Iliya Kyulyovski

GEORGI DIMITROV ON THE UNITED FRONT

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ALARMING QUESTIONS

The revolutionary explosions, which shook a number of countries in Europe after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, had begun to die out. By means of manoeuvres, which the policy of the rightist leaders of the Social Democrats facilitated, and of the brutal actions, which it carried out, the monopolist bourgeoisie succeeded in regaining its lost positions and in launching a furious onslaught against the revolutionary and democratic forces. Having lived through many anxious days, fearing to lose its power and its countless riches because of the widespread risings of the toiling masses on every hand, the bourgeoisie began to pursue a policy that was intended to deal cruel blows to its political enemies. This was a real class war, fierce and merciless. The reactionary headquarters of the bourgeoisie declared it, in order to strengthen their power, by doing away with all opposition and all opponents, and by opening the way to an overt dictatorship, to fully depriving the working people of their rights and to unhampered robbery. That was fascism.

September 28, 1922. Armed fascist gangs entered Rome, without meeting the slightest resistance on the part of the army and the police. The King of Italy appointed Mussolini as head of the Government. The reactionary forces in Italy celebrated their victory. The fascist dictatorship which they had eagerly awaited had been established.

Italy set out along the road of terror and aggression.

June 9, 1923. In Bulgaria the government of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union was overthrown by a *coup d'état*. With the support of the monarch, Alexander Tsankov and his adherents established a military terrorist fascist dictatorship. Bulgaria became a land of gallows and horror.

On May 12-13, 1926, in Poland Pilsudski carried out an armed *coup d'état* and seized power. A reactionary terrorist regime was set up in that country.

On January 6, 1929, in Yugoslavia the White Hand Terrorist Organization, supported by King Alexander and the influential bourgeois and land-owning circles, perpetrated a *coup d'état*. A dictatorship was established in the country.

On January 30, 1933, President Hindenburg appointed Hitler, the chief of the National Socialist Party, as Reichskanzler. A terrorist fascist dictatorship was set up in Germany, too.

The reactionary forces in other countries also began to raise their heads. The fascist movements became ever more brutal.

The fascist dictatorships in Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and Italy took away all the rights and

freedoms of the working people, of all the democratic forces in their countries. They introduced laws which openly defended the interests of the monopolist reaction. They organized an unprecedented terror over all democratic people and organizations, cruelly crushing even the slightest manifestation of dissatisfaction. Prisons and concentration camps, shootings and gallows were the milestones by which the fascist dictatorship marked the road of its bloody triumph. Against this gloomy background, the heroes of secretive financial deals, of robbery and lawlessness pursued their dirty work, unhindered.

Having declared a merciless war on the people in their own respective countries, the fascist dictatorships began openly to prepare for war against other nations.

Profoundly shaken by the horrors of the fascist dictatorships which in Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Poland revealed barbarous faces, Europe and the world began to feel the onslaughts of the sinister aggression.

Alarm seized the minds and the hearts of the peoples. Where were we heading? What ought to be done?

An answer to these fateful questions was given by the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which was held in Moscow in July, 1935.

FASCISM IS RABID REACTION AND WAR

On August 2, 1935 Georgi Dimitrov took his stand on the rostrum of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to read the principal report and present the main problems which history had already placed on the agenda of the communist and workers movement, of democracy and culture.

The name of the speaker was well known to the world.

Georgi Dimitrov had fought fierce battles against reaction in Bulgaria. Together with Vassil Kolarov he had headed the September 1923 Uprising — the first anti-fascist uprising in the world. He had turned the dungeons of the Moabit Prison and the courtroom in Leipzig into an arena for a courageous and epic struggle and had won a brilliant moral and political victory over nazism. There he had proved to the whole world that fascism could be defeated.

In his report to the Congress Georgi Dimitrov had to summarize the vast experience which the working class and the other democratic forces and movements had gained during the '20s and '30s in the struggles for democracy and peace, against fascism and war.

He brilliantly accomplished his task.

He mercilessly unveiled the sinister face of fascism and its disastrous policy, showing the working class, and all democratic and progressive forces the road to salvation.

The reactionary bourgeoisie needed fascism.

Through fascism it tried to implement its rapacious plans, to impede the forces of democracy,

to prepare a devastating war, to attack the Soviet Union — the first free country of the working people, and on this basis to bar the way to revolution.

Through fascism the imperialist circles tried to shift the entire burden onto the shoulders of the working people.

Through fascism they strove to perpetuate colonial oppression and to undertake a new division of the world by means of war.

Through fascism they wanted to bridle and destroy the revolutionary worker-peasant movement.

Through fascism they wanted, finally, to stifle and destroy the Soviet Union — the mainstay of the world proletariat.

Historical experience has supplied all the data necessary to determine the character and nature of fascism correctly and exactly.

'Fascism,' Georgi Dimitrov said, is *'the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of financial capital.'*

In Hungary and in Bulgaria, in Poland and in Germany it presented itself under the mask of a 'revolutionary' movement acting in the name of the 'whole nation' for its 'salvation'. With a view to strengthening its social basis by luring away the disappointed people who were abandoning the old bourgeois parties, it resorted to the most unbridled demagogy. The Italian fascists lied, saying that their state was 'not capitalist' but 'corporate'. In Bulgaria Tsankov killed working people in the name of the country. The Japanese fascists raised the false slogan 'For a Japan free from exploitation'. In the

United States they talked of a 'division of riches'. And the German fascists called themselves national socialists, although they had nothing in common with the great ideals of socialism.

But facts and events unmasked the fascist *führers* and showed their real goals and intentions. Indicating the principal consequences of the onslaught of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, Georgi Dimitrov gave an exact political description of fascism

'Whatever masks fascism may put on, in whatever form it may manifest itself, in whatever ways it may come to power,

fascism is the most cruel attack of capital against the toiling masses;

fascism means the most unbridled chauvinism and wars of conquest;

fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

fascism is the most evil enemy of the working class and of all working people!'

Step by step Georgi Dimitrov revealed the calamities which fascism brought to the peoples.

To the workers it promised 'a fair working wage', but brought them down to wretched living standards.

To the unemployed it promised work, but increased their numbers.

To the young people it promised a bright future, but brought them humiliations, labour camps and military campaigns.

