

GEORGI DIMITROV
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POLICY DECLARATION OF THE NEW FATHERLAND FRONT GOVERNMENT

November 28, 1946

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The Government, which I have the honour to preside, is by composition and character a government of the Fatherland Front¹. It will carry on still more energetically and firmly the policy of the preceding government for the complete and consistent implementation of the Fatherland Front programme.

Having assumed the country's government as a result of the historic victory of the people's uprising on September 9, 1944, the Fatherland Front has been able to consult the people's will three times in the course of two years, and has been given the people's confidence on all three occasions.

The elections for the Grand National Assembly, held on the basis of a perfectly democratic electoral law, proceeded in a spirit of complete order and freedom, as all impartial observers admit.

The brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front in these elections showed with particular clarity the unshakable confidence of the great majority of the Bulgarian people in the Fatherland Front. This victory evidences what deep roots the Fatherland Front has struck, as a historically indispensable union of the anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces of the Bulgarian people.

The proclamation of the People's Republic and the elections for the Grand National Assembly, based on the

democratic reforms carried out since September 9, round off a stage in our country's development and in our efforts to consolidate the people's rule. The hopes of reaction for a restoration, to drive new Bulgaria back to the hateful past, were shattered in the elections for the Grand National Assembly. The Fatherland Front has been completely consolidated as guide of Bulgaria's fate. The question about the representative character of the Fatherland Front's Government has been solved by our people in a positive sense.

Our country now enters upon a new stage of development. The foundations of people's democracy have firmly been laid. The way for the all-round reconstruction of our young People's Republic has been paved. The possibility of completely normalizing the country's internal and external situation is at hand.

The Government is well aware that the enemies of our people will not give up their efforts to undermine the people's rule. That is why it will continue to fight firmly and consistently to liquidate the survivals of fascism and to tame reaction. Parallel with this, it thinks it possible and necessary to abolish in the near future a number of measures which in the first stage after the people's uprising of September 9, 1944, were absolutely indispensable for securing the democratic acquisitions of our people. In the economic field as well, it thinks it possible and necessary, in order to intensify production, to moderate and abolish a number of limitations imposed on private economic enterprise and activity, especially as regards farmers, insofar as these limitations are not dictated by the need of securing the people's food supply and other needs of the nation as a whole.

The Government is firmly resolved to do all within its power to establish strict law, order and perfect security for creative work, for every useful economic private initiative, for the life and property of the population.

The Government is firmly resolved to establish strict state discipline, requiring of all administrative departments and officials to perform their duties and fulfil the

Government's decisions and orders promptly and conscientiously. It will continue resolutely and without hesitation the consolidation and strengthening of the state apparatus, social and cultural institutions, educational institutions and courses, so that they may become perfectly fit to serve the people. The Government will take strict measures to eradicate bureaucracy and all signs of corruption in the administration.

The Government emphasizes the improvements made in the organization and functions of the people's militia. It will be its task to consolidate and develop these improvements to such an extent that the people's militia may be fit to fulfil with dignity its duties as a guardian of law and order under the new conditions.

The Government will show special concern for the consolidation of the fighting capacity of our army as a people's army, linked with the people forever, and a true guard of our land and our national freedom and independence. The necessary moral and political conditions will be provided to ensure stable service and material standards for the officers and NCOs in our army.

The Government will continue with still greater systematic efficiency the public health and social welfare policy, especially in the field of mother and child care. It will encourage and assist every private and public initiative for the building of dwelling houses, to cope with the housing shortage.

The Government will show concern for the general development and progress of national culture. It will subsidize, assist and sponsor every creative activity and every initiative tending to promote the nation's culture and stimulate its development along progressive lines.

The Government will give all-round protection to physical and intellectual work as a fundamental factor in the building of our people's prosperity. Working women and young people will be given special protection and encouragement.

The Government will resolutely give priority to youth

devotedly serving the people in every sphere of administrative, public, political, economic and cultural life. Our patriotic youth, which took a prominent part in the struggle against fascism and grew up as a strong vanguard of the Fatherland Front will now be given full opportunity to take part in the building of our People's Republic. Care for the education of youth, for the training of numerous cultural and technical cadres, for physical culture, summer camps, the youth labour brigade movement, for children and teenagers will be a subject of special attention on the part of the Government.

Evaluating highly the fact that women are taking a more active part in the life of society since they deservedly obtained equal rights, the Government will take all necessary steps for their broad and useful participation in all spheres of social, political, economic and cultural life.

The Fatherland Front has paid due attention to the Bulgarian national church, giving the necessary assistance for its canonic organization, which has helped it put an end to the schism and restore its relations with all Orthodox churches. The positive result manifested itself at this year's celebration of the millennium of the Rila Monastery, which was attended by the Moscow and all-Russian Patriarch Alexei.

The separation between church and state, which the Fatherland Front provides for in its programme in compliance with the principle of freedom of conscience and religious creed, has been dictated by the belief that it will enhance the national character of the Bulgarian church, enabling the clergy to serve the people faithfully.

The Government will assist the democratization of our national church, so that it can be more closely adapted to the needs and development of the people. Respecting the religious sentiments of the believers, it will continue to give the necessary material aid to the church and clergy until it becomes possible for the believers to assume their maintenance.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that the Government will continue with still greater energy the correct and tested foreign policy hitherto pursued by the Fatherland Front. The Government believes that the sincere and consistent friendship of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with our liberator, the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, forms the cornerstone of its foreign policy; besides, it will do all in its power to achieve complete normalization of Bulgaria's relations with the United States and Great Britain. It is profoundly convinced that there exist no insurmountable obstacles to this end.

The Government feels obliged to express the warm and profound gratitude of the entire Bulgarian nation to the Government of the Soviet Union for the invaluable support given in defence of our national cause. It must also emphasize the strong defence of the rightful Bulgarian demands by the Ukrainian and Byelorussian delegations at the Peace Conference, for which it conveys to them the gratitude of the Bulgarian people.

Noting with satisfaction the increasing admiration of democratic France for new Bulgaria, the Government will do all in its power to further consolidate the traditional friendly ties between the two countries.

It will work for still greater stabilization of the established friendly relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, and for strengthening pan-Slav solidarity and unity as an important bastion of world peace.

The Government also conveys warm gratitude to Poland and Czechoslovakia, whose delegations supported our efforts for a just peace.

The Government appreciates highly the friendship with our northern neighbour, Romania. The brilliant victory of democracy in both countries guarantees that our nations will give each other increasing assistance and support along the lines of economic and cultural progress.

The Government will maintain good neighbourly relations with Turkey and will encourage the development of trade between the two countries.

It will make efforts to establish and consolidate diplomatic relations with all democratic countries.

The successful development of Bulgaria's economic relations with the Soviet Union and the renewal of trade relations with most of the European countries give us grounds to believe that the Government's efforts to extend the sale of our economic products in European, overseas and Near East countries and to improve our country's supply with the most indispensable raw materials and technical equipment will give positive results.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The conclusion of a just peace with the *United Nations* is the major task of the Government in the field of foreign policy.

Our hope for such peace is based on the fact that with their stubborn resistance the Bulgarian people prevented nazi Germany from using the Bulgarian army for active operations on any front and, in turn, contributed to the final defeat of nazi Germany by taking part in the liberation war on the United Nation's side.

This substantial contribution of the Bulgarian people to the cause of freedom has been recognized by the Soviet Union and our fraternal Slav countries, which have been supporting us resolutely in the struggle for a just peace. Despite the hostile opposition at home and abroad, truth is making progress and good disposition towards our nation and new Bulgaria is steadily growing among the authoritative social circles of other countries. World democratic opinion looks upon Bulgaria as a co-belligerent country, and the Government will maintain its efforts to have this expressed in the final text of the peace treaty with Bulgaria, especially with respect to reducing the burdensome reparations to a minimum sum, which will be bearable for our country plundered and devastated by the nazis.

The Government will redouble its energy to protect our country from foreign encroachments. In these efforts, the Government will be inspired exclusively by the desire to

have lasting peace secured in the Balkans, and sincere cooperation with all neighbouring nations, including the Greeks, for whom the Bulgarian people harbour most friendly feelings. And if good neighbourly relations have not yet been established between Bulgaria and Greece, such as exist between us and all other of our neighbours, we are not to blame. The Government categorically denies all slanderous accusations against Bulgaria, systematically propagated from Athens, among which the latest assertion is that guerrilla detachments passed into Greek territory from Bulgaria.

In a few words, acting in the spirit of the Fatherland Front programme, the Government will do its best to have Bulgaria fulfil successfully her role as a sound element of peace, democracy and fraternal co-operation among nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The new Fatherland Front Government will lay particular stress on economic problems. It will give priority to them throughout its activity and will do all in its power to cope as quickly as possible with the hardships and economic disorder inherited from fascism and the war, and aggravated by two subsequent droughts.

Considerable successes have so far been achieved in this respect by the former Fatherland Front Government.

Under the difficult conditions caused by last year's drought, the people were saved from famine and the livestock from starvation thanks to the ready response of the population, and to the timely aid of provisions and forage sent by the Soviet Union.

Despite the drought which was repeated this summer, the total agricultural output was higher than last year's thanks to the readiness and persistence with which the population fulfilled the Government's sowing plan. Industrial production during the past nine months of the current year has increased by 10 per cent. It will rise still higher in the forthcoming months as a result of better supply of our industry with local farm products and imported

materials and to the improvement of labour productivity and discipline.

Traffic in the railway and other transport systems has also marked a considerable increase.

The turnover of home trade has increased. Foreign trade has increased both as regards turnover and expansion of trade relations with other countries. Exports and imports during the past ten months have considerably surpassed last year's level. Parallel with the favourable development of our trade relations with the Soviet Union, we have also restored and expanded our trade relations with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Switzerland, France, Romania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, and other countries.

The stabilization of the lev testifies to the Government's successful efforts to consolidate the country's financial and economic position and shows the people's confidence in the Fatherland Front Government.

Despite all these undoubted successes, achieved in the current year, Bulgaria's economic condition is still ~~tense~~ and serious. The Government is fully aware of the fact that we are still faced with great difficulties, the solution of which will require exceedingly strong efforts on the part of the Government and all sections of the people.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

In its future economic policy the Government will follow the principle that only by increasing production, improving its quality and reducing production costs will it be able to secure the rehabilitation and development of the nation's economy and the full consolidation of state finances.

The Government will continue resolutely and without hesitation to take measures for the speediest possible industrialization of the country. For this purpose it will launch the construction with state, municipal co-operative and private funds of a number of new factories and plants, such as a nitrogen fertilizer plant, a soda works and a sulphuric acid plant and others, and expand and recondition

the existing industrial enterprises. In order to make most rational use of agricultural production, to increase the farmers' incomes, improve the population's food supply and extend our export potentials, steps will be taken to rationalize the branches of industry processing farm products and will build a large number of such enterprises. The Government will encourage private initiative in the construction of new industrial enterprises and in the development of the existing ones.

Particular stress will be laid on the speedy liquidation of the shortage of power supply, for which purpose an integral electrification system will be created, based on sufficient number of powerful thermo- and hydro-electric power stations with a grid covering the whole country, reaching the most remote corners of the land.

In view of the great drawback of our insufficient and backward coal production for the development of the entire national economy, the Government will provide in its programme for the maximum acceleration of the opening of new mines in our rich Sofia and Maritsa lignite coal basins.

The Government will take pains to improve and develop our railway, automobile and air transport.

In order to improve the standards of the rural districts and thereby strengthen the basis of the development of the entire economy, the Government will assist agriculture and stockbreeding in every respect. It will encourage and support the mechanization and rationalization of agriculture. To increase the yields per unit of land through irrigation, the Government will include in its programme the broadest and fullest utilization of the water resources. The construction of the basic dams will be completed in shorter terms. The Government will also take extensive measures to complete in the next few years the drainage of the Danubian and other lowlands.

The Government will continue to give all-round support to the producers' co-operatives based on the principle of voluntary participation. It will take measures to prevent

conflicts and misunderstandings between the producers' co-operatives and private farmers.

The Government will also show special concern in the development and modernization of the crafts, for the regular supply of the craftsmen with raw materials. It will encourage the formation of craftsmen's co-operatives.

In the field of home trade the Government will continue its efforts to rationalize commission agents system, for which purpose it will first of all eliminate the socially harmful and economically unjustified brokerage, especially in wholesale trade. To be able to regulate prices, the Government will encourage the foundation of a new trade enterprise, *Naroden Magazin*. The latter will promote the participation of the co-operatives in commodity exchange, so as to shorten and cheapen the path of goods from producer to consumer, and will simultaneously fight energetically against pseudo-co-operativism and co-operative parasitism existing in some co-operatives. It will allow private traders to participate in the exchange along with the co-operatives and to compete with them.

In order to promote the general expansion of foreign trade, the Government will maintain its efforts to build a sound foreign trade apparatus with the participation of state enterprises, co-operative societies and other social establishments, and the solid and trustworthy private firms.

The Government will lay special stress on the improvement and extension of vocational education, in order to train the necessary qualified cadres for our growing industry building, crafts and agriculture.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Continuing the economic policy of the Fatherland Front, tending to eliminate profiteering and parasitic capital from national economy, to co-ordinate constructive private enterprise with the consolidation of the state-controlled and co-operative sectors of national economy and with the introduction of planning in our economic life, the Government intends to make in its economic policy all necessary corrections, dictated by the experience gained in

life. It will work energetically to remove the existing shortcomings in the system of production quotas and the population's supply with provisions, clothing and fuel, to do away with the erroneous extremes and arbitrary acts against labour, constructive private enterprise and property of the citizens, and to co-ordinate private capital and private enterprise with the general interests of the people and the economic policy of the state, so as to guarantee the proper development of the Bulgarian national industry and the entire national economy.

Taking the necessary steps to secure the national food supply under the difficult conditions brought about by the nazi pillage, war and drought, the Government will struggle relentlessly against any profiteering on the people's bread and on all goods of prime necessity.

Encouraging the shock-worker movement and patriotic emulation, working for the tightening of labour discipline at enterprises and offices and for the establishment of proper relations between workers and employees, on the one side and employees and manager of enterprises and office, on the other, the Government will always bear in mind and do all within its power to improve the conditions of workers, employees and other working people. It emphasizes the fact that only intensified production and a strengthened economy can prepare the ground for improving the conditions of the working class and for raising the living standards of the Bulgarian people as a whole.

The Government finds it necessary to revise the pay rolls of the state employees and civil servants, so as to stabilize and improve their status. At the same time it will resort to the necessary rationalization and simplification of the services.

To secure a fuller utilization of local resources and potentials, the Government will increasingly advise the municipalities to engage in economic and building activities.

In the financial field, the new Government will work out a well-balanced, realistic and constructive budget,

which will correspond to the taxation capacities of the Bulgarian people and will promote economic and cultural building schemes. In its taxation policy, the new Government will continue to apply the principle of co-ordinating the levy of each individual tax-payer with his paying capacity, on the basis of a progressive income tax. It will encourage and protect savings and will reconstruct and improve our credit system, so as to make it of still greater use to production. Introducing a strict regime of economies everywhere – in the state apparatus and the nation's economy, economies of food and forage, materials, coal and electric power, economies of labour and time, and establishing strict accounting and financial control – the Government will take pains and do all that is necessary to guarantee the stability of the Bulgarian lev in the future.

The Government will continue with still greater firmness its policy of balancing the prices of agricultural and industrial products and handicraft services, taking into account the international market prices. For this purpose the Government will reorganize the Prices Institute. It will take severe measures against all who disturb our economic life, against evil-doers, profiteers and wreckers.

To introduce the necessary planning and order in our economy, for its steady and secure development, and to remove to the largest possible extent the elements of un-systematic work and disorder, the Government will work out a two-year plan for the development of national economy.

The fulfilment of the above mentioned economic tasks and of the two-year plan for our economic development in particular, will make it necessary to overcome considerable difficulties resulting from our poverty, our economic backwardness, the disastrous devastations caused by the former reactionary and fascist regimes, as well as by the two dry years.

The Government therefore believes that the implementation of the Fatherland Front's economic programme demands of the people to use all their material and moral

forces, and be ready to face any temporary privation. Because only stamina and hard labour can guarantee our country's economic progress and our people's prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The Grand National Assembly, as you know, will have to fulfil exceedingly important tasks, tasks of historic significance.

In the first place, it will elaborate and adopt a really progressive Constitution of the people's republic, which will take into account the needs of the Bulgarian people, their historic development and which will be co-ordinated with their national characteristics and traditions. There can be no doubt that the Grand National Assembly will pay due attention to the opinions and suggestions made and expressed during the elections and after them, at the nationwide discussions on the draft Constitution, prepared by the National Committee of the Fatherland Front.

In the second place, the Government will submit the state budget for 1947 and the Two-Year Economic Plan for consideration and approval by the Grand National Assembly.

In the third place, the Government will submit to the Grand National Assembly bills co-ordinating existing legislation with the future Constitution of the people's republic. It will also introduce for consideration and decision bills dictated by current of government affairs.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

For the solution of its great and responsible problems, the Government relies on the support of the Grand National Assembly and the unity of the sound forces of the people integrated in the Fatherland Front. In all its activity, the new Government will be guided by the conception that it is necessary to maintain and deepen co-operation among the Fatherland Front parties and social organizations and strengthen the unity of the Fatherland Front as an invincible union of the sound people's forces, as guiding force of the Bulgarian people's destinies and indestructible mainstay of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The Government will also welcome the co-operation of those social

and political groups and workers outside the Fatherland Front, who would be ready to serve our country sincerely and honestly. It will readily welcome any rational, timely and useful proposal, from whatever source it may come.

The Government is deeply convinced that all who are upright and patriotic in our country will firmly unite themselves around the Fatherland Front and will take an active part in implementing its programme.

The right and salutary cause of the Fatherland Front will prevail!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Long live the Fatherland Front!

Long live the Bulgarian people!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 278

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G. Dimitrov, Works

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WE SHOULD KEEP OUR PROMISES TO THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE

*Extracts from the Talk with a Delegation of the Second Plenary
Session of the Central Committee of Democratic Youth*

November 30, 1946

The efforts of the youth are portentous. In my previous greetings to youth I have had occasion to emphasize the tremendous, exceedingly important role played by our youth in the building of our people's republic. As you know, the Government and I myself, as its President, expect a great deal from our youth. I hold the view that it is not right to say, as people are usually in the habit of saying, that the future belongs to youth, meaning that youth is now studying and preparing itself for a nearer or more distant future. 'The future belongs to it,' say many. This is true, but not altogether. It is not enough that only the future should belong to youth. In my opinion, the present should also belong to our democratic, patriotic, industrious youth. This implies a combination of two things: all-round preparation of our youth for the future, and work in the present; participation in our current general reconstruction endeavour. Youth should always combine its studies, its efforts to improve its qualification at the university, factory and workshop with constructive work right now, in the present period.

A great drawback, inherited from the former reactionary and fascist regimes, consists in the fact that the older generations have a condescending attitude to youth; they do not trust it enough, they are afraid of it, and do not give it a chance to go ahead. I still see that in our offices,

when we propose a capable and properly trained young man for an important post, people say that he is still too young and will not have the necessary authority. 'Give us an older man', they say. This is a wrong attitude.

We of the generation which are now leading executives should renew the state apparatus and the social organizations all along the line to such a degree that most of the posts shall be filled by young people who are devoted to our nation. Their new jobs will teach them, their higher responsibilities will give them greater confidence in their forces and faculties and they will develop so much the better. All our capable and honest young people should find a place and an open road, should be given right of way. But the corrupt, putrid youth, the various socialite vamps and go-getters as you call them, should be swept with a broom. Such youth cannot be entrusted with anything, because it can only be of harm to our people. Fortunately, our hundreds of thousands of young people in town and village are not go-getters, but people who love their country and are ready to do their best for its prosperity.

The decisions which you have made and the pledges of the builders of the Hainboaz Pass and of our young comrades who were in Yugoslavia are great obligations. I read a policy declaration at the Grand National Assembly which is well-known to you. I must tell you that when I was writing this declaration, I thought for hours and hours. We should fulfil all that we say to our people, keep all that we promise; every word should become a living fact. We should not assume obligations and make promises, if we do not intend to keep them. We should be honest and tell people the truth about the things we are doing or planning to do. Just as the Government and the Fatherland Front are resolved to fulfil what they have promised in the Government's declaration, and have begun to act on it, I believe that when you make such promises and assume such obligations you should be firmly resolved to fulfil them whatever may happen, at the cost of all sacrifices, hard work and efforts.

A great many concrete little examples could be given to show us to what extent we in Bulgaria suffer from the lack of a system, from wastage, bureaucracy and a superficial, formal attitude to the needs of the people. Let us take a single example. We do not know the value of time, and this is a harmful Oriental heritage. A meeting or conference is scheduled for seven or eight o'clock, but is actually opened an hour and a half later. Those who are more punctual come and sit down and waste their time waiting. Time is a very important thing. It represents a great capital. It is not in vain that the British say: 'Time is money'. We, and especially you in the youth organization, should launch a campaign for discipline and punctuality. Meetings, congresses, conferences and entertainments should begin as a rule at the precise hour for which they are scheduled. You should pose this question for public discussion throughout the country and you will see that we shall get much better results from the efforts we put into our work. If this is done in every district, you will see what progress we can make in one single year.

I congratulate our youth on the programme it has worked out for the winter, for construction work in the spring and for certain new undertakings. Besides wishing it to fulfil their initiatives by all means, so that they may not remain a dead letter, I should like to suggest another initiative, which I believe to be very important for our economy and our agriculture in particular. As you know, many of the forests in our country have been destroyed. There are many barren, and deforested regions, even in the vicinity of Sofia. Why doesn't our youth join hands with the Government, with the Ministry of Agriculture in particular, to organize a nation-wide afforestation campaign, especially in regions which are extremely bare and torrents during heavy rains devastate numerous sections which could be well used otherwise. Thus in a few years we shall have more pine and beech and more rainfall; we shall have more moisture and our fields and agricultural production will be much better. I am convinced that our young men

and women will do this job zealously, under the proper guidance of agronomists and other specialists.

At the same time, you will be faced by a number of other initiatives. But even these which you have mapped out yourselves, will bring our people's republic a great benefit from our democratic youth.

As I have already said on another occasion, we look upon our youth as the vanguard of the Fatherland Front. This is not a mere phrase, it should be made a fact! It means that in the fields of political, social and cultural life, and especially in the economic field, youth should be in the front ranks as a real vanguard. I would like to stress without any exaggeration that the Fatherland Front programme, and the declaration of the new Government in particular, will be fulfilled with success, if we have the active participation and assistance of our democratic youth in town and village – workers, peasants, students, our entire youth.

In this train of thought, I thank you for the greetings and wish you strength, good health, sober minds, firm will, and the best of success for the benefit of our young people's republic! This is the best way to tame and do away with our home enemies, and the best way to keep our foreign enemies at a respectful distance. Thus we shall guarantee our own national future and gain higher international prestige. We are a small nation, but we should have the ambition to be great in spirit. The smaller a nation, I should say, the harder it should try to be strong in national spirit and creative work. Big nations and countries can boast of big territories, big material culture, and so on. Unfortunately, we cannot boast of such things, but we can compete with them and even surpass some of them if we increase our moral force, our national spirit – powerful and invincible, if we have firm confidence in our own future. No one can do us harm, if we join hands to guard our own home together and build our own people's republic. Some may try to stand in our way and undermine our efforts, but

I feel confident that we shall hold out and finally reach prosperity, reach national grandeur.

I shall not speak of interior difficulties and of the clamorous opposition we have. They are a temporary occurrence. It has rightly been said, that it is your duty now to win over a large part of the young people who have erroneously voted for candidates of the opposition, because of embitterment or personal dissatisfaction. We shall have other elections next year and then there will be a rising tide towards the Fatherland Front and democratic youth. But this compels us to work – work harder and harder. You young people should become shock workers at factories and in the fields, leading pupils at the schools! Cheers for our shock workers.

Unfortunately I shall not be able to attend your plenary session, although I would very much like to do so. But I beg you to convey my greetings and heartfelt wishes for fruitful work and still further successes to the good of our country.

Narodna Mladezh, No. 83
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PRIVATE TRADE AND INDUSTRY STAND IN NEED OF PARTIAL REFORM²

Talk with Members of the Association of Bulgarian Merchants

January 27, 1947

The difficulty and complexity of the tasks facing the Government arise from the circumstance that both it and the Fatherland Front have to coordinate national and public interests with private interests. You know that our guiding principle is to bring about a coordination that will safeguard national and public interests. In the pursuit of this policy of *safeguarding national and public interests*, not only for the present but for the future as well, not only for our generation but also for our children, certain private interests will have to be sacrificed. This is unavoidable, and every sensible person, as well as every businessman in our country must understand it and take it in good grace – he must do so, for there simply is no alternative. A certain reform of private trade and industry is called for in order to achieve this coordination of national and public interests with the private interests of our merchants and other businessmen.

I do not consider it to be in the interests of our state and our people, for instance, to let the food supply, the restaurants, hotels, etc., remain in the hands of private business for long. You must realize that whatever concerns the health of the people, whatever directly affects national interests, must gradually pass under the control of the state which on its part ought to make good use of the

organizational experience of businessmen. I am pretty sure that there will be branches in our nation's trade where our businessmen – capable, honest and experienced organizers – will remain as directors and managers of certain state, municipal, co-operative or public enterprises, and where they will enjoy a far better financial and social status than they do now, worried as they are, day in and day out, over how to make both ends meet, living in perpetual insecurity about the morrow and hence in moral and physical torment.

I will ask you, the organized merchants – since it is you who are directly concerned and since you are far better versed in these matters than many of our bureaucratic civil servants in this government apparatus – to seriously consider and discuss among yourselves in which branches of the economy the private sector should be allowed greater initiative than hitherto, in which branches it should be consolidated, so that you need not worry about the morrow, and in which branches, as well as sectors of trade, private initiative should be restricted or even completely eliminated in the interest of the Bulgarian nation as a whole. You are in a position to do this far better than many bureaucrats in the state apparatus. I would request you to discuss this to your societies and your association as a whole: to study the matter fairly and calmly, waving aside narrow, private interests and considering not only the present but also the future, for we are living with great prospects for the future, to inform the Government of your final, well-considered opinion as to the branches in which private trade should be developed and those in which, of necessity, as a result of our economic policy, it should be curtailed. The people now engaged in them should not be allowed to grow despondent, to break down and consider themselves completely superfluous, but should be helped by us all *to promptly find a job in another field*, where their work and consequently their own and their children's future will be guaranteed. Thus many problems which

have been a source of terrible anxiety for you, will be solved.

As to equality and competition on equal terms between the private and the public sector, absolute equality is, of course, out of the question. There should be no illusions on that score. State and public enterprises will enjoy a certain priority.

Our task is not to achieve complete equality but to give our businessmen a chance to show their mettle as organizers and to be fairly remunerated.

General statements, idle talk and mere declarations, as well as petulance on your part, will lead nowhere. I consider many of the questions you raised here as quite justified, but they must be put forward in a very concrete manner.

Part of our businessmen, capable organizers as they are, will, I think, have to cease to be businessmen in the future and find their proper place in public, state and other business enterprises, according to their abilities. There are countries, even in the West, where former industrialists and merchants are now directors of state and public enterprises, and are much better off than they were before.

There are certain branches in which, under this system of collaboration and competition with the public and state organizations, private businessmen will remain active and develop their business in the general interest of the people with the co-operation and protection of the state.³

We are not going to attempt to nationalize private trade in general, because for the time being the state apparatus alone cannot secure the desired results.

That is how matters stand now and how we as government and you as businessmen have to face them.

The same applies to our foreign trade, too.

Part of our foreign trade will indeed be a state monopoly. But I ask you – can't your capable businessmen who have connexions abroad be used in this state monopoly?

We shall give businessmen who are specialists every opportunity and every privilege to carry on export trade in a way that will enable them to live and secure their own and their children's future within the framework of the common interests of our nation's economy and, which is most important, through their connexions abroad and through their abilities to help intensify our foreign trade.

We are now adopting a policy of changing the status of engineers and technicians in our industry and the state apparatus from that of mere employees, as they were hitherto, to a more privileged one securing them higher salaries, certain amenities and chances of advancement. This policy is dictated by the interests of our nation's economy.

The state itself is becoming a manager and businessman in our country. Everyone must get reconciled with this fact. Private initiative must find a place to manifest itself to the full in this system. With people who cling to antiquated views this might seem a bit awkward, but it can't be helped, for the nation's interests cannot be sacrificed to the interests of a few.

I read your paper and realize that your feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in the morrow arises from your failure to properly grasp our economic problems. This cannot go on. It is detrimental not only to yourselves, but also to our state, to our nation's economy. Everything must be clarified and specified.

There is no room for demagogy in this matter. Our Government is not like the former governments. You must realize this. Our actions will not be at variance with our words. What we say, we are going to do, we must and will do, and we will never promise anything that is not feasible. That is why we are calling on all competent categories of men and bodies in the country for co-operation. That is why I pay heed even to the most insignificant telegrams I receive, to all complaints: are they founded on anything real, do they contain any indications or warnings. Quite frequently they do contain valuable indications as to what should be done and what measures should be taken.

That is how matters stand at the root, as the Russians say. We count on your loyal collaboration – in your own interests and in the interests of the general welfare of the people and the progress of our People's Republic.

G. Dimitrov, Speeches, Reports, Articles
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PRIME CONDITIONS FOR CONSOLIDATING CO-OPERATIVE FARMS

Speech at the National Conference of Co-operative Farms

February 4, 1947

Dear Comrades, your first national conference, the National Conference of Co-operative Farms, is an extremely important, exceptional event for our country and particularly for our national economy. For the past four days the Government has been following the course of this conference with the liveliest interest. It expects your decisions, which will be thoroughly examined and given the utmost attention, because the Government attaches historic importance to the co-operative farm movement.

We are happy to state that during the short period of their existence the co-operative farms have achieved positive results and that the pioneers in this great venture are working with rare enthusiasm and patriotism, with all their energy and ability for the success and progress of our young People's Republic.

You realize, of course, that this great venture is still in its early stages. It is difficult, complicated, but it is salutary for our immense rural population, for our country which, through the fault of the dynasty, bourgeoisie and the fascists, is still underdeveloped. Comrades, no more than the foundations have been laid. Upon these foundations we must build with much toil and sweat, and particularly with common sense, organization, labour discipline and proper leadership.

As you know, our co-operative farms suffer from a

number of weaknesses and shortcomings, and many questions are yet clear. Not all is clear with respect to the organizing of co-operative farms, to their management, to their practical growth and development, to their relations with private peasants, to labour norms, remunerations, and so on and so forth. I was gratified to note, and I wish to state it here, that the conference, far from closing its eyes to these weaknesses, shortcomings and in clarity in the life of co-operative farming, far from attempting to gloss them over and to pretend that things get on finely, as some overenthusiasts are prone to do, soberly and seriously puts its finger on the sore, discusses these weaknesses and shortcomings and strives, to the best of its abilities, forces and experience, to find ways and means of speeding up the elimination and overcoming of these weaknesses, shortcomings and in clarity in the development and activity of the co-operative farms.

At present the task is to consolidate the existing co-operative farms and to start organizing new ones but only after most painstaking preparatory work and thorough investigation of the prevailing local conditions and possibilities. The task is to find and apply those conditions which, within a minimum of time, are most conducive to strengthening the already existing co-operative farms. There are many such conditions. Among these the most important are the following:

1. *The principle of voluntariness in joining co-operative farms should be observed most strictly and consistently. No material or moral coercion whatsoever should be allowed in this respect, because you, co-operative farmers and co-operative farming in general, will derive no benefit at all if 10, 20, 30 or more farmers, compelled to join co-operative farms, do so reluctantly, without conviction. In the best case they will be a burden and will hamper co-operative farming while in many cases they might turn into wreckers who undermine this useful venture from within.*

2. *The members of co-operative farms should be educated in a spirit of labour friendship and mutual aid. Owing to the*

traditional private cultivation of land – everyone for himself and everyone against the others, we have inherited far too much individualism, lack of labour co-operation and personal egoism in agriculture. But co-operative farming demands friendship, understanding, joint labour and mutual aid. The sick co-operative farmer cannot work as hard as the others – he must be helped. Friendship and assistance are necessary so that all co-operative farmers may produce, to the best of their forces and abilities, and make their contribution to the common cause of co-operative farming so as to enable also the sick and less able-bodied farmer to get more goods, more produce and to have better material, moral and cultural standards.

3. *The honest, devoted and tenacious labour of every co-operative farmer.* A co-operative farm of a hundred members with, say, 25 loafers and ne'er-do-wells who do not like to work and prefer to hand around in saloons, cannot prosper. Such people sap the foundations of their co-operative farm, causing harm to themselves and to their families. Every co-operative farmer should work honestly, devotedly and tenaciously.

4. *A proprietary and loyal attitude towards the co-operative farm.* The co-operative farmers must treat the property, produce, inventory and all other assets of the co-operative farm as they would treat their own property, even better. A proprietary, loving attitude towards everything that belongs to the co-operative farm is necessary.

You should know that there is one very serious means to cure weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of co-operative farms – *criticism and self-criticism*. In Bulgaria people are not too fond of self-criticism, nor do they care much for criticism. When criticized, they take it the wrong way and get offended, and they dislike to criticize themselves, to see, to admit and to correct their mistakes and weaknesses. We must know, however, that *in the field of economic activity we cannot advance without a critical attitude towards ourselves and others, towards our weaknesses and shortcomings*. Criticism and self-criticism are the most powerful motor of all

progress and development, provided of course the criticism is positive and constructive, not tendentious, personal and factious, provided it promotes and helps improve the work of the co-operative farm in every sector. A hearty, constructive criticism which does not pursue personal ends, which does not skin the flint, as they say, but gives impetus to co-operative farming in general and to each of its members in particular.

The problem of cadres is of particular importance for the development and consolidation of our young co-operative farms.

You have dealt here quite extensively with this question. A great body of dedicated and experienced cadres are necessary, as well as managers of co-operative farms and, as a rule, they should be their chairmen, not the agronomists. The co-operative farm should, according to me, be managed by a responsible, elected chairman. The good agronomist, who knows his field and place, should be the right hand of the co-operative farm chairman. The training of chairmen, managers and agronomists, many of whom have but a limited knowledge of the complexity of the problems facing co-operative farms, is an extremely important and urgent task.

Team leaders, without whom any organized and productive labour is impossible, are necessary. Accountants for the co-operative farms' bookkeeping are particularly needed. No order is possible without bookkeeping. *Without good bookkeeping there will be no confidence in the co-operative members that everything is allright in the farm.* Without bookkeeping no control on the work done, of the funds, stock and distribution of produce is possible. The role of the accountant in co-operative farms is exceptionally important.

Tractor-drivers are also necessary. We know from experience that a considerable part of our tractors have been damaged, because people do not know how to operate them. I know of a case when a brand-new, excellent tractor exploded and went to the dogs, because of the driver's lack of skill.

Special courses for training co-operative farm chairmen, accountants, team-leaders, tractor-drivers and agronomists should, I feel, be set up with the assistance of the corresponding state and other bodies. Our Faculty of Agronomy and the agricultural schools should lend a helping hand in this respect. A chair of co-operative farming should be established at the University. Our agricultural schools must pay greater heed to this big venture, make it a subject of study and train the necessary cadres. The students should be well trained for work in co-operative farms, as well.

As regards the question of cadres, I would like to stress particularly that the leaders of our co-operative farms should promote more boldly talented, devoted and capable youths who are eager to learn, but, of course, not such youths who think they know everything and look down on people. Such young cadres should be promoted as much as possible; they should be helped to acquire practical experience and with their skill, intelligence, youthful ardour robust health and inexhaustible energy to push co-operative farming ahead.

The role of women, of housewives in co-operative farms, is particularly important. I must tell you that though I deal with these questions, I was amused to learn in connection with your national conference that the wife of a co-operative farmer is not a member of the farm. She is not a member because she is his wife. She takes part in meetings, but has no right to cast a vote. Why, may I ask? Why is such an important force, as women are generally in Bulgaria and particularly in co-operative farms, deprived of the possibility to take a full-fledged part in the life of the co-operative farms, when quite frequently women understand farm work better than men? Usually they have a keener eye, notice better certain shortcomings and have a finer flair, scenting in time what has begun to rot but is not yet rotten. We know that in our peasant families, especially in our former patriarchal communities, and even now, the old grandmother is the principal adviser in the farmstead and

often she is the boss. She may sometimes get beaten by her old man – unfortunately there are still such cases in Bulgaria, but when the time comes for important work – what to sow, how to sow it and what to produce, what to plough and when to plough it, and what and how to sell – then he calls the grandmother to take council with her. This is not by chance. No law impels the peasant to do this. Formerly women enjoyed no equal rights with men as nowadays, but their experience and need compel men to seek their advice, because *most women are better household managers than many men*, who like to hag around in saloons, to drink and to discuss 'high-flown' foreign politics. The statements of the housewives Maria Doushkova, Dobra Popova, Raina Spassova and others, at your conference, confirm what I say. I particularly appeal to the managers of our co-operative farms on their return, to place this question on the agenda with all due seriousness, to discuss it, to help the women to work still more actively and to try to attract as many women as possible – economic and constructive forces in the field of co-operative farming.

One of the great and important problems of our co-operative farms is their *mutual relations with the private farmers* who, as you know, for the time being constitute the great majority in our country. The policy of our Government is to help these farmers to increase their produce and to improve their material and cultural standards. There should be no hostility between co-operative farms and individual peasants. Up to now, however, it exists in many places. Relations between co-operative farms and individual peasants should be normalized, should become good and friendly; this is an urgent task awaiting solution. It is not enough just to make propaganda, to explain the great importance of our co-operative farming. We should do this without fail, but more important yet, we should establish, so to speak, a *productive collaboration between co-operative farms and private farmers*. How can this be done in a village, in a region? In many ways. In practice the proper

means should be found in accordance with local conditions. For example, the co-operative farm has a tractor. Why not place this tractor at the disposal of the private farmers so that they need not plough their fields with a prehistoric wooden plough or with an ordinary plough? They can pay the co-operative farm something, they can come to an agreement on this. The private farmer will be greatly relieved by this. The same goes for agronomical assistance. For example, the co-operative farm has an agronomist; let him advise private farmers, too. The experience accumulated by co-operative farms should be shared with private farmers. There are other similar ways which could be used as, for example, certain cultural undertakings organized by co-operative farms, such as working and evening parties, concerts, cinemas, etc. *The co-operative farm should become a centre of such contacts with the remaining private farmers*; organizing productive collaboration in such a manner as to increase the produce both of the co-operative farm and the private farmers, which will be of general benefit to our national economy. Is this possible? Yes, it is quite possible. Of course, there are malicious opponents who will try to throw a monkey wrench in the works, there are incorrigible village sharks who will not remain inactive, but all this will be overcome, if co-operated and private farmers go ahead hand-in-hand. When you work that way, and when the co-operative farms become ever more consolidated and yield more produce, when they improve the material and cultural standards of their members, of the whole village region, etc., then ever more private farmers will realize that co-operative farming is in their interest and finally will make up their mind to join the co-operative farms. Thus, hundreds of thousands of farmers will gradually join the co-operative farms, because no sensible person – and our peasants are sensible by nature and most of them are endowed with a good deal of common sense – shuns what is good. If our peasant sees that this venture is good, he will embrace it quickly and with enthusiasm, because it is to his

benefit, to the benefit of his family and the future of his people.

The state helps and will promote the consolidation and development of co-operative farms. But it should be kept in mind that this help has its limits, because the state has to implement, with the assistance and participation of our people, an economic Two-Year Plan which provides for the industrialization and electrification of our country. And industrialization and electrification are useful to the co-operative farms themselves and to the whole rural population.

Secondly, I am against giving our co-operative farms pecuniary assistance at random, for another important reason as well. If they get accustomed to live on state subsidy, they will not develop independently, they will not be able to stand on their own feet. They must rely, above all, on their own forces, labour, enthusiasm and heroism. Allow me to make a comparison. Why is Bulgaria so backward industrially? Ask yourselves why our country is so underdeveloped. Because, insofar as the ruling Bulgarian bourgeoisie developed industry up to September 9, it did so at the expense of the state. i. e. at the expense of the people; it created state-subsidized industrial enterprises which were often appendages of foreign capital. Our former rulers were not interested in creating a sound national industry. They preferred to enrich themselves quickly by plundering the fruits of the people's labour as brokers and agents of foreign capitalist firms. If we were to follow in these steps in our co-operative farms, we would have a certain parasitical existence. In such case the co-operative farms would not have deep, strong economic roots and would not be able to develop their own forces and particularities, and to utilize all local resources as is necessary. I therefore recommend and insistently advise: endeavour to make the co-operative farms worthy collaborators of our new, people's state in building up Bulgaria's economy using state aid within limits and wisely and relying primarily on your own forces.

I am afraid I am taking up your time, but since your conference is in session on the eve of the signing of the Peace Treaty, allow me to say just a few words on this question.

