
THREE YEARS' APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAM OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

HISTORIC SPEECHES AND ARTICLES OF GEORGI DIMITROFF

BY EARL BROWDER

IT is three years since Georgi Dimitroff delivered his history-making report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, which first clearly laid down the policy of the People's Front. Three years, packed with events bearing the destinies of peoples, nations, classes, which equal in importance decades of previous history, and which prove more fully every day the inspired genius which directed the words of Dimitroff's report. It is a political contribution of major importance that International Publishers has issued a volume* containing Dimitroff's report, together with all his important articles and speeches during the intervening period, which register the application and growth of the policy laid down in the Seventh World Congress. Under the title of *The United Front* this volume has gathered a wealth of political wisdom which will guide the working class for many years to come.

It is important to return to these

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, International Publishers, New York, 287 pp., \$2.00.

documents again and again; for those who read them the first time, they will come as a revelation of new depths of Marxian-Leninist analysis and directive; for those who have read them one, two, or three times, there will be new depths revealed, and new wisdom gained in a re-reading. For us of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., recent events have brought home to us, quite emphatically, how well we built in 1935 when we printed and distributed a half-million copies of Dimitroff's Seventh Congress report.

Testimony from our enemies, also, constantly raises the historic importance of Dimitroff's book. When in May, 1938, the Tenth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. captured the attention of the entire country with its program of the democratic front, for jobs, security, democracy, and peace, and by its concrete application of the slogan, "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism," our enemies were both puzzled and alarmed. They saw that the Communist Party had matured as an American party, standing fully on its own feet, and sinking deep roots among the American masses; at the

same time they recognized that our Party, far from separating itself from the Communist International, had by that very fact become more international than ever before, and more truly expressive of the great traditions and teachings of Lenin and Stalin. They recognized the tremendous growth of Communist thought in America as dating, especially, from the Seventh World Congress. Against the Seventh World Congress, therefore, and especially against Dimitroff, our enemies directed the fire of their attack against us, consisting mainly of forgeries, lies, and slanders. Every fistful of mud they have thrown against Dimitroff and the Seventh Congress is for us additional confirmation of the fundamental soundness of that brilliant contribution to revolutionary thought and action.

American newspapers, trying to discredit our Tenth Convention, almost unanimously carried a forgery against Dimitroff. They connected our convention with Dimitroff's report, then quoted Dimitroff as advising the use of the tactics of "the Trojan horse," and concluded that therefore the Party's Tenth Convention policy was a tricky maneuver against democracy, to get inside it to capture and destroy it. How scandalously dishonest was this attack can be verified by any person willing to spend a few minutes reading Dimitroff's own words! Dimitroff, after calling for united action of all those ready to defend democracy, even the most limited bourgeois democracy, against the attacks of fascism, had gone on to consider the situation *in the countries where fascism is in power and all democracy is destroyed*. Here, he points out, the Com-

munists and all democrats must find the way to the masses.

"What is the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship? Its social basis. Fascism has deprived the workers of their own legal organizations. It has forced the fascist organizations upon them, and *it is there that the masses are*—by compulsion, or to some extent voluntarily."

Pointing out the necessity of all democratic forces working together to *win the masses within the fascist organizations*, Comrade Dimitroff made his famous reference to the Trojan horse. He concluded his analysis of the tactics that *democracy must use against fascism where fascism is in power*, with the following words:

"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

"We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of a living wall of his cutthroats.

"He who fails to understand the necessity of using such tactics in the case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as 'humiliating,' may be a most excellent comrade, but if you will allow me to say so, he is a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the masses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship."

This good advice is being followed in Germany by Catholics, Socialists, and Communists, by all the democratic forces. It is already producing good results, considerably weakening Hitler's dictatorship. Every democrat, every honest anti-fascist, should be delighted to have the problem stated so clearly as in Dimitroff's words. And

when we find those who deliberately forge quotations which make Dimitroff appear to say the opposite to what is above-quoted, then we can know that such people are working for fascism and not for democracy.

It is well to recall that already, three years ago, Comrade Dimitroff placed working class unity as the most important force in gathering the People's Front. If the French trade unions were fully unified, and increased their strength fivefold; if the Spanish trade unions are uniting; if the Mexican trade unions have emerged as a united movement over a million strong; if the struggle for unity of the trade unions grows ever stronger in the United States—much credit must go to the clear and ringing words of Dimitroff, who declared at the Seventh Congress:

"We are definitely for the re-establishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale. We are for one union in each industry.

"We are for one federation of trade unions in each country. We are for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries.

We stand for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle. We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: struggle against capital, against fascism, and for internal trade union democracy."