To the employees, petty existences and the intelligentsia it promised the best way of life, but brought them insecurity and hopelessness for the morrow.

To the peasants it promised emancipation from their enslaving debts and from their dependence upon the rich landowners, but brought them cruel exploitation.

'But this is by no means everything,' Georgi Dimitrov said.

'Every day in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the dungeons of the Gestapo (the secret police), in the Polish prisons, in the Bulgarian and Finnish State Security, in the Belgrade 'glavnyacha', in the Rumanian 'siguranza', on the Italian island, the best sons of the working class, the revolutionary peasants, the fighters for mankind's wonderful future are subjected to such loathesome acts of violence and outrages, compared with which even the most atrocious acts of the tsarist Okhranka look pale. Criminal German fascism turns men into a bloody mass in the presence of their wives, sends to mothers the ashes of their slain sons by parcel post. Sterilization is turned into a political weapon. In the torture chambers poisonous substances are forcibly injected into the imprisoned anti-fascists, their arms are broken, their eyes are torn out, they are hanged by their feet, pumped with water, a fascist sign is cut into their living flesh.'

The most reactionary variety of fascism was national socialism. It is a regulated 'government system of political banditry, a system of provocations and tortures, of mediaeval barbarity and bestiality. It is unbridled aggression against the other peoples and countries.'

It was incorrect, however, Georgi Dimitrov taught, to think that fascism was invincible. Fascist

dictatorship was a cruel, but not a sound power. The coming of fascism could be prevented. The fascist dictatorship could be overthrown.

On the basis of a thorough scientific analysis, Georgi Dimitrov disclosed the main reasons for the unsoundness of fascism. It aggravated the existing contradictions in the very camp of the bourgeoisie. It destroyed the legal existence of the bourgeois parties, but for insurmountable reasons many of them continued to exist.

It created a veritable abyss between the monopolist bourgeoisie and the masses and thus created possibilities for its entire activity to be unmasked. Fascism in power gave rise to profound hatred and to the indignation of the masses. Lastly, fascism sharpened the contradictions in the world arena.

On the basis of these reasons, Georgi Dimitrov drew the main conclusions, which were of the greatest significance for the struggle of the working people and of all democratic movements, namely:

— that fascism could be prevented from coming to power;

— that the fascist dictatorship could be overthrown.

A UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS IS NEEDED

What ought to be done to stop the advance of fascism, to frustrate its coming to power?

What was to be done to undermine and overthrow fascism where it had already seized power?

Georgi Dimitrov formulated the answer to these vital questions of those times, questions which the working people and the masses asked every day.

From the rostrum of the Seventh Congress he declared:

'The Communist International answers: *the first thing that should be done and that must at all costs be done at once is to set up a united front, establish the unity of the workers at every enterprise, in every region, in every district, in every country, in the whole world. United action of the proletariat on a national and international scale — that is the powerful weapon which makes the working class capable not only of successful defence, but also of a successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy.*'

The power and the importance of this Leninist idea were confirmed by life.

The united front movement — *Arditti del populo* — in Italy created serious difficulties for reaction. If it had succeeded in setting up the necessary organization and had attracted the overwhelming majority of the working class, fascism would not have been able to seize power.

The united worker-peasant front in Bulgaria, although it was not yet established as a leading political force in the country, dealt a severe blow to advancing fascism.

Pilsudski was able to seize power in Poland, because the united revolutionary front of the working people had not yet been set up.

The nazis in Germany took advantage of the disunity of the democratic political forces to take the helm of the state into their hands.

On the other hand, fascism suffered defeat wherever it came up against the unity of the workers' forces, against the cohesion of the masses.

At the Reichstag Fire Trial which, according to the designs of its authors, was to give them grounds to deal a cruel blow to the accused, and thoroughly to destroy the German Communist Party and the other democratic organizations, fascism suffered a moral defeat, because it met with the courageous struggle of Georgi Dimitrov and the decisive resistance of the united progressive forces on an international scale.

The movement of the *front populaire* in France foiled the attempts to establish a fascist dictatorship and prepared the consolidation of the democratic forces.

Georgi Dimitrov correctly pointed out that joint action by the adherents of the organizations of the Second Communist International was in a position to strengthen the resistance of the masses against fascist pressure and to raise insurmountable obstacles in the way of reaction.

The united action of communists and social-democrats could have a positive effect on the Catholic, anarchist and unorganized workers, even on those who had temporarily succumbed to fascist propaganda.

The united action of communists and social-democrats could produce a powerful impact on the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia.

Georgi Dimitrov consistently shattered all the arguments put forward by the opponents of the united front. He proved that the united front was a vital necessity for all working class organizations, that it alone could preserve the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people, won in their struggle at the cost of many heroic efforts and sacrifices.

He worked out the problems of the forms and content of the united front and indicated the tasks which it could and should accomplish.

The united front could be set up and strengthened by defending *today's* interests of the workers, directing the spearhead of the struggle against capitalist robbery and fascist barbarity.

What Georgi Dimitrov taught meant:

— a joint struggle to transfer the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the rich;

— a joint struggle to defend the gains and rights of the working people against any form of fascist onslaught;

— a joint struggle against the rising danger of an imperialist war.

It was moreover necessary for the working class to be prepared for a quick change in the forms and methods of struggle, in accordance with the new situation. When the united front movement had grown strong, it could go over from the defensive to an offensive against capital, to a mass political strike with the participation of the principal trade unions.

The united front was to be set up and developed not after any cut-and-dried pattern, but in

accordance with the concrete situation in every country, with the condition, character and political level of the workers' organizations. The united front could and should assume different forms, such as:

— the coordination of joint actions on certain occasions;

— joint actions by branches or by enterprises;

— joint actions on a local, district or national scale;

— joint actions on an international scale.

The successful development of the united front called for a leadership which would promote the initiatives of the masses and would organize them. This leadership was to be an extra-party class body of workers and petty employees. In its activity it would aim at creating an extensive body of active workers, involving in joint actions both the organized workers and the unorganized masses which usually constituted an overwhelming majority.

In order to secure the building up of the united front, the leading bodies, elected or composed from among the most authoritative participants in the struggle, should be able to put their finger on the main key problems which at a given stage, excited the masses on the broadest scale. In every country these problems were different.