As you know, on February 10 the Peace Treaty is to be signed in Paris. The signing of the Peace Treaty will settle definitely our country's postwar international status. This is the positive and main thing the Peace Treaty provides. I will not deal at length with the significance of the Peace Treaty's signing for our country. Each of you understands that a stage of our development in this respect is coming to an end and that brighter prospects for a new more favourable and more secure development of our national economy will open up.

The Peace Treaty contains also a number of harsh terms, harsh clauses, as they call them. In this connexion the Government instructed its delegation in Paris to make a declaration to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four Great Powers, stating the point of view of the Bulgarian people on these harsh clauses. This declaration has been published, and probably you all know it. The Peace Treaty contains indeed harsh clauses, but any sensible person understands that *the terms of the Peace Treaty might have been a hundred times, if not more, harsher than they actually are, had it not been for the Fatherland Front*. They would have been quite unbearable, perilous for our people, had it not been for the resistance movement organized by the Fatherland Front during the war had it not been for the invaluable assistance of the Soviet Union and the historic September 9, had it not been for the participation of the new Bulgaria in the war against Nazi Germany. Had it not been, comrades for our correct, democratic, peace-loving, foreign policy, consistently pursued by the Fatherland Front, Bulgaria's situation might have had the present plight of Germany. We should thank the Fatherland Front, that the Peace Treaty, in spite of its harsh clauses, is not as disastrous as the enemies of Bulgaria laboured for.

We should thank the Fatherland Front that Bulgaria

does not share the plight of Germany, ruined, dismembered and with an uncertain future. Of course, if the Coburgs, our Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the Bulgarian fascists had not driven Bulgaria into the claws of Hitler, if Bulgaria had joined the United Nations during the war – we would have taken part as an allied country, like Yugoslavia and the other nations, in the postwar settlement of world peace and would not have been exposed to bear such burdens. It is known who bears the guilt, the historical guilt and responsibility. Under these conditions, it is obvious how unworthy and unscrupulous is the conduct of the opposition leaders, who strive to gloss and conceal the responsibility of the Coburgs, the bourgeoisie and the fascists for the harsh clauses of the Peace Treaty and to switch it onto the Fatherland Front.

The task now, comrades, is not to complain that the Peace Treaty clauses are so harsh, but to work diligently for their mitigation and least painful overcoming in applying the treaty. Three conditions are necessary for this. First: strong national unity under the banner of the Fatherland Front. Second: consistent and firm pursuit of our correct democratic and peaceable foreign policy. And third: ensuring all prerequisites for the constructive work of the people and for the building up and prospering of our People's Republic.

Congratulating you on behalf of the Government and on behalf of myself, on behalf of the Workers' Party (Communists) and on behalf of the whole Fatherland Front I wish you fruitful work, labour discipline, soberness and common sense in applying practical measures in your activity, and love, love of our beloved country.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 29
February 6, 1947

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OUR PARTY'S FORESIGHT HAS BEEN BRILLIANTLY BORNE OUT

Speech before the Sofia District Party Conference

February 24, 1947

Comrades,

I need not tell you how much I regret my inability to attend the District Party Conference from beginning to end, and especially to hear the discussions and their findings both positive and negative. But insofar as I am generally informed, you will allow me to dwell on certain problems only.

As you know, the chief concern of the Fatherland Front, the Government, the people and especially of our Party has been hitherto to settle at long last our country's international status so that we might go ahead with assurance and unwaveringly to secure the progress of the Bulgarian nation.

In this respect, there were many difficulties and obstacles on our way. But today I can tell you, in my capacity as member of the Central Committee of our Party and as Prime Minister of Bulgaria, that these difficulties and obstacles have been overcome. On February 10 Bulgaria signed a peace treaty with the United Nations in Paris. Actually, right after the signing of the treaty the Bulgarian Government was recognized *de facto* by the two Great Powers which had refrained from recognizing it till then. This was naturally followed by a *de jure* recognition of our Government, of our Fatherland Front, on the part of Great Britain. Bulgaria, the new Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front,

now enjoys on the whole a settled international status. That is why, after signing the Peace Treaty in Paris, the Bulgarian Government took the liberty of claiming the right to be heard and to be given a chance to defend its just and lawful demands at the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. Since Bulgaria took an active and effective part in the war of liberation against fascism from September 1944 until its conclusion, we are now entitled to put forward claims to a corresponding share of reparations to be paid by Germany as indemnity to Bulgaria.

One stage in our development has been concluded. Now the Fatherland Front, the Government and our Party in particular *are focusing their attention on the rehabilitation of the country, on the utilization of all natural, financial and human resources of the nation.* As you know, a two-year state economic plan has been drawn up. Its first reading has already taken place at the Grand National Assembly. Its second reading will take place on March 11. After the first reading, the bill of the state economic plan will again be discussed with the voters of every constituency, with outstanding economic and other workers, with a view to introducing further improvements, amendments and additions. I am deeply gratified that the Sofia District Party Conference has found the plan not only necessary and desirable, but also feasible. There have always been and there will always be doubting Thomases. There will always be waverers, but the sound, the viable part of our nation, viz. the working class, the peasantry and the majority of the intelligentsia are no waverers. They have faith in the powers of our people, they have faith in the strength of our land, they have faith in the subsoil wealth and resources of our young republic and are convinced that, given the necessary efforts and energy, firm will and devotion, *this economic plan will settle and stabilize the nation's economic situation*, just as our international status has been settled and stabilized. There can be no doubt that along this road, too, we shall encounter many difficulties and obstacles. But there are no difficulties which bolsheviks are

unable to surmount. There are no difficulties in our country which cannot be surmounted by our people, who have taken their destinies in their own hands and who are building, working and living for their own selves and for their children and not for parasites, spongers and money-grabbers.

We are well aware that mere enthusiasm and cheers cannot build dams, construct new railway-lines and erect new factories and plants. But without enthusiasm, without this flame in our hearts, nothing of value can be created either.

The subjective factor plays a decisive role. What is the subjective factor in our country? It is the Fatherland Front – the heart, the brains, the motive force, the iron will, incarnated first and foremost by our glorious Workers' Party (Communists). This subjective factor must be reliable. On it depends to a great extent the implementation of the economic plan and our country's steady all-round advance.

At this point I should like to draw your attention to a problem of particular importance. It is *the problem of cadres*. You may have many men, good people, much enthusiasm, but unless you have reliable cadres, you cannot obtain good and lasting results. What we need are devoted and capable cadres! That is why all our Party, from the Central Committee down to the smallest Party unit – the cell, *should at the present moment put the question of cadres in the foreground in their inner Party life.*

First, it is necessary that the cadres now available, those at the disposal of the Party, in the political, propagandist, cultural or economic fields (including engineers, agronomists, architects and others) should as far as possible be better distributed and placed in positions where they will be able to apply the maximum of their forces and abilities for the implementation of our economic plan. In casting a glance at the present distribution of cadres, can we say that the now available Fatherland Front and Party cadres are fully and most rationally engaged and utilized? No, we can't say that! At every step we find people un-

suitably employed. I come across striking cases of this almost every day. I was looking at the staff employed at one of our legations and what did I find? The chancellor is an architect and the interpreter – an engineer! There they are sitting quietly in their quiet refuge, performing the duties of chancellor and interpreter. There are numerous similar cases inside the country. How many are the engineers who are not in their proper place! How many are the agronomists, architects, constructors who are not being utilized in their own profession, in their own calling! There may be many ways to explain this scandalous situation, but none to justify it, none whatever.

Secondly, there is the question of increasing our cadres of their training and promotion. Cadres are trained not only at the university and the other educational institutions. They can and should be trained in every other way possible. But do we pay enough attention to the promotion of technicians and instructors, foremen and skilled workers from among those directly engaged in industry or agriculture? Scores and hundreds, nay thousands, of our shock-workers could become excellent technicians, foremen, engineers and agronomists in one, two or three years' time, men closely linked to the people, at that. The state, the public organizations and especially the Party, which plays the leading role in our country, should take all possible measures to increase the number of competent cadres from among workers devoted to our people and country, cadres from among those directly engaged in production, who stem from the people, are familiar with their woes and troubles and are ready to face all hardships and sufferings in order to steer the country to a safe shore. In this respect we have no thoroughly discussed proposals. We should be more daring in promoting young, new cadres. Everywhere we hear the same objection: 'But he is too young, he is not yet mature and experienced enough!' But mark my words, many of these young, insufficiently mature, insufficiently experienced men, if properly helped, if placed under favourable conditions, will in a short time

become mature and yet maturer, experienced and yet more experienced and worthy builders of our People's Republic. This doubt, this scepticism, let me call it, with regard to the new and young cadres, to young men and to women, must be done away with in our country. It is an obstacle to the increase of cadres at the pace necessary for our construction. As I have frequently stressed on previous occasions, *our young People's Republic must accomplish within 10 to 15 years what it took other countries a hundred years to accomplish.* If we fail to do this, we shall fail to achieve our great ideals as a nation and as a Communist Party.

What we need is re-education of our cadres! Re-education of our Party and Fatherland Front members!

The ideological and political level of our cadres must be raised. As I have said before, functionaries in responsible positions who behave like autocrats and ride on a high horse in their relations to the population and those around them, as is the case in certain places, should be branded with a red hot iron. Those men have forgotten that they come from the people, that only yesterday they worked shoulder to shoulder with the other workers and peasants. Now that they have become mayors, or bosses or deputies, they turn up their noses.

We must never forget that all of us, big, medium or minor Party functionaries, are servants of the Party and the people and not lords or bosses, before whom everyone is expected to stand at attention. If such lords, such big or petty bosses refuse to listen to reason, they should be removed from their posts and some even expelled from the Party.

Here and there responsible officials have formed a kind of family circle; they work together in perfect harmony but only to conceal each other's failings and errors. We certainly want friendly and harmonious relations among our leading cadres but they must be based on adherence to principle and serve the interests of the Party, the people and the country, not on 'mutual shielding' as the Russians say - I defend you when you are in the wrong and you defend me when I go astray. If this sort of thing did not exist,

think of all the mistakes and shortcomings we might have avoided last year! And it is still going on! Such things can no longer be tolerated, they must be purged. I am constantly getting information – reliable information which has been checked and rechecked time and again – that in certain Party organizations our comrades are afraid to criticize – don't, for heaven's sake, start criticizing the leaders, for if you do you are in for trouble! Delegates come to me to inform me of various things but they always end up by asking me, for heaven's sake, not to let their secretary learn about it. What kind of a system is that, what kind of Party ethics and Party discipline is it that does not allow a regular Party member to conscientiously point out some flaw or mistake without being afraid of getting into trouble? Most serious measures should be taken along this line.

We must remember that without criticism and self-criticism no one in our country, no matter how clever he may be, can progress. Nor can the people develop as a people and as a nation without constant criticism and self-criticism, unless all that is sound and correct is encouraged and all that is unsound, rotten and incorrect is mercilessly flayed. That is precisely why criticism and self-criticism are so valuable. During the present period, most serious attention should be paid to the ideological and political education of the entire Party, but first and foremost, I must say, of the cadres from top to bottom, from the top functionary to the lowest.

Mark this: *almost all our predictions about our nation's development have been brilliantly borne out.* We declared that the elections set for November 18, 1945 would be held. In spite of and contrary to the claims of our internal and external enemies, the elections did take place. We said that the monarchy would be abolished and a people's republic established – and that, too, happened. We also said that a Grand National Assembly would be elected to draw up and adopt a new constitution – that, too, was carried out. Did we not declare that despite all hostility to the Fatherland Front manifested abroad and at home, it would be

recognized and its Government would conclude a peace treaty and win *de jure* recognition? All that is an accomplished fact. Why did everything happen as it did? Why did all the things proclaimed by the opposition leaders fail so miserably? We, Marxist-Leninist communists, cannot be quite infallible, but what is it that allows us, that allows our Party to determine and foretell the course of events? It is, as you all know, the great, invincible teaching of Marx and Lenin, the great science of Marxism-Leninism. For when the political sky became clouded and there was thunder and lightning, all those who did not make use of this great doctrine, this compass, this beacon which illumines the road of mankind's development, began to tremble, exclaiming: 'The Fatherland Front is lost, the communists are lost, everything is lost!' But we who had that compass which enables us scientifically to analyze social developments and the balance of forces, and to foresee the course that events are going to take, we were quite at ease, we had no fear for we knew that after the rain there would be sunshine, that after the storm there would be a pleasant calm in the sky, as well as on earth.

Proceeding from our scientific analysis of the relations between the world's Great Powers and small nations, we knew that no foreign intervention was possible at that moment, and we were therefore quite calm. We knew then and we know now that the differences between the Great Powers, unpleasant as they are, though quite natural, would not lead to war. That is why we remained quite calm when threatened with a new war and with intervention in our foreign and home policy. In the meantime the opposition leaders deluded themselves with hopes of foreign intervention and war! The entire policy and tactics of the opposition leaders were built on sand, that is why they now look as if they had been knocked over the head. I must say that some of our allies, too – loyal comrades in the struggle before and after September 9 – were often alarmed. Time and again I had to assure them that there

was nothing to worry about. Come, let us all work together, I said, and everything will be all right. And sometimes I would advise them: study Marxism, for a knowledge of it will save you much anxiety and trepidation, it will allow you to sleep peacefully whenever something unpleasant is beginning to loom over your heads. For our Party, as you are well aware, Marxism-Leninism is that beacon which makes clear to us the course events are going to take. It is as necessary to us as the bread we eat and the air we breathe. Naturally, it is not sufficient to learn by heart passages from the works of Marx and Lenin. Among us there are such prigs and pedants who do that, who repeat and quote their statements whether the occasion calls for it or not, just to show how learned they are, how well versed in the great Marxist teaching.

What we need is to grasp the meaning, the essence of that teaching. Some Marxists have never read all the works of the classics of Marxism, but only a part; however, the most essential part. And they have not merely read it, but have mastered it and have learned to apply it in their practical, Party and construction work everywhere. Marxism must be grasped in essence and applied for practical and immediate purposes, in the struggle against the enemy, in defence of our victory of September 9, of our freedom and national independence, and in the building up of the People's Republic.

When speaking of cadres, we must touch upon yet another problem. Our Party, which is composed of workers, peasants, craftsmen and progressive intellectuals, should seriously consider yet another circumstance, viz. that the majority of our cadres, especially of our Party workers, have been under a constant physical and nervous strain ever since September 9. We need not dwell upon what they passed through before September 9 as partisans, underground workers, political and concentration camp prisoners, experiences which have affected their nervous system and their general health. Watching our people at the conferences and meetings that I have attended and

judging by information I get from the provinces, I come to the conclusion that, unless the Party takes serious measures to prevent it, a part of our cadres, probably a very considerable part, will, within a short period, lose much of their capacity for work, while the others will become invalids. Of course, the Party cannot allow half of its functionaries a prolonged holiday at the same time to give them a chance to rest or take a cure, etc. That is of course impossible. Everyone must work like a shock-worker. But we must find another way out. It is necessary and possible to allow short holidays to individual Party workers in turn. Another way of unburdening them is by improving the organization of our work, of our leading bodies, by making their activity less time-consuming through the elimination of unnecessary or lengthy meetings, so that the local Party secretaries and functionaries may be relieved. Their great burden will be relieved if their work is rationalized as it is in industry where productivity is raised but not at the cost of the workers.

Let us now proceed further. Certain coordinated measures must be taken to improve the material and cultural standards of our cadres. We cannot afford to give them high salaries, just as we could not provide for any great rise in the salaries of our state employees in the new salary scale. But the Party and our public institutions must find a way to improve the material and cultural standard of living of those leading and active functionaries of the Party and the Fatherland Front who are working for the people and not for their own personal welfare, to improve it in a way that will secure their health and capacity for work.

I am talking about honest and dedicated workers. As to those who don't belong to that category and who have managed to advance through devious and roundabout ways, they should be purged from the Party. No general remedy can be recommended here, no general decision of the Central Committee can be taken, but such a course is absolutely necessary. Everywhere, in accordance with con-

crete local conditions, organized care must be taken to preserve our cadres' health, capacity for work and stamina. The present situation can no longer be tolerated – one after the other our people fall ill, tuberculosis is on the increase and so are nervous and other disorders among our cadres, and more and more people are losing their capacity for work. Things cannot go on that way, especially now that we must proceed with the implementation of the great national economic development plan.

I should like to conclude with a warning, so as not to keep you any longer. There are people in our country, and in the Party, too, who think that now that the peace treaty has been concluded and we have been, so to say, recognized and our international status settled, we can take things easy and serenely devote ourselves to our everyday tasks. This is not quite true. The top crust of the opposition has lost its footing and is in a process of decomposition. But there are certain reactionaries who may be inclined to resort to desperate actions precisely because they feel they have gone bankrupt. Hitherto their policy towards the Fatherland Front has been one of frontal attack, they have been trying to take the fortress of the people's unity by storm. Now that this course has proved impracticable and quite unpromising, they are going to adopt and, as I have been informed, are already adopting the tactics and policy of the Trojan horse – if you cannot take the fortress by a frontal attack, try and take it from the inside, as the ancient Greeks did by means of the Trojan horse.

We have to be no less vigilant now than we were before the signing of the peace treaty. In this respect we must take steps against the attempts at infiltration into the Fatherland Front and into our Party itself of demoralizing elements who might try to employ the tactics of the Trojan horse. Now more than ever we must keep our eyes open in every Party organization, because the danger for us, for our Party and for the Fatherland Front no longer comes from the outside. No! The danger, in so far as it may exist, comes

from within, from the seeds of decay within the Fatherland Front itself and its parties, including our own Party. That is why, we must be firm in denouncing every manifestation of moral laxity, careerism and other pernicious trends, we must do our utmost to strengthen our Party organizations. Steps in this direction have to be taken by the Party, by the government, by the army, by all cultural, educational and public organizations along all lines.

Finally, after a conference like the one you are now holding, at which certain flaws and shortcomings in our work are subjected to criticism and self-criticism and at which a resolution is taken determining the plan of our work as a Party organization, we should explain to all Party organizations, especially in the villages, what is to be done and what steps are to be taken to remove those flaws and shortcomings. You must remember that in the present set-up many people will want to join the Party. Many people want to creep in and find, so to say, a shelter for themselves and a screen for their personal aims and interests within the ranks of the Party. I have stressed it in the Central Committee and I should like to stress it now – don't admit people from other parties into our Party indiscriminately though they may swear to have become communists and to be desirous of joining our ranks. Let them be communists and work for the Party, we shall be grateful to them for it, but don't admit them for at least one year. Our Party has no need of unreliable people. Exceptions may be made in individual cases, for those who have proved through their deeds that they are communists. We need no chance newcomers. In my opinion we should even get rid of such newcomers or fake communists rather than admit new ones.

Comrades,

I wish you the best of success in implementing the decisions of this conference and appeal to you to get down to work, to earnest, hard, constructive work for the fulfilment of the economic plan in the first place, so that when

we meet again at next year's district conference, we may congratulate ourselves on new great achievements, achievements which will take our people a few steps further towards the realization of the greatest ideal of the peoples towards socialism.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 49
March 1, 1947

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 13, pp. 81-95
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LET US FULFIL THE TWO-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN

May Day Address

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria most heartily congratulates all Bulgarian citizens, all men, women and youths engaged in physical or intellectual work, on the occasion of the great day of labour and of international proletarian solidarity – May Day.

This year our nation is celebrating May Day by mustering all its forces and resources, so as to implement the Two-Year Economic Development Plan, which is the chief guarantee for the independence and national sovereignty of our young People's Republic.

The labour enthusiasm which has now gripped the whole nation and, above all, the working class with its numerous shock-workers, as well as our glorious democratic youth, and the results of the May Day emulation are a clear enough proof *that the economic plan can be fulfilled and that it will be fulfilled for the good of our country and in spite of its enemies at home and abroad.*

The Fatherland Front and the Government are well aware of the difficulties which may be encountered during the implementation of the economic plan. These difficulties have been aggravated by the consequences of the last two years of drought. But the Fatherland Front and the Government are profoundly convinced that these difficulties will be overcome with the joint efforts of the whole people and the friendly assistance of the nations friendly to us.

In accordance with its declaration of November 28, 1946, the Government is going to rapidly expand

economic, cultural and political co-operation with all democratic states, big or small, and especially with our two-fold liberator, the mighty Soviet Union, as well as to speed up the preparations for concluding lasting treaties of friendship and mutual aid with fraternal Yugoslavia, with our northern neighbour Romania and with Czechoslovakia and Poland in the first place. This will safeguard the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Bulgaria against any encroachments from whatever quarter these may come. Our people trust that the victory of democracy in Greece, too, will make it possible to establish good-neighbourly relations between our two countries and will contribute to consolidating fraternal co-operation among the Balkan Nations.

Our people are deeply gratified by the fact that thousands of voters who supported the opposition in the elections for the Grand National Assembly are now beginning to co-operate with the Fatherland Front and are actively joining in the all-round efforts for the implementation of the economic plan. But they also see with indignation how certain circles are doing their best to discredit the economic plan, to wreck its implementation, and to sow distrust and confusion in all possible ways through their press and from the rostrum of the Grand National Assembly by spreading various intrigues and slanders, by rumour-mongering and by threatening the country with *foreign intervention*.

It goes without saying that we would be betraying our nation's supreme interests and future if we were to allow a minority of big profiteers and coupon-clippers, old bankrupt politicians and embittered political careerists and provocateurs to hinder and destroy the great constructive work of the whole people for the sake of their own selfish and venal interests and of considerations and schemes quite alien to the people. It is not for this that the people won their historic victory of September 9 at the cost of such a hard struggle and so many sacrifices.

Carrying out the will of the people and relying on their

mighty support, the Government is firmly resolved to nip in the bud all anti-popular and treacherous activities. All overt and covert wreckers of the economic plan, all plotters against the people's role and its peaceful democratic foreign policy, irrespective of their rank or social status, will experience the just severity of the laws of the People's Republic.

Gone are the sad days when our country was a satellite of foreign imperialist powers, when it served as a springboard for attacks on our most loyal friend and protector, the great Russian people. The Bulgarian people, who took their destiny into their own hands on September 9 and became masters of their country, will never allow those days to return, no matter what the cost. They will never knuckle under and capitulate before the imperialist cartels and trusts. They are even less likely to succumb to the advice of various weaklings and defeatists now that they are no longer alone and isolated as they were during the fascist regime, that the number of their friends the world over is growing from day to day and the forces of world democracy against imperialist reaction and the fomentors of new aggressive wars are steadily increasing.

Nothing can divert our nation from the right road, a road confirmed by its entire historical experience. It will never give up its role *of being a sound factor making for peace and democracy in the Balkans and in Europe*. Its democratic home and foreign policy is based on international co-operation with a view to establishing a lasting world peace. And this correct policy will triumph in spite of temporary setbacks, because it corresponds not only to our own interests but also to the interests of all peaceful and freedom-loving nations.

Since September 9, 1944, our nation, under the leadership of the Fatherland Front, has overcome immense difficulties both domestically and internationally. Its achievements in this respect are obvious and cannot be disputed by any unbiased observer. They will form exceedingly precious pages in the history of Bulgaria, which will be

read by future generations with profound admiration and a sense of moral gratification. *There can be no doubt that our nation will be no less successful in surmounting the difficulties that face it now and will face it in future. All that is needed are unshakable national unity, untiring work, faith in the forces and the future of our people, strong nerves, intransigent struggle against fascism and reaction and boundless love for our country.*

Our industrious and valiant people, who have learned the bitter lessons of the past, will demonstrate all these virtues on May Day in towns and villages, down to the smallest hamlet.

Let us mobilize all our forces for the fulfilment of the Two-Year Economic Plan – for the progress of our country and the welfare of our people!

Long live international co-operation in the struggle for a lasting peace, against the fomentors of new aggressive wars!

Long live the Fatherland Front, the leader of the Bulgarian people!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

G. Dimitrov

May 1, 1947

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 98

May 1, 1947

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SHOULDER TO SHOULDER EVER FORWARD IN SPITE
OF ALL!

Talk with a Delegation of Karlovo Women

May 6, 1947

You know – I have said it more than once – that the Fatherland Front and its Government have faith in Bulgaria's women and count on them greatly. Here you are now, women from many villages of Karlovo district, a fine representative group of valiant Bulgarian women, endowed with a firm will, with a desire to create, with confidence in your own powers and in the powers of our people, ready to overcome all difficulties so as to bring our country to a safe shore. To me personally, as well as to the Government and to the Fatherland Front as a whole, this is a source of great moral gratification, and a new stimulus in the drive for the complete building up and all-round advance of our People's Republic.

We ourselves are not afraid of difficulties, but when seeing that the people, and especially women and girls like yourselves, are not afraid of them and are ready to give time and labour for your own good and for the good of your nation, of your People's Republic, the Government and the leaders of the Fatherland Front will stand at their responsible posts with even greater confidence and steadfastness.

There are persons among us, as you know, who have no faith in the forces of the Bulgarian people. We are a small nation, they say, a weak nation, while the Americans have the atom bomb, and are rich and powerful. Some of these persons are misguided, while others are enemies of

the people; they are deliberately threatening us, sowing confusion and trying to impede the implementation of the Two-Year State Economic Plan; they are out, by hook or by crook, to thwart the success of our People's Republic. *But the vast majority of our people, as was clearly demonstrated all over the country on May Day, you yourselves being a vivid manifestation of our people's enthusiasm, are firmly resolved to surmount all difficulties and to secure the freedom, independence and happiness of our country.* Remember — however much they may threaten us from outside, *we will build our own home as our people see fit, as their interests and future require.* What our people have mapped out will be achieved by the common efforts of all of us.

We must stand firm and hold together, we must not allow the slightest wavering in our national unity, we must march with full faith forward and ever forward.

The Bulgarian nation is indeed small, but it is great in its iron will, in its unshakable moral strength, in its faith in right and justice, it is great through its many gifted and talented sons and daughters in town and village. Our countryside especially is the virgin soil which it is now our task to develop so that it may yield rich fruit. This virgin soil is going to be developed under the beneficial influence of our growing material and spiritual culture and in a few years you will be able to see our villages prospering and many peasant boys and girls developing their fine talents for the welfare of our people. *With your own heroic efforts and with the efforts of the whole Bulgarian people, with that maternal love for our children which moves us all, with our devotion to great deeds, we will triumph over our enemies at home and abroad.* All the more so, as we are not alone. We have powerful friends, the Soviet Union in the first place, friends who are loyal and selfless like Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, democratic Romania and many democratic forces in France, Great Britain, America and elsewhere. If we roll up our sleeves and get down to work with might and main, relying on the support given us by our Russian brothers and which we might get also from the other Slav and

democratic nations, we will easily overcome all obstacles and emerge on the road to national prosperity and happiness.

We must never forget that God helps those who help themselves!

The road we are following is an uphill one. We have covered half of it. The second half is difficult, of course. We are a little tired and our strength is somewhat exhausted. But we must rally our forces to get to the top. The greater our effort, the sooner we will reach the peak. So long as we have people like our people, *so long as we have women like you* – and this is no empty compliment – *we have nothing to fear*, though there may be waverers and doubting Thomases here and there who begin to tremble with fear whenever dark clouds appear in the sky, such as a threatening speech pronounced by someone abroad, for instance. We do not belong to that category – we are not waverers, we are not spineless creatures. Most of our people are of a different mettle. *The Bulgarian people are no weaklings, their moral fibre is sound. Difficulties there certainly are, but we will surmount them through our own efforts and with the help of our friends from the friendly countries.* And these friends grow in number with every passing day. The forces of world democracy are on the increase, while the forces of international reaction are on the decline, for nothing can live which is not fed by life-giving sap, which has no strong and deep roots, and reaction has not got them. It may put up temporary obstacles, it may try and bite like a viper here and there, but it can score no lasting success. Our People's Republic, on the other hand, is young, its roots are deep and full of sap and therefore there is a bright future in store for it.

Long live the People's Republic!

Please convey to your communities the warmest greetings and best wishes from our Government and from me personally. Whenever you are beset by doubts, difficulties or troubles, think of us, of the Fatherland Front and its Government, who stand firm and staunch on their

feet, who watch over everything and are always ready to lend a helping hand to all loyal sons and daughters of the people in times of trouble or temporary setbacks.

Shoulder to shoulder, let us march forward and ever forward, in spite of all obstacles!

G. Dimitrov, Speeches, Reports, Articles, Vol. 3
1947, pp. 552-555

G. Dimitrov, Works
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THE PRINTED WORD IS A MIGHTY WEAPON

Speech before the Congress of Printers and Workers in the Paper Industry

May 18, 1947

Comrades!

Allow me first of all on behalf of the Government and on my own behalf to extend the warmest greetings to your Congress and through it to all printers and workers in the paper industry in our country, and to wish you fresh successes in your production work for the good of our country. I am all the more pleased in doing this because, as you know, my career as a fighter started in your midst and I am still bound through ties of blood with my colleagues. I see here among you, as delegates and guests to the Congress, comrades with whom I have worked, gone on strike and fought shoulder to shoulder, with whom we have flatly refused to set type for or print shameless slanders and abuses against our glorious working class.

Printers have great traditions in our labour movement and these traditions must be kept up and developed with ever greater resolve and confidence in the implementation of the new tasks facing our people and our working class.

As you know, the main task that now confronts us, the Fatherland Front, the Government, the working class, the peasants and craftsmen, the people's intelligentsia and your union in particular, *is the fulfilment of the Two-Year State Economic Plan*. The immense importance of this plan for our country, for its future, for the consolidation of its people's democracy, for its freedom and independence is

clearly evidenced by the fact that all our internal and external enemies are attacking it furiously and are trying by hook or by crook to wreck the fulfilment of this great undertaking at its very inception. But the harder our enemies try to prevent the implementation of the economic plan, the more resolutely, energetically, and steadfastly our people are going to work for its fulfilment. *And it shall be fulfilled.* The fulfilment of our Two-Year Economic Plan will be like a big iron wheel, moved by the sturdy hands of the working people, which is going to crush all opposition, all obstacles and all sabotage it meets on its way. Our people, the Fatherland Front and its Government will not allow any opposition, from whichever quarter it may come, to impede the economic development of the country.

At this moment there is no greater crime against our country than idleness. Idleness is a crime which must be strictly punished morally, politically and penally. When the destiny of our country is at stake – for its national independence and security as a state depend first and foremost on its economic power – when, I repeat, the destiny of our country is at stake, no tolerance can be shown towards wreckers, parasites, idlers to overt or covert enemies of the implementation of the economic plan. Our people are resolved to march forward and ever forward: they have no intention of going back to the shameful past. *Society will find a way of compelling those to work who are able-bodied, but will not work.*

There are in our country adventurers and simpletons, dull-witted and thick skulled fools, who still cherish the illusion that in a month or two, perhaps less, the Fatherland Front will go and the old wiseacres, the old venal and treacherous rulers and various cliques of parasites will once again straddle the neck of the Bulgarian people. They expect a change, foreign intervention, some miracle. These adventurers and incorrigible fools imagine that nowadays things can be as they were in the past when the royal court,

supported by foreign powers and taking advantage of the disunity of the popular forces, was able to form and disband parties, to make and unmake governments. You know that Bulgaria had forty puppet court-appointed governments within two decades. Those days are irrevocably gone. The Ninth of September has radically changed Bulgaria's interior and international status. There is no royal court and there are no court cliques now. The Ninth of September gave the power into the hands of the people organized in the Fatherland Front. For nearly three years now, since the Ninth of September, we have been moving not backward, but forward, to the growing stabilization of the positions of the people's rule. No unbiased foreign observer who has visited our country has failed to note the steady and systematic stabilization of the economic, social and political positions of the people's rule.

Tell me, how can these people, this new state, our People's Republic be turned back to reaction and to fascism, when all honest and progressive people – workers, peasants and craftsmen, young men and women and intellectuals – have devoted themselves to constructive, socially useful work with an enthusiasm unparalleled in our history and are heightening their vigilance with regard to the people's enemies. Everyone in our country, to the last man, must realize that all hopes of restoration, of any change in our country in the near or distant future are vain illusions. Those who nourish such illusions will be bitterly disappointed. Those who try to plot and conspire in our country with foreign powers, will burn their fingers. The fulfilment of the economic plan will strengthen the Fatherland Front still further. The fulfilment of the economic plan is a powerful weapon which will bury the chief forces of reaction and its political agents in our country.

Your trade and your union have a particularly important role to play in the implementation of the economic plan. One of the important factors for the implementation of the plan is the development of printing and of paper production. We must produce more paper, we must im-

prove our printing techniques because we need newspapers, books and other publications in order to explain the nature and the aims of the plan, to mobilize and properly direct the forces of the people. We need literature which will raise our people's culture to a higher level. Our workers, peasants, the masses of the people need more culture for we must admit that, owing to the criminal and venal policy of the reactionary fascist governments of the past we are quite backward in this respect.

We must re-educate the more backward strata of the people in a new democratic and progressive spirit. We ourselves must grow and develop – from the largest to the smallest link in our political and economic life, in the state apparatus, in the administration and in the public organizations. We shall not stop at the level reached so far, for if we were to stop there, far from moving forward, we would inevitably fall back, as life is constantly moving forward. *We need the printed word as a mighty weapon to rally the people's forces ever more firmly against internal and external foes.* But we must confess – being printers yourselves you are well aware of it – that our printing techniques are very backward, the majority of our printing shops are still primitive and unable to secure high-quality publications. I must tell you, though it pains me to do so, that when we compare our publications, not with those of Great Powers like, say, the Soviet Union, the USA, England or France, but with those of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania or Hungary, we see that the latter are more advanced in this respect. Since you are workers in this field, this fact cannot but arouse in you a deep and strong desire to improve our printing techniques as quickly as possible, to make our newspapers and books look more attractive, to reduce errata to the utmost and to make the price of all publications accessible to all readers. We must admit that at present there is hardly any publication without gross errors and frequently mixed-up pages.

I think that, among other practical problems connected with the economic plan, your Congress should consider

this important problem, too. The Government is taking measures to provide you with machines which cannot be produced in our country and must be imported. But I should like to stress that the main factors for success are your organization, your work, your efforts and your desire to master your trade as fully as possible.

Here again the chief problem is that of cadres. We have few qualified type-setters, engineers, technicians, foremen and managers of enterprises. Special care must be given to the training of promising youths, who are numerous in your trade. They must be sent to special schools and courses, provided with textbooks and given all possible assistance by their qualified comrades so that they may soon become well skilled workers. Paper factories must also have their specialists. *Cadres are usually of decisive importance in any undertaking.* The question of their growth, of the training of new cadres from among the younger generation must be given special attention. I can say quite categorically that the Government will spare neither funds, nor time and trouble for the training of cadres. But it is upon you that by and large depends the successful solution of this problem. I should very much like your Congress to give this extremely important problem the most careful consideration. Your future achievements depend to a very great extent on the successful solution of the problem of cadres in the field of printing.

I wish your Congress a businesslike and a self-critical discussion of all problems pertaining to the economic plan and the fulfilment of those tasks which the plan sets before you. I wish your union ever closer unity. I wish you fresh successes in the battle you are fighting through the printed word against our domestic and foreign enemies for the good of our people and our People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 113
May 20, 1947

G. Dimitrov, Works
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STATEMENT MADE TO JOHN FISHER,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON *DAILY MAIL*

Question: Does the Prime Minister desire a prompt ratification of the peace treaty?

Answer: Yes. The Bulgarian Government and the entire Bulgarian people desire a speedy ratification of the peace treaty.

Q.: What would be the consequences of a delay in ratification?

A: The consequences of a delay in ratification of the peace treaty would obviously be unfavourable, first, because that would lead to a delay in the settlement of relations between Bulgaria and the United States, which cannot be in the interests of either nation in the proper sense, and second, because it would delay Bulgaria's admission to the United Nations, which is not in the interests of peace in the Balkans and in the world as a whole.

Q.: Would you like to comment on the effect of President Truman's recent speeches on the situation in the Balkans?

A.: With all due respect to the President of a Great Power like the United States of America, I am bound to emphasize that in my opinion the speeches of the American President temporarily abet the anti-democratic circles and survivals of the old fascist regimes and are therefore not likely to contribute to peace and democracy.

I do not believe that such speeches can in any way contribute to dispelling the atmosphere of distrust now existing between some Balkan states and to the early es-

tablishment of tranquility, peaceful development and security which are so necessary to the Balkans.

Q.: What could Great Britain do to improve her relations with Bulgaria and what could Bulgaria, on her part, do along these lines?

A.: I consider that the improvement of relations between Great Britain and Bulgaria depends *chiefly* on Great Britain. If Great Britain shows confidence in new, democratic Bulgaria and in the Bulgarian people, the vast majority of whom stand firm behind the Fatherland Front Government, if Great Britain respects our national sovereignty and lets our people settle their home affairs freely and independently as it suits them and accords with their interests and in a spirit of international collaboration, as the well-known Yalta Declaration prescribes, there can be no serious or insurmountable obstacles to the complete normalization of relations between our two countries.

The Bulgarian people expect Great Britain to show an understanding of and respect for our legitimate rights and interests, which are in no way a menace to world peace and cannot impair the legitimate rights and interests of the British. Any approach on the part of Great Britain to resume trade relations between the two countries will be welcomed by the Bulgarian Government with complete reciprocity and good will.

On her part, Bulgaria will continue to strive to eliminate all existing misunderstandings and prejudices against the Bulgarian people which have their roots in false or biased information and especially in the lamentable fact that, in the past, through the fault of the Coburg dynasty and of criminal governments and against the will of the people Bulgaria has been hostile to Great Britain and has taken part in wars against her. New Bulgaria, which has broken completely with the past, will do her utmost to contribute to the development of political, economic and cultural relations between the Bulgarian and the British people.

Q.: Does the Prime Minister envisage a reinforcement

of the alliance between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which might eventually lead to: a) a common currency; b) joint purchases on both sides; c) loans of capital, factories, ships, etc., connected with the reconstruction of industry? Any other projects for the future?

A.: To begin with, let me say that between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia there is as yet no alliance, although relations between the two countries are close and fraternal. Personally I sincerely desire and, in accordance with the will of the Bulgarian people, I aspire to the conclusion of a lasting treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which will naturally result in close economic, cultural and all-round co-operation and will be of particular importance for their economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of industry. For the time being we have no other projects.

Q.: How is the food supply in Bulgaria?

A.: Owing to Bulgaria's ruthless despoiling by the nazis during the war and to the two successive droughts, the food supply is, of course, impeded. But I believe that, thanks to the heroic efforts of our peasants and to the energetic measures taken by the Government against those who were trying to sabotage the organized gathering in of the crops, the people will have sufficient food to last them till the next harvest.

Q.: Does the stationing of Soviet troops affect the food supply?

A.: The stationing of relatively small Soviet forces in Bulgaria whose number, by the way, has been steadily decreasing of late, does not in any way affect the food supply of our own population. All the more so, as in the last two years Bulgaria received considerable quantities of maize and wheat, as well as fodder for the feeding of animals, from the Soviet Union. Besides, I must add that the Soviet soldiers are rendering our farmers invaluable aid by ploughing, sowing and harvesting considerable tracts of land.

Q.: Do you consider that the national interests of your country call for further measures against the opposition?

A.: The legal measures that the Government was compelled to take in individual cases against certain press organs of the opposition or certain opposition leaders were prompted solely by their flagrant anti-state and anti-popular activities.

No government conscious of its responsibilities can brook incitement to non-observance to the laws, to sabotage of state measures aimed at securing the food supply of the people and at rehabilitating the war-torn economy. The Government will not hesitate to most strictly apply in the future as well the laws of the People's Republic of Bulgaria against any opposition organs and leaders who in their malice and blindness might venture deliberately to instigate the people against the measures taken by the Government in connexion with matters of most vital importance to the people and the republic, especially against those connected with the implementation of the Two-Year State Economic Plan adopted by the Grand National Assembly.

However, I must state quite emphatically that we are not against the existence of an opposition *per se*. In a country like ours it is only natural that there should be an opposition. But the interests of the people do not allow us to tolerate opposition groups which organize a sabotage of our economic undertakings, which endanger the state and national sovereignty of the country by their actions and which are systematically trying to sap the foundations of our People's Republic, won at the cost of so much bloodshed, countless suffering and the sacrifice of the best sons and daughters of the people.

Q.: Your critics claim that you are not in the best of health. Is that true?

A.: After all that I went through in the past and especially during my time in the nazi prisons where my hands and feet were in manacles day and night for five

months, as well as during the three months of physical and nervous tension of the Reichstag Fire Trial, it is only natural that my health is not what it should be. But in spite of my 'critics', I am well enough and quite capable of regularly carrying out my duties as head of the Government.

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STATEMENT MADE TO RIGAL, SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT OF *L'HUMANITE*⁴

Question: Do you consider that political, economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and France could and should be further improved and developed?

Answer: I do. That is what the properly understood interests of both countries call for. We are ready to do everything in our power along that line. But to achieve the desired positive results, a similar readiness must, naturally, also be shown by France. The development of economic and trade relations between our two countries is of particular importance. Personally I believe that the trade negotiations renewed by our delegation which is now in Paris will lead to encouraging results.