Fascism means war. The struggle against fascism is the struggle for peace. The People's Front program laid down by Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress initiated the world organization of peace, which has begun to halt the fascist advance, which has already brought to grief the fas-

cist plans for world domination by denying them victory in Spain and China, by postponing their assaults against France and Czechoslovakia, by crushing their first attempts in Mexico.

All these historic achievements were reached by defeating an avalanche of denunciation and slander against the fight for peace through the People's Front, denunciation and slander which drew its arguments almost entirely from the Trotskyite-Bukharinite-Lovestoneite groups of wreckers and fascist agents. These bandits suddenly blossomed forth in the capitalist press as "defenders of Leninism" against the "betrayals of Stalin and Dimitroff," and were echoed by every columnist and editorial writer, all suddenly "Leninists" in the fight against the People's Front.

And what sort of "Leninists" are these gentlemen-bandits whose words please the Nazis and Japanese militarists so much? They quote Lenin's denunciation of the "defensive war" arguments in 1914-18, in order to prove that in 1938 there are no "aggressor governments" against which the world's peace forces must be united, and thus they absolve Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado of all their crimes. They quote Lenin's famous slogan, "turn the imperialist war into civil war," to justify the P.O.U.M. insurrection against the Spanish Republic, to demand preparation for insurrection against the French Republic now, and to assure the Japanese militarists that they will do everything possible in their interests in America. They operate with the wildest Left-sounding slogans—but, it is worth emphasizing, they obtain the fullest sup-

port from the most reactionary newspapers. It is clear beyond all doubt that the Lovestone-Trotskyite groupings in the U.S.A. are working in closest contact with fascist circles here and abroad, are working under fascist instructions. It is one of the achievements of the People's Front policy, and of Dimitroff's work in the International, that they have dragged these fascist agents out from behind their former masks of "dissident communists," and placed them in the pillory as common *agents provocateurs* for all the world to see.

It is worthwhile, on this point, to recall Dimitroff's analysis of this question, written in May, 1936 (pp. 179-180), when he said:

"It is really ridiculous when 'Left' phrasemongers of various kinds oppose these tactics, adopting the pose of irreconcilable revolutionaries. If we are to believe them, *all* governments are aggressors. They even quote Lenin, who, during the imperialist war of 1914-18, correctly rejected the argument of the social-chauvinists that 'we were attacked and we are defending ourselves.' But the world at that time was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their world hegemony, and which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there were neither countries where the proletariat had conquered nor countries with a fascist dictatorship.

"But now the situation is different. Now we have: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in the maintenance of peace. It is therefore completely wrong now to depict *all* countries as aggressors. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors could so distort the facts."

How fully Dimitroff's clear and ringing words are in the spirit and letter of the teachings of Lenin can be seen by one brief paragraph from Lenin's classical answer to the "Left" phrasemongers of an earlier day, who made similar obstructions to those of Trotskyism now. Lenin said:

"It is possible to conquer this more powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by more necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this, do not understand a grain of Marxism and of scientific modern socialism in general." *

During the three years since Dimitroff's great report, millions of workers, farmers, and middle class people have learned from it, from its application by the Communists in the various countries, and from their own experience, above all, the necessity of the People's Front, of the unity of all democratic forces against reaction, fascism, and war. By no means least in this progress are the masses in the United States.

It would be wrong to think that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has won millions to the socialist revolution. It has not. Those who go with the Communist Party all the way to its full program probably count less than two millions in the U.S., and the Party membership itself has but

* Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, p. 52, International Publishers, New York.

passed the 75,000 mark. But the immediate influence of the Communists on questions of the day, of the struggle against fascism, against reaction, and for peace, cannot be measured within such limits. It is not too much to say that this immediate influence has become one of the decisive factors in the political life of America. Why this is so will be more thoroughly understood by a careful re-reading of the whole of Dimitroff's book, *The United Front*.

Evidence of this fact is to be seen in the increasingly frenzied attacks

against the Communist Party, in reactionary circles engaging in grotesque exaggerations of Communist strength, and in the universal interest in the Communist Party and what it stands for. It can be seen in the widespread acceptance, among tens of millions, of the basic idea of the democratic front and the main items of its program, which have been broadcast by the Communists.

The ideas of Dimitroff have become the common possession of millions of Americans. They are already a living force in American life.

DIMITROFF ON THEORY

"Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, Lenin used to say. It is *such* a theory that our cadres need and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air, water. Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, stereotyped schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must sear them out with a red-hot iron, both by real, *practical*, active struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses and by *untiring effort* to grasp the mighty, fertile all-powerful Bolshevik theory, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."—Dimitroff, Report to Seventh World Congress.