At the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International the struggle for a united front came up against exceedingly great difficulties in the countries, in which the fascists had succeeded in seizing power and setting up their own mass organizations. On this basis the view had been put forward that in those countries it was, in general, impossible

to work legally or semi-legally. Georgi Dimitrov refuted this view as inconsistent and dangerous. At the same time he disclosed the actual basis on which a mass workers' movement could and should be promoted in those countries.

Although it proclaimed itself as being the only representative of all classes and strata of the population and their defender, fascism was a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, and that is why it inevitably deepened the class contradictions in the country. The policy which fascism pursued widened the gap between the pack of financial magnates and the overwhelming majority of the population.

This was the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship. On this basis disappointment and dissatisfaction could also be noticed among the masses which fascism had succeeded in misleading, through demagogy or by force, into joining its organizations.

The important thing was that the communists, the most conscientious defenders of the class interests of the working people, should be present wherever the masses were. They were to make use even of the fascist organizations as a legal or illegal field of action. They were to be members of these unions and strive to win elective posts, to talk with the masses, to defend, at first, the most elementary interests of the toiling masses in town and country.

Therefore, in spite of the great difficulties, a united front could also be set up and developed in countries where fascism was in power. It was only necessary to make use of methods and forms of work, suitable to the conditions prevailing in the country.

Other methods and means were to be applied in the struggle for a united front in countries where the social democrats were members of the government. There the communists had to unite the masses around individual demands in the platform of the social democratic parties themselves. This could be a starting point in the implementation of joint actions with the social democratic parties and organizations. Later, in the name of other demands of the masses, a joint struggle could be promoted against the advance of capital, against fascism and the danger of war.

The most important stage in the consolidation of the united front, Georgi Dimitrov taught, was the building up of trade union unity on a national and international scale.

He resolutely condemned any underestimation of the work in the trade unions, which was to be found in several countries at that time.

In pointing out the great role which the trade union movement could and should play in the whole struggle of the masses for their rights and liberties, against the advance of fascism, Georgi Dimitrov gave grounds for the necessity of restoring the unity of the trade unions in each country and on an international scale. He called upon the communists to start stubborn work:

— for an integrated unification of the trade unions in every country;

— for an integrated international unification of the trade unions by production branches;

— for an integrated trade union international on the basis of the class struggle.

The unification of the trade union organizations could and should be effected on the basis of the common interests of the workers in the struggle for trade union democracy, against the offensive of capitalism.

The unity of the trade union movement was a question of vital importance for the working class. That is why the communists had to enter the mass trade unions of their trade and to fight to transform the reformist trade unions into real class trade union organizations. This was first and foremost their proletarian duty.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International had to discuss the question of the place and role of youth. This was also imperative because of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the nation's younger generation was part of the working people, because of the role which it could and should play in the country's public life and more particularly because of the fact that in certain countries, and especially in Germany, by resorting to all kinds of demagogical actions, fascism had won over a great part of the youth to its cause.

Georgi Dimitrov pointed out the weaknesses of the communist youth unions — detachment from the masses, sectarianism, a tendency to copy the communist parties in their methods and forms of work. At the same time he also pointed out the insufficient value which the communist parties attached to this question. It was an urgent necessity to overcome these shortcomings and for the communist parties and for the Komsomol organizations to adopt a correct attitude towards the youth and their interests.

The main task of the youth communist movement in the capitalist countries, Georgi Dimitrov indicated, was fearlessly to set out along the road of building up a united front, along the road of organizing and uniting the young generation.

The unification of youth could and should be effected in a struggle for its vital interests, for economic and cultural rights, against lawlessness and militarism, against the encroachments of fascism. The Komsomol organizations had to enlist the young people in this struggle wherever they might be — at the enterprises, labour exchanges, in the schools, in barracks, in the sports and cultural organizations, in the forced labour camps.

Enlisting women was an exceedingly important task in the struggle for a united front.

Taking advantage of the insufficient value attached to this problem by the communists, fascism had inflicted a defeat on them in this field of public life, too. But the role of a false benefactor, which it tried to play with respect to women, was unmasked by real life. Fascism cynically enslaved woman, depriving her of her job and reducing her to a miserable existence.

It was the duty of the communists to win over the masses of women to the side of the united front. They could achieve this by mobilizing them around their vital interests — in a struggle against the high cost of living, for increased wages on the principle of *equal pay for equal work*, against the mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality, against fascist oppression.

'It is necessary,' Georgi Dimitrov said, 'to find

the simplest and most flexible forms of establishing contacts and a joint struggle with the revolutionary, social-democratic and progressive anti-war and anti-fascist women's organizations. We must at all costs succeed in having the women workers and all working women fighting shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united front of the working class and the anti-fascist popular front.'

AN ANTI-FASCIST FRONT IS NEEDED

A victory over fascism could not be won only with the forces of the working class, even if it were united.

Victory over fascism called for a mobilization of the forces of all classes and strata of the population, which the fascist policy of monopoly capital inevitably placed in a hard situation.

For a victory over fascism a broad anti-fascist popular front was needed which would mobilize the working peasants and the bulk of the intelligentsia, as well as the masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Thus, under the new conditions and in the face of the new historical tasks, Georgi Dimitrov showed — more sharply than ever — the necessity of setting up a fighting alliance of workers and working peasants.

This was an absolutely realistic task.

In spite of its endeavours to frighten the masses with the spectre of a 'red danger' and to egg them on against the working class, fascism displayed its rapacious nature as regards these masses by placing

them in a position of bondage, depriving them of all the rights which they had won, and subjecting them to arbitrary acts and robbery.

It put the heavy burden of state taxes, rates and high interest on the shoulders of the peasants. With its unlimited favourizing of the big landowners, it helped to remove the poor peasant from his plot of land, condemning him to unemployment, hunger and beggary.

Fascism ruined the craftsmen with intolerable taxes, high rents and unbridled competition.

Fascism deprived the intelligentsia of work, subjecting it to cruel persecution for its views and condemning it to a miserable existence.

It was the duty of the communists to reveal the criminal policy and practices of fascism, to reveal to the peasants, the working intelligentsia and the craftsmen the other road — the road of democracy and progress and to win them over to the side of the united front, to mobilize them for the common struggle against fascism that was to save them.