Q.: What are the main trends in the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

A.: The main trends of Bulgarian foreign policy are briefly the following:

1. Securing the freedom, independence and state sovereignty of the People's Republic.

2. All-round co-operation for the establishment of a lasting peace on democratic principles, based on international collaboration, and for a more active participation in the struggle against the fomentors of new wars.

3. Prevention of Bulgaria's being turned again into a springboard for hostile actions against our liberators, the great Russian people, or against other Slav or non-Slav democratic nations.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is, therefore, in-

dissoluble friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, fraternal relations with the other Slav nations and friendship with all other democratic nations, great and small, on the basis of mutual respect and loyal co-operation.

It goes without saying that new Bulgaria will never renounce this foreign policy, which is the result of the historical experience of our people, no matter what outside pressure may be applied. The hostility of certain reactionary circles towards our People's Republic will only strengthen the resolution of our people to unflinchingly follow this democratic, peaceful national foreign policy, which is the only salutary road for our people and country.

Q.: What are the major tasks facing the Fatherland Front Government at the present moment?

A.: The cardinal task facing the whole nation is the implementation of the Two-Year State Economic Plan adopted by the Grand National Assembly. The purpose of this plan is to pave the way for the economic advance of the country and the welfare of the people.

It should be mentioned that, owing to the criminal rule of the German Coburg dynasty and the parasitic capitalist cliques in our country, Bulgaria is very backward in its economic development. The dynasty and those cliques acted as middlemen of foreign capital and thus enriched themselves at the expense of the people's toil and the country's wealth. They were not interested in creating a sound national industry or a modern, mechanized agriculture. Through industrialization, electrification and mechanization of farming, Bulgaria will now have to make up for the ground lost in the past and accomplish in ten to twenty years what it took other countries a whole century to accomplish.

We do not doubt for a moment that this task will be successfully resolved by mobilizing the forces of the people, by tapping our own resources, our mineral deposits and the wealth of our soil, to the utmost, and with the fraternal help of friendly nations. You yourself commented on the

labour enthusiasm in the whole country and the creative initiative manifested by the masses, by workers and peasants, by our youth and women, by research and cultural workers – all that is the best guarantee that our task will be fulfilled.

Side by side with this cardinal problem, we have to resolve three other important tasks:

1) to have the Grand National Assembly adopt a truly democratic and progressive constitution of the People's Republic, which will help completely stabilize our democratic social order and render any return to the fascist past quite impossible;

2) to secure an effective defence of the People's Republic against any possible revival of the German *Drang nach Osten* policy as well as against any encroachments on the sovereignty of Bulgaria, from whatever quarter they may come, through a system of treaties of friendship and mutual assistance;

3) while beginning to fulfil the obligations assumed under the peace treaty, to obtain through peaceful means, by mutual agreement with the interested parties and via the UN major alleviations of the severe clauses of the treaty, especially those of an economic character, alleviations which the Bulgarian nation fully deserves.

Q.: What could you tell me about the arrest of Mr. Nikola Petkov?

A.: For some time our authorities had been observing and noting actions on the part of Nikola Petkov and his adherents aimed at preparing a coup d'état against our People's Republic. After amassing sufficient evidence, the Public Prosecutor's Office has come to the conclusion that a coup d'état was actually being planned. On the ground of that evidence the Public Prosecutor's Office requested the Grand National Assembly, in accordance with the existing laws of the country, to divest Nikola Petkov of his mandate as a deputy and to hand him over to the judicial authorities.

The Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, after

receiving this request from the Public Prosecutor's Office, communicated it to the Grand National Assembly and, in agreement with the regulations of the latter, submitted the request for consideration to the parliamentary committee, dealing with the affairs of the Ministry of Justice. The parliamentary committee, not being a court instance, did not go into the merits of the case, but found the Public Prosecutor's request well-grounded and proposed to the Grand National Assembly to hand over the deputy Nikola Petkov to the judicial authorities.

Like the parliamentary committee dealing with matters connected with the Ministry of Justice, the Grand National Assembly did not discuss the accusations, since it is not a court instance, but it approved the reasons attached to the request submitted by the Public Prosecutor's Office and the proposal of the parliamentary committee by an overwhelming majority. On the basis of the decision of the Grand National Assembly, Nikola Petkov was arrested and handed over to the judicial authorities. Such are the facts concerning the Petkov case.

The inquest has already started and will soon be concluded. Petkov will be tried, in public, in the presence of witnesses and counsel for the defense and the court will pass sentence on him. Therefore we have to patiently and calmly await the decision of the court, a sovereign Bulgarian court. In the present state of affairs the task of the Government and my own task as Premier is to see to it that the defendant Petkov is guaranteed normal conditions of life in prison and a normal court procedure. I have personally instructed the authorities in charge, that Petkov should be given a suitable cell and that he should have his own bed, bedding and any other comforts permissible in prison. We will allow nothing that might offend Petkov's personal dignity or injure his health.

Since we understand that Nikola Petkov is not in the best of health, he is to have medical attendance and special food according to the doctor's prescriptions. According to our laws, Petkov's arrest is a matter concerning our home

affairs alone. Petkov is a Bulgarian subject. He is responsible before the Bulgarian laws, just as all of us, from the Prime Minister down to the last peasant, are responsible before the Bulgarian laws. In this matter no outside intervention is going to help Petkov, just as it could not help anyone else. I might even add that any foreign intervention will only aggravate matters, for it will substantiate the suspicion that Petkov was preparing a coup d'état not merely with the help of his adherents in Bulgaria, but also with the help of all those who might offer to protect him from abroad now. I repeat – Petkov is a Bulgarian subject, not American, English or French. He will have to answer for his actions before our people, before our laws and our court. No special court procedure will be applied to Petkov's case. It is going to be the usual procedure applied to any Bulgarian citizen.

I do not doubt that interested circles abroad will try and use the fact of Petkov's being handed over to the court as an argument against Bulgaria. They will wilfully misinterpret this act as a desire on our part to stamp out any domestic opposition. However, that is quite untrue. We consider that conditions in Bulgaria do leave room for opposition and there will be opposition, but it must be loyal, it must not conspire for a coup d'état against the people's government, or hinder the organization of the food supplies of our population, or sabotage our state economic plan; the opposition should criticize the shortcomings and drawbacks of the government and propagate its ideas through legal means. Such an opposition may even be useful.

The mistaken opinion that we are trying to stamp out any opposition whatever should not be encouraged. Our Government is so closely linked with the people that it fears no opposition. But the Government of Bulgaria will not allow anyone to hamper the rehabilitation of our economy, the implementation of the economic plan, or to try and prevent us from securing our national and state sovereignty. We want to avoid internecine, civil strife. We

will not allow Bulgaria to become a second Greece. That we shall never allow, under any circumstances. Neither shall we allow Bulgaria to proclaim a state of siege, as Turkey is doing. We desire and are going to establish a normal democratic system, guaranteeing the necessary peace and security for constructive work. Whoever tries to prevent that will go to prison in accordance with the laws of the country and the spirit of the peace treaty.

The Bulgarian people have many wise proverbs. One of them runs, 'Don't burn your quilt to get rid of the flea.' To put things simply and squarely, Petkov's case is a flea. Perhaps a pretty large flea, but a flea nonetheless. Ought we to burn our quilt on account of it, i.e. the political, economic and cultural co-operation between Bulgaria and the Western powers? Any sensible man will answer – a flea is only a flea, after all, but we must preserve our quilt, in the interest of international co-operation, of lasting peace and of the prosperity of the Bulgarian people themselves.

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THE SHOCK-WORK AND EMULATION MOVEMENTS ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

Speech before a Delegation of Textile Shock-Workers

June 11, 1947

I have been informed about the discussions and resolutions of your congress⁵ and I must say quite frankly that, without paying you any compliment, the congress has seriously discussed all its decisions. And those decisions, but for a few perhaps, are correct. You know very well, of course, that it is not sufficient to take correct decisions, and that they must be carried out if they are to be of any practical use. I hope that the Bulgarian textile workers will roll up their sleeves and devote all their forces, ability and patriotism to transform the congress resolutions into a living reality. Together with other categories of workers, you too have an important part to play through your labour and efforts in the implementation of the economic plan by utilizing the now existing machinery of your mills, you will play an important role in clothing the people. For a variety of reasons, our people are not too well clothed at present and for that we must try and make up for what was not done in the past. The shock-work and emulation movements, which are getting so popular among you and are received with such enthusiasm throughout the country, are therefore of immense importance.

On a former occasion I had the opportunity of expressing my opinion on the shock-work movement. I recalled then, and I want to stress the point now, that the shock-work movement can count on lasting achievements

and serious results and can become a mass movement only on condition that the workers' physical exertion and nervous strain are accompanied by improved qualification and skill and by a series of measures protecting the workers' physical and moral forces. It is not sufficient for a shock-worker to strain his physical forces to such an extent that his head is ready to burst and he soon becomes incapable for further work; what is needed is the skill to utilize the available time, as well as the machines, instruments and materials, to the best advantage. Instead of taking an hour, say, to make a certain object, to be able to make it in half an hour. In that respect our men and women shock-workers must rely on their skill and dexterity which should be increasing from day to day, rather than on their physical strength, desire and resolve to produce more.

I should like to draw your attention to certain special circumstances. As you see, men and women shock-workers are becoming honoured people, heroes of labour. They are beginning to be regarded by their fellow-workers and by the whole nation as persons of special merit. This, however, often leads to two unhealthy phenomena, which you must notice and try to eliminate. Even the best shock-workers are only human, after all, and have their human failings. Thus, for instance they see their pictures and biographies in the papers, they are surrounded by attention and love and are, so to say, carried by the people on their arms. If a shock-worker who achieves this status in our society is not critical of himself, his head may easily turn and he may begin to look down his nose at his fellow-workers, he may stop improving his work, and once he stops where he is, he is bound to lose the place of honour that his ability, his energy and his efforts have won him. That is why, in this respect the shock-workers themselves have to take the proper measures – preserve their modesty, continuously improve their skill and serve as an example to their fellow-workers.

The other phenomenon which is even worse is that when in a factory men and women emerge as shock-

workers and become heroes of labour, they are sometimes regarded with a feeling of envy and spite by some of their less active and less conscientious fellow-workers. Intrigues and slander start, creating an atmosphere which discourages the shock-workers or prevents them from advancing. We must take a firm stand against that danger. Measures should be taken against such envious people and they should be influenced in such a way that they will become unable to hamper the shock-worker movement by their unworthy conduct.

There is another thing, some master-workers and managers look unfavourably on the shock-worker movement since it demands often greater efforts and attention. Often such masters and managers frown upon the shock-workers also for another reason, namely, because they forfeit certain supplements to their wages if a woman worker handles, say, ten looms instead of six. The nation's economy gains by the shock-worker movement, but the master's personal interests may suffer. And then he begins to oppress and cheat the shock-workers, giving them insufficient or poor materials and doing everything within his power to obstruct them. There are plenty of such cases. I am sure your union is much better informed about them than I am and it is the union's business to see to it that a stop be put to such practices.

If we are to intensify the shock-worker movement and mass emulation – two factors of paramount importance for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Two-Year State Economic Plan, we must take account of these circumstances. I appeal to you to give them your undivided attention and do something about them through your unions. Only then will the number of shock-workers and innovators will be able to continue growing.

Naturally, in increasing the quantity of production, shock-work should never be at the expense of quality. I have been informed that in some cases shock-workers produce more, but at the cost of lower quality. Allow me to say that I have been shown samples of cloth and other

textile goods of very low quality. On checking up I found that in some cases the fault lay with the materials, in others – with the machines and the technology, but in the majority of cases the fault lay with the workers. In striving to increase the output of any enterprise we must at the same time try to improve the quality of that output. Real shock-work and real emulation are those that lead both to greater quantity and higher quality.

You must not be afraid of difficulties, or get discouraged. Difficulties cannot frighten us, for there can be no difficulties that we are unable to overcome by consolidating our unity, by increasing the productivity of our labour, by tightening our discipline and by a firm faith in our own forces and in the forces of the people.

Don't pay any attention to rumours spread by the enemy, as for instance that British and American troops will be coming to Bulgaria, that the Fatherland Front will collapse and the opposition come to power, or that after the ratification of the peace treaty the country will be placed under foreign control and the like. There are of course simple, naive people whom such rumours fill with terror. You must explain to them how matters really stand. You remember that when I came back here it was rumoured that the Americans and the British would not allow the elections set for November 18, 1945, to be held. I declared that the elections would be held and that they would be held by the Government of the Fatherland Front, headed by Mr. Kimon Georgiev. And the elections were held, as you very well know. Then it was rumoured that the Americans and the British would not allow the peace treaty to be signed by the Government of the Fatherland Front. But you know that the peace treaty was actually signed by the Government of the Fatherland Front. Later it was rumoured that the treaty might be signed but that the Government of the Fatherland Front would never be recognized. I declared that it would be recognized because that was both in the interest of the Americans and the British and in our own interest. You know, of course, that

the British have long since recognized our Government. The Fatherland Front rules the country and is the only power capable of ruling it with the support of the people. There cannot and there will not be any changes in that respect. Therefore, devote yourselves to your work in absolute confidence, strive to improve your qualification, to broaden your cultural background, and don't be afraid of anything.

I wish you success in implementing the decisions of your congress. Please extend to all your fellow workers in the textile industry my warm fraternal greetings, not the greetings of the prime minister, but simply of Georgi Dimitrov.

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COMBATING IDLENESS, WASTE AND BUREAUCRACY

Speech at the Congress of the Railwaymen's and Sailors' Trade Union, Held on June 24, 1947

Allow me on behalf of the Government of the Fatherland Front and on my own behalf to extend to your Congress our warmest greetings, and in your person to greet all Bulgarian railwaymen and sailors.

You represent a significant labour force in our country. Our military forces number a total of 65,000 men, whereas your labour force amounts to 50,000 people. This is a labour force of tremendous significance for our economy and for the fulfilment of the Two-Year State Economic Plan. It is superfluous to detail to you, railwaymen, the importance of transport and more particularly about railway transport. I just wish to stress what you should be deeply conscious of in your heart – that our economic plan cannot be successfully fulfilled without the proper and normal functioning of railway transport. And its normal functioning and operation depends, above all, upon you – our glorious Bulgarian railwaymen.

The Government is fully aware of the difficulties in our railway transport, it is aware of the fact that equipment is in short supply and pretty much worn out; it knows that we do not have enough locomotives and cars; it knows also that our railway workshops and repair shops do not have sufficient equipment and that at many places the railway lines stand in great need of improvement. The Government is also aware of the hard living and working conditions of our railwaymen and is endeavouring to do all it can to introduce the necessary improvements both in railway

transport and in the railwaymen's working conditions and living standards.

As is known, we cannot rely on any substantial help from abroad. There is no UNRRA for Bulgaria, as is the case with some other countries. We do and should rely, first of all, on our proper labour and resources. At the hardest moments for our national economy on several occasions we received aid from the great Soviet Union but in future this aid cannot be significant, because the Soviet Union itself is in need of developing its industry and national might to the maximum. And we, Bulgarians, as well as all Slav peoples, are vitally interested in this. The more powerful Moscow is, the better off shall we be, the more successfully will lasting peace be established among nations.

Under the conditions in which we live and when we must rely on our own labour and our own means and natural and other resources, the subjective factor is of exceptional significance. This subjective factor are we and you. This subjective factor is the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Fatherland Front and its local committees, the railwaymen's and miners' unions, in general the whole General Trade Union and General Agricultural Workers' Union and the other trade and cultural unions. This subjective factor is the Workers' Party (Communists). This subjective factor includes also the Agrarian Union and our other fraternal parties in the Fatherland Front. This subjective factor includes also hundreds of thousands of non-Party workers and peasants, craftsmen, industrialists and merchants, economic workers and intellectuals, men and women, and young people, who have today devoted their efforts and their creative labour to the fulfilment of the Two-Year Economic Plan.

Mark: under equal objective conditions, in one case you may obtain one result, and in another case a ten times better result. This depends upon the subjective factor, upon the head, the hand, the heart of the worker, engineer,

technician. Under a proper management, a proper organization of the departments, the necessary labour discipline, and with a conscientious and devoted attitude to job, machines and instruments, raw materials and funds, it is possible to achieve good results even under our hard objective conditions, accidents and damage can be reduced to a minimum in our railways, the unnecessary idle stay of locomotives and cars can be avoided, railway traffic can be substantially increased, the repair of locomotives and cars can be accelerated and labour productivity can be substantially raised in our railway workshops. One condition, a single condition is necessary for all this: that every railwayman, from the biggest to the smallest in the official hierarchy, should be always at his post.

Insofar as I have been able to follow the development of our railway transport and the work of our railwaymen, I must tell you with satisfaction that, as compared with last year's congress, there has been an improvement in railway transport this year. This improvement, however, I am sorry to say, falls far short of existing possibilities, of the needs of our transport in particular, and the nation's economy, in general.

I am sure that at the sessions of your Congress you have made use of a fine weapon for every progress – criticism and self-criticism. Criticism is needed in all spheres of life. Just, frank and constructive criticism is needed also in your Railwaymen's Union and in the railway administration. Self-criticism is also necessary. In our country, as you know, as a rule, according to a mentality inherited from the past, people don't like very much either criticism or self-criticism. But we must understand, once and for all, that in state, public, cultural and even in private life there can be no progress and no prosperity without criticism and self-criticism. We should discuss these problems quite frankly, because you have not gathered at an official banquet where beautiful speeches are made and compliments are paid, but at a businesslike Congress which is called upon to take decisions with regard to one of the

foremost levers of our economy and for our future progress. Are the arbitrary absenteeisms under various pretexts few in number among you? They are not! How many are the cases when railwaymen employed in the traffic, at the stations and workshops do not abide by the traffic rules, the rules governing the different services, or the rules governing the stations, the different managements and department of the Ministry of Railways? They are not few! Allow me to say something more. How many are the cases when railwaymen take a drink and then go to do their duty? I myself am not an extreme teetotaler. I too like once in a while to drink of good wine or something else, but when one is on duty or is going to be on duty, taking alcohol and getting drunk is a crime. Is it not a fact that discipline in our country is lax? It is better than last year, but it is still slack. Is it not a fact that the service often suffers because of petty disputes between friends? Is it not a fact that some of the accidents are due to arguments between certain officials? Yes, it is a fact! I do not doubt that your Congress has most sharply condemned these weaknesses, shortcomings and flaws and that it will take decisions which will mobilize the mass of railwaymen to consciously fight for the stamping out of these shortcomings, this shameful blot on the work of our brave railwaymen.

Another topical question which the Congress has most probably discussed and on which it has taken a decision is the lack of coordination between the work of the administration and the trade unions at a number of localities, which is the cause of many misunderstandings and of much damage done to the service. Suitable means will have to be found – and there are such means and, provided there is good will, they will be found – so that, beginning from the minister, director and vice-director and ending with the smallest stationmasters in our railway system, there should be coordination in the work done by all and agreement between the state administration and the leading bodies of the Railwaymen's Union. The Railwaymen's Union, of course, is a trade union organiza-

tion which defends and should defend the interests of railwaymen and sailors – and I am speaking primarily about the railwaymen because they constitute its main mass. It must defend their interests because otherwise it would not be justifying its existence. The trade union of railwaymen and sailors, however, cannot only be making demands on the administration and the state, it cannot only be putting forward requests. Its duty is to secure the best possible implementation of the production process and railway traffic; its duty is to secure the necessary conscious subordination to the management and chiefs, because otherwise the work will not be properly performed. Its duty is to remove all causes of friction between the administration and the trade union organizations.

The questions which we are discussing here do not refer only to you. They refer also to the other spheres of Bulgaria's economic life and, more particularly, to the fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan. Almost three months have elapsed since this Plan started to be implemented, and we can already see how it is shaping up. I must tell you quite frankly that along certain lines, the Plan is being implemented well, along others – less well and along yet others – unsatisfactorily.

The Plan is feasible, it can and will be fulfilled. In the process, however, we encounter obstacles and evils which hamper it and which must be overcome, wiped out and eliminated. These obstacles and evils can be reduced mainly to three groups.

To begin with idleness, laziness, parasitism. Our people are diligent as a whole, but in our country there are still many idlers, parasites, social butterflies, dandies, and the like. Many are the people who do not want to work, because they find ways of living by illegal and criminal means. The American Legation, for instance, had barely announced that it might admit 200 or 300 people to the US, when a long queue of Bulgarian men and women, numbering several thousand persons fit for work, was formed, wishing to leave for America. These are men

wishing to escape from Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people at a moment when we are building up the People's Republic. Part of them are running away from the law against loafers, thinking that in America they will be lying in a bed of roses, that there all things are going swimmingly. Others are involved in various criminal and shady deals and are trying to hide under the American banner. Still others are mere adventurers. In most cases, however, these people can and should be considered as deserters from their country.

This idleness, laziness and parasitism are an unmitigated evil which checks the successful and rapid fulfilment of the Economic Plan, a crime which should be condemned not only morally and politically, but should also be prosecuted and punished by the courts.

The second big evil is waste, the squandering of raw materials and funds, of electric power, of gasoline, the people's daily bread, of time and of many other things. The English are right in saying time is money. But just have a look at the attitude of people towards time, this important fact in our country. How much time, for instance, is squandered when a session, conference, rally or meeting has been appointed to start at 8 or 9 o'clock, and actually starts one or two hours later? Those who have come at the appointed hour wait, stay and waste valuable time. How much valuable time is lost for different conferences and sessions which are superfluous! How much valuable time is lost by the fact that when a session of an organization or of a state body is called, there is no agenda prepared beforehand, and the secretary starts listing the questions which should be discussed only after coming to the meeting! According to his whim or that of somebody else, a question is put on the agenda, a discussion gets started and the session continues thus for hours, instead this time being utilized for work, self-education, culture, etc.

The attitude of many towards the state and public property, inherited from the past, is simply criminal. Few are the engine drivers who properly look after their

engines. Few are the workers, technicians and engineers in our country who have a sufficiently conscientious attitude towards the machines and the instruments and materials with which they work. They belong to the state, they say, they are nobody's private property, why spare them? This is an old attitude, one characteristic of the workers towards the old fascist anti-people's state; it should be done away with. Now we have a state of our own, a people's state, a state of workers, peasants and intellectuals, a state of railwaymen, sailors and miners and of all our working people. That is why this second evil – waste and squander – must also be combated and eliminated so that we may be able to make real use of all our moral and material forces and resources for the implementation of the Two-Year Plan and march boldly forward and ever forward.

There is one more, a third and maybe a still greater evil inherited from the past bureaucracy. A bureaucratic attitude towards one's post and towards one's job can be encountered in every Ministry, in every department, in every office, down to certain village mayors who somehow or other have also become bureaucrats. When a peasant comes to such a mayor on an urgent matter, the latter will take his application and tell him to come again in two or three days or even in a week.

A department is, for instance, in close proximity to another department in the same or the adjacent building, but their managers and assistant managers or chiefs start composing letters to their neighbours in the other office and start writing official letters on all questions from manager to manager, from chief to chief. One manager wastes hours in composing a letter, his typist wastes hours in typing it, and the other manager or chief wastes time in reading it. Instead of all this, the first manager could go to the second, who is next door to him, come to an understanding with him and settle the matter in a business-like manner. This holds good for your Ministry too, but here I am speaking about all Ministries. And very often, after many letters and files have travelled from department to

department, from office to office, since the question happens to be somewhat more entangled, the chief does not have the courage to solve it by himself but calls a commission which fails to meet for a week or two, and thus a vital problem remains unsolved. Can a people's state be managed in such a manner? Can a national economic plan be thus successfully fulfilled? Bureaucracy should be mercilessly combated. We are used to say 'death to fascism!' Now we should add: 'Death to bureaucracy!'

But there is something else too. Commissions are called on different pretexts, decisions are taken on important questions, but very seldom do the responsible persons follow up the implementation of the decision. There are many such cases. When I sometimes take the telephone and ask a chief of a certain department what has been done in connexion with this or that decree, he is so confused that he cannot exactly remember and then starts looking for the file which he cannot find all day. On checking up the matter, it turns out that the decree in question has not been carried out. This means that there was no one to follow up the execution of the decisions. This is often the case in trade union organizations as well. Many of your trade unions, even central managements, do not check the execution of the decisions. Many correct decisions fail to be applied in this way and many good and useful ideas fail to be implemented.

Along with this, one encounters in our departments a stiff, rude and callous attitude towards lower officials and citizens who come asking for services. I know that the chief is a chief, the director is a director, the minister is a minister and the prime minister is a prime minister, that they have a certain rank, a certain position, but that does not at all mean that these chiefs should behave towards their subordinates or citizens, who come to ask them for a service, like callous bosses. On the part of the chiefs correct and decent behaviour is required; they should lend a helping hand to their subordinates and the citizens, but towards idlers, breakers of discipline and saboteurs they

should be severe and strict, ruthlessly strict. The citizens come to the different departments, asking for a service on perfectly legal grounds: for a document to enter a school, an identity card, a rationing card, etc. — you all know that a great number of documents are always required, and when they go to the respective official, the latter hardly pays any attention to them, they have to wait in a queue, waste a lot of their precious time and often a whole day's wages without settling their problem. Delegations of peasants and citizens often come from the provinces to settle some personal or public questions. A week passes, two, three, while the delegates are sent from one office to another, yet their problem stays unsettled, and it is only when some of those delegations get fed up — we already have such a case — that they come to the Council of Ministers or to the National Council of the Fatherland Front. Then the question is checked and it turns out that many of the questions which have been raised are not so complicated and can be resolved in a couple of hours. This callous and rude attitude of big and small officials towards citizens will be henceforward considered as a crime by the Government, for which the respective official will not only be dismissed but also brought before the court.

Bureaucracy manifests itself like a hydra with one hundred heads under most diverse forms and along many channels. It always kills every living initiative and insults and disgusts the citizens, substantially hindering the implementation of our undertakings under the economic plan.

Without dwelling further on these problems, I repeat: in all fields of our social, economic and cultural life these evils have to be stamped out, they must be eliminated with the common efforts of all our people.

All conditions necessary for our forward march are now at hand. Certain vacillations which existed last year with regard to the stability of our international status have disappeared. The doubts and vacillations which existed in certain circles that the Fatherland Front and its Govern-

ment were something provisional, that they would soon cease to exist and that there would be a return to the past and a restoration in favour of parasitic capital, of the speculators and exploiters in our country – these doubts no longer have any foundation. The Fatherland Front stands so firm on its iron feet as never before.

Some people asserted that if measures were to be taken against certain opposition leaders who were committing crimes towards our people and our People's Republic, American and British forces would invade our country, overthrow the Fatherland Front and free the arrested opposition leaders. They were naive and shortsighted! Now they can see that the foremost leader of the opposition is arrested on an accusation of having conspired to stage a coup d'état but no one in Bulgaria seriously raises a finger to make a protest demonstration or meeting. Nothing of the kind! Why? Because the bulk of our people, their overwhelming majority, understand the meaning of the National Economic Plan and, at the same time, clearly see through the anti-popular policy of the opposition leaders. They are now endeavouring secretly to set the crops on fire which, as we know, will be quite insufficient owing to inclement climatic conditions, to undertake diversive actions, to prepare armed plots, some of which have already been discovered by the militia, in order to provoke foreign intervention. Vain efforts! First of all, our people will be on the look-out, each one of us will be on the look-out, second, the people's militia and State Security will be on the look-out and nothing of the kind will be allowed to happen in our country.

We may be proud that with our own efforts, with our own labour and with our own heroism and devotion to our country and with our correct, peaceful and democratic policy we shall reach the safe shore in spite of everything. The more diligent, the more disciplined, the more resolute and united we are in our work, the more we shall be respected by Englishmen and Americans, Frenchmen, by friends and foes.

It is with this feeling of national pride, with this consciousness of our bright national future that I once again congratulate you and ask you to get down to work, and do all you can for the cause of the Fatherland Front and the successful implementation of the Two-Year Economic Plan.

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June 28, 1947

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MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS TO COMRADE VASSIL KOLAROV ON HIS 70th BIRTHDAY

The celebration of the 70th birthday of the President of the Grand National Assembly and Acting President of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Vassil Kolarov, is a happy event of national significance.

In the course of 50 years our dear Comrade Kolarov has been wholeheartedly devoting all his forces and tremendous abilities as a social and political worker, and now also as a great statesman, to the loyal and selfless service of our people and country. He deservedly enjoys the love and respect not only of the working people but also of all honest and progressive people in our country and far beyond its borders.

A whole volume could be written about Vassil Kolarov, about his rich and meaning life, about his immaculate honesty and his social and political and scholarly work. Generations will be brought up in a democratic and progressive spirit by studying his exceptionally valuable biography.

The Bulgarian people are happy to have such a devoted exceptionally capable and great statesman, possessed with a tremendous erudition and rich political experience.

Today, when our people are genuinely happy to observe Vassil Kolarov's 70th birthday, warmly wishing him good health and cheer, so that he may for many more years work ever so successfully for the final triumph of the great people's cause, I, who have been linked to him by almost half a century of joint activity at home and in

emigration, extend to him most hearty and fraternal congratulations, wishing him from the bottom of my heart to live to see with his present youthful good cheer, vitality and capacity for work, the complete blossoming of our country – the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

G. Dimitrov

Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Vassil Kolarov paper, 1947

G. Dimitrov, Works

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HOW TO AVERT A NEW MUNICH

Combating the fomentors of new wars is the historic task of all democratic nations

Statement before a Rude Pravo Correspondent⁶

The organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, *Rude Pravo*, published on October 1, 1947 carried an interview of Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov by its foreign policy editor.

Question: Today some people are talking about a policy which might lead to a new Munich. In your opinion is there any such trend? Wherein does it recall the Munich policy of 1938 and wherein does it differ from it?

Answer: History never repeats itself exactly. Naturally, the 'Munich' of 1938 cannot be repeated. However, there are certain analogies. The international situation today as compared to that of 1938 is one of them. At that time Chamberlain and Daladier, on behalf of Great Britain and France, attempted in Munich to turn Hitler against the Soviet Union by consenting to the annexation of Austria and handing over the Czechoslovak Republic. Taking advantage of this shameful capitulation of the British and French governments, Hitler started the war, first crushing Poland and France, conquering a number of other countries, and dealing heavy blows to Great Britain and subsequently proceeding to launch his heinous attack against the Soviet Union. The historic treachery in Munich, for which the British and French leaders at that time bear major responsibility, opened the floodgates to the total war for world domination which the German imperialists had been preparing.

After the rout of nazi Germany, most of the credit for

which goes to the Soviet Union and its invincible Army, now once again an aggressive war is being prepared for world domination.

The difference, however, lies in the fact that at the time of the Munich Pact the initiative was in the hands of the German imperialists, while now it is in the hands of the American imperialists. Then the official leaders of Great Britain and France helped Hitler, and now the leaders of these states are inclined to help Truman. Unlike 1938, the place of Germany's imperialists is now held by the American imperialists. The final goal at present, however, is again the establishment of world supremacy of one great power over the nations of the world.

Anti-communism served as a smoke-screen for Hitler's aggression, for the campaign of the German imperialists towards world supremacy. As we all know, anti-communism suffered a disastrous defeat during the Second World War. Communism, however, far from being destroyed, manifested its vital, popular force precisely in the war of liberation, while its main grave-diggers were sent to their grave. Yet, at present, the American imperialists and their official representatives are also resorting to anti-communism as a smoke-screen. Obviously, they cannot invent anything better than the bankrupt slogan of the nazis.

The United Nations and its fundamental principle – unanimity among the four great powers in resolving questions of peace and international security – is a serious obstacle for the new pretenders for world domination. Hence the attempts at the General Assembly now sitting in New York of the American imperialists to undermine the foundations of this organization by using their satellites as tools.

Question: Wherein does the present situation differ from that of Munich in 1938? What is now the balance of pro-Munich and anti-Munich forces?

Answer: There is an essential difference between the

situation at the time of the Munich Pact and the present situation.

In what does this difference consist? It consists mainly in the following:

a) The Soviet Union, as a result of its liberating role, has emerged from the victorious anti-nazi war with tremendous international authority and influence, with great military experience and unshakable unity of its peoples.

b) Thanks to the glorious Red Army, many countries were freed from fascist oppression. The peoples of these countries took their destinies into their own hands. People's democracies were set up in the countries of South-eastern Europe and are becoming stabilized. Headed by the Soviet Union, these people's democracies are a serious check to imperialist aggression and a sure guarantee of peace. This fact is of universal significance.

c) The colonial nations have risen in a national-liberation fight against their imperialist enslavers. This fight is growing in scope and is likely to impede the war plans of the imperialists.

d) The workers' and in general the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, as a result of the bitter lessons which the peoples learned during the five terrible years of war, has assumed a new sweep, striking fresh, deep roots in the respective countries, and is increasingly becoming a major factor in the defence of peace.

e) By their heroic and selfless struggle against fascism and their devoted service to their people, the communists in many countries have not only gained complete recognition, but are also taking an active part in the governments of their countries, at some places being even at the head of the government. They have managed actually to unite the truly democratic and progressive forces into national fronts aimed at wiping out the remnants of fascism, at reorganizing their countries and defending their national independence and sovereignty. Tried and unflinching fighters, they spearhead the fight.

f) The last war has particularly intensified capitalist

contradictions. The bankruptcy of the capitalist system and its anti-popular character are becoming ever clearer to the peoples as is also the superiority of the socialist system, brilliantly confirmed during the war by the great land of Soviet socialist republics. Many more millions in the world now realize perfectly well that their salvation lies solely in the triumph of socialism.

It is therefore obvious that the forces of peace and democracy in the world are incomparably greater than they were at the time of the Munich Pact.

What is more, these forces are steadily growing, whereas the forces of imperialist reaction and the fomentors of a Third World War, far from growing, are doomed to decline.

The intensification and acceleration of this historical process of securing genuine peace for the coming generations depend upon the fight of the freedom-loving and peaceful peoples, upon the fight of the working class, peasants and people's intelligentsia, as well as upon the activity of the communist parties as a factor rallying the democratic and progressive forces.

The imperialists, more particularly the American imperialists, are trying to find a way out of their postwar difficulties and the threatening economic crisis in the economic enslavement of as many countries as possible and in the preparation of a new aggressive war, above all, against the most important and powerful guardian of and fighter for peace – the Soviet Union. The American imperialists count on their dollars to buy the countries with venal rulers, and on their atom bomb to intimidate the peoples who are not ready to sell their independence. They are trying in every way to clear the deck for their crusade for world domination, which, of course, they cannot imagine without a new world war. Hence the support they are rendering to the fascist and reactionary regimes, the moral and military assistance to Greece and Turkey, on the one hand, and their hostility to the new democracies in South-eastern Europe, on the other hand. Hence also their

frenzied anti-Soviet campaign and anti-communist hysteria which we witness now in the United States of America.

Question: Where does Bulgaria stand in the struggle between the pro-Munich and anti-Munich forces?

Answer: Under these circumstances, the place of all democratic nations, including the Bulgarian nation, is undoubtedly on the side of the forces of peace and democracy, headed by the great Soviet Union – against imperialist reaction and the fomentors of a third world war, and not merely as a passive but also as an active factor. This is dictated, of course, not by general ideological reasons, but by the supreme vital interests of the democratic nations, by the necessity for them to preserve and consolidate their political and economic independence and sovereignty.

The great historical task now is to achieve what we failed to achieve on the eve of the last world war – the setting up of a powerful anti-war united front of democratic peoples and countries against the fomentors of new wars, to secure international co-operation, frustrate and foil the aggressive plans of the imperialists and, in the first place, of the American capitalist monopolies.

The main weapon is constantly to unmask these treacherous plans before the masses, under whatever guise they are presented, resolutely to resist the propaganda of a new war and rapidly to mobilize all democratic and progressive forces for the establishment of lasting democratic peace based on the equality of nations and international co-operation.

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THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE – A VALIANT FIGHTING DETACHMENT OF OUR PEOPLE

*Message of Greetings to the Congress of the Young Workers'
League and the Young Agrarian League*

I cordially greet the delegates to the congresses of the Young Workers' League (YWL) and the Young Agrarian League (YAL). I am sure that they are fully aware of the great importance of the tasks facing Bulgaria's working youth in the present period and that they will do their best to properly resolve them.

Our heroic youth has given and continues to give wonderful examples of labour enthusiasm, of devotion to the People's Republic and of a high consciousness of its patriotic duty. It has thereby not only won the recognition and gratitude of the Bulgarian people, but has also aroused admiration and enthusiasm among the other democratic peoples and all friends of New Bulgaria in the other countries.

But the domestic and international set-up, the struggle for a lasting peace and a people's democracy – against imperialist aggression and the fomentors of a new world war demand of our youth, as well as of our entire people, still greater and better organized efforts for building up the economic, cultural and defensive might of our People's Republic, still closer co-operation among the people's forces and their most efficient utilization in the fight against the domestic people's enemies and for the complete consolidation of the people's gains of September 9, 1944, as well as the development of these historic gains to their logical conclusion – our people's prosperity and the securing of our country's freedom, independence and

national sovereignty in fraternal co-operation with the great Soviet Union, the Slav and other democratic nations.

Having grown up in the struggle against fascism and capitalist reaction, steeled in large measure through its heroic labour on the economic construction front, having severalfold broadened its experience, the worker and peasant youth is faced now with the task of making its valuable contribution at the new stage of our nation's social development with still greater energy and faith.

Our young people's successes along this line will depend upon their still greater unity and enhanced political consciousness and, in the first place, upon the joint and comradely work of the two largest organizations – the YWL and the YAL. It is they who are now called upon to play the main role in the building up of a single union of democratic youth in Bulgaria, with a common, genuinely democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist programme and the indispensable firm and all-embracing discipline.

Our experience so far with the committees of democratic youth has demonstrated to all the necessity and usefulness of such youth unity. Conditions for its implementation are already sufficiently ripe. Instead of the existing competition between the separate youth organizations, the unification of all their forces will enable them a hundred times more successfully to develop their activities, to make much better use of their opportunities and cadres, and will help sooner to organize, educate, enlighten and drive also the still lagging part of our working youth into active work and struggle.

Naturally, to be successful the Young Democratic League must have well-defined aims and tasks as well as solid organizational foundations. This is how I visualize these aims and tasks: to fight for the eradication of fascism, for the bridling and crushing of capitalist reaction, for the stabilization of a genuine people's democracy; to fight against capitalist aggression, against the fomentors of a new world war and in unwavering defence of the national independence and sovereignty of our People's Republic as

an active factor in the international democratic and anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union and the democratic peoples, against the anti-democratic and imperialist camp, headed by the American imperialists, those new pretenders for world domination; to take an active participation in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our national economy, an economy functioning not for capitalist profits and the unlimited accumulation of private wealth, but for the proper satisfaction of the people's vital needs, for raising the material and cultural standards of the working people from town and country, for the greatest possible strengthening of the defensive might of the People's Republic and for clearing the deck for the liberation of the working people from all exploitation to tirelessly enlighten and educate our young people and particularly their cadres in a spirit of genuine democracy in accordance with the principles of progressive science, in devotion to creative and socially useful labour and in loyalty to the country.

Moreover, we must clearly see in perspective the road along which our nation and all democratic nations are marching. This road does not lead back to capitalism – the basic source of all national calamities and aggressive wars, but to socialism as a historical salvation for all peoples.

Allow me in conclusion, to point out that the joint work of the YWL and the YAL, among other things, encounters a serious obstacle in certain misconception about their relative weight and role in the general youth movement. It would be naïve to deny certain important advantages of the YWL, which are a perfectly logical phenomenon in our country and which cause it to hold the initiative and to play a predominant role.

It is a fact known by all that the YWL includes not only the workers' youth but also young people of all categories of manual and mental labour, while the YAL includes only or predominantly agrarian young people.

In the second place, in the course of decades, even in the darkest periods of capitalist monarcho-fascist reaction

in our country, the YWL waged a tireless and selfless struggle against the people's enemies and made countless sacrifices for our people's freedom. In this cruel and bloody fight the Young Workers' League, under the leadership of the Workers' Party (Communists), grew up as a big, mass youth organization, closed its ranks, tightened its firm militant discipline and trained a great many cadres devoted and ready for any sacrifices. All this is an exceedingly valuable asset for the joint youth movement and our people, which for obvious reasons, the other Fatherland Front youth organizations could not have and do not have now to such a degree.

In the third place, unlike the other youth organizations, the YWL has a true and irreplaceable compass in its all-round activity, a progressive theory confirmed by historical experience – Marxism, developed and supplemented by the great Lenin, which enables it with greater facility to orient itself in the trends of social development and in the course of current events, more correctly to determine its tasks and its tactics in every new set-up, with unwavering resolve to fight against the people's enemies under whatever guise they may appear, as well as to take the initiative and an active part in every youth undertaking in economic and cultural construction and in building up the defensive might of the People's Republic.

All this, of course, does not mean that the YWL does not suffer from a number of flaws and shortcomings. No. There are such flaws and shortcomings, and I am sorry to say that they are not few. It is up to the YWL, which is itself conscious of these flaws and shortcomings, rapidly and resolutely to overcome them.

