the leadership over the majority of the working class; leadership for the purpose of establishing the proletarian dictatorship thru armed uprising (and not thru struggles for partial demands). The winning of the majority of the working class for the principles and aims of Communism is one of the basic aims of the united front. As soon as this has been accomplished, the united front has become superfluous. The CI must come out with such an explanation of the value of the united front now, and not wait until all sorts of illusions have been created to the effect that the united front offers **unlimited** perspectives to the working class, or until all these illusions have led to serious errors and heavy defeats. Pointing out the limits of the united front will not weaken its power of attraction because **within** these limits the united front has to fulfill tremendous positive tasks in the interest of the entire working class.

\* \* \*

In the next article Comrade Thalheimer will continue his discussion on the resolution on the report of George Dimitrov.