To this end, the revolutionary proletariat was to take resolute steps in defence of the interests and wishes of the working peasants, as well as the interests of the people's intelligentsia and the youth. To this end the negligent attitude towards the different organizations and parties of peasants, craftsmen and the urban petty bourgeoisie should be abandoned.

The communists were to adopt a correct approach to those organizations and parties, in which a great number of toiling peasants and the basic part of the urban petty bourgeoisie were members. This meant

that the communists were to direct their efforts to the mass of their members which belonged to the stratum of petty peasants and craftsmen, and to win over these organizations or individual parts of them to the side of the anti-fascist popular front.

And so, a proletarian united front was needed. An anti-fascist popular front was also needed.

Where from should we begin: with the united front of the proletariat or with the anti-fascist popular front?

Georgi Dimitrov rejected the universal recipes in accordance with which certain people were trying to solve this problem. The scheme offered by the sectarians did not correspond to the demands of actual life. Action was to be adapted to the real conditions.

Georgi Dimitrov suggested two ways. Let us recall them because as part of the great common problem they are of topical significance to this day.

The first way applied to England, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, in which the working class constituted the majority of the population and where the social-democratic parties enjoyed great influence. In these countries the communists had to do a tremendous amount of political and organizational work among the mass of workers. They had to convince those masses that they should pass over to class positions, to enlist them in the struggle against fascism and war. Thus, facilitating the creation of a united proletarian front of the most conscious and progressive circles of the working class, they would be paving the way to the creation of a popular front against the advance of fascism, against the danger of an imperialist war.

The second way was to be adopted by countries in which, side by side with the workers' movement, there also existed a strong peasant movement, of which Poland was a typical example at that time. Here, Georgi Dimitrov said, the development of the popular front in the struggle would have to go hand in hand with the development of a united proletarian front, and at times in such countries the movement for a general popular front might even outstrip the movement for a workers' front.

In this connection Georgi Dimitrov gave an answer to yet another important question: what was to be the attitude towards bourgeois democracy? '. . .Today,' he said, 'millions of working people living under capitalism, are forced to determine their attitude towards those forms, which the domination of the bourgeoisie assumes in the different countries. We are not anarchists, and for us it is not at all a matter of indifference what political course exists in a given country: a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even though with most thoroughly trimmed rights and freedoms, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its overt fascist form. *We shall defend every inch of the democratic gains, which the working class has wrested through many years of struggle and will fight to extend them.*'

Those communists and other workers among the working class, who were afraid to come forward with positive democratic demands, because the struggle for such demands might divert them from the struggle for the socialist revolution, were making a mistake. Georgi Dimitrov proved and explained the inner link between the struggle to preserve and extend the democratic gains and the struggle for socialism. In conditions in which, in its endeavour to set up a dictatorship of its own, the fascist counter-revolution attacked the bourgeois democracy and its champions, the working people should make a concrete choice of their forms of struggle. They would then be faced not with the question — bourgeois democracy or socialist power — but by the question — bourgeois democracy or fascism. In this case the solution should be: defence of the existing bourgeois democracy with a view to preserving the existing rights and liberties; resolute frustration of the efforts of the fascists, so that after that one could go over to a struggle for genuine democracy.

A UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

Georgi Dimitrov explained the necessity of a united front and expounded its tactics in the conditions of a struggle for defence against the advance of capital, for the preservation of democratic rights and freedoms, for partial demands, or for the overthrow of an already established fascist dictatorship.

At the same time he explained the necessity of setting up a government of the united front or a government of the anti-fascist popular front, when this became possible and necessary, when favourable conditions for this had set in.

The formation of such a government might take place in the conditions of a *political crisis*, when the

ruling classes were not in a position to check and cope with the increased forces of the mass anti-fascist movement, when certain *special prerequisites* had made their appearance.

These prerequisites, according to Georgi Dimitrov, were the following:

— when the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie was sufficiently *disorganized and paralyzed* and was unable to oppose with the necessary force the establishment of a government to fight against reaction and fascism;

— when the broadest masses of working people, especially the mass trade unions, had impetuously risen against capitalist reaction and fascism;

— when a substantial portion of the social democrats and other parties participating in the united front had reached a sufficient degree of political maturity, declared resolutely against the fascists and other reactionaries and had taken an open stand against that part of their own party which was hostile to communism.

A government of the United or of the Anti-fascist Popular Front could and should be set up only on the basis of a definite political platform, adopted by the forces taking part in the popular movement. It should wage a struggle to implement measures which would undermine the position of the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents. It should strengthen and develop the democratic gains of the masses in the different spheres of life. While simultaneously limiting the actions and possibilities of reaction, it should create

conditions in which the working class and the Communist Party would be able to act freely.

However, there were no ready-made prescriptions for this great question of the struggle of the masses. Georgi Dimitrov resolutely rejected every artificial scheme prepared in advance. The conditions and stages of the struggle, the force of the people's advance, the real possibilities which the development of events would reveal, had to be assessed. The composition of a united front government, the moment of its establishment, the volume and character of the democratic problems which it would have to solve, should be concretely determined, depending upon the resolve of the forces taking part in the mass movement and on the real political conditions.

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT IS NEEDED

The forces of imperialist reaction and war threatened not only the workers movement and the Soviet Union — the first country of workers and working peasants, not only the people's democratic rights and liberties, they were also the principal enemy of the enslaved peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies who, at the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, formed a vast part of mankind. Capitalist reaction was on the offensive both against the workers movement and against the peoples of the colonial world.

Taking advantage of the open support of the Western states, the Japanese imperialists were advancing into China, conquering new regions in the northern part of the country, penetrating deep into it and getting ready to enslave it completely. The national integrity of the Chinese people was threatened.

Fascist Italy was assiduously preparing for an aggressive war in Ethiopia. She behaved insolently, by provoking incidents along the country's frontiers. With the benevolent 'non-intervention' of the League of Nations, France and England gave Italy a free hand in Ethiopia.

Germany did not hide her aspirations for a new redistribution of the colonial world.

Germany and Italy were engaged in rapidly penetrating Latin America economically and politically.

In the face of an ever increasing danger, cruelly exploited and deprived of rights, the people in a number of colonial countries waged a struggle for national liberation.