But a denial of the above particularly precious qualities of the YWL can be of benefit only to the enemies of the democratic youth movement and its unity. On the contrary, their sincere recognition and their acknowledgement by the members of the YAL and the other Fatherland Front youth organizations would be perfectly natural and far from being insulting or humiliating for them, would un-

doubtedly greatly help the establishment of sound mutual relations between the youth organizations and in particular between the YWL and the YAL, such as should exist between fraternal militant organizations called upon to be always marching shoulder to shoulder for the common welfare and progress of our country. Let no one misunderstand me when I say that the sooner this question is clarified the better it will be both for YWL members and YAL members as well as for the general democratic movement in the country.

I wish you wholeheartedly complete comradesly understanding between the leadership and delegates of the YWL and the YAL and the best of success to their congresses, especially in the implementation of the great task under the present set-up – the establishment and stabilization of the Young Democratic League as a powerful factor of the Fatherland Front and a valiant militant detachment of our people for the defence of the nation's independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and for its all-round development.

G. Dimitrov

October 31, 1947

Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

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THE USSR – INDESTRUCTIBLE BASTION OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

The 30th jubilee of the first Soviet socialist state in the world is quite naturally a red-letter day for progressive mankind. In the course of 30 years, which have elapsed since the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin's invincible Party, after overcoming incredible difficulties and at the price of innumerable sacrifices, withstood all enemies and set up the powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on one sixth part of the globe, which is marching today in the vanguard of all mankind.

Throughout its existence the Soviet state proved that, in implementing socialism and blazing the trail to communism, it was acting in the interest not only of its own people but also of all other nations and, in the first place, in the interest of the working people and the population of the countries oppressed by imperialism.

Throughout its existence the Soviet state has unflinchingly been upholding the cause of peace and fighting for the national freedom and independence of the people against the imperialist plunderers. But the liberation role of the land of socialism was particularly vividly and brilliantly manifested during the Second World War when its heroic peoples and its glorious army saved mankind from barbarous, cannibalistic nazism.

After the defeat of fascist Germany, the Soviet Union liberated a number of Slav and non-Slav peoples, enabled

them to take their destinies into their own hands and, on the basis of a people's democracy, to build their prosperity and their happy future.

Today, when the imperialists have proclaimed a crusade against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, against everything progressive in the world, when the new pretenders for world domination blackmail the peoples, threatening them with a new war, the great socialist state stands firmly at the head of the democratic anti-imperialist camp, imbuing it with confidence in the superiority of its own forces over those of imperialist expansion and aggression. That is why all democratic nations and all honest progressive people in the world are vitally interested in the further stabilization of the Soviet Union, in its increased economic and defensive might, in the success of its peaceful foreign policy, in its all-round successes and progress.

Futile are the efforts of the imperialists and of their right-wing socialist and other pseudo-democratic agents to dig a chasm between the democratic world and the Soviet Union, the tried leader in the fight for democracy and international co-operation.

The heroic deeds of the Soviet Union in favour of peace and democracy, its powerful just voice which is resounding today throughout the world from the rostrum of the UN are heavy blows at the rabid slanderous campaign of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Round the Soviet Union, the unflinching guardian of peace, democracy and progress, are rallying ever more closely the new democratic countries, breaking away from the imperialist system and marching boldly along the road of independent political and economic development, ridding themselves ever more of the influence of reactionary bourgeois culture and blind worship of it, and drawing the lifegiving values in their cultural development from the

treasurehouse of the progressive socialist culture of the Soviet Union.

The truly democratic and progressive forces in all countries rally around the Soviet Union. They learn from the Soviet Union how to fight and win and how to build a new and happy life for their peoples. The militant friendship between the peoples of the new democratic states, between the progressive social forces from all over the world and the Soviet Union rests on their common interests in the struggle for a lasting peace and for the defence of their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Particularly great is the joy of the Slav peoples, including our Bulgarian people, on the day of the 30th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Without Soviet help these peoples would be unable to stabilize their freedom and independence. Without the Soviet Union they would be doomed to be swallowed up by the imperialist wolves. Without Soviet support Slav solidarity, which is growing ever stronger now and serves the cause of peace and human progress, would be impossible.

On this remarkable day the Bulgarian People's Republic, as well as all the new democracies which are indebted for their liberation, independent existence and development above all to the Soviet Union, experience a feeling of deepest gratitude and reverence for its peoples and its Army, and for Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

On this day the Bulgarian people, side by side with millions of people all over the world, take an oath of friendship and loyalty to the great socialist state, the unshakable bastion of peace and democracy, and with profound sincerity pronounce and address words of reverence, love and admiration to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Eternal glory to the fighters who gave their life in the fight for the victory of the October Revolution, in the battles for the freedom, independence and prosperity of the first land of socialism!

Long live the Soviet Union – the hope of working and
progressive mankind – and may it grow ever stronger!
Glory to the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),
which serves as a model to the communists of all countries!
Eternal glory to Vladimir Ilych Lenin!

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THE CONSTITUTION

Speech in the Grand National Assembly

December 4, 1947

Prime Minister, Georgi Dimitrov: Dear National representatives! After what our President⁷ said, it is hardly necessary for me to add anything in particular. For our people this day is a red-letter day.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, now definitely adopted, strengthens the foundations of our people's rule.

This wonderful Constitution has been written with the blood of our heroic and freedom-loving people, shed in long years of struggle against *monarcho-fascist and bourgeois* tyranny.

The Constitution once and for all sanctions the fundamental principle that all power is in the hands of the people and serves only the people. There is no other power and there can be no other power in our country. A definite end has been put to the privileges of private capital; every possibility for bourgeois domination has been done away with forever.

The leading role in the government of the People's Republic belongs wholly to the working people. This means that the leading role belongs to workers, peasants, craftsmen, working intelligentsia, to the men, women and young people doing socially useful manual and intellectual work.

Under the regime of the new Constitution there is no room for parasitic capital, there is no and there cannot be any room for robbers of the fruit of our people's labour. The

principle has been sanctioned: he who does not work, he who does not do any socially useful work, neither shall he eat!

In stabilizing the principles of people's democracy, the new Constitution clears the deck for the social development of our country, which will lead to the eradication of all remnants of the capitalist exploiter system, to the emancipation of the working people from any exploitation, i. e. to the complete elimination of exploitation of man by man.

The new Constitution is a realistic Constitution and not merely a written Constitution. It expresses the firm resolve of our nation to live freely and happily, in peace and brotherhood with the Slav and other democratic and freedom-loving nations.

It must be clear for everyone of us, however, that the main guarantee for the application in life of this fine Constitution lies in the unbreakable people's unity, implemented by the Fatherland Front.

A guarantee is the people's vigilance with regard to their enemies and their intransigent fight against fascism and reaction, for their complete eradication from our Bulgarian soil.

Permit me from the rostrum of the Grand National Assembly and on behalf of the Fatherland Front Government to address a call, an appeal to all our working people, to all Bulgarian men and women patriots, to all who love their country and to say to them:

Brothers and sisters! With the new Constitution may we all jointly march ahead to our people's prosperity, all-round progress and advancement of our nation.

Long live and flourish forever the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Shorthand Records

Grand National Assembly, 12th sitting, 1947

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December 5, 1947

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THE IMPERIALIST PLANS IN THE BALKANS MUST BE CHECKED

*Speech held at the lunch given after the signing of the Treaty of
Friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the
People's Republic of Albania*

December 16, 1947

At the lunch given after the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, a Cultural Convention and a Protocol for Economic and Trade Relations between Bulgaria and Albania, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Georgi Dimitrov, pronounced the following speech as a toast:

At this place today we signed a treaty of alliance, friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Albania. We also signed a cultural convention and a special protocol for economic and trade relations between our countries. This treaty of alliance, as well as the other agreements, are agreements for peace, and not for aggression and attack against other peoples and countries. An alliance has been concluded in favour of Balkan peace, for co-operation in the establishment of a lasting democratic peace in Europe and the whole world. It is a treaty which contains no secret clauses, because it is not natural for People's Democracies to conclude agreements and assume obligations secretly, behind the back of their peoples. Our treaty of alliance is concluded at a moment when, as you all know, the imperialist powers are doing their level best to prevent the establishment and building up of a lasting postwar peace. For this purpose they are trying to undermine the foundations of the United Nations which should be an instrument for securing peace; they are trying to turn

this organization into a tool for their aggressive aims, of their crusade for world domination.

With the same end in view, the imperialists, led by the American imperialists, are sparing, as you all know, no effort to retain an anti-popular, a noxious regime, dangerous to Balkan and European peace, as is the monarcho-fascist regime in Greece. They are arming monarcho-fascist Greece, they are doing all to crush the heroic, courageous fight of the Greek people for their country's freedom and independence.

Our peoples, the People's Democracies, are interested and are directly duty-bound, with joint efforts, to frustrate the imperialist plans in the Balkans and to establish and secure a lasting, democratic peace for our countries. The foundation of peace, democracy and stability in the Balkan Peninsula, which will make possible its transformation from a powder-keg into a stronghold of peace, of peaceful constructive labour on the part of our peoples – is to be discerned in the first place in the unshakable and indissoluble alliance of the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia with the Bulgarian people and the Albanian people. Hand in hand with fraternal Yugoslavia, hand in hand with the People's Republic of Albania, hand in hand with the heroic Greek people, with democratic Romania and democratic Hungary, with Slav democratic Poland, Slav democratic Czechoslovakia and the democratic forces in the western countries, headed by the great Soviet Union, we are in a position and will be in a position to destroy the perfidious, bellicose and aggressive plans of the imperialists in the Balkans and establish peace and fraternity among the Balkan states as a factor making for universal peace and democracy in the world.

In the spirit of the signed treaty we have pledged ourselves to work shoulder to shoulder with our friends against our common enemies, because both our friends and our foes are common, common also is our destiny and common is our future.

We are resolved to fulfil and we shall fulfil what we

have signed. A pledge for this are our militant peoples, their labour, their will, their heroism and their unity. A pledge for this are the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, the Albanian People's Front and our communist parties, which have no other goal in their activities and their struggle except their common goal: the prosperity and happiness of our peoples. We part from this fraternal conference with the firm resolve to work still more assiduously and still more successfully for the consolidation, stabilization and cementing of our militant and constructive alliance. And there is no and there can be no power which can divide us. We were linked in the past by a joint struggle which we waged against our common enemies. Now we are getting linked to one another still more strongly in our hearts, our souls and interests for a common goal, like brothers come rain or shine, in days of joy and of sorrow. Our cause is right and it will triumph inspite of everything.

Long live the militant, strong and indissoluble alliance between the Albanian people and the Bulgarian people!

Slightly abridged

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 296
December 18, 1947*

*G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 321-324
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TWO MAIN TASKS CALLING FOR THE UNIFICATION OF BULGARIAN YOUTH

*Speech pronounced before the delegates to the constituent congress
of the Young People's League*

December 22, 1947

Dear delegates, girls and boys!

Allow me, on behalf of the Fatherland Front Government, most heartily to congratulate your constituent congress on the correct and opportune decisions which it has taken, and to express our profound confidence that these decisions, despite all possible difficulties, will be turned into a reality for the good of our country.

Two basic tasks facing our people imperatively call for a solid unification of Bulgaria's youth into a single youth organization.

The first task is derived from the fact that through the fault of the predatory and mercenary bourgeoisie our country is very backward economically. Our people, who on September 9, 1944 took their destinies into their own hands, started out to and will have with still greater energy to make up for what they failed to do in the past. We are faced with the important task at accelerated rates and in a planned manner to organize and develop to a maximum our national industry and agriculture, to secure the industrialization and electrification of our country. We should not forget that economically weak countries are always faced with the danger of losing their national and political independence and of being enslaved by the imperialist powers. We must become economically strong and we shall become strong without fail! We shall build up our

economic might to a degree that will make us independent of foreign capital, so that we shall rid ourselves once and for all of the pressure of the U.S. dollar. But to become strong and be possessed of the necessary economic might, we must mobilize all creative forces of our nation and use all our natural, moral and other resources. In this respect our youth, and its glorious brigade movement in particular, will play an exceedingly great and important role.

The unification of Bulgarian youth will greatly help us to make use of all its forces and of this tremendous enthusiasm which here too, at the congress, was so brilliantly manifested, in the building up of our dear People's Republic. Our united people's youth will help the Government of the Fatherland Front completely to wipe out all survivals of the exploiter capitalist system under the Bulgarian sky: this youth will help us to clear the deck for the complete emancipation of the working people from any exploitation, for the elimination of exploitation of man by man.

The second task derives from the necessity of our People's Republic to fully consolidate its national independence and sovereignty against any encroachment from whatever quarters. On this front, too, our youth is and will be playing a big role. Youth is in the ranks of the armed forces of our People's Republic. Our youth, side by side with the people's Army and the frontier guards are standing now and will still more firmly be standing in future on guard of our People's Republic, of its territory, its frontiers, of the fruits of the people's labour. The unification of our people's youth should greatly help it in its political, moral and other training for the country's defence. Your decision to have your League assume sponsorship of the frontier guards and the armoured units of our people's Army is an eloquent proof of this.

The unification of our youth will eliminate the superfluous waste of forces and means by the different youth organizations, will do away with the dispersion and irrational utilization of their cadres and of the efforts of

their members, will do away with the frequent differences and misunderstandings regarding their own organizational stabilization: differences about clubs, about various campaigns, about the distribution of their own papers and magazines – misunderstandings that cannot be avoided when several youth organizations exist. You, at your constituent congress, have put an end to all this.

Now our youth will be marching forward with joint forces, shoulder to shoulder, regardless of Party or other affiliations, true to our great cause, the cause of September the Ninth to the successful implementation of the great tasks confronting our people and our youth, in the first place, the successful fulfilment of the national economic plan, which is impossible without the heroic labour of our youth.

The unification of our youth will create an impenetrable armour of millions of young fighters against internal reaction and external enemies, against the perfidious plans aimed at the freedom and independence of our country. This is at the same time a warning to our external enemies. They will realize that our Bulgarian youth is united and constitutes a powerful detachment of our people which is ready every hour, every minute, if necessary, not only in factories and workshops, in fields and offices, in schools and elsewhere to give its labour, its forces and its energy, its time and its joy and happiness, but also with other means to fight against every invader or violator of our freedom and national independence.

You know that our internal enemies, now routed, quite disoriented and embittered, rely solely on one thing – war, a new world war which they hope will lead to the annihilation of the Fatherland Front, of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to the restoration of bourgeois, capitalist and reactionary domination.

One of the delegates: Death to the fomentors of a new war!

A second delegate: Long live the mighty front of peace!

Georgi Dimitrov: Our internal enemies, as you all know,

carrying on a whispering campaign that a new world war is impending and are pinning their hopes on it in their utter despair, confusion and disgrace before the Bulgarian people. But their hopes are in vain.

Of course, if everything depended upon the imperialists and upon the American imperialists in particular, they might perhaps decide to embark on such an adventure, which, by the way, would burn their fingers and make them share the fate of the imperialist nazi clique. But not everything depends on the American imperialists. They may be preparing for a war, they may be carrying on war propaganda, they are riding roughshod, as you know, also at the United Nations and at the last sessions of the foreign ministers in London, but it is not on them that the proclamation of a new world war depends.

It is a well-known fact that the forces of democracy and peace in the world are incomparably greater than the forces of imperialist reaction and of the fomentors of a new war. And these forces of world democracy are growing every day, while the forces of imperialist aggression and expansion are waning, because what the people want is peace, a lasting peace, and not an imperialist war. They are too fed up with the world war which ended not long ago to even conceive of a new world war, which would be much more terrible and destructive than the last one. All peoples are against war. Not only the peoples of the new democracies, not only the peoples of the great Soviet Union, not only the peoples in a number of other countries, but – I must stress it from this rostrum – even the American people are against a new world war.

And indeed, what would the American people be fighting for – the American workers, farmers and working intelligentsia? For what goals; what would they be coming again to Europe for and what stake do the American workers, farmers and working intellectuals have in the fact that the American imperialists are lording it over in Greece, Turkey and other countries and are striving for world domination? The United States are big and rich

enough to be able to secure prosperity, abundance and affluence to the American working people if imperialism did not hold sway there. The American working people, there can be no doubt, would consider it more reasonable to fight their own imperialist trusts and monopolies rather than shed their blood in the Balkans and on other fronts.

A strictly scientific, Marxist analysis of the present concrete international set-up, of the balance of power – social and military – on a world scale, cannot but lead to the conclusion that no world war is impending and that the panicky rumours about such a war are but blackmail whereby the American imperialists and other reactionary forces in all capitalist countries are trying to frighten and upset the peaceful labour of the peoples who are fighting against imperialist aggression and expansion.

As to our people, with your aid and with your heroic participation in their all-out efforts and struggle, they will continue with still greater energy, confidence and resolve to build their People's Republic, ready at any minute with all their forces to crush every local provocation, every possible invasion from the South.

In this connexion we rely primarily on our own forces, which we shall be increasing every day. But we sign fraternal treaties with other countries which have the same interests as we do, and which are marching along the same road as ours – the road of freedom, independence and eradication of the imperialist system in the world. We have concluded a treaty, as you know, with fraternal Yugoslavia. A few days ago we concluded a similar treaty of alliance with the gallant Albanian people. The signing of treaties of alliance with democratic Romania, democratic Hungary, democratic Czechoslovakia, democratic Poland and our great protector – the Soviet Union, are impending.

Of course, we are ready to sign similar peace treaties against imperialist aggression with any other country willing and ready to do so.

In concluding such treaties and consolidating this entire defence system, as I said, our main attention will be

focused on raising our own economic, national and defence might to a maximum, to the highest possible degree.

I should like to end with a warning which I am induced to make, by quoting the old and wise popular Bulgarian proverb: The vineyard requires a hoe, not prayers'. (Deeds, not words!). Splendid decisions are taken by you with enthusiasm and readiness, but without deeds your work cannot be crowned with success.

Long live the Bulgarian people's youth united in labour and struggle!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front – the unified socio- and political organization of our people.

A delegate: And its founder, Georgi Dimitrov!

G. Dimitrov: Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria and may it grow ever stronger and flourish!

Warm fraternal greetings to the valiant boys and girls from town and country throughout Bulgaria!

Forward with the hoe, hammer and sickle, the machine and tractor, the pen and weapon in hand – to work and struggle!

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 301
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*G. Dimitrov, Works,
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BASIC QUESTIONS OF POLICY AND TACTICS OF THE BULGARIAN AGRARIAN UNION

Speech before its 27th Regular Congress

December 29, 1947

Dear delegates!

Brothers and sisters!

I feel particularly happy to be able to greet your Congress⁸ because I think that it is of historic significance not only for the Agrarians in Bulgaria but also for the entire Bulgarian nation. It differs profoundly from the numerous congresses which the Bulgarian Agrarian Union has had in the past. With its decisions your present Congress may be said to dig a *deep* furrow between the past and the present. After many unfortunate waverings and fallacies amid the Agrarians in certain periods, today you spell out your position, elucidating many basic questions of our social development and of the policy and tactics of your own union. The resolution, which you have just adopted with such unanimity and with so much enthusiasm, is an eloquent proof of this.

Which are the basic questions which caused so many misunderstandings and troubles and were a source of misfortune for the Agrarians, for our working class and for all our people?

The first basic question, which has been resolved by our historical experience but on which certain politicians and petty careerists still speculate amid our people, is that of sole peasant rule in Bulgaria without, and even against, the working class. This question has been definitely resolved today. It has long passed into the limbo of history. The

defeat on June 9, 1923 was a categorical and clear reply to it. Such peasant rule is impossible.

The second basic question refers to the view that insurmountable contradictions exist between the vital interests of peasants, rural producers and the working class. A most unfortunate and tragic counterposing of town to countryside, indeed! If this counterposing of town to village and village to town, of the urban working people to the rural working people, of the workers to the peasants had not existed, Bulgaria would never have gone through the calamity which befell it on June 9, 1923. This too, has gone as an unfortunate experience into the limbo of history.

The third basic question, which maybe still exists in certain circles, was that the Agrarian Union was called upon to defend the interests of the peasants in general, while the Workers' Party, the communists, were called upon to defend the interests of the workers, of the working people in the towns.

On the Ninth of September, and even prior to it in certain respects, we set out on quite a different road. We had seen from our own experience that neither the Workers' Party alone was able to defend the interests of the workers and working people in the towns, nor the Agrarian Union alone was able to defend the interests of the peasants, of rural producers.

The defence of the interests of these two basic productive classes in our society is a common job.

The fourth basic question was and in certain circles continues to be that of the attitude towards socialism. Some people's enemies, venal demagogues tried to convince the people, and some are still trying to convince our brothers peasant brothers and rural producers that socialism would bring calamity and misfortune to the peasants.

You know very well that in a great country socialism has already been introduced and that that great country is now marching along the road to a higher stage in its social development, towards communism. There, under socialism, the peasants, far from having turned into

farmhands and slaves, with joint, collective efforts, under the leadership of the working class, have become true owners of their land, of the fruits of their work, forgers of their own happiness and of their own future.

Just stop to think, who in our country is afraid of the implementation of socialism? Who? The exploiter groups, living and wishing to live at other people's expense, without working. They are the parasites and drones. They are the village fleecers and usurers. Our people, the working class and peasantry, only stand to gain from the implementation of socialism.

The fifth basic question consists in this: when we have a common cause, when we, workers, march hand in hand, to whom does the *leading role* belong in this multi-million fraternal detachment? For somebody has to have the leading role, as this is absolutely necessary for every group, for every organization, for every military and political army, for every state. It is usually said that the peasants are more numerous than the workers and hence the leading role should be theirs.

How do matters stand actually? Why does the working class and its Party, why do the communists already play the acknowledged leading role among our people? Is that merely the personal merit of certain individuals or a historic fact with a deep-going meaning in our economic and social life? What are the social relations in our country?

The working class, in the broadest sense of the word, includes navvies, skilled workers, the engineering and technical staff, certain officials and other hired workers who take part in the common cause. The working class is concentrated, grouped together by the production process itself in the most important centres and branches of industry. The workers are to be found in mines, on railways and other means of transport, in the metal, textile and other factories. They hold the springs of our national industry in their hands. Thus grouped together, they can more easily be organized, better educated and can serve as

vanguard, as a frontline detachment of the other working people.

The working class has the leading role also because it possesses a strong theoretical weapon – Marxist science, which enables it correctly and promptly to orient itself in the domestic situation and in the international set-up, immediately to sense the main progressive trends in social development and focus the people's attention, efforts and struggles on the respective goal. No other class is in a position to do this, both because of its limited interests and because of the impossibility to orient itself correctly towards the trends in the progressive development of society.

The peasants – not through their own fault, but this is their misfortune – are scattered in thousands of villages and hamlets. They, and more particularly those in the mountainous and other remote parts, cannot gather frequently and cannot so easily understand their common interests. As a result, they cannot organize themselves so well as is the case with the workers, so as to be able to assume the responsible role of a vanguard.

Is it, for instance, accidental that after June 9, 1923, and after the defeat of the September Uprising, the Communist Party, despite all horrors to which it was subjected did not for a moment cease to exist underground up to the Ninth of September; that it continued its activities and its struggle against the common enemies – ours and yours, of the workers and peasants – and gave many dear sacrifices, but withstood everything. Whereas during this 20-year period the Agrarian Union, despite its long history and its immortal leader Alexander Stamboliiski could not preserve its organization. It was broken up into many parts and particles and was used, as you all know, by many political careerists and adventurers as a springboard to seize state and other posts and introduce demoralization and corruption into the ranks of this fraternal militant organization.

Is all this accidental? No. It is not

Or is this other fact accidental: that prior to the Ninth

of September only fighters of the working class and from among its youth, communists and YCL members, were active participants in the growing partisan movement, in the guerrilla fight against the German invaders and the monarcho-fascist dictatorship? And that the members of the Agrarian Union, although not standing aloof – assisting them by providing them with food and shelter and doing most useful work, played only a subsidiary role?

Is this accidental? No. It is not.

I must stress that, thanks to many such circumstances and conditions under which the Agrarian Union developed in the past, the healthy core of Alexander Stamboliiski's populist ideology had become overgrown with bourgeois weeds and thorns, of which you are now definitely getting rid.

I personally know the unforgettable Stamboliiski very well. We spent a long time together in the Central Prison during the First World War, into which we had been thrown, he with other Agrarian militants and I with some of my political comrades – left-wing socialists, because we opposed Ferdinand's anti-popular policy. Knowing Stamboliiski so well, I am deeply convinced and can assure you from this rostrum better than anyone else that if Stamboliiski had had the good fortune of being alive in our times, if he had had the possibility of drawing conclusions from all lessons of our political development after 1923, and especially from the lessons of the great liberation World War, he would have been the first among you to roll up his sleeves as he was wont to do, to take up the pen and with the living word and with an iron broom to set about cleaning these bourgeois weeds so as to stamp out everything which acquired the notorious name of drouzhashtina.*

It is most gratifying that you, his followers, are correcting boldly and resolutely as you did in your resolution,

* Derogatory term for the political practices of the Agrarian Union

much of the past with regard to the basic questions about which I spoke. This is a valuable contribution which you are now making in the consolidation of the moral and political unity of our people and the building up of the Fatherland Front as a unified popular socio-political organization of all honest, patriotic, sound and truly democratic people in our country.

Comrades,

On September 9, 1944, our people taking advantage of the assistance of the glorious fraternal Soviet Army which, in pursuing and routing the nazi hordes was advancing towards our frontiers, our people removed from the helm of the state the decayed and predatory Bulgarian bourgeoisie by means of their popular uprising. The people took the state power into their own hands. They took their destiny into their own tough hands. Step by step our democratic development and the building up of our People's Republic are going ahead. We – amid the general elation of our people, and not only of our people but also of our loyal friends and allies – are implementing the biggest, most deep-going and serious reform: the nationalization of private industry, mining and banking. On September 9 the bourgeoisie was removed from the helm of the state, from the government of the state, and now, with the nationalization, it will once and for all be removed from the nation's economic life. The deck is thus cleared for the accelerated development of our economic, national and defensive might as a nation, the deck is cleared for a rapid rise in the working people's living and cultural standards, especially those of the peasants, the rural producers. By stepping up the country's industrialization, its electrification, by the dams which we are building, we shall improve agriculture, raising its productivity to a height hitherto unprecedented in the nation's history, and ease the beneficent but still onerous farm labour.

We are pursuing a path of a development which will iron out the differences between town and village. We are moving towards the elimination of the difference between

the culture and prosperity of town and village. It will then no longer be to work and live in a village something inferior and humiliating, as the bourgeoisie used to consider it, but something valuable and honourable. The opinion prevalent under the bourgeois regime, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, that intellectual work was something aristocratic, reserved only for a select few mainly from amidst the bourgeoisie, the wealthy strata, while manual work at factories and especially in the fields was the lot of the common people, will be done away with.

On these foundations, created on the Ninth of September and which are now being reinforced through the nationalization of private industry and banking, the Fatherland Front will continue to build the new, people's state, to build up the new social system which rests on the two main social classes – the working class and the toiling peasantry. The working class, the toiling peasantry plus the craftsmen and people's intelligentsia, united in the Fatherland Front – these are the true masters of our economy and the leaders of the destinies of the Bulgarian people. The future of our people and the happiness of their children depends upon the unity of these two productive classes, of workers and peasants, in co-operation with the other democratic forces within the framework of the invincible Fatherland Front.

With joint efforts, after overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, without giving in to any threats from wherever they may come, we must turn and will turn our small country into a flourishing garden for the Bulgarian people and an impregnable fortress to all foreign aggressive encroachments. And whoever attempts to sap our unity, will be crushed by the implacable steam roller of history. All the politicians and alien agents who might undermine the foundations of the people's unity will be mercilessly crushed. And those who sit on two stools, as you could and still can encounter among us who, like Bouridan's ass, do not know from which haystack to start eating, will be thrown by this steam roller aside like worthless and useless objects.

In my heart with regard to you there is only one sincere and profound wish – that the fine decisions which your congress has taken be transformed into a living reality, so as to become flesh and bone of the renovated, viable Agrarian Union. Your Union is like an oak tree, which has gone through and withstood many storms, but on whose trunk and bark a great number of parasites had settled, depriving it of its vital sap, not allowing it to develop properly and almost making it dry up. Remove these parasites from your oak tree, once and for all.

With joint efforts let us march forward and ever forward to the prosperity of our nation, to the triumph of its great ideal, to the triumph of the just cause of our dear People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 2
January 3, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
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ONWARD TO NEW SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES FOR
OUR NATION'S WELFARE!

New Year's Message

Dear compatriots,

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria extends to you its warmest greetings and best wishes for the New Year of 1948.

The past year was not an easy one for our people, and that was mainly due to the poor crops after two successive years of drought.

But inspite of the hardships through which we went, the inevitable deprivations and shortages, it is with profound gratification that we send off the old year during which our nation scored considerable successes, stabilizing the domestic situation and the economic development and settling and consolidating its international status.

The insidious schemes of the imperialists and the Greek monarcho-fascists who tried to impose on Bulgaria an unbearable imperialist and predatory peace, violating its territorial integrity and destroying its economic and political freedom and independence, thanks to the foreign policy of the Fatherland Front, the only correct one, thanks to the firm and unshakable faith of the Bulgarian people in their own forces and their just cause, thanks to the invaluable fraternal aid of our twice liberator and selfless defender, the great Soviet Union, as well as to the assistance of fraternal Yugoslavia and the other Slav and non-Slav democratic nations, Bulgaria succeeded in signing a peace treaty which was the most acceptable one under

the circumstances – the present international situation. At that, the Bulgarian Government had a chance in good time to remonstrate against the injustices contained there.

After the signing of the peace treaty and its ratification, the Fatherland Front Government was able to settle the nation's diplomatic relations with almost all European and several non-European states, with which Bulgaria maintained such relations prior to the war. Political, economic and cultural agreements were signed with quite a few nations, which facilitate Bulgaria's peaceful development and enhance its prestige among democratic circles in the world.

The historic agreement of Bled and the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance signed in Euxinograd between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia open up a brighter page in the history of the peoples in the two fraternal countries. A treaty of alliance was also concluded with the People's Republic of Albania. Solid foundations were thus laid for the establishment of a mighty front in defence of peace and democracy, the freedom and independence of the Balkan states against the predatory encroachments of the imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the fomentors of a new world war.

The forthcoming conclusion of treaties of alliance with Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and, more particularly, with the Soviet Union, as well as with other countries which might desire to fight shoulder to shoulder with us for their freedom and independence and against imperialist aggression, will further stabilize our national independence and security and will guarantee still more favourable conditions for the rapid progress of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The past year of 1947 was marked by substantial achievements in the field of our home policy and especially in the nation's economy. For the first time in our nation's history a Two-Year Plan was drafted for the rehabilitation and development of our economy, for our country's in-

dustrialization and electrification and the modernization of its agriculture. The economic plan was welcomed with great enthusiasm by the Bulgarian people who mobilized their material and moral forces for its implementation. The working class, the toiling peasants, the craftsmen and people's intelligentsia scored great labour achievements. Our women and our heroic youth, in particular, took an active part in the implementation of the plan. A glorious youth brigade movement embracing more than 80,000 young men and girls, enthusiastic builders of the People's Republic, was set afoot throughout the country.

The successful change of banknotes and treasury bonds did away with the danger of inflation. The establishment of a state tobacco monopoly put an end to the ruthless exploitation, to which our tobacco producers and tobacco workers had been subjected, and the people became indeed masters of one of the country's most valuable riches. The state alcohol monopoly introduced order in the trade with alcoholic beverages. Our foreign trade was overhauled by the establishment of state import and export enterprises. Home trade was substantially improved with the opening of NARMAG, HOREMAG and a number of co-operative enterprises. As compared with 1946, the system of supplying the working people through their organizations was improved.

Most of the co-operative farms were further stabilized. The way for the further development of the co-operative farms on the voluntary principle has been cleared.

Thanks to the measures which were taken in connexion with the gathering in of the crops and the fulfilment of the peasants' patriotic duty, and thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union our people and their children were saved from starvation while in many larger and richer nations millions of working people are literally starving.

The Government's decree authorizing the free sale of foods after the fulfilment of the respective quotas gave and

will continue to give a still greater incentive to peasants to increase farm output and improve their own standards.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was unanimously adopted by the Grand National Assembly, consolidated the historic gains of the popular Ninth of September Uprising, reaffirmed the democratic principles that all power is derived from the people and belongs to the people, that he who does not work shall not eat, that labour is a fundamental social factor, and opened up prospects for the accelerated development of our country, for improving the material and cultural standards of the working people from town and village and for its transition to socialism.

The government and the state apparatus were radically reconstructed on the basis of the people's Constitution making possible the elimination of superfluous and redundant jobs, the slashing of unproductive state expenditures, and the utilization of a substantial number of former employees and officials in productive jobs. This reconstruction also brings closer the state organs to the local population and puts them in the service of the people's interests.

A remarkable historic achievement of the Fatherland Front and its Government during the past year was the nationalization of private industry, mining and banking⁹. This nationalization undermines the foundations of the capitalist exploiter system in our country, consolidates the people's rule, gives a powerful impetus to the country's industrial development and creates real conditions for increasing its economic, national and defensive might as well as for improving the living standards of the working people and for rapidly doing away with the exploitation of man by man. It was precisely for this reason that the nationalization was met with exceptional enthusiasm and won nationwide approval.

These happy achievements became possible owing to the fact that the forces of the Bulgarian people were still more closely rallied under the banner of the Fatherland Front and that the imperialist agents in the country, who

were trying to undermine the unity of the people's forces, were unmasked and crushed.

Thus, our people are sending off the New Year with a definitely stabilized domestic and international situation of their country. Granite barriers have been created against every attempt to turn back the wheel of history.

Men, women and young people! Working people from towns and villages!

Soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals!

Frontier guards and militiamen!

We are seeing in the New Year of 1948, standing firmly and unreservedly in the camp of the steadily growing and invincible forces of the mighty democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, fighting for a lasting peace, democracy and international co-operation – against the imperialists and fomentors of new world war. More than ever before the Bulgarian people are full of unshakable resolve to defend their great democratic achievements, their national independence and sovereignty against any and all encroachments from wherever they may come. With a firm and growing faith in their own forces, in the friendship of their selfless friends and loyal allies, they are closing their ranks and will tirelessly work for the prosperity of their beloved country.

We are seeing in the New Year while implementing the tasks pointed out in the historic declaration of the National Council of the Fatherland Front¹⁰ of October 26, 1947. This declaration is the most far-reaching, fullest and truest expression of the unshakable resolve and firm decision of the democratic Bulgarian people to bring the just cause of popular democracy to a successful end – to be the true masters of their own home.

The establishment of a unified Young People's League, as well as the forthcoming transformation of the Fatherland Front into a unified popular socio-political organization, will in every way stabilize the people's unity which is a guarantee for all our future successes. The steam roller of historical development will mercilessly crush all

enemies who might dare attempt to undermine this unity, while those who are still stubbornly sitting on two chairs will be thrown aside like a useless item belonging to the archives.

Making use of our gains, overcoming the existing weaknesses, learning from the errors made in the past, we are faced with the task to build up our young People's Republic wisely and with perseverance. We must exert all our efforts for the successful fulfilment of the Two-Year Economic Plan. Making use of the substantial experience which our economic workers succeeded in accumulating from their work under the Plan during the past year, the valuable assistance which we continue to receive from the Soviet Union, our closest co-operation with our brothers from Yugoslavia and other friendly nations, and by mobilizing all material and labour resources of our country, we shall be able still more confidently to work for the development of our national economy.

The old reactionary government used to contract many loans, allegedly for the country's salvation. The Bulgarian people know very well what the results of those loans were – the country's enslavement and its being plunged in wars for interests alien to the people. Today we again see the lamentable results of such 'loans' and 'hand-outs', given to certain European and non-European countries. That is why, in building up our economy, we are not looking for loans from the imperialists. We rely, above all, on our own forces and resources, on our own constructive labour, on our iron discipline and boundless devotion to our country.

We are faced with the great nation-wide task to fully consolidate the national independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic. As is known, the imperialist powers made and are still making attempts to hinder the peaceful development and creative construction of our country. For the purpose they resort to diplomatic pressure, intrigues, threats, blackmail and various manoeuvres, maintaining their agents in our country among the survivals of the exploiter circles. For the purpose, the so-called Balkan

Commission,¹¹ which is out to rule the Balkans and our country, was unlawfully set up. However, in the name of our independence and in concord with our allies, Yugoslavia and Albania, we did not allow and shall not allow this Commission on our territory.

The Greek monarcho-fascists, obedient and diligent servants of the fomentors of a new war, are provoking incidents on our frontier, sending diversionists, terrorists and spies to Bulgaria. Thanks to the vigilance of our glorious frontier guards and the population, these perfidious schemes are being ever more successfully foiled.

The Bulgarian people, who are deeply interested in a lasting peace which will enable them to continue their constructive work, are resolved to defend their independence like the apple of their eye and to be a solid and active element of democracy and peace in the Balkans. They are welcoming the heroic struggle of the Greek people for freedom and national independence. They see in the fight for the just cause of their southern neighbours a valuable contribution to the establishment of good-neighbourly relations among all Balkan states.

Brothers and sisters!

Recording the achievements of our people during the past year, no one among us should allow himself to sink into smugness and self-complacency. We do not harbour any illusions. In the coming New Year we shall again have to overcome many difficulties, to forego things needed for our personal and family life, to make fresh sacrifices on the altar of our dear country. But with joint efforts and with the co-operation of our numerous friends in the neighbouring and more distant countries, we shall manage to overcome all difficulties and inconveniences, marching confidently onward towards an ever greater development of the country and towards greater prosperity for our people and their children.

The hardest and darkest days are already behind us. Bright prospects are opening up before us. We are now the

forgers of our own destinies as a nation and as a people's state.

Deeply confident in our own forces, in the justice of our great cause and in the friendship of our fraternal peoples, onward towards fresh successes and victories for our country's prosperity, for peace and fraternal co-operation among all Slav and non-Slav democratic and freedom-loving peoples!

A Happy New Year to all of you! May it be a year of tireless creative labour, of still greater labour discipline, of incessant solicitude for the development of our national industry and agriculture, of strict saving of people's funds and property, and of utmost vigilance with regard to all internal and external people's enemies!

Let us always be ready selflessly to work and firmly to combat imperialist reaction and aggression, and unflinchingly to defend the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

- And our just and sacred cause will prevail!

G. Dimitrov

Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Sofia, December 31, 1947

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 1

January 1, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 13, pp. 354-362

WORK AND PATRIOTISM

From a talk with a group of Septemvriiché Young Pioneers

January 1, 1948

G. Dimitrov: What is your school record? Are there excellent, very good, good, mediocre and poor pupils among you?

A Septemvriiché: There are no mediocre and poor students among us. We are only excellent, very good and good pupils.

G. Dimitrov: A war to twos and threes* – that must be one of your main slogans. What prevails in your group should spread all over the country, among all Septemvriichés. Your organization has important tasks. It should wage a stubborn struggle against ones, twos and threes. The threes have to disappear altogether. If possible there should be no fours either. What you have accomplished now is an achievement compared with what existed prior to the Ninth of September. Prior to the Ninth of September there were both twos and threes in your school. After the Ninth of September there has been an advance in this respect. This is what your People's Republic demands of you: to study and get fives and sixes at school, waging war against the threes and twos.

And what are your marks in deportment?

A Septemvriiché: We all have excellent deportment.

G. Dimitrov: Pupils and Septemvriiché who have a low

* The Bulgarian grading system in schools is as follows: 6 – excellent, 5 – very good, 4 – good, 3 – satisfactory, 2 – poor, and 1 – very poor

mark in deportment should be considered a shameful blot on the school body in our People's Republic.

A Septemvriiché: They are also a shame for the fighters who died for us, Comrade Dimitrov.

G. Dimitrov: How many children study in our primary school and how many of them are members of the Septemvriiché Organization?

A woman teacher: Pupils attending primary school amount to over one million. Of these 600,000 are organized in Septemvriiché.

G. Dimitrov: It is your task to enlist many more students in your organization. More than 300,000 pupils should be included in and made members of your organization.

Our country is faced with important problems which our people will be able to resolve. Our country will become still more beautiful. The towns will become still more modern. We shall work hard to make life in the villages also beautiful. At present life there is hard. The former rulers paid no attention to the villages. But now we are trying to modernize them. In a short time all our villages will have electricity. We shall supply the villages with farm machines: tractors, harvesters, etc. Farm work will become less onerous and more pleasant. And life in the countryside will be very much like that in the towns.

But this will be achieved in your days. And it must take place with your participation. That is why you have to prepare for it while you are still young, you must grow and study to become such builders of our People's Republic as will help to iron out the differences between town and village as soon as possible. This will be one of the greatest achievements of our People's Republic. There will be beautiful houses, hospitals and maternity homes in the villages. Then the peasant children will be placed on a par with urban children as regards living and cultural standards. Teachers then will not be shying away from the villages. This will take place with your help. It will become a reality with your participation. But you must stubbornly study with this end in view.