Under these circumstances, Georgi Dimitrov found that the setting up of an *anti-imperialist united front* was possible and necessary.

The anti-imperialist united front was a form of uniting all the forces which stood for national liberation from colonial oppression: the working class, the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois masses.

The most important task of the communists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries was to work for the creation of an anti-imperialist united front.

The imperialists subjected the colonial peoples to

the most cruel exploitation, rapaciously drained and robbed the riches of their countries. They dealt most cruelly with all those who in one form or another defended the interests of their countries. It was the duty of the communists to work most actively to stir up and rouse the masses, to help to enlist them in the national-liberation struggle.

They were to take part in the mass anti-imperialist movements, headed by the national reformists and to strive for joint actions.

A successful national liberation movement could be promoted on the basis of a concrete anti-imperialist programme, which would express the interests of the broadest masses of the colonial nations.

Georgi Dimitrov was familiar with the tremendous difficulties that faced the colonial peoples. He saw the whole complexity of the domestic and international situation of their countries. Proceeding from this, he recommended that the *diversity* of conditions in which the work was being carried out should be taken into account in creating a wide anti-imperialist united front for the struggle of the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, that the promotion of the national liberation movement should be concretely evaluated, as well as the degree of its maturity, that the role played by the proletariat should be clearly defined, as well as the influence exercised by the Communist Party on the political awakening of the masses.

In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov indicated three countries at that time in which the struggle for an

anti-imperialist united front had scored certain successes and whose experience was therefore of particularly great interest.

Early in 1935 in Brazil progressive political parties and organizations headed by the Communist Party were united under the name 'National Liberation Alliance'. Georgi Dimitrov considered that this alliance marked the beginning of the development of an anti-imperialist front. He pointed out the necessity of expanding this front and including in it the many millions of peasant masses as a result of the active and persistent work and struggle of the communists and their allies.

'In India,' Georgi Dimitrov advised, 'the communists should carry on active work in the organizations which took part in the Indian National Congress, with a view to establishing a national liberation wing, which would lead the peoples in the country into a resolute fight against British imperialism.'

Georgi Dimitrov noted the special role of the anti-imperialist united front in China, where important results had already been achieved in the struggle against Japanese imperialism and the treachery of the Nanking Government. He expressed his full approval of the initiative of the Chinese Communist Party to create the widest possible anti-imperialist front with all organized forces which were ready to wage a decisive struggle to save their people and their country from the offensive of the Japanese conquerors and their Chinese stooges.

PROTECTION OF CULTURE — A TASK OF THE UNITED FRONT

Fascism meant an attack on the working people, on their rights, on democracy, peace and therefore, on culture. Fascism, as events proved in a sinister way, pounced fiercely upon the cultural organizations, inflicted profound damage on cultural values, organized reprisals against men of science and the arts, and revived the bonfires of the Jesuits in the Middle Ages.

In spite of this obvious truth, the fascists pretended to be bearers of culture. As Georgi Dimitrov correctly pointed out, 'they turned the entire *history* of every nation upside down and then assumed the role of heirs and continuators of everything sublime and heroic in their past.'

Georgi Dimitrov unmasked the criminal efforts of the fascists to falsify basic cultural values, in order to justify in this way their campaign against true culture and its representatives and creators and to extol their messianic role.

The German fascists presented the greatest workers of the German people as their teachers, and the great peasant movement as forerunner of their movement.

The Italian fascists grossly falsified the past in order to be able to pose as continuators of the cause of Garibaldi.

The French fascists raised the legendary Joan of Arc as their banner.

The American fascists were trying to interpret in their favour the views of Washington and Lincoln.

The Bulgarian fascists were trying to monopolize the national liberation movement against Ottoman rule.

It was necessary to protect culture, science, art and history and to guard them from the encroachments and falsifications of the fascists.

This was the task of the communists, of the united front.

'*We are interested in every major question, not only of the present and future, but also of the past of our people,*' Georgi Dimitrov said. 'We, communists, are the representatives of the class interests of the most important and greatest class in modern society — the working class, which is called upon to free mankind from the tortures of the capitalist system.'

The great task of the working class was to free the masses from any oppression, to create real conditions for the complete flourishing and manifestation of their all-round creative powers, and at the same time to open the way for a powerful cultural development. Fully conscious of this task, Georgi Dimitrov spared no effort to win over the forces of the intelligentsia to the struggle of the world proletariat.

He engaged in tremendous activity in defence of culture against fascism. He took an active part in the International Anti-war Congress which was called on the initiative of Paul Langevin, Heinrich Mann, Bertrand Russel, Martin Andersen Nexö and was held in Amsterdam in the summer of 1932.

In the Leipzig Court he unmasked the fascists as destroyers of culture and its values, disclosing their horrible crime of setting fire to the Reichstag and their persecutions of men of science and the arts. It

was a memorable fact that there, from the dock, he raised high aloft the names of Goethe and Galileo, recalling their immortal achievements and their penetrating thoughts and thus appearing as a brilliant defender of culture.

Dimitrov expressed his faith in the forces and abilities of the working German people who would be able, in spite of everything, to implement the tasks which now faced them.

He brilliantly defended the Bulgarian working class and the Bulgarian people, whom the fascists called 'barbarians', showing that it was precisely the workers and peasants who were the heirs of everything valuable and great, of the culture and the transforming power of their people and the past. The words which made their way through the gloomy walls of the prison to thunder throughout the world were an example of proletarian foresight and courage. He said:

'It is true that Bulgarian *fascism* is savage and barbarous. But the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the Bulgarian people's intelligentsia are far from being savages and barbarians. The level of material culture in the Balkans is no doubt not as high as in the other European countries, but culturally and politically the mass of our people does not stand on a lower level than the masses in the other European countries. Our political struggle, our political aspirations in our country do not stand lower than those in other countries. A people who, for 500 years, lived under foreign domination without losing their language and nationality, our working class and our peasants who fought and are still fighting against

Bulgarian fascism and for communism — such a people are not savage and barbarous. Only the fascists are savages and barbarians in Bulgaria. But I ask you, Mr President, *in which country are the fascists not barbarians and savages?*'

Georgi Dimitrov actually formulated the main tasks of the struggle in defence of culture, a defence which he elaborated at a later date as a programme of the ideological struggle against fascism, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Being well-acquainted with the nature of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, against which he incessantly waged an energetic struggle, in his speeches and articles Georgi Dimitrov revealed to the working people in Bulgaria and then also to the international working class, the disastrous consequences of the policy of the bourgeois rulers. At moments, which were crucial for Bulgaria, he courageously stood out against the capitalist clique which was trying to turn the people into a tool for the achievement of its chauvinist aims. And he was fully justified in saying that the communists were *irreconcilable opponents in principle* of bourgeois nationalism in all its varieties.