You must read outside of school, as well. You have to be vigilant, to be able to see what is going on in life and to have sharp ears capable of hearing well, and you must be aware of the pulse of the people, of life, and not be like pupils at some schools where they study quite detached from the people. You must be able to understand and make a difference between what is good and what is bad, the old and the new, and not to take from life what is stinking.

The Septemvriichés should grow physically strong, should steel their will and character, they should not be weaklings, they should not be softwilled. They should not yield to temptations and noxious influences, but should adopt only what is sound and useful.

To see in the New Year is a very old custom in our country as elsewhere. In the different countries they welcome it in different ways. But all have one thing in common: when the old year ends and the New Year starts, everybody, old and young, educated and uneducated, is expected to draw up a balance-sheet and see what he has learned during the past year, what his record is, what he has achieved, how far ahead he has gone or how far back he has slipped. One should draw a balance-sheet and draw lessons from it for the coming year. Everybody should do this: beginning from above, from the Government and ending with the last village hut. Everybody should draw such a balance-sheet and should pledge his word that he will work still better during the new year, that he will be loyal and devoted to the country, that he will learn still better and will prepare himself for new exploits and heroic deeds.

Whoever among you has not thought about how the old year has passed and how he is seeing in the new year ought to do it today or tomorrow. This refers to both the Septemvriichés and their teachers. It refers to our whole nation. The better we draw such a balance-sheet, such a self-criticism and the more correctly we draw the lessons from our experience, the better we shall spend the New Year, the more rapidly we shall go forward to the new society which, as you all know, is called socialist. There

will be neither tyranny nor moral and spiritual poverty or exploitation in that society and all forces and capacities of the people will be fully developed. Then children in particular and the young people will have ample opportunity to grow, develop and become fine citizens of the world.

A Septemvriiche: Comrade Dimitrov, we ask you to tell us something about your life, about your childhood.

G. Dimitrov: I did not live in such conditions as you enjoy now. Conditions were quite different when I was a child like you. There was no People's Republic then, no Septemvriiché organization which takes care of the children. There was nothing of the kind. We children were left on our own, under exceedingly hard conditions.

You can study in the primary school, then in the secondary school and in the higher educational establishments. And what did we do as children? We had to roll up our sleeves and study by ourselves. At your age, when I was 12 or 13 years old, I left school. Just as I was entering my 13th year and was in the second class, my father fell ill and I had to go out and work. When I was like you, I had to start working in a printer's shop, hoping that a few years later I would be able to return to school. I did not manage to do it, however. But although I worked at the printing shop I continued to study. At the shop I worked 10 to 12 hours a day, and in the evening when I came back home very tired, I studied by myself. I read without a programme, without a teacher, there was no one to show me what to read. Very often I used to read until early dawn. That is how I worked for years on end. But of course, if I had not worked like that, I would not have known what I know now.

My diploma is not from a university, but from life itself. It is desirable, however, that every one of you should get a higher education.

Now, let me tell you how I came to love the novel 'What Is To Be Done' by the great Russian writer Chernishevsky and his characters.

One of the main characters, Rakhmetov, impressed me very much. He wanted to become steeled against all

hardships in life, to be able to endure even the worst suffering in the struggle. And he began to train every day in endurance took cold showers, went half-naked out in the snow in winter, threw himself into it, rubbed himself, etc. He deprived himself even of the smallest pleasures in life. In this way he steeled his character and his will to fight. He went so far as to take a board, stick nails in it and lie prostrate on the nails. His blood ran but he did not mind it. He did all this to steel his will and make it iron, make it granite and capable of enduring even the hardest punishment.

This novel and this character of Chernishevsky had an exceptionally favourable influence on me. I wanted to be like Rakhmetov. I started doing systematically all that he did. Maybe for six whole months or more I was under the influence of Rakhmetov. One thing I did not bring myself to do which I thought was superfluous – the board with nails, although I had got the board ready. All this produced its effect on me, especially at the Reichstag Fire Trial, where I had to go through the hardest sufferings, particularly at the Moabit Prison in Berlin.

If you want to draw a lesson from this, it would be the following:

First. Every day physical education, movement and getting stronger.

Second. Don't wallow in bed in the morning as one is usually tempted to do. As soon as you wake up, jump out of bed, do your morning exercises and start working.

Third. Don't manifest any laziness. If you notice such laziness, fight it at once and overcome it.

Fourth. Don't let yourselves be carried away by momentary, superficial and frequently noxious pleasures. I am a smoker and a passionate one. I became a smoker several years ago, but until 1927 I did not smoke. The *Septemvriichés* should not smoke. This should be a law to them. Let them imitate me in everything else, but not in my smoking. You must choose healthy pleasures, which will enhance your physical and mental powers and not

pleasures that will injure your health and may soften your will.

You must have a strong will power and perseverance. Whatever you begin has to be concluded, because the most common weakness in society and in man's personal life is that we begin many things and then leave them unfinished. Every job should be done to the end. Whenever you begin something, do not abandon it but bring it to its conclusion. Efforts and steadfastness are needed for the purpose, of course and certain sacrifices. But this produces results and it is only in this manner that we can finish our job.

Do not put off things for tomorrow. Whatever you have to do and have to do today should never be put off by you for tomorrow, although it may not be so very important. Every work put off for tomorrow, suffers. Time is a major factor.

You should study not formally, not by learning your lesson by heart so that you are able to recite it like a parrot to the teacher, but you should try to grasp the essence of your subject, thinking over what you are studying. The knowledge which you acquire should be deeply imbedded in your mind and should become flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of the pupil. At school one learns many things which one forgets after leaving school. You should learn solidly, you should learn with persistent diligence. And you should always, link your studies to practice, to what is going on in life. The knowledge acquired then becomes deeply imbedded in your brain, becomes man's second nature, whereas otherwise it remains like a sediment which soon disappears.

You should always rely on your own forces in study and in life, first and foremost on your own forces. There are pupils who copy or seek other pupils' assistance in learning their lessons or in solving their problems, while they themselves do not bother to exert themselves. You should never copy, you should never take your lessons prepared by others, but whatever you have to learn should be studied

by every Septemvriiché by himself, with the assistance, of course, of the instructor or teacher. The Septemvriichés should solve all problems with their own heads and with their own efforts.

You should not be afraid of anything. Cowards can be successful neither in their study nor in their private life, nor in public life. Cowards are doomed to vanish, or to being thrown away like an unwanted thing.

You should never give in to hardships. If at first you don't succeed, try, try again. If at the first hardships and at the first handicaps you withdraw, of course you will never be successful.

You should have an ideal. You cannot live without an ideal. There are people who believe in God and wait to die so as to go to paradise. There are such misguided people, but even they have an ideal. You need, however, a healthy ideal, an ideal springing from the grass roots, from among our own people. During the hardest times and in the hardest moments I have gone through, and many times I have faced death itself, thanks to this faith in justice, in the people's forces, in the forces and future of socialism and communism I have managed to remain hale and hearty. When I was taken to the Berlin Moabit Prison, one of the worst dungeons among political prisons in Germany, I was put in a cell which was locked with three locks and was set aside for prisoners who had committed the worst crimes. The words: 'You who cross this threshold, abandon all hope' were written over the door of this cell. I smiled to myself and thought: 'This cannot apply to me.' Why? Because I was profoundly convinced that whatever happened to me, even if they killed me, the idea for which I had been fighting could not be stamped out. The people would surely conquer. You should have faith in a just cause, faith in your own forces and faith in the forces of your people, and cultivate it in your heart. It is only thus that all difficulties which you may encounter on your way can be overcome.

Finally, I must tell you that you should have boundless

love for your country, for your people. There are intellectuals who sit on two chairs, who loathe their people and often describe them as uncouth and barbarous. They are not right. We should love the people such as they are. For we are deeply convinced that in their soul, heart and character, they are wonderful people, although in culture and living standards, they may lag behind. This, however, is not their fault, but their plight. The fault is with their former leaders, the foreign imperialists and others. Love for one's country and for one's people – this is a very powerful moral factor in the struggle against all hardships, sufferings and misfortunes, which may befall an individual. And at the same time in your heart there must be hatred, boundless hatred against the people's enemies, against fascism, against reaction, imperialism etc. One should never be indifferent or stand impassive, but take part in the struggle against the people's enemies.

This is the spirit in which the Septemvriichés should be educated and brought up. In my life there occurred so many tragic incidents that several novels could be written about them. This is how I endeavoured to work, live and study. Until now, in spite of the many perils through which I have lived, those who have wanted to annihilate me, always, as it happened in Germany, went to their grave, while I am now among you, hale and hearty and ready to fight a long fight.

I wish that you, as Septemvriichés, as well as your teachers should bear in mind all these things.

You have very favourable conditions and they will become still better. Everyone of you will be committing a crime if he fails to make full use of these favourable conditions in his studies and for his all-round development for the good of our country.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 2
January 3, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 363–371, 1955

OUR NATION'S DEVELOPMENT IS MOVING TOWARD
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITER
SYSTEM AND THE EMANCIPATION FROM EVERY
IMPERIALIST DEPENDENCE

Speech at the National Conference of the ZVENO National Union

January 3, 1948

Dear delegates,

Allow me, on behalf of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), and on my own behalf most cordially to congratulate your national conference on the decisions it has taken and on the healthy patriotic Fatherland Front spirit which predominates in its ranks.

As you all know, the deep-going changes in our social, political, economic and cultural life in the wake of the historic Ninth of September, were not immediately properly understood by certain circles and people, while others, affected in their material and privileged position, opposed the changes.

What is the abiding significance of these deep-going changes in our country!

It is, in the first place, that thanks to and as a result of the popular Ninth of September Uprising, the capitalist bourgeoisie in our country was removed from state power. The government of the state passed over into the hands of the people, in the person of the Fatherland Front and its spearhead – the working class, into the hands of the people doing socially useful, intellectual and manual work.

With the introduction of the planning principle in our national economy, and more particularly now, with the nationalization of private industry, mining and banking, the predatory bourgeoisie has been completely removed

from the management of our economy and from our industry in particular.

The nation's social development is thus moving towards the destruction of the capitalist exploiter system and towards emancipation from every imperialist dependence, so as to secure the welfare of our people and the freedom, independence and prosperity of our country.

It goes without saying that all this was not and is not to the taste of those circles in Bulgaria which lived and grew rich through the exploitation of the working people, through spoliation of the people's products and especially through spoliation of the fruits of the peasants' labour. Neither is it to the taste of the imperialists outside Bulgaria who are no longer now and never again will be in a position to lord it over in our country and dispose of its riches as they please. Hence the many attempts to turn back the clock of history, attempts from within and without the country to restore the old, anti-popular regime. Hence the political and economic acts of sabotage, acts of diversion and the preparation of an armed coup d'état with the aid of foreign intervention.

But thanks to their unity, vigilance and resolve our people successfully withstood all attacks from outside and crushed the dark forces of domestic reaction. And today we feel gratified in seeing that our country enjoys a stabilized internal and international status, which enables us to march forward, to create and build while many other countries within the sphere of influence of imperialism, as you all know, are shaken by internal conflicts, fierce struggles, mass strikes and civil war.

I am glad, dear delegates, to stress from this rostrum that your ZVENO National Union has made a substantial contribution to these remarkable achievements of our people and especially its leader and our comrade in the struggle and in the construction of the new life in our country, Kimon Georgiev. His contribution is all the greater in view of the opposition of a number of conservative and

fossilized heads and chicken-hearted elements in your own midst.

There are short-sighted people in our country who think that ZVENO has already served its time and is no longer necessary to the Fatherland Front, to our social and political life and to our economic construction. I consider this view as wrong. On the contrary, the ZVENO National Union is necessary. It has a useful role to play in the Fatherland Front in future. And its future role in the Fatherland Front will be more useful, the more consistently and resolutely it stands on the positions of the Fatherland Front and the less it keeps in its ranks people like Bouridan's ass which did not know from which haystack it was to eat hay and finally died, the less people there are among you who like to sit on two chairs, instead of clearly to define their political physiognomy, and the more assiduously your union co-operates for our country's progressive social development leading to the construction of a new, socialist society.

Dear delegates,

Let us speak quite frankly, as befits comrades-in-arms. Socialism as a higher and equitable social system, corresponding to the vital interests of the people, is a historical necessity for all nations. And socialism will be realized by our people in spite of all obstacles, no matter from where they might appear. Of course, one may either promote or hinder the process of building up socialism. This historically necessary process can be accelerated, but it can also be retarded. In no case, however, can it be stopped or discontinued. It will go on, develop to its triumphant completion.

It is therefore not at all surprising that the true patriots today consider it reasonable and their patriotic duty to promote, within their power and possibilities, this sound progressive social development of our country, the only development which is correct and useful for the people.

There are also superficial people who think that with the transformation of the Fatherland Front into a unified popular socio-political organization the individual

Fatherland Front parties should cease to exist. This is a harmful misconception. The existence of the individual Fatherland Front parties, despite the existence of the common popular socio-political organization, is quite justified. These parties are called upon to attract various elements to the Fatherland Front from among the strata with which they are more closely linked and where they exercise a certain influence, so that we may be able as soon as possible to achieve the complete moral and political unity of our industrious people, the pledge for all our future successes.

I must say that along this line ZVENO too has an important and responsible role to play. In origin and character ZVENO has ample opportunities to promote the reorientation of certain sound elements from among the overthrown bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, so as to make them join their efforts to the common people's cause. These sound elements should not be allowed to be drawn in the mire of reaction and imperialist intrigues, but should be given a chance to be useful to our people.

True, our social development will lead us – when, no one can tell – to the establishment of a single political party. But this will be effected within the framework of the Fatherland Front after much more effort and re-education and many more radical and useful changes, when the class divisions in our society will have been eliminated fundamentally and when our society will consist predominantly of workers doing socially useful manual or intellectual work. After the Fatherland Front Congress, the Fatherland Front parties will change their organization and their creative activities within the framework of the common socio-political organization. Subordinated to a common discipline, they will not abandon their specific tasks in their respective social strata, so that we may be able jointly to turn the Fatherland Front into a living, granite rock, and march forward like a detachment of millions of brothers.

Let me express to you my own firm conviction that we shall march with the sound and consistent members of the

ZVENO, with the renovated ZVENO People's Union, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, like loyal friends in our work and battle, like brothers in misfortunes and in joys, onward, towards our people's prosperity.

We shall march onward until we build up the People's Republic of Bulgaria from top to bottom as a Bulgarian republic, national in form and socialist in content, nature and character – for the welfare of our people, for the happiness of their children, in favour of peace and fraternal cooperation with the neighbouring and more distant freedom-loving peoples, headed by our twice liberator – the great Soviet Union!

Long live the renovated ZVENO People's Union within the ranks of the Fatherland Front!

Long live our invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria and may it prosper!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 4
January 6, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 376–382, 1955

THE ROMANIAN AND THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE ARE HEADED FOR BRIGHT HORIZONS

*Speech at the lunch given by the Romanian Government in
honour of the Bulgarian Government Delegation*

January 15, 1948

I wish first cordially to thank you for the fine words said about us, the Bulgarian people, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and about the useful activity of the Romano-Bulgarian Society.

The traditional friendship between our peoples in the past was most appropriately underlined – the struggle against common oppression, against the Ottoman yoke, the struggle for our national liberation as enslaved peoples, our joint co-operation in the past with the great Russian people, to whom we owe our national freedom.

But I would like to ask: How many Romanians and how many Bulgarians know this well? I am sorry to say that it will be found that there are even Bulgarian statesmen and statesmen in Romania who are not fully aware of this historic fact and have not drawn the necessary lessons from it. Let us take another example: the historically valuable assistance which the Romanian people rendered to our national liberation from Ottoman bondage. How many Bulgarians and how many Romanians are well acquainted with the glorious epic events at Grivitsa? What do they know about that traditional friendship?

Yet this past, this traditional friendship is a tremendous national capital for the Bulgarian and the Romanian people in building up of the present lasting, sound and solid foundations of eternal friendship between them! This, com-

rades, is a buried treasure of very precious historical stones and diamonds.

The bourgeois land-owning clique in Romania and the venal Bulgarian bourgeoisie purposely did not reveal this valuable treasure to their peoples. They were well aware of the fact that if they removed the historical treasures from their vaults and hiding places and gave them to the people – the Bulgarians and the Romanians, this would be a powerful and dangerous weapon against their own dominant position. They strove to preserve their class domination, their regimes of spoliation and exploitation, among other things, by means of a gross falsification of our nation's history.

Today our peoples, as you know, have taken their destinies into their own hands; they have their own people's governments. They have effected deep-going changes in the socio-political, economic and cultural life of their countries. These people now naturally turn their gaze to their own past, to their own history. They look for the rich treasure-house of history, try to draw lessons about the present and future of their peoples. Through their governments they are trying to reorganize their Academies of Science, their universities and to reshape the minds of their scientists and professors so as to correct the falsified history of our peoples by throwing a truly scientific light on it, for their common good. They are doing all they can to put science in the service of the people for the all-round advancement of our two nations, as is the case also in the other people's democracies, and as has long been the case in the great Soviet Union. They are pulling down all barriers which have separated our peoples in the past and removing all imperialist intrigues so as to clasp each other fraternally by the hands and build up a lasting, solid, indissoluble alliance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania, just as is the case between Romania and Yugoslavia, between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, between Yugoslavia and Albania, between Bulgaria and Albania, and so on and so forth.

Now, after our first meeting with the government delegation headed by Dr. Petru Groza back home in Bistritsa, we, the representatives of the two governments are again coming together. It is a happy circumstance that we happen to be in Bucharest when there is no king, no monarchy, but a People's Republic.

Today we discussed the question of cementing our mutual fraternal relations as nations, as states, and within one hour – not more – we managed to reach complete understanding on all questions. This was so easy as a result, above all, of the traditional friendship between our peoples. This was so easy because, although we speak Bulgarian and Groza and his friends Romanian, we have a common language – the language of people's democracy. It is the language of our common heart, of our common soul, it is the language of the profound feelings of the two peoples, of their endeavour to march onward along the road of construction, of setting up their own people's republics – the Bulgarian and the Romanian, national in form and socialist in content, in essence, in character.

Our treaty which will be of great historic significance for the two nations, will be signed tomorrow. But is that sufficient? We can sign a very fine treaty, and fulfil one quarter or 50 per cent of it, leaving its other part unfulfilled. The fulfilment of such a treaty depends primarily on the governments of the two countries which have signed it and have undertaken to fulfil it. But it also depends in no small degree on the peoples themselves and, above all, the working class, the peasants, the honest and progressive intellectuals and the broad masses in town and country who are building up the prosperity of their countries. This means that the peoples and the working masses in both countries must by all means take an active part in the fulfilment of the treaty.

Participating in the fulfilment of the treaty, our peoples, will have to get rid of two basic evils which hinder their progress.

The first evil is their economic dependence on the im-

perialist powers, and let me be quite explicit and say it in an intelligible language – the U.S. dollar. Our countries should get so linked to each other and to the other friendly nations and more particularly to the Soviet Union as to be able to resist the invasion of the American dollar, of the Truman Doctrine¹² and the Marshall Plan – a hypocritical and predatory plan for the peoples and, in particular, for our peoples.

The second evil of which our peoples have to rid themselves is the habitual underestimation of their own forces, of their capacities and their cultural possibilities to develop and be full-fledged nations – an underestimation so tirelessly suggested by the old reactionary governments of the two countries.

Our peoples have to get to know who they are and appreciate their own value and the historic role they are called upon to play. They are lagging behind not through their own fault, not because they are incapable, but because they had rulers and ruling classes who checked their cultural and social development.

Our peoples should definitely cease to kowtow to decaying Western bourgeois culture. They must not be looking for everything to the West and only to the West but should orient themselves to the new horizons of world culture, the representative and torch of which is great Moscow.

Proceeding from their own moral and spiritual forces as peoples not deeply corrupted by capitalist civilization, they will build their new, sound national culture which will enable them to march onward and secure not only their own prosperity as nations, but also their cultural grandeur side by side with all the other democratic nations, great and small.

In this connexion, I congratulate particularly cordially the Romano-Bulgarian Society in Bucharest and the Bulgaro-Romanian Society in Sofia on their work. This holds good, of course, also for the other societies – Romano-Soviet, Romano-Yugoslav, Romano-

Czechoslovak, Romano-Polish, Romano-Hungarian, etc., on their cultural relations and the promotion of feelings of fraternity between the respective peoples.

As to our societies, they have to play a big role, because this common feeling which we find existing as a feeling of friendship between the vanguard, the most advanced part of our peoples is not sufficient. It is good but it is not enough. This enthusiasm, with which our friend Dr. Petru Groza and his collaborators were welcomed in Sofia and wherever they appeared in our country, is a big capital, but in itself, insofar as the future relations of the Bulgarian people with the Romanian people are concerned, it is not sufficient. The enthusiasm with which we too were welcomed yesterday was fine, and exceeded our expectations. But it is not sufficient. What we need is a genuine and complete rapprochement between our people, the masses, between our scientists and cultural workers, our writers, our industry; closer links and acquaintance in all fields of our political, economic and cultural lives are needed. In this respect we are still a far cry from knowing each other well.

We must always be loyal friends, comrades in our work and struggle, in our goals and aspirations. These feelings will have to be deepened in future.

You know that in man's personal and family life the feeling of love works wonders and that unhappy love often leads to personal disasters. Love, without any doubt, is also a fundamental and important factor in international relations. We must not only feel ourselves as neighbours and brothers superficially, but systematically cultivate and develop love between the healthy popular elements among the Romanian and Bulgarian people.

Of course, the task of the two governments is to do all that is necessary for the actual implementation of the cultural convention. This will be of great help, but we must rally all the people in your country and in ours for the implementation of this great undertaking – men, women, young people and children in your country and in ours. We must sponsor lectures, talks, radio broadcasts, film shows, songs, music, etc. The Bulgarian and the Romanian

People's Republics must establish strong links between each other so as to fully ensure the development of fraternal feelings between the two nations.

All that is false, reactionary and harmful in connexion with the history of the two peoples and their mutual relations should be deleted from the school textbooks for the primary school, secondary schools, colleges and universities.

It is also necessary when a child is born in Sofia or in Bucharest, in Bulgaria or in Romania that his mother who gives him his first milk should teach him that Bulgarians and Romanians are brothers for all times. It is necessary that children in your country and in our should at an early age learn that the friends of the Romanian people are also our friends, that the friends of the Bulgarian people are also friends of the Romanian people, that the enemies of Romania are also Bulgaria's enemies and the enemies of Bulgaria are also enemies of Romania.

We are resolved to build an iron bridge across the Danube to unite us as peoples and states still more closely. And we shall build this bridge without fail with the support of our peoples and the co-operation of our friendly nations. But right beside this bridge, as well as during its construction which will be a complex technical undertaking, we must build through labour, friendly co-operation, culture, science, art and through the development of fraternal feelings between our peoples, a live bridge in our hearts, minds and souls, a live bridge which no one shall ever be able to destroy.

Allow me to raise my glass and ask you to do the same thing to the leaders and functionaries of the Romano-Bulgarian Society and all workers in the erection of this great living bridge between the Bulgarian people and the Romanian people, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania.

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THE FATHERLAND FRONT, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND IMPENDING TASKS

Report to the IInd Fatherland Front Congress

February 2, 1948

Dear delegates,

The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front¹³ is called upon to reorganize the Fatherland Front into a united people's socio-political organization with a common new programme, compulsory discipline and electoral boards. This momentous step in the history of the Fatherland Front ought to fully enable it, as the guide of our people's destinies, to cope with the new major problems facing our young People's Republic and its social, economic and cultural development.

The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria is a major detachment of the great army of democracy and peace. We can stress this openly now with a feeling of moral satisfaction and pride. On its Second Congress the Fatherland Front expresses the determination of the Bulgarian people, united under its banner, to defend to the utmost their freedom and national independence, achieved after a prolonged and costly struggle, against all imperialist encroachments and to be an active factor in the struggle for lasting peace and democracy in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

Allow me, first of all, to say a few words on the international situation and the conditions in which our Congress has to perform an exceedingly important task.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FATHERLAND FRONT

The Congress of the Fatherland Front is holding its session in a complex international set-up when the powerful forces of democracy and socialism, headed by the great Soviet Union, are ever more decisively opposing the rabid activity of the imperialists and their criminal schemes, in order to defend the cause of peace, of progress, and the nation's freedom and independence, to bridle the new imperialist aggression and to save the world from the holocaust of a new world war.

The nations are thirsting for peace. But they are thirsting for a just, democratic and lasting peace, based on mutual respect and co-operation among them, a peace which will offer serious guarantees against the imperialist aggressors.

The principles whose implementation alone can secure a just and lasting peace to the nations, were proclaimed, as we all know, by the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and found later expression in the United Nations Charter.

The American imperialists, however, opposed the realization of these principles on the very morrow of the war. And today, taking advantage of the fabulous wealth piled up by them during the war, they are applying constant pressure on other nations with a view to turning the UN from an instrument and bulwark of peace into an instrument and bulwark of their aspirations for world domination.

Assiduously seconded by the Churchells and their spear-men, the Bevins, they are sparing no effort to restore the imperialist front which is inimical to the Soviet Union and democracy, supporting and encouraging all reactionary regimes and movements and doing their level best to revive German imperialism and fascism in new forms in the different countries as a spearhead of world reaction.

This reactionary line of theirs became obvious already

during the preparation of the peace treaties with the former allies of nazi Germany, including our country.

As we all know, on their insistence, unfair and unbearable burdens were imposed on Bulgaria which was ruined and ravaged by the Germans and the war. The attempt of the pan-Greek chauvinists to seize yet another chunk of Bulgarian territory was foiled only thanks to the energetic opposition of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries.

The Anglo-American imperialists, contrary to any objectivity and justice denied in the peace treaty the fact that immediately after September 9, 1944, Bulgaria rushed into the anti-nazi war with all it had. And at the last Security Council session they opposed Bulgaria's admission to the UN, thereby violating the obligation they had solemnly assumed in the Peace Treaty to back Bulgaria's admission.

The imperialist strivings of the American monopolies for world domination have found their salient expression in the so-called Truman Doctrine and in the Marshall Plan.

The Truman Doctrine is a constant pressure applied to other states and especially to the People's Democracies, a constant attempt to intervene in their home affairs under the pretext that they are allegedly under a 'dictatorship', 'totalitarianism', that they are supposedly out for conquests, etc. This is overt assistance shamelessly rendered to all reactionary regimes, to all elements which oppose democracy and peace.

This goes to explain the fact so shameful for all of Europe that the cut-throat Franco, Hitler's ally, is still able to commit outrages against the Spanish people. What is more Franco's fascist regime, inspite of all diplomatic and other decisions to the contrary, receives ample support from the imperialists who consider Franco Spain as a basis for their expansion and aggression in Europe.

The Marshall Plan is aimed at securing the domination of American imperialism in Western Europe by means of the 'almighty' dollar, by granting credits to the European

states in return for the abandonment of their economic and political independence.

We can see the Truman Doctrine in action in Greece, where the American imperialists, aided by British troops, by their own military experts and with the help of credits in dollars and armaments, are shamelessly fighting against the courageous and freedom-loving Greek people, who covered their name with glory in their heroic struggle against the Italian and German invasion. In Greece they are supporting an anti-popular regime which constitutes a constant threat to peace in the Balkans and in Europe. The Balkan Commission, set up by them in contradiction with the United Nations Charter, is actually an organ for inciting and justifying the constant provocations of the Athenian rulers against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

The American plan for world domination is particularly discernible in the negative attitude of the American and British representatives on the problem of German unity. No sober-minded man, however, can deny the fact that a lasting peace with Germany is impossible without the achievement of German unity on democratic foundations. And this cannot be done without the active participation of the democratic forces of the German people themselves.

The American imperialists have found docile stooges in the person of the right-wing socialists, of the type of Blum in France and Schuhmacher in Germany, who know no bounds in their malicious slanders against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. These pseudo-socialists are doing their level best in trying to mislead the working people by sowing the illusion of a 'third force', disguising in this way the fact that they are serving American imperialism and betraying their own peoples.

The venal ideologists and town-criers of the American monopolists are trying by hook and by crook to threaten and blackmail the weak-nerved and hesitant people with the 'almightiness' and all but 'limitless' forces and possibilities of the United States of America, with the 'all-conquering power' of the atom bomb, disguising their

expansionist policy by hypocritical phrases about 'democracy', about 'selfless aid to the starving Europeans', about 'defence of civilization and order' – just as Hitler and Goebbels once bluffed and blackmailed the world.

But the aggressive and expansionist plans of the handful of imperialist monopolists owning billions of dollars, who are out to impose a new slavery upon the nations instead of Hitler's hard oppression which they have shaken off, to bar the road of democracy and socialism and save the decayed imperialist system, are now coming up against the people's much stronger and much firmer resistance than on the eve of the Second World War. Having learnt a lot from the stern lessons of this war and of the struggle against fascism, increasingly conscious of their own power, the people are rallying and uniting all their forces in order to thwart the sinister schemes of international reaction headed by the American imperialists.

With every passing day the resistance to imperialism of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the great and invincible Soviet Union, is growing more powerful. This camp unites the sound and democratic forces of the peoples of the whole world.

Some wish to present the situation, as if there were division of Eastern and Western Europe, of the East against the West. This is a profound deception. Actually, there is a camp of imperialist reaction and fomentors of a new world war, on the one hand, and a camp of democracy and peace, on the other. This division exists and will continue to exist not along a geographical line, not territorially – East and West, but dependent upon who stands for peace and democracy and who stands for imperialism and a new world war, regardless of whether he is in Eastern or in Western Europe.

The imperialist circles who are striving to organize a 'Western Bloc' of imperialist and reactionary forces against world democracy and the establishment of a lasting and democratic peace in the world are interested in the artificial division of the world into East and West.

If, however, we are to properly evaluate the real might of the two camps and to precisely assess the greater might of the democratic camp, we must take into consideration the serious and profound changes which have taken place in the international set-up in the wake of the Second World War.

The first and foremost result of the Second World War is that the Soviet Union, contrary to the expectations of world reaction, emerged from it stronger, with a greatly enhanced international prestige. The Soviet Union and the freedom-loving nations emerged as victors from the war, with the USSR heading and bearing the brunt of the struggle. The Soviet socialist system withstood the vicissitudes of the world war and brilliantly demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist system. No slanders and no anti-communist crusades of the imperialists are any longer in a position to dispel the deep impression and powerful impact which the socialist system produces on the working people and the progressive intelligentsia throughout the world. The Soviet Union has become an unshakable bastion of peace, democracy and socialism, while nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan, which formed the striking force of international reaction, have been routed and put out of action.

Moreover, look how strikingly different the situation of the Soviet Union is from that of the capitalist nations!

The nations within the imperialist sphere are shaken by internal conflicts, by fierce class struggles. They are characterized by economic chaos, mass, chronic and growing unemployment, general insecurity in the existence of the working people, complete uncertainty in the morrow.

In contrast, in the Soviet Union we witness a hitherto unprecedented in history moral and political unity of the peoples who have forever been saved from the horrors and sufferings of capitalism. There is no and there cannot be any unemployment there. Exploitation of man by man has been done away with forever. The two main classes —

workers and kolkhoz peasants – are two friendly classes, with the differences between them being gradually ironed out. The whole Soviet intelligentsia takes part in Soviet economic life, shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. That is why, in the Soviet Union there are no and there cannot be any economic crises. The existence of the working people is guaranteed. Their confidence in the morrow and in their bright future is full and unshakable. We can see this in particular in the patriotic labour enthusiasm which has gripped all Soviet peoples, in their tireless work on the rehabilitation of the national economy and the fulfilment of the postwar five-year economic plan in four years.

As you know, the rationing system has been abolished and the prices of consumer goods have gone down.

Rallied around the great Bolshevik Party, the Soviet peoples are confidently and firmly marching onward towards the implementation of communism.

Another important result of the Second World War consists in the fact that a number of new countries have broken away from the imperialist system. The peoples in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania, supported by the victorious Soviet Army of Liberation, have overthrown fascism, got rid of imperialist dependence and taken their destinies into their own hands. Power has passed into the hands of the allied workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia, headed by the working class. In all these countries the working class has displayed a most lively activity, the utmost heroism, the greatest consistency in the fight against fascism and the foreign invaders, and that is why its prestige has been so much enhanced. Democratic measures have been carried out in these countries such as an agrarian reform, the elimination of big landowners, nationalization of banks and industrial enterprises, confiscation of the property of German agents. The peoples in these countries are successfully forging their unity and are firmly opposing the attacks of the dark forces of reaction from within and from

without. The forces of domestic reaction in most of these countries have been crushed. The New Democracies enjoy today an ever more stable internal and international status, and their peoples have devoted all their forces to the building up of their own welfare in the interest of peace and progress of all mankind. A powerful system of state ownership constituting the basis of the new type of state – the people's republic – is being built up in the new People's Democracies. This basis has made planned economic management and the accelerated development of the productive forces possible.

Such remarkable movements as that of brigades, the construction of railway lines, power stations and other undertakings on the principle of the people's free and voluntarily given labour, are an eloquent proof of these people's firm resolve to set up a solid foundation for their independence from the imperialist states.

It is obvious that the breaking away of these countries from the imperialist system is a major factor in its weakening and, at the same time, in the strengthening of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp.

A third major result tending to further undermine the foundations of imperialism is the deep crisis which it is living through in the colonial and dependent nations. We are witnessing a powerful upswing in the national-liberation movement in China and Indonesia, in India and Burma, in Vietnam and on the Malayan Peninsula, in the Near East and in Africa, and in the countries of Latin America. As a result of the Second World War, more than half a billion people are shaking off the shackles of imperialist oppression and declaring in a thunderous voice that they do not wish to live in the old way any longer.

The colonial and dependent world is moving towards freedom and independence. It has at its disposal growing national-liberation democratic armies, which resist the military forces of the imperialist slave-owners with ever more fierce resistance and the odds are all in their favour for their efforts to be crowned with success.

In Europe and America too, the peoples in their vast majority are increasingly opposing imperialist aggression. Powerful people's movements are shaking France, Italy and West Germany. The struggle of the heroic and noble Spanish people against Franco's fascist dictatorship has not come to an end. The heroic liberation struggle of our neighbour, the Greek people, is gaining in momentum. The British working class is increasingly objecting to the anti-democratic sycophantic policy of the Labour Government and of Mr. Bevin towards the American monopolists. Substantial democratic circles of the American people are also coming out against the reckless policy of the American trusts and financial tycoons.

And last but not least, the contradictions existing within the imperialist camp, which are already manifest in connexion with the Marshall Plan, with the different monetary reforms, with the setting up of a Western Bloc and other similar projects, on which I cannot dwell now, play and will continue to play a far from negligible role.

As a matter of fact, the forces of peace, of democracy and socialism are gigantic. If, as was pointed out at the Conference of the Nine Communist Parties at the end of September 1947 in Poland, they display the necessary stamina and firmness, the new imperialist aggression will be doomed to utter failure. And these forces, we are quite confident, will be able to display the necessary stamina and firmness.

These growing and powerful forces are headed by the communist parties, which during the Second World War, when the patriotism of all social groups, political organizations and individual public and political workers was put to a severe test, manifested the greatest consistency and stamina, the highest heroism, showing that they were popular leaders devoted to the last to their country. It is quite logical and comprehensible that, as a result of all this, the influence, the authority of the communist parties throughout the world has been strongly enhanced and con-

tinues to be growing and that in the People's Democracies they are the leading and most powerful force.

In a number of countries in Europe and Asia the communist parties are now mass parties with millions of members standing guard on the national independence and democratic development of their peoples.

The might and influence of the communist parties is, among other things, due to the fact that they have managed to rally the sound forces of the nation in the name of their common interests into a powerful popular front.

The peasant democratic organizations and movements are increasingly marching shoulder to shoulder with the communist parties in the building up of the alliance of workers and peasants. The movement for unity of the working class in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism is growing ever stronger and more powerful. The progressive intelligentsia in all countries is also ever more resolutely passing over to the democratic camp.

A serious factor in the struggle for a lasting and democratic peace are also the World Federation of Trade Unions,¹⁴ uniting 71 millions of organized industrial and office workers, the World Federations of Women¹⁵ and Youth,¹⁶ whose ranks also include many millions of members.

Thus, as a result of the Second World War, the balance of power between the imperialist and democratic camps has changed sharply in favour of the latter. The world democratic camp rests on the working class, the urban and rural masses, the progressive intelligentsia, the democratic movements in all countries, the national-liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries and on the New Democracies. At the head of this camp, as I have already mentioned, stands the great Soviet Union. All this represents indeed a force capable of bridling the imperialist predatory beasts, of foiling their schemes and saving mankind from new, bloody imperialist adventures.

The Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vyacheslav

Molotov, was quite right when pointing out in his report on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that 'the cohesion of the democratic forces and their resolute fight against imperialism and its new plans for military adventures will rally the peoples into a powerful army, an equal to which the imperialists, who deny people their democratic rights, trample underfoot the nations' sovereignty and are drawing up their plans on threats and adventures, can never have. Anxiety and alarm within the ranks of the imperialists are growing, because it is clear to all that the ground is wobbly under the feet of the imperialists and that the forces of democracy and socialism are growing and getting stronger with every passing day.

And indeed, precisely because the forces of imperialism are growing ever weaker and their possibilities to oppress, enslave, and exploit the peoples are diminishing from day to day, they are developing a frantic activity to kindle a new war, through which they hope to put off the approaching crisis and to impede the advance of democracy and socialism.

But the peoples do not want a new war and will resolutely fight with all their forces against its fomentors.

The imperialist, capitalist system, which cannot give to the people anything else but devastating wars, which checks the development of the forces of production and hinders the progress of science and culture – this system has historically had its day, it is doomed to inevitable destruction and nothing can save it.

We live in a time when socialism is on the agenda, when we cannot advance without moving towards socialism. The road to socialism in the different countries may differ, in accordance with the historical national and other peculiarities of these countries but this road is inevitable and the only salutary road for all countries and for all peoples. And the adventurous rage fits on the part of the imperialist pretenders for world domination will not be

able to avert the victory of democracy and socialism in the world.

Others before them tried to do the same thing – the German imperialists headed by Hitler. But, as we all know, they broke their necks and are now buried deep in the ground.

But the national movements and communism are developing and growing for the benefit of the peoples and of all mankind; they live and will live on forever.

The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria is one of the sound detachments of the powerful army of democracy and peace. And now we can openly stress this with a feeling of moral satisfaction and pride. At its Second Congress the Fatherland Front comes forward to manifest the readiness of the Bulgarian people rallied under its banner, with might and main to defend their freedom and national independence, won after a long struggle and at the price of many sacrifices and sufferings, against every imperialist infringement, and to be an active factor in the fight for lasting peace and democracy in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

The Second Fatherland Front Congress demonstrates in the international set-up, in which it holds its sessions, the unreserved and unshakable adherence of our people to the democratic camp and their loyalty to the great Soviet Union, which heads this camp. Our people have found here their natural place from which no force can dislodge them, for their vital interests and their future coincide with the interests of the Soviet-led world democratic camp.

II. THE HISTORIC ROOTS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Comrades,

As you know, the Fatherland Front was created in July 1942 as a popular anti-fascist movement with its programme and its organs. The only force capable of taking the initiative for its foundation and development was the working class, steeled in the long battle against the

monarcho-fascist dictatorship and led by the Communist Party. It became the rallying centre of all our social, democratic and progressive forces.

The Fatherland Front, however, has deep roots in the past history of our country. The idea of its formation was not accidental; it was not imposed from without or from above. This salutary idea sprang up from the heart of the nation and issued forth as a result of the struggle of the working masses against the treacherous Coburg monarchy and the venal capitalist bourgeoisie and its anti-national cliques.

The historic roots of the Fatherland Front lie in the struggles which the working people from town and countryside, under the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution and led by the Communist Party, waged against rising capitalist reaction in our country after World War I, and against Wrangel's White-guard gangs who were being regrouped by the imperialists for another attempt against the young Soviet Republic.

The historic roots of the Fatherland Front are closely linked with the bitter experiences which our people learned in the fight against fascism, that great school our biggest democratic organizations went through during the past two decades, especially during the years of Hitler's invasion of the Balkans.

Our people have often asked themselves anxiously some pertinent questions, such as:

How could a fascist dictatorship triumph in a country with a strong Communist Party and an Agrarian Government, headed by the great national leader Alexander Stamboliiski which enjoyed considerable influence among the peasants, and where the bourgeois parties were discredited by two national disasters; a dictatorship which brought to power those very same forces, led by the Coburg dynasty, which at an earlier date had dragged Bulgaria into the camp of German imperialism and prepared the way of involving it again in the same camp?

Why did the anti-fascist uprising in September 1923

fail, why did it not end in a triumph of the people over the fascist reaction and in the establishment of a popular democratic government?

Enlightened by the communists and taught by bitter experience, our people found the right answer to these painful questions. They came to realize that the main reason why this had occurred was the absence of a militant alliance between workers and peasants, and hence the impossibility of uniting all democratic forces into a single large anti-fascist front. Our people understood that the enemy had taken advantage of the division of the democratic forces to establish its dictatorship.

At the price of untold sufferings and sacrifices, borne during the September Uprising of 1923 and later in the dark and sinister years of fascist dictatorship, our people learned the great lesson of the necessity of unity among all anti-fascist progressive forces.

The historic merit of the September 1923 Uprising for the development of Bulgarian democracy is that it laid the foundations for its eventual unity. It cemented the militant alliance between workers and peasants, as the basis of this unity. That is why the suppression of the September 1923 Uprising did not entail the consolidation of fascism in our country. The uprising was quelled but the bulk of the people never accepted fascism. Between the people and fascism, between the capitalist bourgeoisie and the working people the uprising created so deep a chasm that nothing could bridge it, a chasm which determined our country's entire subsequent development until the victorious anti-fascist uprising of September 9, 1944.

The roots of the Fatherland Front go way back to the efforts in the past to forge a united front between peasants and workers, when militant committees were created in connexion with the immediate demands of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intelligentsia. They go back to the people's struggle against the danger of war, to the great movement for friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other democratic nations, against Bulgaria's

growing dependence on German imperialism and against the entire ill-fated internal and external policy of our monarchy and our fascists. Its roots go back to the struggles for the broadening of the worker-peasant united front into an anti-fascist popular front in defence of Bulgaria's freedom and national independence, threatened by nazi aggression.

The Communist Party most consistently and to the end learned from our past historic experience a lesson for itself and for our whole nation. The other democratic groups and organizations learned something too and gradually began to free themselves from the influence of the criminal bourgeois politics, to embrace the common cause of the democratic forces, to draw closer to the working class and its political representative, the Communist Party. This process was particularly strong in the Bulgarian Agrarian Union where more and more Agrarians began to realize the harm caused by the fallacy of an independent peasant rule and came to adopt the idea of a militant alliance between workers and peasants. A similar process also took place in those circles of the intelligentsia, particularly among the military, which sought a way out of the blind alley into which monarchism and capitalist bourgeoisie had landed Bulgaria. That part of our intelligentsia which considered a national renaissance possible without and even against the working class and the alliance of workers and peasants had to pay dearly for its illusion. It had to give up its illusions and to accept the idea of a common democratic anti-fascist unity. A similar process occurred within the Social-Democratic and Radical parties.

Thus, the bitter lessons of our own history from Vladaya in 1918, the transport and general political strike at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, the fascist coup d'état of June 9, 1923, the glorious September Uprising in 1923, the hard and long struggles of heroism and self-denial, waged by the workers against monarchism and fascism – all this led to the establishment of a militant union of our people.

And when the Hitler gangs, abetted by our monarcho-fascist agency, invaded the Balkans and our country in the spring of 1941, attacked Yugoslavia and Greece in the rear and particularly after the sneak attack of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, all prerequisites for the setting up of the Fatherland Front were already at hand. The heroic fight of the Soviet Army and the Soviet peoples against the barbarian invaders inspired the Bulgarian anti-fascists too and gave a strong impetus to the resistance movement and the union of all democratic anti-fascist forces into a single Fatherland Front. The initiative of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in building up the Fatherland Front into a fighting union of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, army patriots and other democratic strata, in organizing and leading an armed partisan struggle, including an armed national uprising against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and the German forces of occupation – this initiative found a fertile soil and was followed, in one form or another, by the bulk of our people.

The Fatherland Front, therefore, is the result of the lesson which our people learned from its own historic experience. It emerged in our country as the only true leader of the nation's destiny. Introducing new political, economic social and cultural contents, the Fatherland Front appeared in the present historic situation as the heir of the cause and legacy of our great national revolutionaries and apostles, Vassil Levski and Hristo Botev.

The capitalist bourgeoisie, far from taking up and continuing Botev's and Levski's cause, betrayed it. It became a tool of international imperialism. It bears the responsibility for the great economic backwardness of our country. In the course of decades it tried to make the people believe that they could not create anything by themselves. This bourgeoisie, headed by the alien Coburg dynasty, delivered our country to the German conquerors, thereby separating it from the Slav family and transforming it into a base for Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union.

This decrepit, venal and incompetent capitalist bourgeoisie was swept off the historic scene, despised and rejected by our people.

The Fatherland Front emerged and developed under the leadership of the working class as a historic necessity for Bulgaria. Today it holds aloft the national banner. The forward march of the Bulgarian nation along the road to peace, democracy and socialism is and will be carried out under the leadership of the powerful and invincible Fatherland Front.

III. MILESTONES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

In the development of the Fatherland Front as a popular movement there are several milestones, worthy of attention:

1) The Fatherland Front organized the resistance of the Bulgarian nation against the German enslavers and the monarcho-fascist dictatorship. The initial programme, proclaimed on July 17, 1942, over the Hristo Botev radiostation, set as central task the liberation of the country from the German yoke and from the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, Bulgaria's adherence to the camp of the anti-fascist coalition and the establishment of a popular democratic power.

Under the leadership of the Fatherland Front, the popular resistance against nazi aggression grew in scope. As a result, the monarcho-fascist clique did not succeed in sending Bulgarian troops to the Soviet-German front. The victories of the glorious Soviet Army, the continuous defeats of the Germans on all fronts, the capitulation of fascist Italy, the growth of the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia, the advance of the Soviet Army to the Danube – all this galvanized the rising struggle of the people to break with nazi Germany, save the country from the threatening catastrophe, and establish a genuine democratic government in Bulgaria. The Fatherland Front

built up a network of committees all over the country, headed by its National Committee. The partisan movement gained in strength and scope: detachments were united into brigades with their general staff and, with the most active participation of the Communists and the valuable cooperation of the brotherly Yugoslav National-Liberation Army, hardened in heroic fights against the Nazi invaders.

Conditions were maturing for a general armed anti-fascist uprising. In the face of this decisive people's resistance, all attempts of the monarcho-fascist clique of Bozhilov, Bagryanov, Moushanov, Bourov and Mouraviev and their ilk, floundered to save the sinking ship of monarcho-fascism. The approach of the victorious Soviet Army to Bulgaria's North-East boundary sped up and facilitated the outbreak of the people's uprising of September 9, 1944, which overthrew the decrepit monarcho-fascist dictatorship and established a people's government under the leadership of the Fatherland Front.

The long and stubborn fight of the Bulgarian people against reaction and fascism was crowned with success on September 9, 1944. This victory was a real national achievement of all workers, peasants, craftsmen, progressive intelligentsia, the patriotic section of the army, in short, of all sound forces of our nation, united under the banner of the Fatherland Front. The glorious partisans and those who gave them shelter deserve special merit. Our nation will never forget them; it will always cherish the memory of the heroes fallen for the freedom and independence of our country.

On September 9, 1944, power was wrested from the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie, the exploiting monarcho-fascist minority, through an armed people's uprising and passed into the hands of the bulk of the people, with the working class as a pivot and leader.

The September 9 people's anti-fascist uprising is a turning point in the development of our country. It ushered in a new era in our history, an era of deep revolutionary political, economic, social and cultural reforms, clearing

the deck for a new social order, an order where there will be no exploitation of man by man.

2) On the very morrow of September 9, 1944, new Bulgaria began to participate in the war against nazi Germany. The main task of the Fatherland Front had become 'to mobilize all for the front and for a speedier victory over fascism and the nazi brigands.'

With its participation in the patriotic war, our nation, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army and the Yugoslav forces of national liberation, made its contribution to the liberation of the Balkans from the German yoke and to the downfall of nazi Germany.

It was a time of throbbing activity in Bulgaria: the masses were in motion, the Fatherland Front and other mass organizations were growing by leaps and bounds, the army was rapidly becoming a people's army. The monarcho-fascist regime was removed in short order. The main culprits responsible for the criminal alliance with nazi Germany and the hangmen of the Bulgarian people were quickly and ruthlessly punished. Reaction suffered a stunning blow.

3) After the victorious conclusion of the Patriotic War, the principal task of the Fatherland Front was the fight for a just peace, the defence of Bulgaria's territorial integrity and national independence, the rehabilitation of the national economy and the curbing of the reactionary elements and saboteurs who, incited by foreign intervention, had become rampant. The Fatherland Front continues to grow in scope and strength, ridding itself of enemies concealed in its own ranks who, prodded by foreigners, crystallized as an anti-Fatherland Front restorationist opposition. The elections for the National Assembly marked a great victory for the Fatherland Front, consolidated its domestic and international positions and stamped it as the only political force in the country enjoying the confidence of the Bulgarian people.

In the meantime the Fatherland Front Government carried out a number of major reforms: the Agrarian

Reform, the Law on Confiscation of Illegally Acquired Property, etc. Despite great hardships and the drought, the Fatherland Front scored considerable successes in rehabilitating the national economy and in ensuring the feeding of the population and cattle. A plebiscite was held in which the people voted against the monarchy and proclaimed Bulgaria a People's Republic. The elections for the Grand National Assembly ended in another signal victory for the Fatherland Front. The opposition, abetted from without, managed to collect a considerable number of votes by abusing its freedom of expression, by resorting to extreme demagoguery and by speculating with the inevitable internal hardships and the nation's unsettled international status. Encouraged from outside, reaction reared its ugly head. As time went by, it became quite clear that it was set on turning back the clock of history and on staging a coup d'état.

Under the leadership of the Fatherland Front, our people launched a political offensive against reaction and its agency, the so-called 'United Opposition'. Our people took it upon themselves to foil the schemes of reaction, to render harmless all oppositionist elements and, simultaneously, to attract its former members, honest Bulgarians who had temporarily been misled by the demagoguery of the opposition, to the Fatherland Front ranks.

The efforts of the Fatherland Front once again were crowned with success. The Peace Treaty was signed and the Fatherland Front Government was recognized by Great Britain and the United States. The reactionary opposition whose anti-national activity was systematically exposed and whose leaders, as we know, were plotting against the state, was dealt a crushing blow and rendered harmless. With the adoption of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria by the Grand National Assembly, the historic gains of the September 9 Uprising were consolidated and new vistas were opened up for our nation's further development along the road of democracy, progress and general prosperity.

And thus, during the last five years, the Fatherland Front covered a glorious road of victories. It grew and strengthened, ridding itself of open and clandestine enemies. The various democratic groups and organizations, comprising the Fatherland Front, worked in ever closer collaboration, increasingly realizing that the leading role of the working class is essential for the consolidation of the Fatherland Front and the popular democracy. Thus we have come to the present day when we venture to state that complete harmony and unprecedented unity reign within the Fatherland Front on all basic questions concerning the external and domestic policy of our People's Republic.

IV. WHAT HAS THE FATHERLAND FRONT GIVEN TO OUR PEOPLE

Dear delegates,

The Fatherland Front has existed for only five years. But this short period was decisive for our most recent political development. During these five years, under the leadership of the Fatherland Front, state and political, economic, social and cultural reforms were implemented so profound as to radically transform our country.

Allow me to outline in brief what the Fatherland Front has given to our people during this period.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

As has many times been stressed, the Fatherland Front saved Bulgaria from a threatening third national disaster. With the triumphant Ninth of September people's uprising and the arrival of the valiant Soviet troops on Bulgarian soil, the Anglo-American occupation with an eventual participation of Turkish and Greek forces, as prepared in Cairo with the assent of the Mouraviev-Gichev-Moushanov-Bourov Government, was averted. The Fatherland Front thus prevented the carving up of Bulgarian lands, which

had been envisaged so as to satisfy the predatory pretensions of the Pan-Greek chauvinists and their eminent protectors.

The greatest contribution of the Fatherland Front Government was that it sent the rapidly renovated Bulgarian Army to fight against nazi Germany, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet and Yugoslav troops. By participating in the defeat of nazi Germany, the Bulgarian people, who were the first to rise in an armed fight against fascism in 1923, and in the course of two decades gave countless sacrifices for the triumph of democracy, removed the stigma of having been a nazi satellite, and won the sympathies and support of world democratic public opinion.

Thanks to this, Bulgaria was able to obtain a respectable armistice and actually was saved from foreign military occupation. The fraternal Soviet forces which were left in Bulgaria protected our country against a humiliating and cruel occupation, securing the right for the Bulgarian people, freely and unhindered by anyone, to build up their state on truly democratic principles.

Thanks to this, Bulgaria concluded a peace treaty in Paris which, despite the many harsh and unfair clauses for the revision of which the Bulgarian nation is fighting and shall continue to fight, was the most advantageous which it could expect in the then prevailing international situation.

Our greatest success was that, thanks to the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Slav countries, we preserved the integrity of our territory and safeguarded our national independence.

For this fraternal and selfless assistance I consider it my duty from this rostrum to express, on behalf of our grateful people, our deepest gratitude to the Soviet Union, Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia. Similar gratitude we owe also to the People's Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as to the republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia!

The Fatherland Front effected a decisive turning-point in Bulgaria's foreign policy. It wrested our country from the

claws of German imperialism once and for all, firmly opposed every attempt of the foreign imperialist circles to dictate their will, and directed the Bulgarian state ship in the waters of peace and co-operation with all freedom-loving and democratic peoples and, in the first place, with the great Soviet Union – our double liberator and protector – in full concord with the traditions and will of the Bulgarian people.

Our rapprochement with Yugoslavia is of tremendous importance for our country. Our peoples, whom the German imperialists through their agents incited to war against each other, dividing them so as to subject them in the end, have found the right road of fraternity and unity which were solemnly sealed with the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between the two countries. A vivid demonstration of the fraternal feelings between our two peoples is the friendly settlement of all questions between them, and in particular Yugoslavia's agreement not to demand reparations from Bulgaria in virtue of the Peace Treaty for which we owe profound gratitude to the Yugoslav Government. The close economic co-operation which was established between the two fraternal neighbouring countries will continue to bring them ever closer to each other and will give yet another powerful impetus to their economic development and all-round progress.

Thanks to the established democratic systems, the solidarity between the Slav nations, which for ages lived isolated and in quarrels with each other, is today becoming an important factor of peace, democracy and social progress. But the policy of the Fatherland Front is not a racist policy and is not aimed at splitting Europe and the world into blocs, but is a democratic and progressive policy, the aim of which is to bring together all freedom-loving and democratic nations in close co-operation, with a view to securing universal peace and their material and cultural development on the basis of national independence and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

We proved this by the conclusion of treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, not only with Slav Yugoslavia, but also with the non-Slav countries of Albania and Romania, as well as by the negotiations which we are carrying on with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary for the same purpose, and by our readiness to co-operate and exchange mutual assistance with all democratic nations which are inspired by the same goals and respect our freedom and independence.

The main problem in our past and future deliberations in the field of our foreign policy was and still is the question of our joint defence against any possible foreign aggression, for the safeguarding of our national independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty, which are so necessary for our peoples who have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to peaceful constructive labour. We are making special efforts to strengthen our mutual economic and cultural ties and to help each other in our economic development which would rid us of all dependence on imperialist trusts and banks.

But, of course, we are far from the idea of setting up an Eastern bloc under any guise whatsoever, as misinterpreted by the initiators of the establishment of a Western bloc and by their agents.

In this connexion, I avail myself of the opportunity to declare that the critical notes of the *Pravda*, the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in connexion with that part of my last interview which refers to the question of a possible establishment of a federation or confederation of Balkan and Danubian states, including Poland, Czechoslovakia and Greece, and of the setting up of a customs union among them to the effect that 'these countries do not need a problematical and artificial federation or confederation or customs union' and that 'what they need is a consolidation and defence of their independence and sovereignty through a mobilization and organization of their inner democratic forces, as was correctly pointed out in the well-known declaration of the

nine communist parties,' – that these notes in the *Pravda* are well-grounded and are timely, valuable and useful warning against possible inexpedient exaggerations harmful to the People's Democracies.

To conclude with the problems pertaining to the foreign policy of the Fatherland Front, let me also say a few words about the accusations launched in the foreign press by responsible and irresponsible quarters abroad against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, accusations unsupported by any facts and utterly false, to the effect that they were interfering in the domestic affairs of Greece and were kindling a war there. These accusations are nothing but an attempt on the part of interested parties to lay the blame for their own guilt at another person's door. There is nothing more natural than the fact that our people are vitally interested in the establishment of a democratic regime of law and order in their southern neighbour, because then they will be able quite peacefully to continue their constructive labour without being distracted by artificially concocted border incidents and constant troubles. It is also natural for the Bulgarian people to sympathize with the struggle of the Greek people and to be ready to render assistance to the victims of the terrorist regime which is in power in Greece, who might seek shelter in our country. But I must firmly reject the accusations levelled against the Bulgarian nation and state categorically that the responsibility for the civil war in Greece, which is a source of anxiety in our country too, rests exclusively with the terrorist regime which is in power there as well as with those circles outside the country who, prompted by their imperialist aims, through military force and flagrant intervention in Greek home affairs, want to hoist this regime on the freedom-loving Greek people.

It is clear from everything said so far that by pursuing a correct national policy the Fatherland Front has saved Bulgaria from impending ruin, preserved the integrity of our territory, defended our sovereignty and turned our

country into a staunch bastion of peace in the Balkans and in the world.

Encouraged by these successes and quite aware of the difficulties that lie ahead of us and of the intrigues that are being concocted against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, our people will with still greater enthusiasm, watchfulness and resolve march along the already chosen road and fight for the complete consolidation of their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

2. DOMESTIC POLICY

Let me pass on to our domestic policy.

With a firm hand the Fatherland Front shattered the monarchic clique and the nazi agency, disbanded all fascist organizations, and unleashed the initiative and activity of the broad masses in all walks of political and public life. It restored, broadened and guaranteed the democratic rights and liberties of the people and offered them the possibility of being real and complete masters of their destinies.

The Fatherland Front granted equal rights to Bulgarian women, enlisting them in active public and political life. Women entered all state and responsible services which were inaccessible to them in the past. Our women — ministers of state, mayors, judges, school inspectors, managers of economic enterprises, leaders of public organizations, as well as ordinary workers and peasants — are worthily doing their public duties, and fully justifying the great confidence which the people's rule showed in them.

The Fatherland Front granted all your people who have completed 18 years of age the right to vote and to be elected. Our youth constitutes the pride of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The great and patriotic achievements, which it scored last year on the labour front, deserve special mention.

Never before in our political history have the Bulgarian people taken such a wide, active, conscious and

enthusiastic part in elections for the highest state organs. Not less than 3,862,492 citizens took part in the elections on November 18, i. e. 86 per cent of the total number of the electorate. In the referendum for a People's Republic of September 8, 1946, a total of 4,129,544 citizens took part, i.e. 91.67 per cent of the voters, and in the elections for the Grand National Assembly – 4,244,337 i.e. 93.19 per cent.

These figures speak of the great achievements of our people's democracy, especially when we compare them with data on elections in the past and with elections held in countries with the highly touted Western democracy. Despite the penal sanctions provided under the former law for failure to vote, in the best of cases the total number of voters in the past was much lower than half their number registered under the Fatherland Front.

Under the former regimes the newspapers were usually the private property of capitalists, individuals or groups, or else were supported by subsidies from rather suspicious sources, so as to pursue anti-popular policies and propaganda. The progressive papers and magazines were stifled. The people were deprived of the right of expressing their opinion by special draconic law and a barbarous censorship. In our People's Democracy, however, the principle of the freedom of the press has found a brilliant application. The democratic political organizations of our people and their mass cultural organizations acquired the right and the possibility of having their own printed publications and of freely stating their opinion on all political and social problems.

Indeed, when did workers, peasants, people's intelligentsia, craftsmen and all democratic and progressive citizens in our country have such freedom and possibilities to gather, get organized, use the streets, squares, halls, printing houses, and the radio for their public, political and cultural activities?

Please note that with a total population of 7 million, trade unions have been organized and are functioning in our country with a total membership of 540,000 industrial

and office workers. We have a General Union of Farmers with a membership of 1,280,000, a General Union of Craftsmen with a membership of 114,000, co-operative organizations with more than 2 million members, a National Women's Union with more than 600,000 members, a Young People's League with about 1 million members, and other public organizations with a substantial number of members, including the Septemvriiché Organization of school children with a membership of more than 600,000. It may confidently be said, comrades, that there is hardly a Bulgarian citizen, man or woman, who does not belong to one or another political, economic or cultural organization.

Our People's Democracy has also fully applied the principle of religious freedom. Today all Bulgarian citizens are free to profess any religion and to belong to the religious community of their choice.

The Fatherland Front has granted complete equality to the national minorities. Contrary to slanderous pieces of news spread by some Turkish newspapers, the Turkish minority in Bulgaria enjoys full equality. It has unlimited freedom to study in its own language and make use of its national culture.

It goes without saying that in a people's democracy which has been won with the blood of many thousands of courageous fighters against fascism and at the cost of many sufferings by the Bulgarian people, there is no and there can be no room for a 'freedom' which might impair the interests of the Bulgarian people and be of service to their enemies. In our country there is no and there can be no freedom for the monarcho-capitalist clique, for those responsible for the national disasters, for the butchers of the people, for fascists, plotters and those out to restore what was before. It is obvious for everybody that since the proper place for the bandit with a gun in the hand is in prison, the bandit with a pen in the hand cannot be let free to harm the people.

The Fatherland Front organized and consolidated our

glorious people's militia and state security, which are a staunch guardian of law and order and of the historic gains of the Ninth of September.

The Fatherland Front purged, democratized and consolidated our beloved people's Army. In the past, the Army was an instrument in the hands of monarchism and the ruling reactionary and fascist clique for the oppression of the Bulgarian people, for the implementation of interests and goals alien to them. Today it is an instrument of peace, of the freedom and independence of our people. Our Army and our glorious frontier guards are a loyal guardian of our country's freedom, watchful against any attempt at infringement on its safety and territorial integrity.

The domestic situation of Bulgaria has been consolidated, to be sure. The necessary conditions have been created for absolute order, legality and confident constructive labour.

3. NATIONAL ECONOMY

My report would, of course, be incomplete if I failed to stop and discuss the problems of our national economy, although for some of you detailed data and figures might prove a little boring.

After September 9, 1944, our country was faced with big economic tasks. We had to meet the needs of the Patriotic War, to rehabilitate our war-ravaged economy as soon as possible, and to set out resolutely along the road of a rapid economic development, to guarantee our national independence and secure our people's well-being. For this purpose we had to mobilize all our material, moral and labour resources under a plan.

The elaboration and adoption of the Two-Year National Economic Plan in the spring of 1947 was a big event for our people and gave a new direction to our economic development. In future, planned economic activity will be gaining an ever firmer foothold in our national economy and will put an end to anarchy and lack of system in

production and distribution. Planned economy became possible, because the state is in the hands of the people, and because under the new government the public sector – state and co-operative – is expanding ever more.

The economic plan set two basic tasks to all of us. The first task was to overcome the inherited difficulties and restore the devastations of the war. The second task was to launch the nation's rapid industrialization by developing our power economy, stepping up coal-mining, mechanizing agriculture and developing stockbreeding, improving and expanding transport, developing and modernizing the crafts, extending and stepping up foreign and domestic trade.

As we all know, in the field of industry our country is exceedingly backward. Only eight per cent of our active population is employed in industrial production, whereas almost all West European and even some Balkan countries are far ahead of us. This is due to the harmful anti-popular policy of the former bourgeois, reactionary and fascist governments, which had turned our country into an agrarian appendage of the German imperialists, dooming it to the lamentable status of a semi-colony. Our capitalist class did not devote serious attention to the building up of a Bulgarian heavy industry. It was mainly interested in light industry, where the pickings were easier and quicker, and it had a particular preference for trade and speculation which offered the best opportunities for getting rich.

Although we had to work under difficult conditions – a bad inheritance, three years of droughts, impeded foreign trade, we did score certain successes in the field of industry. In 1947 industrial production was by 30.5 per cent higher than that in prewar 1939, and 16 per cent higher than in 1946. Coal production in particular increased by 80 per cent over that in 1939.

In 1947 the first furnace of the Vulcan Works in Dimitrovgrad was commissioned, and the second furnace will be commissioned this year. The construction was started of the Nitrogen Fertilizer Works in Dimitrovgrad,

whose annual output of 110,000 tons of artificial fertilizers will introduce a new stream of blood into our agriculture. It will have a separate department for the production of sulfuric acid. A contract was signed with the Soviet Union for the construction of a liquid fuel plant by dry distillation of the coal obtained from the Chernomoré Mine, which will be started this year.

An especially important undertaking in our economic policy, which will give a powerful impetus to the development of industry, is undoubtedly the nationalization of private industrial and mining enterprises. While at the end of 1946 the state and co-operative sector in industry accounted for 30 per cent of our industrial output, today the state sector alone accounts for over 80 per cent of industrial output. The people's state has thus gained one of the most important commanding levers in our economy, whereby broad vistas are opened up for the accelerated development of our country.

The nationalization, which was welcomed enthusiastically by our people, offers ample possibilities for the merger and rationalization of the existing industrial enterprises; for stepping up production, cutting down its cost and improving its quality. The new managers of the state plants and factories, their workers and engineering and technical staffs are already at work setting up big industrial units by merging the nationalized smaller plants and factories, especially in the field of machine-building and chemical industry. At the same time, the construction of new industrial enterprises will continue at a still more rapid rate. The 1948 plan sets aside 8,300,000,000 leva for this purpose.

The newly-established Department of Geological and Mining Research has engaged in serious prospecting activity. According to the opinion of many specialists, our soil hides considerable riches, vitally needed for the development of our economy and for our country's progress. This activity will be stepped up still further in the current year.

After the Ninth of September great attention was

devoted to electrification, which formerly moved at an exceedingly slow pace, without any system and chiefly with a view to the commercial and speculative interests of local and foreign capitalists. We have greatly improved many of the existing installations, built new ones and thus substantially increased the output of electric power for the needs of our economy and for improving the people's way of life. From 313,000,000 kWh in 1944, power output has risen to 488,000,000 kWh in 1947. A number of steam and hydro-electric power stations and dams are under construction, which, after they are completed by 1950-51, will treble the power output of our electric industry. The network of long-distance transmission lines is steadily expanding. After September 9, some 300 new towns and villages have joined the power grid and the electrification of another 280 towns and villages is provided for in our national economic plan.

In agriculture, the arable land was increased from 4,300,000 hectares in 1940 to 4,800,000 ha in 1947. As a result of the Agrarian Reform, 127,000 families were supplied with 125,000 ha of land and 7,863 families were given farmyards amounting to a total of 1,200 hectares. Not less than 381 public farms, departments and institutes were also supplied with a total of 7,100 ha of land.

One of the most important phenomena in the field of agriculture are the co-operative farms. As many as 579 co-operative farms have already been established, with a membership of some 50,000 farmers and 189,000 ha of land. Despite all difficulties during the three years of drought the co-operative farms have become stabilized. The farmers begin increasingly to consider them as the most appropriate way for the development of Bulgarian agriculture and the improvement of the peasants' living standards.

In connexion with the modernization of farming, we are stepping up the production of agricultural machines and will soon have an agricultural machine-building industry of our own.

We have established 30 machine-tractor stations (MTS)

so as to better service our agriculture with the available agricultural machines and in particular for the cultivation of the land with tractors which prior to September 9 were usually used only in threshing. The number of MTS this year will come up to 70. The bulk of farm machines will be concentrated there. The MTS will be the pioneers in mechanized soil cultivation in Bulgaria, which will raise its productivity and ease the work of the farmer.

With the construction of the dikes along the Danube, tens of thousands of hectares of marshes were drained and turned into first-rate fertile land. At the same time, a plan is being implemented for the irrigation of our lands through the construction of big dams, through the digging of hundreds of kilometres of new canals by the water syndicates, through the construction of small dams (microdams) and pumping stations for making use of the subsoil waters. In this connexion, too, the Fatherland Front has undertaken a construction programme which is grandiose for the size of our country, the results of which will make themselves felt in the next few years. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land will be irrigated and their productivity will be trebled.

As you see, much care has been devoted to agriculture. But inclement climatic conditions delayed the expected results. The task with which we are now confronted is, after having completed all our undertakings in connexion with the mechanization of farming, electrification and irrigation, to make agriculture stable and independent of the whims of nature.

Remarkable efforts are being made to improve stockbreeding. As many as 922 stockbreeding farms have already been organized. A number of regional incubators have been built. The silaging of green fodders is being organized and measures have been taken to fatten cattle for meat.

I avail myself of the opportunity here at the Congress of the Fatherland Front to express my most heartfelt thanks to the men and women farmers who worked intensely to finish the autumn sowing, fulfilled the plan 101 per cent

and are readily fulfilling their quotas for grain and other agricultural produce. I do not doubt that with the same enthusiasm and with the same high civic consciousness they will fulfil the sowing plan also in the coming spring, so as to secure bread for their families and for the entire Bulgarian nation.

While prior to the Ninth of September only some 5,000 ha of land were afforested a year, last year some 15,500 ha were afforested and 20,000 are envisaged to be afforested this year. The 1948 Plan put forward the great national task: completely to afforest the country in 10 years. While prior to the Ninth of September an average of 100 to 200 km of forest roads were built a year, last year 335 km of roads were built and this year 350 km are envisaged to be built.

Remarkable achievements have also been scored in transport. While after the First World War in the course of four years only 51 km of railway lines were built, now we were able to build 156 km of railway lines in three years.

The available railway cars and locomotives have also been improved and new ones have been added. The organization of their use has also been improved. All this made possible a substantial increase in traffic. Passenger transport has increased from 16 million in 1940 to 38 million in 1947, while freight transport in 1947 has increased to 119 per cent as compared to 1940.

The first serious steps have been taken to improve and expand water and air transport.

A number of undertakings have been implemented in the field of domestic trade with a view to facilitating the sales of goods on the local market. Despite the hard conditions in which our economy found itself after the Ninth of September as a result of its spoliation by the Germans and the three consecutive droughts, the local exchange of goods was stepped up although there are still a great number of shortcomings in the supply system, which must be boldly done away with. In the field of domestic trade and supplies, the co-operatives have played and will con-

tinue to play a particularly important role with their ever improving organization. Let us wish them more rapidly and more radically to achieve these improvements so as to be able to honourably acquit themselves of their exceedingly important task.

Serious changes were effected in the organization of domestic trade by the setting up of big state and mixed enterprises in a number of branches; wholesale trade was given over to the state, popular and municipal stores were opened for trading in prime commodities.

The strengthening of the public sector in the field of trade has helped to improve the organization of supplies to the population, to alleviate the struggle against profiteering and the black market, and has made it possible to use the profits from trade for the construction of new industrial and other enterprises.

Prior to September 9, 1944, Bulgaria's foreign trade was conducted exclusively in the interest of the local big private firms and of the German imperialists. According to the desire of the big export and import firms, Bulgaria's reactionary and fascist rulers orientated our foreign trade mainly towards Germany, thereby inflicting great losses on the Bulgarian people.

The Ninth of September found Bulgaria completely isolated economically. The Government undertook at once to restore and step up our trade relations with the outer world. First is succeeded in concluding a trade agreement with the Soviet Government. The USSR rendered us invaluable help in the rehabilitation of our national economy. It supplied us with a number of machines and basic raw materials for our industry, ran to our rescue and helped us feed the population and cattle by supplying us with 130,000 tons of cereals and forage and 30,000 tons of hay, and in the first months of this year will supply us with another 75,000 tons of wheat. In addition to this the Soviet Union will give us a credit in goods for 5 million dollars. It has helped us also in our endeavours to industrialize the country by agreeing to build against long-term payments

the chemical works plus electric power station in Dimitrograd and the liquid fuel plant at Bourgas.

Trade agreements have also been concluded with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Italy and Sweden.

Special import and export centres – state-owned and mixed – were organized, which took the entire foreign trade – import and export – into their hands. Thus, foreign trade, from a means of despoiling the Bulgarian people, as it was in the past, was turned into an important factor for the harmonious building up of our national economy.

The state tobacco and alcohol monopolies put an end to the unlimited exploitation to which the predatory Bulgarian capitalists subjected the producers and enabled the Bulgarian people to become masters of one of the most precious products of their labour.

Thanks to the firmly conducted policy of freezing and fixing prices, we succeeded in protecting our country from the bane of an inflation and our domestic market from disintegration, and to prevent the working people's living standards from deteriorating, in spite of poor crops and other adverse conditions.

As you know, an internal loan was floated, the so-called Liberty Loan, under which by the end of November 1947 some 23,500 million leva were collected. This loan and the exchange of banknotes helped substantially to stabilize our finances.

The Fatherland Front is implementing new tax policy, quite different from the one pursued by the former reactionary and monarchic governments. Greater justice has been introduced in taxation, the burden of taxes being transferred onto the well-to-do strata to a greater extent and the small owners being almost completely or substantially exempted from any tax burdens. Such is the situation in connexion with the progressive income tax as well as with all other taxes.

Attempts were made to frighten us that our policy

would bring us to disaster and that the Bulgarian people would lose all confidence in our financial institutions. Facts, however, proved the opposite: deposits in the Savings Bank, the Bulgarian Agrarian and Co-operative Bank and other institutions marked a substantial increase — from 19,000 million in 1940 to 63,000 million in 1945 and to 118,000 million in 1947.

As a result, we succeeded in 1947 alone to make new capital investments in the national economy to the tune of 34,000 million leva.

With the nationalization of banking, the Bulgarian people cut away the last parasitic private banks from the banking system, the state thus becoming absolute master of the nation's credit system.

The State Insurance Institute, which was set up by nationalizing the existing insurance companies, Bulgarian and foreign, rid the Bulgarian people of ruthless exploitation, broadened and made less expensive all insurances. The funds which these companies had at their disposal and which amounted to more than 3,000 million leva, were placed at the disposal of our economy to meet its needs. The fund is now growing and will soon reach the round figure of 10,000 million leva.

While in the past the working people were compelled to work for the fascist state, today, aware of having become masters of the country, however unsatisfactory their condition may still be, they are building our economy with unprecedented enthusiasm and fully confident that this is the only way in which they will be able surely and lastingly to improve their way of life.

After the Ninth of September, emulation and shock work appeared in our country as a new, hitherto unknown, stimulus to work. Hundreds of thousands of working people joined this mass movement and are, as conscientious patriots, setting examples of how one should be working for one's country. We can say that emulation is already becoming a constant and most productive method of work on the labour front. There appeared innovators and

rationalizers who alleviate the workers' labour and increase its results in the different branches of production.

The 86,000 young brigaders who worked on the Pernik-Volouyak railway line, at the Hainboaz Pass, in Dimitrograd and at dams, long-distance transmission lines and at other national construction sites have done a tremendous piece of work worth 1,134 million leva. Not less work has been done by the labour servicemen who worked on dikes, roads, railway lines, dams, electric power stations and other important construction sites.

An eloquent proof of the popular character of the labour brigade movement is the fact that even priests from the Orthodox Church took part in it. Moreover, the brigade movement spread also among the young people belonging to the national minorities, and more particularly among the Turkish youth.

Along with this, another fine phenomenon was noted and developed in our country – labour cultural teams from towns visiting the villages and from villages visiting the towns. These teams are engaging in a highly useful economic activity. In three years they have put in more than 10 million workdays worth a total of more than 3,000 million leva. These teams play an exceedingly useful role in bringing still closer together the working people from town and countryside.

From this rostrum I heartily congratulate the heroes of our new construction: the brigaders – young men and women, the labour servicemen, construction workers and engineering and technical managers who are sparing no effort and work for the building up of our People's Republic.

And so, as a result of the economic policy pursued by the Fatherland Front, a positive improvement in our economic life has made itself felt, despite the three droughts and other unfavourable conditions. Of course, there are still many hardships. But today all our people, workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals, young and old, are all doing their best in a noble drive to overcome

these hardships, to fulfil the great tasks set by the National Economic Plan for the present year of 1948 – for fresh economic achievements and for new decisive steps forward towards the prosperity of our people.

4. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The Fatherland Front has also scored undeniable successes in the field of education and culture.

The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship gave very great impetus to the people's thirst for knowledge, education and culture. The Fatherland Front satisfied this need by throwing wide open the doors of the educational establishment to the sons and daughters of the working people, helping them with substantial material aid and facilities.

The number of educational establishments after September 9, 1944 was substantially increased, as well as the number of those studying in them, especially at the institutions of higher education. A radical educational reform was implemented, embracing all grades of education in Bulgaria. The aim of this reform is to place the development of education in Bulgaria on scientific, progressive principles, benefiting the people.

What we need in particular for our economic development are great numbers of qualified cadres devoted to their country. That is why, the Fatherland Front devotes particular attention to the development of vocational education for the training of skilled workers, foremen and technical managers of the enterprises from among the working people themselves.

The Fatherland Front takes special care to raise the material and cultural level of teachers, so as to enable them successfully to fulfil their most responsible function.

The higher educational establishments are acquiring a new aspect. The character of their work has been radically changed. The Academy of Sciences has also reconstructed

its functions. We are proceeding to introduce a planned management of research work.

The cultural advance after the Ninth of September has assumed wide proportions: new state, municipal, library clubs and other public theatres were opened. In a great number of villages there are amateur stages. After the Ninth of September seven new symphony orchestras were set up, hundreds of amateur choirs and string orchestras – some 4,000 amateur art groups embracing more than 200,000 young and older workers, peasants, university and school students. Remarkable talents have been discovered among them. There are thousands of self-education circles and courses for technical qualification.

Literature is being reorganized, so that it may truly and artistically reflect our new reality and serve as an important means for the patriotic and democratic education of the people, to mobilize and properly direct their creative élan.

The Fatherland Front succeeded in rallying the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia under its banner and in inspiring it to work with devotion for the people's state and for its all-round prosperity.

One of the most typical indicators of the truly democratic character of the government of the Fatherland Front is the indisputable fact that all truly talented and capable people from among the Bulgarian intelligentsia are either active builders of our People's Republic or are helping in its building up to the best of their abilities and possibilities. Who can deny the remarkable fact that in Bulgaria you cannot find a single really valuable worker in the field of science, art or culture standing aloof from the great creative work of the Fatherland Front?

Who are the valuable, talented scientists and cultural workers that joined the ranks of the reactionary opposition which was rejected by the people and was utterly defeated? There is not a single one! Not a single one!

From this rostrum I should also like to express the sincere gratitude of our people to the workers in the field of

education and culture who are so deeply devoted to our country, and especially to the thousands of men and women school-teachers, library club workers, agronomists, doctors, midwives, medical attendants working in the villages and in the workers' quarters in our country. Let this people's gratitude inspire them with still greater diligence, so as to develop all their abilities and creative forces in service of their country and people.

It can positively be said that no office so far has devoted so much and such all-round attention to the cultural progress of our people. But we must openly avow that we are still at the beginning of our serious and profound educational and cultural drive for the education of the Bulgarian people and their younger generation, as well as for the further cultural development of our country.

5. SOCIAL WELFARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

One of the great tasks of the Fatherland Front was and still is to do its best for the utmost improvement of working conditions and living standards.

The tremendous construction drive which has been launched is absorbing ever new working forces. The planned management of our economy makes it possible to wipe out unemployment in Bulgaria. The wide development of emulation and shockwork, increased labour productivity, the new system of wage payment in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done, as well as a number of social undertakings contribute to improving the workers' condition.

Far-reaching measures have been taken for preserving the health and for the treatment of the working people. New workers' hospitals and out-patient clinics have been opened and groups of doctors have been organized for the rendering of qualified medical aid. The foundations have been laid of a system of resort treatment of working people.

The construction of housing blocks has been started in a

number of industrial towns, and many of them have already been completed and are used by the workers.

The principle of equal pay for equal work has been put into practice. A great gain for industrial and office workers are the canteens which have been set up at almost all enterprises and institutions. Special care is being devoted to orphans whose parents lost their life in the partisan movement and in the Patriotic War.

The number of farmers who are entitled to pensions has been increased from 123,000 to 582,000 pensions having been granted also to women farmers and to farmers of other than Bulgarian origin.

At the same time, the personal pensions for accident, disablement and old age have been increased. All this, of course, has been done within our still limited possibilities.

In the field of public health a number of important undertakings have been implemented. The number of outpatient clinics, sanatoria and follow-up clinics has doubled. Mountain, balneological and seaside rest homes were organized. Special care was devoted to the organization of hospitals and the setting up of preventoria for persons susceptible to tuberculosis. The Fatherland Front organized and substantially extended the network of rural health establishments. Today we have 1,075 health services and 75 health centres in the villages with a total staff of 3,020 people. The number of sanatoria was increased to 313 and another 150 are now under construction.

At the same time, care is being taken for the training of the necessary medical staff.

Prior to September 9, there were only 25 maternity homes in Bulgaria. The Fatherland Front took special care to organize and set up maternity homes and their number today amounts to 284.

The number of daily and weekly nurseries and kindergartens is steadily growing. The network of summer day kindergartens is being expanded. Hostels are organized for the children of poor parents as well as for orphans and retarded children.

The care for the rearing and education of the children of our people and maternity care should become a nationwide task, because the infant mortality rate in our country is still rather high.