At the same time, Georgi Dimitrov also pointed out the other danger — national nihilism.

A workers' functionary should know and guard the national feelings of the masses.

It was necessary, Georgi Dimitrov taught, *everywhere and in all cases* to unmask the attempts of the fascist bourgeoisie to play the role of the defender of the country's national interests. It was

necessary convincingly to reveal that the policy it pursued was directed both against its own people and against the rights and interests of the other peoples. At the same time, it should be proved in an equally convincing manner, with arguments that would be clear and understandable for the masses, that the working class was the real champion and protector of the vital interests of the nation, because it was against any slavery, against the oppression of other peoples, against robbery, against devastating wars for the conquest of other people's territories; that it stood for freedom, national independence, for democracy, progress and peace.

The working class was called upon to defend the past, present and future of the nation.

Georgi Dimitrov had seen, felt and experienced the disastrous consequences, which the nationalists in many countries had brought upon their countries. He knew the tragedy and profound disappointment to which chauvinism brought the honest intelligentsia and progressive people.

At the same time in the country of the Soviets he had seen and felt the true advance of culture.

Thanks to the great theoretical training and the erudition which he had acquired, combining learning with practice, and the inferences drawn from real life in which he took part as a representative of the working class, Georgi Dimitrov developed as a profoundly convinced, highly principled, tireless worker for the cause of culture. Basing himself on both theory and practice, he came to the essential conclusion that '*only* the proletarian revolution could prevent the decay of culture and raise it to its highest development.'

Flesh and blood of the people, and champion of their vital interests, 'the revolutionary proletariat was fighting for the salvation of the people's culture, for its emancipation from the chains of decaying monopoly capital, from barbarous fascism.'

A POPULAR FRONT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Thoroughly examining the course of events in Germany, Italy and other countries, Georgi Dimitrov came to the fundamental conclusion that fascism meant aggressive war.

Fascism seized power — against the will and interests of the people.

It shifted all burdens connected with the maintenance of the state and the army onto the people's masses.

It secured fabulous profits for the monopolies, which exploited the working people and the petty employees quite unimpeded.

Fascism sought in its aggression against other countries and nations, in a new war for the redistribution of the world an issue from the crises and difficulties which it created itself, from the mad competition on the international arena.

As a result of all this, fascism was an enemy of peace, which stifled it. The fascists persecuted all those who stood for peace; they openly preached war as a necessity, as a 'law of life', shunting the whole economy over to military rails, preparing armies, promoting far-reaching plans for the militarization of

the country and openly threatening and terrorizing international life by resorting to provocations intended to blaze the trail to the great conflagration.

'Never, since 1914 has the danger of a world war been so great as it is now,' Georgi Dimitrov wrote in 1936. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the international situation he drew conclusions which the next few years were to confirm by events which were fatal to peace in Europe and the world.

At that time in the political departments of the Western countries there existed the erroneous view that the spearhead of a eventual nazi aggression could be directed only against the Soviet Union. Relying on erroneous views, statesmen and politicians in France and Great Britain did all they could to facilitate German fascism in its drive to the East.

Georgi Dimitrov pointed out the entire inconsistency of the disastrous policy of these shortsighted politicians.

'The adherents of democracy should not forget that the destiny of anti-fascist democracy in Europe is indissolubly linked with the destiny of the working class, with the setting up of a popular front. Democracy will inevitably perish under the blows of advancing fascism, if it does not rely on the working class and the working masses, if it is not ready to defend itself by all and every means against fascism.'

In the occupation of the Rhein region by the nazi army he saw a prelude to a future blow against France, Belgium and other European countries. At the same time he pointed out that Hitler's most

immediate plans of conquest were directed at seizing territories from neighbouring states where there was a German population. The brown Führer was getting ready to annex Austria, to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent state, to occupy Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, the southern part of Denmark, Memel. A time would come when he would place Poland in immediate danger.

It was in this way that Hitler would come to a war with the powerful country of the Soviets.

In the Far East the Japanese militarists were preparing to attack the Soviet Union. But before this they occupied one after another the Chinese provinces, and were doing their utmost to conquer their rivals in Asia. Georgi Dimitrov displayed remarkable political acumen when he wrote that in that situation, when the United States and Great Britain hoped to avail themselves of developing events for their own self-interested goals, fascist Japan was preparing for a decisive clash precisely with them.

Thus, war threatened the European nations, war threatened Asia, America, the whole world. 'Having gained domination, through an internal war against the masses in its own country, fascism has become a direct war threat for all countries in the world. Having enslaved its own people, fascism, with the torch of war in hand, passes on to an attack against other peoples.' Instead of seeing the rising danger and taking the necessary steps to foil the plans of the aggressor, the Western states made incessant concessions and thus encouraged fascism's brutality.

German fascism introduced compulsory military service, created its own air and sea forces, and thereby openly revealed its plans. The Western countries either cooperated with it, or made concessions.

Japan was advancing in China. The Western Powers showed no concern. Italy launched an attack on Abyssinia. The Western Powers thought that this did not affect them.

Political shortsightedness, erroneous views and miscalculations, the vacillation of Washington, London and Paris, as well as their hope that the fascist pack of wolves would spare them in their desire to start a great war with the Soviet Union, actually opened the way to aggression.

This, however, was only one reason for the growing aggression of fascism.

The other was the fragmentation of the world proletariat. It *'failed to come out in a unanimous struggle, with all its titanic forces fully armed and to rally around it all the working people and all the forces of peace into a mighty front against war.'*

As early as the mid '30s Georgi Dimitrov came to the conclusion that the fascist aggressor could be bridled.

'The war which it is preparing can be averted: Peace can be saved!'

There existed objective factors which could block the way of warring fascism and could impose peace.

The Soviet Union with its consistent and resolute foreign policy was a powerful factor for peace.

The proletariat in the capitalist countries could be a powerful factor for peace.

The peasant masses, all the working people, the

widest strata of the population in all capitalist countries, stood for peace.

The peoples in the countries in which fascism was in power did not want war.

Certain states were also against war.

What ought to be done?

In his reports, articles, letters to functionaries of the Second International, Georgi Dimitrov indicated the road to salvation:

'A united front of peace is needed, a front which will include not only the working class, the peasants, the working intelligentsia and the other working people, but also the oppressed nations and peoples in the countries whose independence is threatened by the fomentors of war. A front of peace is needed, a front which will extend over all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, a front which will together fight against the kindlers of war, against German fascism in Europe and the Japanese military circles in the Far East.'

If it waged the struggle with practical mass actions, this front would be able to put the fascist aggressors in a state of siege. Through its actions it would be able to make them see that their plans to attack other countries would come up against a resolute resistance.

It was the duty of the proletariat to become the organizer of this salutary united front of peace.

But it had first of all to restore and consolidate its international solidarity. To this end it was necessary that the socialist parties should realize the tremendous scope and character of the war danger and take their stand against the imperialist circles.

It was the duty of the proletariat to unite the broadest strata of the population in the name of the struggle for peace.

It was the duty of the proletariat to give all-round support to the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union which, like a powerful barrier, blocked the way of fascism and war.

The struggle for the preservation of peace consisted not only in propaganda against war, and still less against war 'in general'. It meant organized actions against the concrete perpetrators of fascist aggression, against their plans and intentions, against their actions, against their demagogy and overt provocations, against their policy as a whole.

This called for the elaboration of a concrete and clear platform, in the name of which the broadest masses could be rallied, activated and roused to prevent the disaster towards which the fascists were stubbornly driving the nations.

This further called for the proletariat to work out an independent policy of its own as regards the domestic questions of the country and the problems of defence, by putting an end once for all to the monopoly established by the bourgeoisie in this exceedingly important sphere. The party of the proletariat, Georgi Dimitrov said, was bound to intervene actively in foreign policy and in the sphere of the defence of the country with a platform of its own and with its demands. Through its policy and its actions, through proposals for the implementation of undertakings corresponding to the interests of the broadest masses, the working class could exert powerful pressure on the foreign policy of the govern-

ment, with a view to its development along favourable lines.

In this way the proletariat could cooperate for the preservation of the existing peace, which was a bad peace, but at any rate far better than war.

By preserving peace, the proletariat undermined the foundations of the fascist dictatorship, increasing its internal difficulties and dealing blows to its aggressive aspirations. The preservation of peace which could be achieved only through the organized and stubborn struggle of the broadest masses, was a deadly danger for fascism.

On the other hand, the struggle for the preservation of peace helped the proletariat to overcome its split and hesitation, to preserve, strengthen and increase its forces, to rise up as a leading force of all working people, to become their organizer, to set up a powerful popular front which would be in a position to frustrate the belligerent plans of fascism, to deprive it of any support on the part of the masses and to defend the democratic rights and freedoms gained at the cost of great efforts.

That is why *'the struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the triumph of socialism in the whole world.'*

THE SOVIET UNION — A MAINSTAY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

The struggle against fascism and war, for democracy and peace called for the mobilization of all democratic and progressive social forces, all who were threatened by the furious onslaught of the capitalist monopolies, all who stood for the interests of the nations and could contribute to their defence.

The struggle against fascism and war, for democracy and peace therefore presupposed that the example and efforts of the Soviet Union should be properly appreciated.

A profoundly convinced friend of the Soviet Union, in a number of articles and reports Georgi Dimitrov revealed the tremendous role which it played on the international arena and explained the necessity of maintaining the closest relations with it.

The working class in the Soviet Union had built up its unity and become a powerful creative force. It was in the vanguard of the working people, fighting mercilessly against the enemies of its country, against the enemies of democracy and socialism. It was the organizer of a tremendous activity, which radically transformed life in the great Soviet country, building a new life and demonstrating the immeasurable advantages of the socialist social system over the capitalist system — in the field of science and culture, in the field of international relations and in the field of everyday life.

By its very existence, by its struggle against the enemies of the working class, for freedom and progress, the Soviet Union was a powerful mainstay

of the world proletariat, the greatest factor for doing away with the split in the world workers movement.

It was the duty of the workers' functionaries to help the working people in the capitalist countries to see the truth about the Soviet Union, to help its efforts devoted to the construction and consolidation of the new social system, to support its struggle against world reaction.

The working class, the peasants and intelligentsia in the Soviet Union form a mighty block, working together for the well-being of their country, for world peace. They thus set an example for the unification of all democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

During the hardest days for mankind, when the capitalist hyenas had thrown millions of human beings into a devastating war, the workers and peasants of Russia rose in struggle against the power of the tsar, against war and for peace. They set the peoples a great example, showing them how to fight against the fomentors of war, against the greatest disaster which their policy brought to the peoples. The Soviet Union pursued a consistent policy of peace and understanding among nations, a policy which won the sympathies and support of millions of people all over the world. Whoever wished to wage a struggle for democracy and peace, against fascism and war, was bound to support the efforts of the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the proletariat, of the united proletarian front, of the masses, of the popular front, of the anti-imperialist front for peace, was inseparable from the struggle of the great Soviet Union, which was a powerful mainstay of the work-

ing people in all contries, a powerful factor for the preservation of world peace.

As a result of all this, the attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards its efforts for the construction of the new society, towards the courageous struggle for peace and democracy was the fundamental criterion for the sincerity and honesty of every functionary of the workers' movement, of every workers' party and organization of working people, of every democrat in the capitalist countries.

The attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the actually existing worker-peasant state and its struggle, was also a *historical watershed* between the forces of capitalism, fascism and war, on the one hand, and the forces of democracy, socialism and peace, on the other.

This was one of the most important conclusions in principle, which Georgi Dimitrov made in the analysis of the struggle of the world proletariat.

Events bore out its tremendous theoretical and practical significance. It became a classical lesson for the world communist and workers movement, for all democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Its significance was absolutely clear.