V. BASIC TASKS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Comrades,

The tasks set in the 1942 Fatherland Front programme have in the main been fulfilled. The Fatherland Front must now renovate its programme and tackle new tasks which correspond to the vital needs of the people and to the requirements of the country's further progress. These basic tasks are listed in the draft programme, submitted to the Congress. After all I have said so far, it is hardly necessary for me to dwell at length on these tasks. I shall confine myself to the main objects in view. Briefly, these are as follows:

1) To re-educate the masses and the youth in the spirit of the People's Constitution, instilling and fostering in them a high sense of consciousness of their own power and role as forgers of their destinies; to politically educate Bulgarian citizens so that they may take an active part in the government of the country, consciously exercise their rights and strictly fulfil their obligations; to imbue them with a feeling of national dignity, patriotic duty, and preparedness to defend to the utmost the interests of the state and the people.

2) To promote in every way the development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture; to industrialize and electrify the country and thus to raise its economic power to the highest possible level and convert it into a modern industrial-agricultural state with a developed industry and mining, electric power system, irrigation, modern transportation and mechanized agriculture; to promote and broaden the public sector of the economy and to build up a nation-wide network of viable farm and craft co-operatives, extending all-round

assistance and protection to the individual farmers, craftsmen and other working people; to improve the material and cultural conditions of the people in town and countryside on the basis of the country's steady economic progress and rising labour productivity.

3) To enhance the nation's defensive power by training the people to uphold to the end their freedom and independence against any foreign encroachments.

4) To ensure a consistent and correct foreign policy, inspired by the principles of a lasting and democratic peace, sincere and unshakable friendship with the USSR as the cornerstone of this policy, brotherhood and unity with the peoples of Yugoslavia, collaboration with all freedom-loving nations near and distant on the basis of equality of rights and respect of national independence, all-sided consolidation of the system of pacts of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with the Slav and the non-Slav democratic countries for defence against imperialist aggression and for economic progress.

The realization of these tasks in their entirety will mean the liquidation of the remnants of the capitalist system of exploitation and the laying of the foundations of a socialist order in our country.

VI. THE FATHERLAND FRONT ORGANIZATION

These tasks and their successful completion demand the reorganization of the Fatherland Front. The Fatherland Front has never been a mere party coalition, an alliance among leaders of different parties for temporary aims and tasks and primarily for using the power for their own convenience, intentions and desires, as it used to be in the past. From its very inception it has been a popular movement. In the past, however, there were elements of party coalition in its leadership, from which it is now gradually ridding itself. Hitherto the Fatherland Front did not have its own organization and discipline, compulsory

for all component parties and political organizations, now its electoral boards. How many inconveniences, difficulties and ill-timed execution of our common tasks we had to face as a result.

The solution of the problems, indicated in the draft programme, however, is inconceivable without the utmost unity of the popular forces, without a still greater consciousness and participation of our citizens, without a united and authoritative leadership of the increasingly active working people in town and countryside. Therefore, the reorganization of the Fatherland Front into a popular political organization with compulsory discipline, a common programme and electoral leadership is indispensable.

The draft statutes submitted to the attention of the Second Fatherland Front Congress contain the basic organizational principles of this united popular political organization.

The main principle of the new Fatherland Front organization is democratic centralism. This means general eligibility of all leading bodies from top to bottom; their responsibility before the respective organizations; subordination of the lower to the higher boards; subordination of the minority to the majority; compulsory compliance with the decisions of the boards for the members of the organization; popularization of constructive and creative criticism and self-criticism which in our set-up must and will increasingly become one of the prime moving forces in our political development. This means that the Fatherland Front will have a solid organization from top to bottom, capable of ensuring leadership to our nation in its constructive work.

Anyone may, according to the draft statutes, join the Fatherland Front, irrespective of party affiliation, nationality, religion, and social status, provided he accepts the statutes and programme, submits to its discipline, works in one of its organizations and pays his membership dues. No

one may join the Fatherland Front who directly or indirectly serves reaction, who has participated in the persecutions and massacres of anti-fascist fighters or has been an active accomplice of the fascist tyranny. In this way the Fatherland Front becomes a truly national organization whose doors are wide open to all honest Bulgarian citizens who are ready to work for the welfare of our country and for its political, social, economic and cultural prosperity. Non-party people will thus be given full opportunity to join the Fatherland Front, to get a political education, training them for more active participation in the administration without the necessity of belonging to any political party.

Let me stress here that with the transformation of the Fatherland Front into a united popular political organization, all those misled in the past by the demagogy of the opposition leaders, but realizing their temporary delusion, are enabled to join the Fatherland Front and, accepting its programme and statutes, to work for the welfare and progress of their country. It is obvious that within the Fatherland Front strict tab will be kept on the new elements, who join it with ulterior motives and might attempt to take advantage of their participation for shady and anti-national purposes.

The transformation of the Fatherland Front into a united popular political organization does not spell an end to the existence and activities of the constituent political parties. It is a harmful delusion to assume that the time has come for the liquidation of the individual Fatherland Front parties, and that they have played out their part. Their existence in the single popular political organization is warranted. Their task will be to attract to the Fatherland Front people from among the circles where they have influence and contacts; thus they will help consolidate the Fatherland Front for a speedier realization of the complete moral and political unity of our people – the main guarantee for all our future successes. Their new function consists in their obligation to work within the framework

of the Fatherland Front programme and to submit to compulsory discipline.

Along this road we shall one day proceed to create a single political party of our people which undoubtedly will be of great benefit to the future of our republic.

Our country's political evolution will not lead back to a multitude of parties and cliques, but forward to the elimination of all vestiges of the capitalist system of exploitation, which will entail the establishment of a single political party to guide the state and society.

Our people, having learned from past bitter experiences, will not allow this leadership of state and society to break down as in the fable of the great Russian writer Krilov about the eagle, the lobster and the pike who were harnessed together but the eagle pulled upward, the lobster – backward and the pike – downward, and the cart got stuck in the mud.

There is, however, a lot yet to be done until we create a single political party of our people. Many basic reforms are still necessary to do away completely with capitalism and to abolish class antagonism – all this will require a tremendous re-educational effort. This will be the very function of the Fatherland Front as a single political organization which our Congress is called upon to create.

There are unscrupulous people who call this totalitarianism, a one-part dictatorship. Fascism was actually a totalitarian system imposed upon the people, as is known, from above by terror and violence. Its significance consisted in the total domination and dictatorship of a handful of large capitalists, financial magnates, profiteers and political adventurers over the bulk of the people who were despoiled and enslaved.

The Fatherland Front has nothing in common with such a system. It represents a union of popular forces, created by the people and in their own interest. Five parties make up the Fatherland Front. Besides the leading party, the Communist Party, there are four other parties which have broken with their bourgeois past and the capitalist

system of exploitation, have embraced the progressive principles of the Fatherland Front and joined hands for the general welfare of the people and the country. At the behest of the people, they submit to a common political discipline and a single programme of creative labour, national welfare, lasting peace and establishment of a just social order in which all workers will receive the benefits to which they are entitled. Obviously this is no totalitarianism, but a united political leadership of our People's Republic for peace, democracy and progress.

Our domestic reaction and the paid agents of the imperialists would rather not have such a united popular political leadership. They are interested in splitting the national forces. Their slogan is: Divide and rule.

Our people have forever rejected the bourgeois parties. Their existence has no longer any justification. Under the new social order they have not only become superfluous, but also harmful as an agency of domestic and international reaction.

The Fatherland Front is called upon to govern our country. It and it alone will govern in harmony with the will of the people.

The enemies of the People's Republic would naturally like to have a fifth column in our country, their own agencies which would undermine the foundations of our democracy. But the people, having taken their destiny into their own hands and resolved to never let it slip away, cannot and will not tolerate the existence of any fifth column, or a Bulgarian agency of foreign imperialists, cat's paws of capitalist trusts and cartels.

I am confident that every Fatherland Front party, reorganizing after the Congress its entire set-up and activity, as well as all Fatherland Front mass organizations and all sound patriotic forces of our nation, will spare no efforts in forging together the Fatherland Front into a granite rock, capable of weathering all storms, into a united and disciplined multi-million army of our entire nation.

VII. CONCLUSION

Let me wind up with the following conclusion:

Surveying carefully and critically the arduous and steep road followed by our people under the guidance of the Fatherland Front, we venture to state that the worst is behind us. We shall naturally be faced with new difficulties in the future but these are inevitable concomitants of our growth and development as a nation and republic. Moreover, all prerequisites are at hand for a still more successful surmounting of new hardships.

We are therefore confronted with the task of eliminating existing irregularities and weaknesses, of correcting errors, of extirpating ignorance, corruption, idleness, red tape, waste of public funds and property and other evils inherited from capitalism, of eradicating the rotten capitalist prejudices and habits which hamper the construction of the People's Republic. We must work and create with still greater zeal, expand and improve production, raise socially useful labour to unattainable heights, and especially learn how best to serve our people and our country.

For a people like ours, who have firmly taken their fate into their own hands and who are resolved to live freely, to defend staunchly their right to an independent existence and to march forward along the path of popular democracy, to prosperity and a brighter future, who have an abiding faith in their own forces and constantly consolidate their militant unity, for such people no difficulties can be too great and no efforts, privation, and sacrifices too unbearable.

Before our people, who have suffered so much in the past from domestic and foreign oppressors, such bright vistas open today as never before in their history.

With the transformation of the Fatherland Front into a single powerful political organization, armed with a new programme, the Bulgarian people will, against all odds and

obstacles, be able to march forward with even greater confidence towards the final triumph of their lofty cause.

The task of our people is considerably alleviated by the fact that they are inspired and ready to learn from the peoples of the brotherly Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics who, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, have built up a new society, in spite of gigantic hardships and untold sacrifices, and are marching boldly onwards to communism.

Our people may have enemies, but they do not stand alone; they also have many faithful and unselfish friends, great and small. Solidly united in the Fatherland Front, they will steer the ship of state across hidden rocks to the haven of salvation.

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a strong bastion of peace and brotherhood among freedom-loving nations against imperialist aggression and warmongers.

*G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 447-508*

*Rabotnichesko Delo No. 26
February 3, 1948*

CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

February 3, 1948

Comrades! With the election of the National Council of the Fatherland Front as its central board the work of our Congress, which was many times called historic, is coming to a close. There are cases in which the terms 'historic,' — 'an historic event', 'historic speech', 'historic book', 'historic meeting' 'historic', 'historic', are more or less abused without there actually being anything historic. But as to our present, Second Congress of the Fatherland Front, it can expressly and categorically be said both at home and abroad that a truly historic event was accomplished.

This Congress will go down into the history of our people and our country as an exceedingly important stage in their development towards a happy future.

We have just elected the central board of the Fatherland Front. Whom did our Congress elect and what was its criterion in electing the central board of its Fatherland Front?

The President of the Congress proposed every candidate separately. The Congress examined the candidates one after the other and voted separately and elected every member, from the President to the last member of the National Council, not because of their Party affiliation, as a Communist, as an Agrarian, as a Social Democrat, as a member of the Zveno or as a Radical, but as a comrade, as a member of the Fatherland Front. The Congress elected a

National Council composed of comrades-in-arms, of comrades in work and in battle, of men and women comrades in the struggle for the freedom and happiness of our country, from among popular militants big and small, who are resolved to march shoulder to shoulder, inspite of certain frictions and perhaps misunderstandings in the past, to march shoulder to shoulder towards the implementation of the programme adopted by the Congress – a programme the fulfilment of which should and will transform the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a flourishing country, strong in spirit, strong in its economic and cultural foundation, strong with regard to its external enemies and ill-wishers. The Congress even raised an objection against one of the candidates put forward by the commission. Exceedingly rare are the cases of such a serious, sober and comradely election as the one at which today we elected the members of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

This, comrades, is the first manifestation and a serious manifestation of our people's firm resolve to definitely do away with all survivals of elements of a party coalition within our Fatherland Front. This goes to show that the delegates of the Fatherland Front, the representatives of our people in this hall are firmly resolved, when they go back to their places and start working for the implementation of the decisions of our Congress, to try there, on the spot, to definitely do away with those rotten elements which only hinder the work of the Fatherland Front. The way the Congress acted with them here, you should act at the local organizations in building up the organization of the Fatherland Front and in electing and composing the local boards of the Fatherland Front.

We adopted the statutes of the Fatherland Front which replaces the former National Committee by a National Council. Every one of you understands very well that this is no mere change of name from National Committee to National Council. There is a profound and essential difference between these names. We are turning the

Fatherland Front into an organization which we call a unified, popular, socio-political organization.

The National Council of the Fatherland Front will have to play a role and fulfil tasks which are far more complex than the hitherto existing National Committee. The whole work of the Fatherland Front will be performed in a new manner. And I am sure that the elected National Council of the Fatherland Front and all its members will roll up their sleeves and get down to work to build up this new popular socio-political organization within the shortest possible time in all localities, so that we shall have everywhere, throughout the country, responsible leaderships for the initiatives, actions and work of our Fatherland Front members and the masses.

In closing the Congress, I wish to stress one more fact. The statutes were adopted. They could have been adopted, as a matter of fact, wholesale, with a 'hurrah!', as usually happened in the past in certain organizations which took decisions without intending to fulfil them. Our Congress acted in quite a different manner. You saw how in connexion with every article and every paragraph of the statutes the Congress deliberated, discussed and raised questions, made proposals, amended, added and specified. The statutes as a draft submitted by the National Committee were discussed at the different local conferences, widely popularized and carefully examined, then they were again discussed here in detail, unanimously adopted by the entire Congress and are now so to say the fundamental law of our Fatherland Front, a constitution which is the collective product of the historic Congress of the Fatherland Front.

The unanimity displayed from beginning to end in discussing the different questions at our Congress, as well as the enthusiasm which was manifested and the deep-going analysis of all problems at our Congress, were so impressive that it is to be regretted – and from this rostrum I express this regret – that all our critics – and they are quite a few in the other countries, in the so-called 'spheres of Western

democracy', were not here to see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears. They should have seen the Congress and its enthusiastic atmosphere, its unanimity and its work, they should have seen the impressive thrilling demonstration of the Sofia citizens, of the working class and the employees in Sofia in front of the National Theatre, in honour of the Congress. If they had been here and had seen it all and if they were neither blind nor deaf, they would have realized how slanderous, how ungrounded and false were all concoctions and accusations against our people's democracy circulated abroad, to the effect that it represented the dictatorship of a minority.

What the Congress demonstrated was that our people's democracy rests on quite solid foundations, that it is deeply implanted in the souls and hearts of our people – people who are ruling themselves and are deciding their own destiny and who are not out of their mind to be exercising a dictatorship over themselves.

When our Congress speaks, it speaks on behalf of the whole people minus their enemies, minus the decaying elements, minus that which is dying, disappearing and which has to go to the archives of history.

All that is new, sound, viable, all that has a future is represented at this Congress through the delegates elected by the people. The democratic spirit of the Bulgarian people, their aspiration for a better future are embodied in the decisions which the Congress took, in the programme which it adopted and in the constitution which it passed as its fundamental statute.

Comrade delegates, our task now, after we go home from here, is to explain the meaning and significance of these decisions to all our working people – down to the last cottage in the country – and still more diligently, with still greater devotion and confidence to continue the fight for our own people's cause, the cause of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the cause of socialism.

The new central body of the Fatherland Front has not yet constituted itself. It will do so immediately after the Congress. I take the liberty, however, and I think that I am expressing the thoughts and wishes of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, to wish you comrades, and through you the whole working people in Bulgaria and our glorious heroic working class in particular, to correct the existing flaws and shortcomings in our work, to clear away everything that stands in our way and march onward along our road, so that we may in the near future experience the highest moral satisfaction and the greatest happiness for every public worker – that we have done to the last our duty towards our people, towards our country and that we have justified the confidence and hopes pinned on the Fatherland Front by creating a solid and powerful national industry of our own, mechanized farming, a cultured way of life for our people and have thrown wide open the gates for the utilization of all cultural and moral values even by the last peasants from the remotest huts in our country.

'A united company can move mountains' says a Bulgarian proverb. Let us be such a united company which nothing can disunite either from within or from without, a united company capable of repelling both with its left and with its right foot, and especially with its sound head and with its iron fist, all difficulties and handicaps, everything rotten, old and moribund in our life inherited from capitalism as well as all blows, attacks, slanders and intrigues of our enemies, those near – in the south, or those far. If we are – and I am deeply convinced that we shall be – such a united company, such a serried army of the Bulgarian people, nothing can frighten us, nothing can stop us from reaching our goal, a goal which constitutes the meaning of our own life as social and political workers, as fathers and mothers, as citizens and patriots of our country. This being the meaning of our life, of our entire existence, which is also the meaning of the existence of our

Fatherland Front, we must march forward without hesitation, without perplexity, without fear, with confidence in our own forces, with confidence in the forces of our sincere and selfless friends, with confidence in the bright and lucky star of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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G. Dimitrov, Works,
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THE BULGARIANS' DEEP LOVE AND GRATITUDE FOR THE SOVIET LIBERATION ARMY

The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Army evoke a warm response in the breast of all honest and freedom-loving peoples, of all friends of peace and genuine democracy. Throughout its existence the Soviet Army has shown and proved by deeds and particularly by its victorious war of liberation against nazi Germany, that it is the only armed force in the world, serving no aggressive imperialist ends, but defending the freedom and independence of the Soviet people, the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution and peace and friendship among the nations.

During World War II the Soviet Army covered its arms with unfading glory. Routing the fascist hordes of the German claimants to world domination, it saved mankind from barbarous nazism and helped to liberate a number of Slav and non-Slav nations from the oppression of imperialism. In so doing, it enabled them to take their destinies into their own hands and to start building up their well-being on truly democratic foundations. The Bulgarian people were also one of the liberated nations and they feel boundless love and gratitude for the army of liberation.

Our people have, however, particular grounds of their own to be eternally grateful to the Soviet Army and the entire Soviet people. The Bulgarian people will never forget, despite the malicious intrigues of the imperialists and their agents in Bulgaria, that the Russian soldiers brought to

them the first liberation from the Turkish soldiers brought to them the first liberation from the Turkish pashas and beys, a liberation whose 70th anniversary they will celebrate shortly. They will never forget that the brave sons of the Russian and the other Soviet peoples helped them to liberate themselves for the second time from foreign conquerors, and this time to take their destinies into their own hands for good.

Our people know well that without the aid of the Soviet Army, without its stay for a certain time on Bulgarian soil they would have come under the sway of new enslavers. Bulgaria would have been occupied by foreign hostile troops with all consequences, so ruinous for her life and future. Foreign missions, civil and military, would have governed Bulgaria, while foreign capitalists would have sucked the vital forces of the Bulgarian people and would have plundered the fruits of their labour. That is why the Bulgarian people looked on the Soviet troops, stationed in Bulgaria by virtue of the armistice, not as occupation forces, but as dear guests and protectors. When the Soviet troops left our country, the people bade them farewell with a sense of deep affection and gratitude. Our people will never forget that while the armed forces of the imperialists plunder and oppress the countries occupied by them and stifle their development, the Soviet officers and men in Bulgaria rendered brotherly aid to our cultural and economic construction. Many Soviet fighters replaced their tanks by tractors and harvesters, helping our peasants to combat drought and want.

The Bulgarian people have a common sense of their own and know perfectly well that, but for the existence of the mighty and invincible Soviet Army, they would not be able to build up their People's Republic calmly and freely and to march confidently forward on the road to socialism. Our people know that today, when a struggle for national independence and freedom is on against the new claimants to world domination, Bulgaria could not exist as an independent and free nation, unless she defended herself

manfully and, at the same time, relied strongly upon the democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the world, headed by the Soviet Union and its glorious army.

The 30th anniversary of the Soviet Army is therefore an exceedingly happy holiday for our entire working people. No less happy a holiday is it for our people's army, which learns and will learn from the patriotism, battle experience, fortitude and military art of the Soviet Army. Following in its steps, our people's army endeavours to grow up as a staunch defender of the national freedom and independence of the People's Republic. The sense of fighting comradeship between our people and the Soviet peoples, created and fortified by the blood, commonly shed in the two wars of liberation, is an important factor for the moral political and fighting growth of our army.

In vain are the raging efforts of the imperialists and their venal propagators to bully our people and the other democratic nations, to turn them away from the salutary course of friendship with their liberator and protector – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – and to incite them against the Soviet Army of Liberation. Never will they succeed in implementing these infernal plans of theirs.

Fraternal greetings to the valorous Soviet warriors!

Long live the heroic Soviet Army – the bulwark of peace and brotherhood among the freedom-loving democratic nations, and may it grow ever stronger!

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February 22, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 528-531

WITHOUT THE WORKING CLASS THERE CAN BE NO
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

*Speech at the Second Congress of the General Workers' Trade
Union*

March 2, 1948

Dear delegates,

Allow me first to extend to you most cordial greetings on behalf of the Government, of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Central Committee of the Workers' Party (Communists). Through you I greet warmly our whole heroic working class, all manual and intellectual workers, men, women and youths, working to enhance the economic and cultural might of our People's Republic, and more particularly the glorious men and women shock-workers, rationalizers and innovators in production and in the state apparatus.

As you all know, the victory of the people's September Uprising which in itself was a great historic revolutionary act, opened up possibilities for deep revolutionary changes in our state, in our economic, socio-political and cultural life. Under the leadership of the Fatherland Front, a basic factor in which is the working class, a radical reconstruction of our state and society has been started along new, people's democratic lines. This reconstruction causes radical changes in the situation and role of the different classes in our society.

What are these changes and what are the most important ones among them?

The first and most important change consists in the fact that the capitalists as a class were removed from the

leadership of society, national economy and the state. With the nationalization of industry and banking, as well as with the state and co-operative organization of wholesale trade, a process of complete liquidation of the exploiting capitalist class in our country is under way.

The second important change consists in the fact that with the agrarian reform, with the setting up of the co-operative and state farms, and with the taking over of the large farm machinery by the state, a process of wiping out the parasitic large landed estates is being implemented, and the road is being definitely blocked for the creation of new similar parasitic farms, exploiting the labour of agricultural producers.

The third important change consists in the fact that the intelligentsia, which formerly served the ruling capitalist class, now in our people's state, the leadership in which has been assumed by the working class, is freed from the obligation of serving an exploiting regime, and is increasingly joining forces and capacities with the working class in the building of our People's Republic.

The profound changes which set in after September 9, 1944, have radically tilted the balance of class forces in our country. Our society now has two fundamental social classes: the working class and the class of working farmers, which have no contradictory interests. The progressive intelligentsia stands and works by their side. At the head of the state, of society, of our entire social and political, economic and cultural life stands the working class in alliance with the working peasants, with the active co-operation of the intelligentsia, fraternally united in the powerful and victorious Fatherland Front.

But in the working class itself serious structural changes have taken and continue to take place. The Two-Year Economic Plan marked the beginning of a far-reaching and accelerated industrial construction programme leading to an increase of the working class by many thousands of new men and women workers, drawn from among the other social categories, and especially from the villages. The

engineering and technical personnel, which in the past served as a rule for the exploitation and subjugation of the workers by the capitalists, now joins and becomes an integral part of the working class. In the same way, the state and other office workers, who were formerly detached from the working class as a special group, as a tool in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie, are now joining the working class and becoming employees of the people's state.

The agrarian reform in the country and the setting up of state farms have changed the situation of all agricultural workers, former farm-hands. They are also joining the working class, forming an active part of it.

On the other hand, the mechanization of farming has created a new category of workers in our country – tractor drivers and other highly qualified workers working in the co-operative, state, or private farms. They constitute yet another social section merging with the working class.

The former regimes, whose basic principle was expressed in the maxim 'divide and rule', did all they could to divide and pit against each other the intellectual and manual workers. A rapprochement and ironing out of differences between them is taking place now. In the past physical and intellectual workers were the hirelings of capitalism. Today they are people doing work by hand and by brain for the economic and cultural development of all people.

What do these facts show?

They are eloquent proof of the fact that serious inner, structural changes have set in and are taking place in the working class. This is a deep-reaching process which is evidenced in our country, which will be further stepped up in future.

The working class in our country is no longer a proletariat in the old sense of the word, exploited and oppressed by the capitalists. It is appropriate to recall here what Stalin said in his report at the adoption of the Soviet Constitution with regard to the working class in the Soviet Union:

'By force of habit, the working class is often called

proletariat. But what is the proletariat? The proletariat is a class which is deprived of tools and means of production under an economic system in which the tools and means of production belong to the capitalists and the capitalist class exploits the proletariat. The proletariat is a class which is exploited by the capitalists. But in our country, as you all know, the capitalist class has already been done away with, and the means of production have been taken away from the capitalists and handed over to the state, in which the leading force is the working class. In other words, our working class is not only not deprived of tools and means of production, but, on the contrary, possesses them collectively with all the people. Since it possesses them and the capitalist class has been wiped out, every possibility of exploitation of the working class is excluded. Can our working class then be called proletarian? Obviously, it cannot'.

We, of course, at the present stage of our country's development, are still far from having reached the position of the working class in the Soviet Union, but our social development is heading for such a position. And we shall arrive, *we shall without fail arrive there over the road along which we are marching.*

In our country the working class is already being emancipated from capitalist exploitation, because the basic means of production gradually pass over into its own hands, into the hands of the people, into the hands of our people's state.

All this, comrades, speaks of the profound changes which have taken place in the position, role and tasks of the working class. Today it not only strongly defends its economic, social and cultural interests; it also consistently defends the common interests of the people, of the new democracy. *Without the working class, with its new place and tasks in society there is no and there cannot be any people's democracy.* People's democracy is possible only under the leading role of the working class.

I must point out that today the leading role of our

working class is universally recognized in the Fatherland Front and by all men and women citizens who love their country. It is an absolutely regular phenomenon that our people pin their greatest hopes and expectations precisely on the successful fulfilment of the historic mission which the working class is called upon to perform. There can be no doubt that the successful fulfilment of this mission by the working class will greatly depend upon its trade union organizations, upon its General Workers' Trade Union.

What basic conclusions about the working class should be drawn from those essential changes in the structure, place, role and tasks of the working class in our country.

The first conclusion is connected with the structural changes in the working class itself. These changes have a positive character, but they are nevertheless accompanied by certain difficulties. The different new social section now merging with the working class and which will continue to join it in future have their peculiar habits, peculiar views and peculiar psychology. We should spare no effort to do away with the existing differences, to iron out all misunderstandings and to educate these new sections so that they may develop a genuine, patriotic consciousness.

The second conclusion refers to the role of the working class which is called upon under the new conditions to build healthy fraternal co-operation and indissoluble friendship with the working peasants and craftsmen and their organizations, and in particular the co-operation between the General Workers' Trade Union, the General Agricultural Trade Union and the General Craftsmen's Trade Union. The building up and stabilization of this unity is a necessary condition for the progress and development both of the working class and of the peasants and craftsmen, for development along the socialist road.

Third. The recognition of the leading role of the working class carries certain obligations for it. It stands at the helm of the state leadership and has to fulfil a historic mission. That is why, above all, it is responsible for the advance of our country and it bears grave responsibilities.

And it must indeed assume them conscientiously. Much shall be expected from those whom nature has richly endowed. The class to which history has assigned a leading role is expected conscientiously, patiently and firmly to endure all temporary, inevitable hardships and privations. This is only right, because it is in this way alone that the working class will fulfil its leading role in our economic and political life, and it is in this way alone that both it and its children will be able to secure their own prosperity and happiness.

Comrades,

I am fully posted on what has been discussed at your Congress, shall I say – to the last detail. I cannot fail to express my satisfaction at the fact that the Congress has so seriously and in such businesslike manner approached the problems which at the present moment have to be resolved by the trade union movement in general, and by the General Workers' Trade Union in particular. I was particularly gratified to listen to the sound and constructive criticism and self-criticism, which should continue after the Congress at the local organizations throughout the country, maybe still more intensely, and constructively than at the Congress.

Every one among us should understand that it is dangerous to put up with shortcomings, weaknesses and many unsound practices inherited from the past. Not by glossing over and hiding the shortcomings, weaknesses and evil practices, but by their daring and prompt notice and sound criticism shall we be able to remove them.

Not to repeat things that have already been said to the Congress, I wish to call your attention to only *a few of our main future tasks*.

As you know, the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front, in transforming the Fatherland Front into a single socio-political organization of all the people, elaborated and adopted a new programme. It contains the basic and immediate tasks facing the entire Bulgarian people. This creative programme is naturally also the programme of all

trade unions and of the General Workers' Trade Union, which is a powerful mainstay of the Fatherland Front itself.

The first task, under the programme of the Fatherland Front, provides *that the people and their youth should be educated in the spirit of the Constitution of the People's Republic* and the militant freedom-loving traditions of our people. The Constitution as you know, has proclaimed labour as a fundamental social factor. This not only gives great rights to those engaged in physical and intellectual work, to the trade unions, but also imposes on them very serious obligations and responsibilities. It is they who have to secure the definite consolidation of the new attitude towards labour, towards public property and towards the state as our own, people's state. Workers and peasants are now working for themselves, for their children, for their future, for the people's prosperity, and not for capitalists, parasites and exploiters. In their everyday life workers and employees still suffer temporary, inavoidable privations, but in the near future these privations will be richly compensated to the working class and the whole Bulgarian people.

The second great task, according to the Programme, consists *in building up the social and economic foundations of our people's democracy*. The Congress of the Fatherland Front called upon the working class and all Bulgarian citizens, young men and women, to co-operate for the highest development of the forces of production both in industry and agriculture, for the rapid and all-round development of our country. This means that we should be working at top speed to set up a strong economic basis in the People's Republic, a sure guarantee for its national independence and state sovereignty. It is necessary that you, as trade unions and trade union workers, forming the vanguard of the working Bulgarian people in the struggle for the fulfilment of the second part of the Two-Year State Economic Plan, you, who are managing and pushing forward the new state and all-people's industrial and other enterprises, should mobilize your tremendous and ever

growing forces so as to make use of all existing resources and discover new ones, *and develop a still wider, better planned and more intensive emulation and shockwork movement*, making it a basic method in all of your undertakings. You should steadily increase the leading groups of shockworkers who are blazing new trails in labour, the number of rationalizers and innovators in production and in the state apparatus. You must still more carefully than ever improve labour discipline at factories and offices, pay greater attention to the economical use of materials, care of machinery and equipment and wage a struggle against criminal waste, bureaucracy and idleness. It is exceedingly important that you strengthen co-operation between industrial and office workers, on the one hand, and managers engineering, technical and administrative cadres, on the other, by preserving the principle of one man management, which is so necessary for the proper production process.

A stepped up training of good trade union and production cadres is needed, comrades. Leaders and activists of the trade unions and the General Workers' Trade Union are expected to be tirelessly working to improve their qualifications on an ideological and political level, to think and act not in an abstract but in a concrete and businesslike manner. Empty prattlers and vain babblers should not be tolerated in leading positions in the trade unions and enterprises. Capable, talented and active unionists and production workers should be encouraged to take commanding posts in industry and economic life.

Do not forget that to secure the proper functioning of the nationalized enterprises, their reconditioning and development is a very serious test for the trade unions, their trade union committees, functionaries and individual members. To pass successfully this test of patriotism, political maturity, labour heroism, organizational ability and skill all this should be a matter of honour, a matter of personal dignity and courage for every member of the General Workers' Trade Union.

The third task is connected with the laying of the socio-

political foundations of the people's democracy, of our People's Republic. The working class which bore the brunt of the fight against fascism and made possible the great achievements of the people's government, is today called upon to mobilize all its energy, to stake all its prestige as a progressive class, give still greater spirit to the struggle for full unity of the people and become a bulwark rallying forever peasants, craftsmen, people's intelligentsia and all honest men and women citizens of our country under banner of the Fatherland Front as the sole organizer, leader and inspirer of all achievements and victories of our diligent and freedom-loving people.

Another particularly important task will be *to raise the defence power* of our country and to secure its national independence and state sovereignty by rallying and mobilizing all our forces, sharpening our vigilance at home and abroad and strengthening our loyal friendship with the democratic nations, headed by the great Soviet Union. Our working class is profoundly patriotic, boundlessly devoted to its country and will spare no effort in the implementation of this task. But for this purpose the most active participation of the trade unions and of the General Workers' Trade Union is also needed.

A special task facing you is the *further development of the General Workers' Trade Union*, of all your trade union organizations and their indissoluble unity on the sound foundations of a people's democracy. In a comparatively short time you have succeeded in attracting the bulk of the workers and employees in our country. This, however, is still insufficient. You should swell your ranks and include the remaining part of still unorganized industrial and office workers. You must tighten your ranks still more closely and turn the General Workers' Trade Union into a still stronger, living bastion, moving forward and ever forward, working tirelessly to raise the political, economic and cultural standards of the working people in our country.

At the same time, by taking an active part in the World Federation of Trade Unions, the General Workers' Trade

Union is bound to keep its members always informed about international developments and about our peaceful foreign policy, to educate them in a spirit of international solidarity and irreconcilability with imperialism and imperialist aggression, so that they may be able conscientiously and resolutely to fight in defence of peace and against all instigators of new wars.

In this connexion I must point out, that for our trade unions and for our social organizations in general it is absolutely necessary that they should develop an effective inner democracy. *You should rely on the initiative, according to me, even of the last industrial and office worker and employee in our country,* and particularly on those organized in your organizations. Allow me to say, without wishing to insult anybody, that in this connexion there are many and many wrong doings. The leading executive of an organization is no military commander; its president, secretary, etc. are no bosses. They should not command. They should see to it that trade union discipline is observed. They are bound to do this; they have to remind members of it and, as management they should take strict measures to keep discipline. But they do not command. They administer, and they administer on the basis of conviction, education and influence, especially through their personal example. *The members of every organization should have the freedom, without fear of consequences, to state their opinion and make their critical remarks on one question or another. There must be freedom!* If some are not right – that is what the management is for, that is what the central boards of the trade union organizations and the Central Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union are for – they will correct them. Correct, correct those who make mistakes, but give them a chance to have their say. All that is healthy and useful in their thoughts, proposals and advice – take it with open arms, with applause.

No magnates and no bossy government can be tolerated among the working class. The working class is growing with every passing day and what it demands of its

leaders and functionaries is intellect, character, will power and tact, tactfulness in their relations with our workers and employees. And whichever leader, great or small, fails to understand this, he ought to be sorry for himself. This refers not only to the trade unions as a whole, this is also true of every enterprise, every department, trade union committee, factory or enterprise trade union group; this also refers to managers, especially now, when capable and loyal men have risen from your own midst. Their ears should not be allowed to outgrow their brains! Let vain glory never dazzle their heads, because that may ruin both them and the cause for which all of us bear such great responsibility.

And, last but not least, is your task and care devoted to a constant improvement, within the existing possibilities, of the material and cultural standards of industrial and office workers. The people's state, the government, and the Fatherland Front are doing and will continue to do everything possible to alleviate the still difficult conditions of the working people in our country. It should not be forgotten, however, that because of general shortages there are and there still will be hardships.

It cannot be said, and I personally do not think, that all has been done by the trade unions to alleviate the difficulties of supplying the working people with goods and services. Local experience has shown – a little while ago I heard some of the speakers mention it – that when there is good will and prompt initiative, rational utilization of the local resources, the setting up of auxiliary farms at the big factories and enterprises and with other similar measures – *substantial benefits can be secured for workers and employees despite the general difficult condition of supplies in the country.*

Before ending my address, I wish to touch upon just one more question.

The agents of the routed reaction in our country and foreign *agents provocateurs* and schemers do not cease spreading alarming rumours at street-corners about a pending world war or attack against our country. In their impotent malice and folly they seek consolation in these

rumours. Convinced that the people's government in our country is unshakable, they now rely only on intervention from outside. They are trying to sow confusion among the builders of the People's Republic, trying to make them believe that there is no sense building and creating, that there is no sense organizing labour brigades, emulation and shockwork and straining the people's forces – physical and moral, because tomorrow or the day after a new world war will break out and all the people's efforts and the efforts of the working class shall have been in vain. Futile are, however, these treacherous machinations of the people's enemies. Our working class and our people do not give ear and will never give ear to such cowardly implications. Yes, there are adventurers who are trying to provoke a new war and other provocations against our People's Republic. *But for every man who has common sense and who is more or less familiar with the international situation it is as clear as day that a new world war is not imminent and that every provocation against our country can be and will be nipped in the bud.*

With every passing day the growing forces of democracy and peace in the whole world, the vigilance of the people themselves, including the Bulgarian people, give us confidence that we can resolutely and persistently go on with our creative work without being alarmed by threats and machinations, however cleverly they may be concocted. We should only be vigilant, vigilant at our posts.

I do not doubt, comrades, that you, the trade unions, and the whole working class, will fully mobilize your efforts and will work with still greater energy and enthusiasm for the consolidation of our people's democracy, for the people's prosperity and for the triumph of socialism in our country.

Long live the General Workers' Trade Union which, in co-operation with the Union of Farmers, is the basic factor for the fulfilment of the Two-Year National Economic Plan!

Long live our glorious and heroic working class!

Long live the Fatherland Front – organizer, leader and
inspirer of our diligent and freedom-loving people!

Member of the presidium: And its founder!

G. Dimitrov: Long live the People's Republic of
Bulgaria! May it grow ever stronger!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 52

March 4, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,

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SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING WELCOMING
BULGARIA'S GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ON ITS
RETURN FROM MOSCOW

March 24, 1948

Citizens of Sofia,

Dear comrades, it is my particularly pleasant duty to convey the warm, brotherly greetings of the great city of Moscow to you and through you to the whole Bulgarian people, to all Bulgarian patriots as far as the remotest hamlet of our free People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Fulfilling the will of our people and their most cherished aspirations, the Government Delegation visited Moscow to conclude a pact of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with the Government of the great Soviet Union.

We went there as true friends of the Soviet people – our liberator and protector. Today we are coming back with a treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is a great historical event. Now our people and our People's Republic are not only friends and true comrades of the Soviet people and the Soviet Union. With the signing of the treaty they have become their true and loyal allies for the common good of our nations and for world peace.

The treaty between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is a treaty based on equality, a treaty based on the principle: fidelity for fidelity, friendship for friendship. This treaty also expresses the trust of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in our people and our People's Republic.

The Soviet Union, waging a most consistent and determined fight for a lasting and democratic peace, would not have signed such a pact of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with so small a state as ours, had it not been convinced that this small state firmly stood on its own feet, that its people have firmly taken their destiny into their own hands and are ready to be a true comrade and ally to the end, sincerely and consistently.

We are happy to state that such boundless trust in our people and our country exists, and is expressed and incarnated in the very treaty.

I shall not dwell on the treaty itself, as it is already known. I must stress, however, that at this moment when the leaders of certain states manifest hostility towards the constructive work of our people, when certain forces want to hamper our free democratic development, the Soviet Union is extending to us a brotherly hand, and is lending us sincere aid for our own development, for the building up of our People's Republic, for consolidating its independence and sovereignty, as well as for its future prosperity. Moscow and the Soviet Union are not only our past liberators, but also true comrades who sincerely and disinterestedly help our national efforts to build up the happiness and bright future of our country. The treaties concluded up to now, and particularly the treaty with the great Soviet Union, inspire our people to march forward with still greater conviction, to build their People's Republic without bothering that abroad there are forces and people who do not like this at all. In other words, our people, rolling up their sleeves for still more diligent and dedicated work, making full use of the resources of their country and of their labour with the sincere assistance of our allies, can easily forego the dubious dollar 'aid' and the loans enthralling for our economy and our country.

In Moscow we could ascertain the great contrast between what was going on in the so-called Western Democracies and in the Soviet Union. At this moment when, as you know, war hysteria, anxiety, insecurity and

uncertainty are artificially being fomented in the imperialist states, in Moscow, in the Soviet Union, on the contrary, there is complete reliance on the forces of the Soviet people, wholly preoccupied with peaceful work and displaying unusual labour heroism and enthusiasm. There, the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia act and work wholeheartedly for the fulfilment of the impressive Five-Year Plan in four years. The Soviet Union has concentrated its attention and forces on the realization of this plan and on the establishment of a lasting democratic peace. There is no war hysteria, no war propaganda in this great land of socialism. The Soviet people have rightly taken up the decisive place of vanguard of progressive mankind in the struggle against the instigators of new wars, for a really lasting democratic peace, for normal international collaboration, for brotherhood among the nations of the world.

Congratulating you and the whole of our people upon the conclusion of this historic treaty, I would like to call out together with you:

Long live the indestructible alliance and eternal friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the great Soviet Union!

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – the bastion of democratic world peace, socialism and brotherhood among nations.

Long live and flourish our dear People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 70
March 25, 1948

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TASKS OF THE BULGARIAN WOMEN'S UNION
CONNECTED WITH THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL
EDUCATION OF BULGARIAN WOMEN

*Speech before the Plenary Session of the Bulgarian Women's
Union*

April 6, 1948

Dear Comrades,

I am happy to have the opportunity of congratulating your plenary session and through you, the delegates of the country societies in our country, to congratulate all Bulgarian women, women doing physical or intellectual work, housewives and mothers of our children on their selfless work and struggle for the well-being of our country. I am all the more glad of doing it, when I see the indisputable fact that with every passing day the participation of Bulgarian women and girls in the general reconstruction of our People's Republic, in the fulfilment of the national economic plan is becoming ever greater, more active and more conscious.

From what I learned about your work at the plenary session, and what I heard at today's session, I can say with great moral satisfaction that the women organized in our National Women's Union have made a remarkable step forward since their first and second congresses.