Whoever really wished to fight against reaction and fascism, must act in conjunction with the Soviet Union.

Whoever wished to wage a genuine struggle against the fomentors of a new war must help the gigantic efforts of the Soviet Union to put out the blazing hotbeds and to secure world peace.

Whoever wished to fight for socialism in his country, must help the Soviet Union and be its genuine friend.

THE DUTY OF THE COMMUNISTS

The communists are the most conscientious representatives of the working class, which is the most progressive class in modern society. They are the vanguard of the class to which history has entrusted the important mission of creating a new society, of ridding the world of the horrors of capitalist slavery, of imperialism and war.

That is why it was the duty of the Communist Party to come forward as an initiator, organizer and motive force among the working class, to secure, by means of a stubborn struggle and work, skill and tactfulness, the mobilization of the working masses.

It was the duty of the Communist Party to set about building up a united front of the proletariat, a broad popular anti-fascist front, a united anti-imperialist front.

It was the duty of the Communist Party to rally closely together the forces of all democrats, of all who hold dear the vital interests of the people, to save peace and culture from the barbarity of fascism.

In order to be able to fulfil these responsible tasks, the Communist Party must be united, closely rallied, in combat preparedness. 'The communist parties can secure the mobilization of the masses of working people for a unanimous struggle against fascism and the onslaught of capital *only after an all-round consolidation of their own ranks,* by developing their initiative, by pursuing a Marxist-Leninist policy and correct flexible tactics, which takes into account the concrete situation and the distribution of the class forces.'

In accordance with this basic requirement, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov mapped out the tasks which the communist vanguard was to succeed in fulfilling.

The Communist Party was to enlist new members from among the working people, it was to increase its membership and strengthen its ranks, rallying them closely in the struggle. *'Unanimity, revolutionary daring and combat preparedness on the part of the communist parties* are the most precious capital, which belongs not only to us, but to the entire working class,' Georgi Dimitrov said.

The unity, revolutionary daring and combat preparedness of the communists were the most important prerequisite for successful work among the broadest masses, in enlisting them in the ranks of the united and popular front.

On the other hand, the greatest obstacle to the efforts of the communists in building up a united front, was sectarianism, self-satisfied sectarianism, doctrinaire narrow-mindedness, detachment from the actual life of the masses. That was why it was necessary for the Communist Party resolutely to condemn this phenomenon, and its authors, to wage an irreconcilable struggle to eradicate it and overcome it. It was necessary for the communists to understand that the leading role of the Communist Party could be won in the battles of the working class. Through their everyday work and their correct policy they could and should win the confidence of

the working masses. This was possible, Georgi Dimitrov taught, only if, in our political work, we communists seriously took into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree of their revolutionization, if we soberly assessed the concrete set-up not on the basis of our wishes, but on the basis of what the real situation was.

At the same time, exceedingly keen vigilance should be shown with regard to rightist opportunism, which was expressed in a playing down of the Party's role in the ranks of the united front, in a reconciliation with the social-democratic ideology. 'The successful struggle to set up a united front,' Georgi Dimitrov said, 'invariably demands a constant struggle within our ranks against the tendency *to play down the role of the Party,* against *legalist illusions,* against taking up positions of *spontaneity* and *automatism,* both with regard to the question of liquidating fascism, and in setting up the United Front, against even *the least vacillations at the moment of resolute action.'*

The Communist Party could be a leading force in the struggle for a united and popular front only if it combined its ideological purity, its highest adherence to principle with its day-to-day practical work among the broadest masses. Equipped with a correct policy, with powerful ideological weapons, it was to be a teacher of the masses, but at the same time it was to learn from them. And its duty was to do this because it was only in this way that it could successfully head the struggle against capitalism, fascism and war and win the final victory.

CONCLUSION

The problems of the united and popular front which Georgi Dimitrov worked out thoroughly, scientifically illuminating the tremendous practical experience and tasks of the international communist movement, were included as a component in the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and found a tremendous response among the international working class.

The conclusions which Georgi Dimitrov drew on the work and struggle of the communist detachments in the capitalist countries, became an integral part of the basic programme tasks of the communist parties.

Their correctness and force were borne out by life.

They were not invented. They were drawn from the real life of the international communist movement and, first of all, from the experience of the French proletariat.

They gave a clear and concrete answer to the question: what is to be done today?

At the hardest moments in the life of the peoples, under conditions of the fierce onslaught of fascism, of the preparations for a new world war, they opened up the perspective of the triumphant struggle, inspiring confidence in the forces of the proletariat, in the forces of the masses, in the triumph of democracy, socialism and peace.

They were new powerful ideological and tactical weapons in the hands of the world working class army of many millions.

The struggle of the communists, of the working class for a popular front in France, the courageous battles for a Spanish Republic and for a victorious offensive in the liberation struggle of the Chinese people, the widespread awakening and rising tide of the national-liberation movement in India, the movement for a united, popular and anti-imperialist front in many countries, the mobilization of the broadest masses against the threat of a new world war — all this was a brilliant confirmation of the fact that the appeals which Georgi Dimitrov addressed to the working people in all countries of the world, were correct, that they corresponded to the people's vital needs and indicated the right road.

The gigantic battles of the people against the fascist hordes during the Second World War, and the crushing victory which the Soviet Union and the other democratic forces inflicted on the nazi hangmen in 1945 were a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the ideas with which Georgi Dimitrov and the Communist International armed the international working class.

Profound changes have set in in the world during the last few decades. The correlation of the forces of progress and peace, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction and war, on the other, has undergone a radical change. The world socialist system, the international workers and communist movement are now a decisive factor in the development of history. However, even in our time, the ideas which Georgi Dimitrov worked out about the struggle against capitalist reaction, fascism and war, have preserved their topical character.

The Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in 1969 constructively elaborated, developed and enriched the ideas of rallying together the broadest masses, adduced arguments for and formulated the tasks of the communist parties today and equipped the communists all over the world with powerful weapons.

Under these circumstances, the theoretical principles which Georgi Dimitrov elaborated and the conclusions which he drew have not lost their significance. In our time they continue to be a source of experience, knowledge, inspiration and strength in the struggle for democracy and socialism, for peace and friendship among nations.

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