This businesslike approach to the questions which the plenary session is discussing – criticism and self-criticism – and the practical proposals made by delegates taking part in the plenary session show that our organized women, activists of the Women's Union, are no longer satisfied with general declarations, fiery speeches, great and solemn promises, but have indeed got down to work putting their

brains to the best use and setting their hearts on constructive work for the well-being of our people.

I shall not dwell on all questions raised and discussed here. Allow me to touch upon only a few questions and make certain explanations which, according to me, are particularly necessary at the present moment. These questions cover a number of weaknesses and shortcomings, general for the country and specific to your union, which still exist despite all which you have indisputably achieved.

If you should ask me which is the weakest spot in our joint work and in the work among women in Bulgaria, in the activities of the Women's Union itself, I would reply without any hesitation, on the basis of observations, impressions and close examination: the weakest spot, yours and ours at the present moment, is the political and general education of the Bulgarian woman. It is not that you have not done any educational work, it is not that you have not worked to raise our women and girls to a higher cultural level, but all that has been done has been far from sufficient, unsystematic, unorganized and far not what the present moment requires it to be. All of you will easily understand – you may have realized it perhaps in your practical experience, in your work, in the struggle for overcoming difficulties of all kinds – that the better educated the Bulgarian woman is politically, the higher her culture and the broader her intellectual horizon, the better she feels and understands current questions great and small, with a solid, correct and careful scientific approach to them, the more successfully and confidently she will work, the better will she fulfil her duty as a mother, wife, as a worker, and as a Bulgarian patriot, public figure and citizen of our People's Republic. Please, note, that herein lies the key to all our successes and to the successful fulfilment of all other tasks that are of paramount importance: the national economic plan, the brigade movement, and so on.

There are many mothers in our country, for instance, who in the present epoch of labour heroism, of creative work, of endeavour for progress, stop their daughters from

joining the labour brigades. They are many indeed! Why do they do it? Because they think that it is immoral, that their daughters, the girls in the brigades may become morally corrupt, when it is a fact that the collective work done by young people in the brigades, their joint constructive work, their joint march along our road of grandscale construction raises the morality of both boys and girls, a healthy, people's and progressive morality, developing and consolidating genuine and sincere friendship and mutual respect between them and establishing new, healthy and rational relations between the sexes.

Many are the mothers who, prompted by religious influences, prejudices and church pressure, keep their children away from our excellent educational Septemvriiché Organization. Many are the women and mothers who themselves push their children into the noxious atmosphere of religious prejudices instead of helping them from early childhood get a scientifically correct explanation of the creation of the world, of the laws of nature, and of the laws of social evolution.

We have noticed yet another shameful fact: women, even among those organized in the Women's Union, refuse to associate and work with Gipsy women. The old, worn out prejudice that Gipsies are outcasts, utterly devoid of culture, that they are beggars and tramps, hobos etc., still exists. But in the meantime, facts show something quite different. In Sofia, Sliven and other towns there are now groups of Gipsy workers at the factories who have joined the labour brigade movement and who are front rankers in the brigades and in production.

There are also many women teachers, especially in the villages, who for one reason or another keep aloof from public life, from the life of the women's organizations. In certain cases this may to a certain extent be due, as was pointed out here, to our fault. But in most cases through their own fault they stand aloof and will not do anything at all to do something about the education and enlightenment of our peasant women. There are also many among them

who help reactionary priests poison the souls of our rural children.

Remember yet another fact. There is a tremendous mass of women and Turkish women in particular – the comrade who represents them spoke about them here – as well as Bulgarian Mohammedan women who are still uneducated and uncultured through no fault of their own, of course, but through the fault of the past regime and no doubt to a great extent through our own fault, because we have not done our duty as members of the Fatherland Front, of the Government and of the Women's Union with a view to accelerating the emancipation of this tremendous mass of women from ignorance and obscurantism.

There are also Evangelist and other women's societies whose whole 'public activity' consists in prayer meetings and the singing of church songs at a time when all our people have rolled up their sleeves, working and building for the common good, and when all of them know the wonderful Bulgarian proverb that 'the vineyard needs no praying but hoeing'.

As a proof of the lack of sufficient political education and progressive Fatherland Front culture I also consider the sad fact that many intelligent women both outside and inside the Union assume a haughty, disdainful and overbearing attitude towards the ordinary working women, farmers and housewives. Very often such women consider it below the dignity of their 'intellectual and aristocratic nature' to descend as it were into the 'mire' and 'darkness' of the common workers, peasant women and housewives. We have observed this at many places. They assume a haughty air, like a select cream of society under the Fatherland Front regime. The senile bourgeois high society has been definitely dethroned, but another, new high society is coming into being. I am carefully following your paper, but I do not see you react against this; I have come across no critical notes or articles against this evil.

As a result of these manifestations and many others like them – you know them yourselves so I need not repeat

them – it should be expressly stressed and brought home to the last member of the Women's Union, to every county women's society, that women have to be given opportunities for a sound progressive, Fatherland Front, scientific political education, so that their cultural level can be improved every day – an education in the spirit of our people's Constitution, in the spirit of the Fatherland Front programme, in the spirit of the tasks of the National Women's Union.

Every member of the Women's Union ought to have a deep-felt desire to become an agitator and educator among women, each one according to her powers and possibilities. Every woman can achieve this, provided she manifests the necessary zeal and is given the necessary help and co-operation. That is why the Women's Union and the women's societies exist, that is why a women's paper is published, that is why so many pamphlets are published, that is why so many instructions are issued, and that is why much can and must still be done to explain topical questions and developments.

But to make it possible for every member actually to become an agitator and educator, she herself should study and grow, she should be tirelessly working on self-improvement. How are you going to explain things to other women, to those who are lagging behind you, topical home and foreign developments, if you yourselves lack the necessary enlightenment? How, for instance, will you be able to explain the undertakings of the Government in the economic and other fields, if you do not know them? What educators will you be, if you have not studied, for instance, the programme of the Fatherland Front?

You should devote particular care in this respect, you should always be working with the activists and members of the societies. From your midst, from among those several hundred thousand organized women which will multiply and become a million, will as from a deep mine come fresh forces, many of them more capable than some present leaders of the various societies. This is like a virgin land

which has not been ploughed for ages. We are now ploughing it, and are now improving it with artificial fertilizers. It can yield abundant fruit, and the problem of cadres will thus be sooner and more favourably resolved. Many and many wonderful women leaders and functionaries in all fields of our public, political, economic and cultural life will gain prominence.

The meetings you hold are necessary, but do not let them be too many. Very often an excessive number of meetings makes them boring. Hold less meetings, but better organized ones, sensible, prepared in advance. Lectures are needed. And what is particularly badly needed are study circles, many of them. Down among the masses, as a woman comrade pointed out, those 'socials' are very useful as friendly meetings with a certain preliminary preparation, where women and girls themselves take a certain initiative, where they feel at ease and not as at an official, public meeting. Here they can express their doubts and troubles and receive certain explanations and answers; they can have a good time together and go back home inspired, armed with new knowledge and arguments which they did not know before.

As you all know, the enemies are not caught napping. All the time a non-stop campaign of intrigue, slander, hostile and troublesome rumours is being kept afoot. You should be armed with the necessary facts and arguments to explain everything, and – I do not wish schoolteachers to take offence – not the way teachers do, not the way things are explained at school, because you do not deal with students. The necessary explanation should be given simply, in a popular way, to the housewife, worker, girl, so that they may know how to react convincingly against such hostile intrigue, slander and alarming rumours.

Now, for instance, along all lines and channels they are spreading the rumour that there's going to be a war, that a war is going to break out tomorrow or the day after. Malicious members of the opposition – who suffered complete failure and have lost all sense of direction, rely on

nothing but war. They console themselves and their friends that in the next few days there is going to be a big war, after which there will no longer be a Fatherland Front, there will no longer be communists, everything will start running in the old way when they were able to live at other people's expense. They rely on war, although if war should break out, not only the people would suffer, but they – these people's enemies would be the first to be wiped out from the face of our planet.

We, who know the springs actuating these events and the balance of power, the state and social balance between the forces and potentials of peace and democracy and the forces and potentials of imperialist reaction and the war-mongering camp, we can rest absolutely assured and confident, because all that happens on the surface is mere noise and soap bubbles, which can scare only him who does not understand what is happening under the surface. For us this is absolutely clear. But this ought to be clear not only to us, as leaders of these societies, it should also be clear to all other women, organized or unorganized. Then they would not be alarmed, they would not tremble or believe blindly that somebody from the American Legation said there would soon be a war or that there were. American forces in Greece getting ready to attack Bulgaria. They will never believe many and many other similar unfounded hostile rumours, if they are promptly refuted. This should above all be the task of organized women. Here is where our National Women's Union is called upon to play a most important role.

If somebody were to ask you now which among you know the provisions of the law which we passed not very long ago through the National Assembly on the so-called large urban property, I am sure that few among you would be able to raise a hand and say that they are familiar with it. Yet how many rumours have been set afloat to the effect that the little houses of the poor artisans and peasants would be expropriated. In fact, the question is about large property and about its expropriation under certain con-

ditions. Some circulate such false rumours and many Bulgarian organized men and women are confused by them, because they do not know the exact content of the law. Similar is the situation with regard to many other questions. What should be done is to take such a law and read it at a study circle or 'social', so as to see what it actually implies.

Political education, in other words, should not be general, but filled with concrete content, closely connected with current events in the country and abroad, as well as with our economic, cultural and other tasks as a Government, as a Fatherland Front, and as a Women's Union.

I may bore you... but I wish without fail to touch upon a question about which little is said and written in our country, but in connexion with which, according to me, there are many obscure points. This is the question of the family.

There was a time when a negative attitude towards the family was popular among socialists. Many socialists thought that the family was a bourgeois survival which should be wiped out. Of course, there would again be husband and wife, there would again be marriage for love or without love, and children would be born. But those children would be taken over by society as children of society. They imagined that the mother at the maternity home would bear the child, take her hat and a note testifying that she has given birth to a child and thus fulfilled some sort of duty and then go back home, while the state, society, took those babies to bring them up as children of society. According to those 'socialists', the family as a basic cell in society is absolutely useless, a historic relic. This, of course, was not a scientific view, it was not a Marxist view with regard to the family, but it was widespread.

The experience of the first socialist country – the Soviet Union – proved that it was a big stupidity on the part of those 'socialists' who thought that the family would be wiped out. In the Soviet Union – where as you all know

socialism has already been built and where the Soviet people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party are assiduously working to pass over to the other and higher stage of the socialist system, communism – the family is the basic cell of society: the mother is the mainstay, the pillar of the family, the mother is the first and most responsible educator of the child.

The concern for the stabilization of the family, the new, socialist family in the Soviet Union, is a constant and important task.

What should our progressive Fatherland Front family be in our country, and on what foundations should it rest? We are also marching, as you all know, towards socialism; we are preparing and building the foundations of the future socialist system in our country. Our progressive Fatherland Front family should be based:

- first, on equality between man and woman;
- second, on mutual respect between man and woman;
- third, on mutual moral assistance between husband and wife;

- fourth, on their joint care for the upbringing and education of the children, and

- fifth, and last but not least, of course, on their joint work and struggle for the realization of the programme of the Fatherland Front.

These are the foundations on which we can have a healthy, progressive, Fatherland Front family, constituting the basic cell of our society today and in future. The Government and our Fatherland Front society, and in particular women organized in the Women's Union, should not spare their systematic, steady and daily efforts to consolidate the family in our country, to create better and healthier families in town and village and throughout the country.

It is not in vain that the people's Constitution gives the family special protection. It is not in vain that a number of measures, concrete measures in defence of mothers and children with a view to consolidating the new, healthy

family in our country, were adopted in the programme of the Fatherland Front by its Congress.

The hardships which are encountered in everyday life, the difficulties which every family has to overcome, create – you all know it from personal experience – certain disagreements, certain differences even in the best homes. But, dear comrades, our sound principle should always be never, as the wise Bulgarian proverb says, to burn the quilt in order to destroy the flea. Such petty disagreements and differences connected with practical life and the hardship of daily routine, can and must be transitory, and must be settled with mutual understanding and good will between husband and wife. There is no doubt that the husband has important obligations, and in this connexion his responsibility is very great. This is still not well understood in Bulgaria. Many men cannot understand it, because by centuries old traditions it is the man who commands: he is the master, he is allowed everything, while the woman is subordinated to him. Many men still cannot get rid of this shameful heritage of the past. But much depends also upon the women. And I would like to give you a fraternal advice: think and act prompted not only by momentary flutterings of the heart or by momentary and transient impulses, but rather by reason, bearing in mind that the family is not only a personal matter of our own, that it affects not only you and the children, who are very important, but that it is a matter of joint concern.

Upon all that is going on in the family to a great extent depends whether the women will be able to do any social work; on this to a great extent depends also the labour productivity of the husband, son and daughter at the factory or enterprise. Even in the poorest family you can create or help create a calm home atmosphere, if there is, for instance, more care about order and cleanliness, if there is at least one little flower. Our young women usually pay little attention to these things. You should have a flower pot, though only a small one to make even a little room look cosy. It should be tidy; the wife should look smart and

not dishevelled and slovenly like a scarecrow. Even under the hardest conditions with good will and due care for her person, a wife can achieve much along this line. She can create a friendly atmosphere, an atmosphere of moral mutual reliance, of advancement of a common cause, for the success of both the one and the other. Such a family will never be destroyed by an accidentally encountered handsome man or beautiful woman – they may come and go – but will steadily get more and more stabilized, because it is welded from within, because indeed the feelings of the spouses are not accidental and momentary, like the mood of a man who when he is a little tipsy forgets himself, but sobers up the morning after. This is a strong link, a moral, spiritual, cultural and economic link for the good of the pair and for the happiness of the children they have created and for whom they are responsible to society.

The wife remains an important factor in the family. It is she who creates the atmosphere – good or bad – in the family. A husband who has a good wife, advances rapidly, whereas a husband who has a bad wife remains behind and fails. The reverse is also true. But the first is more often true with regard to the family, home, family atmosphere and children.

In this connexion I wish to say a few words here about the so-called housewives. As you know, hundreds of thousands of women in our country with greater number of children cannot work at the factories and offices. They do their special work at home and outside of it, and some public work if they are politically minded. I am glad to point out that in our country the percentage of these women is increasing with every passing day. Many foreign observers are surprised, and rightly surprised at the fact that with respect to public activities our women stand higher than women in many other countries.

The housewife in the home does the work of a cook, of a seamstress, of a medical nurse, and of a servant, all in one. This is a socially useful labour. The care devoted by this working mother to the upbringing of the children is

great indeed. My mother, Grandmother Parashkeva, had eight children and brought them up all by herself, without any servant. This labour, this care of a mother who works for her children, is exceedingly precious. Without it we can have no proper upbringing of the children, no proper education of the children of preschool age. Before the kindergarten, children's home or the Septemvriiché organization steps in, it is the mother who takes care of the children's education.

Why is it then that we usually attach much less importance to this work than to the work of women in the factory who produce commodities and of an employee who does her important work at the office? Let me tell you sincerely that I consider the public work done by housewives, who beside their hard work in the home, their care for the family and children, fulfil also other public duties, as a veritable feat. A veritable act of heroism is performed by those women who, exhausted by their hard work at home, by their care to supply the home with provisions, by queuing up to buy something, still find both time and strength to work in a women's society or for public work in some tailoring or other brigade. This labour of the working housewife, comrades, should be respected and not underrated. Is there any reason why housework should be considered as less important than the work done in industry or at an office? I think that there is absolutely no such reason or such justification. We should speak and write on this subject and explain it everywhere. Let those working women-housewives not have the feeling of belonging to a second-best, lower or less valuable category.

You can add yet another argument here, if you wish.

In our country there are women and girls engaged in production, in the state apparatus and in the various social organizations. I cannot tell you their exact number at this moment, but they are not more than 250,000. You know how many working housewives there are in Bulgaria? They are three times as many. If you take, for instance, the

membership of your organization, you will see that most of the women are housewives.

Minister Tsola Dragoicheva: Mostly housewives.

Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov: Thank God that such members are doing public work. An end must be put, comrades, to the incorrect and harmful attitude which we have had so far towards housewives, and the sooner we put an end to it, the greater activity will that tremendous mass of women display for the common cause of the Women's Union and the Fatherland Front.

It is to be regretted that the times we live in are hard. Food supply is hard, the supply of clothing is hard, the question of housing is very hard; the housing shortage in our country is particularly acute. All this cannot be set right at once. These are all temporary hardships which have to be endured and all injustices, if there are such, duly removed. These hardships are a burden to women much more than they affect men. And I have been notified from many sources that many women organized in the Women's Union, good activists, women who are loyal to our country and who endeavour to do their public work to the best of their ability, who are everywhere, so to say, in all actions, in all public campaigns, are burdened with grave anxiety about their children. The children of many of these activists, while the latter are engaged in public work, are left without control in the streets. Is it impossible for us, the Fatherland Front and the People's Republic of Bulgaria to find a way of putting these children under some control and care? I think that this can and should be done. Neighbours can be of some assistance locally, but serious measures should be taken by society and by the Women's Union itself. We want such a help for the children of such progressive and active mothers, so that these children should not become failures in life, but should properly develop both physically and mentally. The local societies and their leaders in every town and village ought to take up this question seriously and do what is necessary with the scanty means which they have at their disposal.

There are such possibilities. Means can be found by saving here and there, by making a more rational use of certain possibilities than we have been making so far, and the situation will be alleviated. Such alleviation is absolutely necessary. Care should be devoted everywhere to mothers and children. Tomorrow is Mother's Day. The great role played by the mother, the creator of new life, should be honoured. It should be honoured not only by speeches, not only by messages of greetings – it is necessary that this day be celebrated solemnly – but above all with proper care. Give your attention to our mothers. They take care of everything, themselves, but let us help every mother have the minimum which she needs.

Respect for the mother should be steadily cultivated. A comrade spoke here about the cult for the Bulgarian woman. The good and devoted Bulgarian mother should be raised to a cult. Fear of pangs of childbirth should be banished from the hearts of many and many women. They are afraid to bear children; it's difficult. And after they come, it is hard to bring up children. But in spite of all this, motherhood is a great thing – healthy children should be born and with the first milk which the mother gives the child she should nurture him with love of country, loyalty to his people, loyalty to socialism and faith in its triumph.

We have still great hardships to overcome. You know them. But I think that women, and more particularly mothers, can best understand them, and with the proper moral and political assistance, they are the ones who will most bravely overcome these hardships. Why? Because they know from personal experience what pangs accompany the birth of the new, future citizen, man or woman of the People's Republic. They know from personal experience how many difficulties, worries and indispositions the mother has to go through for months before her son or daughter is born, who are a source of happiness both for her and for all our people. The midwife is the woman who can to a certain degree, as you know, if she is a good midwife, alleviate these sufferings during the period of

pregnancy and pain at childbirth. But even then this is an inevitably painful experience for the mother.

Well, you yourselves understand that without difficulties, without birth pangs it will be impossible for the embryo which has already developed and is approaching the day of delivery – for the new social system, socialism, to see the light of day. It would be naïve indeed to assume that there will be no difficulties, that the coming into being of a child is accompanied by birth pangs, but that the coming into being of a social system will take place without any pain? No. Here again the good midwife, the invincible Fatherland Front can diminish the social pains, and it is called upon to diminish them.

They will still be incomparably stronger than the pains of an ordinary delivery, but they must be overcome and endured, if we wish to witness the general happiness of our people and our country.

We should all join and help, help every day this historic midwife – the Fatherland Front – to fulfil successfully its role as a midwife assisting the creation of our new happy society. This body is composed of the best men and women in Bulgaria, the best young men and girls.

It is gaining experience every day, getting ready for the final outcome, and there can be no doubt that it will manage to alleviate the birth pangs of our socialist society.

Allow me to end with the slogan: 'Long live our working and devoted Bulgarian women and girl patriots!'

Long live and flourish the Bulgarian Women's Union – a great school for the political education and cultural progress of the Bulgarian women.

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

'The Role and Tasks of Women in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.' 1948, pp. 35–53

G. Dimitrov, *Works*,
Vol. 14, pp. 34–51

A NEW WORLD WAR TODAY IS NEITHER
INEVITABLE NOR IMMINENT

Speech at a Mass Meeting in Prague

April 23, 1948

Soudruzi a soudružki!

I am particularly happy to take the opportunity before such a grand manifestation of fraternity between the Czechoslovak people and our Bulgarian people to convey to the people's government of the Czechoslovak Republic and to the entire Czechoslovak people the warmest greetings of the Bulgarian people, of our 'lidova republica' Bulgaria, of its government and of the Bulgarian Government Delegation which you see among you.

I should like more particularly to congratulate you on your brilliant triumph in February over the dark forces of reaction in Czechoslovakia – a triumph of the Czech and the Slovak peoples, a triumph of the heroic working class in Czechoslovakia led by our soudrug and sincere friend Clement Gottwald.

As you all know, this day is a day of importance both for you and for us. It is also a historic day, which coming generations will be able to appraise more correctly than we, who are contemporaries of this great event.

We, the two governments, yours and ours, signed today a lasting treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Czechoslovak Republic. To the treaties concluded by our people's republics with the other Slav and non-Slav countries, and in particular with the great Soviet Union, our ally

and protector, we have added yet another very important link, a new treaty, a new tie in our Slav brotherhood, in the progressive democratic community headed by the great Russian people and the Soviet Union.

This treaty is not the fruit of secret diplomacy, as many treaties were made in the past. This treaty was not drafted and signed behind closed doors. Its coming into being was widely publicized. It was concluded between our people and the peoples of Czechoslovakia – according to their will and wish – before the eyes of the whole world. It is not directed against any other people or against any other state. It is not only of indisputable benefit to our peoples, but is also a valuable contribution for the establishment of a lasting democratic peace in Central Europe, in the Balkans and in the whole world.

Its significance today is even greater when, as you all know, various imperialists, adventurers and plunderers of other people's goods, of other people's riches, of other people's labour, are trying hard to foment new wars and to hinder the establishment of a lasting democratic peace so badly needed and longed for by all people.

We signed this treaty assuming reciprocal obligations with the profound conviction that it would be fulfilled consistently to the end, for our people's welfare and for the benefit of peace. A pledge for its fulfilment is the people's democratic system in your country and in our country, a pledge for it are our diligent and *freedom-loving peoples*, a pledge for it is the *working class*, the leading people's democratic force in your country and in ours. A pledge for it are the people's governments of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, which have no other and can have no other goals and intents, except loyally and honestly to serve their peoples, the cause of people's democracy and the cause of socialism.

In a recent speech the American President Truman had expressly declared among other things: 'The tragic death of the Czechoslovak Republic shook the whole civilized world'.

Soudruzi a soudružki!

We travelled across a great portion of Czechoslovakia – from Parkani to Prague. We saw several plants in Prague and the wonderful city of Prague itself. We saw Czechs and Slovaks – workers, peasants and intellectuals working with enthusiasm for the progress of their country. We saw your heroic youth. We saw women and girls, working for the prosperity of the Czechoslovak Republic. We saw the smiling faces of little children – the most precious capital of the Czechoslovak people; we saw the meadows and fields wonderfully tilled by the hands of Czech and Slovak farmers. We saw a considerable portion of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia who are working for the building up of the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia. Everywhere we saw smiling faces, genuine enthusiasm and a profound faith in the people's own forces and in the people's cause. We saw with our own eyes and are now profoundly convinced that the Czechoslovak Republic is living an exceedingly intensive life, that it is on the up-swing, in a drive of constructive labour inspite of all temporary difficulties which, of course, are not few. Where is that 'tragic death of the Czechoslovak Republic' which is said to have shaken the whole civilized world? There is no trace of such a thing. May God grant such a tragic death to every people in the world is the answer which we could with justification give to the American President.

It is clear that some great statesmen are not well acquainted or do not wish to become acquainted with what is actually happening in the world and more particularly in our countries, the countries of new democracy. They are still thinking in the old way. They are living with concepts and evaluations of Europe and of the European peoples, and in particular of our peoples, with concepts and evaluations dating back maybe 50 years. Yet the last war, side by side with the other important results which it brought, created a new and powerful factor in the world arena. Side by side with the great country of socialism, there appeared states in which the people, abandoning the

past, have taken their destinies into their own hands, peoples who have risen to shake off once and for all the yoke, the oppressive burden of imperialism and to build their home in accordance with their own interests, their happiness and the happiness of their children.

It is this fact that the statesmen in question fail to take into account in their calculations. They have struck our peoples off the map, when there is no power on earth which can strike off or annihilate peoples who have decided to live in freedom, and are marching onward and ever onward along the road of prosperity, along the road of socialism.

Superficial observers of what is going on in the world now see only tragic and gloomy pictures. They are alarmed by the constant clamour about a new world war, they see nothing but the intrigues of the imperialists and their agents – the right-wing socialists.

In the meantime we live, *soudruzi a soudružki*, in a great epoch, an epoch of far-reaching historic changes. It is now the peoples who will have to, and will in fact, decide their own destinies and not the dollar, atom bomb, or any other horrors and monsters that may be pitched against them.

You all know that every day alarming rumours are being circulated to the effect that a new world war is inevitable and imminent. In this way some want to scare the nations which do not obey imperialism. They wish to curb their will, to make them fall on their knees, so that the dollar millionnaires and multi-millionnaires may be able in future again to exploit other peoples and the labour of others.

There are indeed uninformed citizens, peasants, workers, employees, men, women and youth, who are influenced by such alarming rumours about an inevitable and imminent war. To some statesmen with weak nerves, who tremble when a storm breaks out without understanding that after a storm the sun usually shines more brightly, all these stories appear to be a realistic danger.

All this noise, steady propaganda and incitement to new wars have their definite aims and purposes, which are harmful for our peoples and can only be of benefit to our enemies.

We should know and remember, however, on the basis of a careful study of the actual international situation, the balance of power in the different countries and on an international scale, of what is actually going on and not, what is represented as happening without actually taking place; we should know for certain that a new world war today is neither inevitable nor imminent. It is neither inevitable nor imminent, although there are imperialists and adventurers interested in kindling the conflagration of a new war. Why?

First, because the peoples do not wish even to listen to talk about a new war. The generations which lived through the horrors of the nazi aggressive war are still alive. No people want to live through a new, third world war. The peoples stand for peace and for peace alone – for a lasting democratic peace.

Second, a new world war is neither inevitable nor imminent because the peoples, their democratic forces, are united in a mighty front of peace and democracy, headed by the great Soviet Union – in a front of peace and democracy which rallies increasing numbers of honest and freedom-loving people both in Eastern and Western Europe and in all continents on the globe. This front is growing with every passing day.

Third, because in a number of states the peoples have already taken power into their own hands and have their people's governments. The mercenary capitalist cliques in these countries are either definitely removed from power, or their power is breathing its last.

Fourth, because people's democracy is gaining ground, under the leadership of the working class – which forms the basic bulwark in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of a new world war.

Fifth, because the vigilance of the masses with regard to

the plans and actions of the instigators of a new war is becoming ever sharper.

Sixth, because those who would like to kindle a new world conflagration cannot raise any other slogans except the slogan for war against democracy, for war against socialism – the same anti-communist slogan which was raised by Hitler, and are doing it at a moment when for the people – for the working class, peasants and progressive intelligentsia – democracy and socialism are their most cherished aspirations and most valuable acquisitions in the hard fight against nazi oppression.

Many more reasons can be enumerated why a new world war is now neither inevitable nor imminent. But one more argument in this connexion should be pointed out. There are no questions, *soudruzi a soudružki*, between big and small states in the world which cannot be settled in a peaceful way, without war, if the established international agreements of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam are applied, if the principles of the United Nations Organization are strictly observed, of which, as you know, the Soviet Union is giving wonderful examples every day.

No masses would stake their life, shed their blood, expose their homes to destruction, their families to ruin and annihilation for the interests and enrichment of the imperialists? How could now, after the Second World War, the peoples be roused – American workers and farmers, British workers and farmers, workers, peasants and other working people in the so-called Western Europe – and sent to shed their blood in the Balkans or in Czechoslovakia? What interests of the masses themselves could justify such action?

Our peoples, our workers, peasants, craftsmen, intelligentsia, can resolutely and confidently carry on with their constructive work, fulfilling their patriotic duty at the factories, departments, in the fields, in the Army, wherever they happen to be without being alarmed by the panic and war hysteria that are purposefully disseminated.

All this, I want you to understand me correctly, does

not by any means signify that we are going to tilt out hats and cease to think and prepare for defence – the steady, resolute and unflinching defence of our freedom, our independence, our state sovereignty, our future and the future of our children.

On the contrary, still sharper vigilance is needed, still more solid people's unity, and still more assiduous constructive labour. It is necessary that our economic plans, our production plans be fulfilled and overfulfilled, so that our economic might can be enhanced with every passing day. We have to have emulation and shockwork at plants, factories, mines, in the fields and everywhere else. It is necessary to raise among all sections of the people the slogan that they should broaden their knowledge and raise their cultural level. This is what we need to overcome the temporary difficulties and obstacles. Material force is also needed. We are happy that both you and we have our youth, our heroic youth, which with its labour, sinews and with its own blood is ready to defend its beloved country.

With the signing of the treaty which took place yesterday we have pledged ourselves as governments and as peoples, and more particularly as working classes, to march with a resolute and decisive step forward along the salutary road which we have chosen, because there is no other salutary road for us. Let us not be confused by the intrigues and calumnies of the wicked enemies of peace, democracy and progress. Let us have faith in our own people's forces, in our own people's unity, in the forces of our allies, in the forces of our greatest and most loyal friend and ally – the great Soviet Union.

Finally I wish the working people and intellectuals of Prague to turn their Prague – which was and is a centre and heart of national Czechoslovak culture – to turn it into a really Golden Prague for the Czechoslovak people, for the Bulgarian people, for all Slavdom and progressive mankind. The banner of Slav solidarity and of the struggle for peace and democracy ought to be raised high aloft in Golden Prague, and this banner should be upheld by the

Czechoslovak people under the leadership of your working class headed by the worker Clement Gottwald by the first and greatest Czechoslovak worker Clement Gottwald.

Long live the fraternity, sincere love, consistent co-operation and heartfelt mutual assistance under all circumstances between the Czechoslovak Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Soudruzi a soudružki!

March on, with joint hands together and with all Slav democratic peoples, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union – march on for the building and cementing of the people's democracy – the right and sure way to the new and happy social system – socialism!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 97
April 25, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
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FORWARD THROUGH LABOUR, EDUCATION AND
STRUGGLE TOWARDS NEW SUCCESSES AND NEW
VICTORIES

*Speech at the Meeting in Sofia on the Return of the Bulgarian
Government Delegation*

April 28, 1948

Dear citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Comrades!

Young men and Septemvriichés!

I am fulfilling a particularly pleasant obligation of our friend, comrade, ally and Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic, *Clement Gottwald* to convey to you and through you to the whole Bulgarian people the cordial fraternal greetings of our ally Czechoslovak people and their people's government.

The Bulgarian Government Delegation spent a happy week with our Czech and Slovak brothers. We toured a substantial part of the territory of Czechoslovakia and were able with our own eyes to witness with joy and admiration the successes of the Czechoslovak Republic, the labour enthusiasm and people's unity in Czechoslovakia.

In every town and village through which we passed, we were given an exceptionally warm welcome, particularly by the population of the wonderful Slav capital of the Czechoslovak Republic – Golden Prague.

May I emphasize that our best expectations were far surpassed.

The welcome expressed the love of the Czechoslovak people for our Bulgarian people, the solidarity and devotion of the working class in Czechoslovakia towards our working class. This was a vivid expression of the great sympathies, of the mutual understanding and common aspira-

tion for the same goals by the people's youth in the Czechoslovak Republic and our people's youth, of the wonderful Czechoslovak children and our little Septemvriichés.

We saw with our own eyes how the Czechoslovak Republic – which the American President not long ago said had tragically died – is living a full-blooded life and is like a beautiful garden. Now, when the Czechoslovak people, under the leadership of their working class, have fully taken their destinies into their own hands, the country will attain peak prosperity and yield abundant fruit for Czechs and Slovaks, for our Bulgarian-Czechoslovak fraternity, for our common cause and the prosperity of all Slavdom and of international peace.

When we saw the plants and factories, when we saw the labour heroes and their readiness to work, to create and build, when we saw the wonderfully tilled fields by diligent Czechoslovak farmers devoted to their country, when we saw the radiant faces of the Czech and Slovak youth, when we saw the wonderful children of Prague and other towns and villages, when we saw the general creative upswing in our fraternal Slav country, we could not help sharing the deep indignation boiling in the hearts and souls of all Czechoslovak patriots at the rude intervention of Americans and others in the home affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic. We could not help sharing *fully* the *profound* indignation against the Chilean puppets of the American imperialists who had the cheek of trying to put the developing People's Republic of Czechoslovakia in the dock before the United Nations Organization. The Czechoslovak people are justifiably indignant at this conduct of 'civilized' statesmen, and they are resolved to march along their way, a salutary way, despite all obstacles and difficulties, and are ready to look with resolute calmness and national dignity upon the shameful manifestations of those representatives of old and rotten capitalism.

When we got more closely acquainted with the economic structure of the Czechoslovak Republic, it

became clear to us that its economic structure as well as the economic structure of the People's Republic of Bulgaria offer opportunities for an exceedingly far-reaching, fruitful and mutually advantageous economic co-operation between the two countries.

The Czechoslovak industry is in a position to produce and supply our country, which is still poorly industrialized, with many valuable machines, tools and capital goods. It is at the same time in need of the industrial crops which our economy can produce and spare for the further development and consolidation of industry in the Czechoslovak Republic.

We saw and were convinced of the fact that we are united not only by our Slav blood and traditional friendship between our peoples, which is deeply rooted and has become closer after the people's democratic changes carried out in Czechoslovakia and in our country, but also by common economic, political, cultural and social interests which lead us to stand together, to walk hand in hand, to work like true brothers for the common prosperity of our peoples, for the common good of our children and the all-round development of our countries.

As soon as we got off our train at the station in Prague, as soon as we first shook fraternal hands with the leaders of the Czechoslovak Republic, we were glad to find that we spoke a common language, the language of Slav brotherhood, the language of people's democracy, the language of builders of socialism.

That is why with complete unanimity, at only two sittings of our joint conference, we were able to work out and adopt the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance and to solve in a friendly manner a number of economic, social and cultural questions, which will in the nearest future be favourably reflected in the deepening friendship between our peoples, in their co-operation and mutual assistance.

We also found that the Government of Clement Gottwald, contrary to the hostile foreign propaganda, was a people's government, enjoying the support and con-

confidence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. This government is resolved to pass a Constitution through Parliament which will secure the democratic development of the Republic and make it possible for the Czech and Slovak peoples, for the Czechoslovak working class, in alliance with the peasants and with the participation of the progressive intelligentsia, to build up a just and eagerly awaited social and economic system – socialism.

We were gratified to note that with regard to the essential questions of our two countries' foreign policy and their democratic development towards socialism, its fundamental views coincided with our own views.

On parting with Clement Gottwald and the People's Government of Czechoslovakia, we promised each other that we shall roll up our sleeves and do everything, absolutely everything, for the practical, consistent and full implementation of the treaty of alliance and peace, democracy and economic progress of our countries to a successful end!

Knowing our people well, I was able unhesitatingly to tell Gottwald and other leaders of the Czechoslovak people that we, our people, our People's Republic, will remain always loyal, honest and devoted allies of the Czechoslovak people.

We parted with the common firm resolve to march hand in hand along the chosen road, in comradeship, together with the other friendly nations of new democracy, with the democratic forces in Great Britain and France, Italy, North America and South America, in the whole world, under the leadership of our best common ally, the great Soviet Union.

Comrades,

In two days, on May Day we, our people, our working class, our youth, all honest working people and patriots in our Republic, will also have an opportunity of demonstrating our Bulgaro-Czechoslovak fraternity, which is yet another brick – nay, yet another granite block in the common edifice of lasting democratic peace. We shall

demonstrate our boundless love for our own country, our Slav unity, our international solidarity with the working people throughout the world, and our loyalty, and devotion to our allies and to the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, against the instigators of new wars, against those who try to undermine the foundations of the people's unity and international co-operation, against those who are trying in every possible way to obstruct the advance of our free countries and our people's republics.

For us, for our people, for our glorious working class, for our working peasants, for our young men and girls, and even for the small Septemvriichés at the present moment there is one supreme law and that supreme law demands of us: tireless creative work and labour discipline, inviolable people's unity, unflinching struggle in defence of our freedom and independence, fraternity and unity with the Slav peoples and co-operation with all freedom-loving peoples of Eastern, Central and Western Europe and the whole world.

Long live the Bulgarian-Czechoslovak fraternity and unity.

Long live the triumphant front of peace and democracy throughout the world, and may it grow ever stronger!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front under the leadership of the glorious and heroic working class in Bulgaria.

Long live our young, dear People's Republic and may it grow ever stronger and flourish with every passing day!

Forward, comrades, citizens, through work, education and struggle, towards new successes and new victories of the Bulgarian people, of the fraternal Czechoslovak people, of all Slav nations, of the entire democratic and freedom-loving world, headed by the great Soviet Union!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 101
April 30, 1948

G. Dimitrov, Works,
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IN OUR PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THE ARMY
CONSTITUTES AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PEOPLE

*Speech at the Promotion of the 68th Graduating Class of the
Vassil Levski Military School to the First Officer's Rank*

April 30, 1948

Dear new officers in our people's Army,
Generals and officers,
Honoured guests to our fine Military School,

I am happy to congratulate most heartily on behalf of the government of the Fatherland Front and on my own behalf those 310 new officers who are leaving the Military School today in order to join their respective units in the Army.

They have obviously successfully passed the Military School examinations to be promoted to officer's rank. But I do not doubt that they understand perfectly well that it is from now on that they shall have to pass a real examination in the Army ranks; that what they have learned here, the basic theoretical and practical training which they have acquired at the Military School, will have to be practically applied by them in the Army, where they will be serving as detachment commanders or political officers. They will thus pass yet another exceedingly serious examination as leaders, comrades and educators of our soldiers.

For this examination they should not spare effort, time, or energy. What they have learned here, their successes at the Military School, will be tested in Army life, and it is there that every one of them will demonstrate his strong and maybe also weak points. To study and improve further their military art will be their special task in the coming

period. When developing and improving their own qualification as servicemen, they shall have to be teaching our young people in the Army and educating and training fighters for the freedom and independence of our people – serious, devoted to our country, and in perfect command of their arms.

As you know, the bourgeoisie in our country maintained the theory that the Army had to be apolitical, that it should be detached from the people and kept aside from public and political life, to represent a military machine so that those who rule the country – the monarch and the capitalists – when their interests dictated, might let loose this machine as a mechanism without any brain, without reason and unconscious of the anti-popular goals pursued by them. In our People's Republic, as in the other people's republics and more particularly in the great Soviet Union, the Army does not represent such a machine – without any brain, without reason, without awareness, and without a political consciousness. It is not detached from the people. It is a component, integral, inseparable part of the people.

The Army is not apolitical; together with the people it pursues that policy which is dictated by the people's interests, their happy future and the happy future of their generations, their children. It is an Army which will have to defend the frontiers of our country, to defend the peace and labour of the people. It is an Army that should be ready any moment to strike at an enemy who would dare violate the peace of our free country, its boundaries, its independence and territorial integrity.

A nation which has no such Army – a people's Army in the full sense of the word, an Army trained in modern military art, educated in the spirit of people's democracy – such a nation, let me tell you quite frankly, is not an organized nation. It can at any moment be used for other people's interests. A people without such an army cannot be truly independent and free to build their own future and be masters, complete masters, of their own home.

We should never forget our bitter experience in the

past, when on June 9, 1923 the Army was misled and used against our people, as a tool for the perpetration of a military and fascist coup d'état.

We are happy to have a people's Army now. But it needs further improvement. It needs still greater discipline – iron, military conscious and patriotic discipline. It needs especially many experienced leaders and commanders – big and small, versed in modern military art and boundlessly devoted to their country.

The new young officers promoted today will help our Army march still more confidently along that road and will help our army develop and improve still more rapidly as a genuine Bulgarian people's Army.

I wish seriously to draw your attention to the fact that at the present moment there are interested circles abroad and degraded reactionaries in our country who have lost faith in themselves and have no future prospects; reactionaries who stake everything on the outbreak of a new war. As you know, persistent propaganda for such a war is being carried on abroad. It is spread over the radio and through the press in all countries for the purpose of disturbing the peaceful labour of our peoples, the peoples of our new democracy. Precisely at this moment we should strengthen our forces – economic, political and cultural. We must be united. That is what our invincible Fatherland Front under the leadership of the glorious working class and its Communist Party is endeavouring to do every day.

We must develop our economic potential, we must industrialize and electrify our country and mechanize farming. We must raise our cultural standards as a nation, as a working class, as peasants and intelligentsia and as servicemen. For this purpose we must maintain a fraternal alliance with all peoples and states who are struggling like us to shake off age-old capitalist and imperialist oppression. Finally, what we need to prevent the outbreak of a new war, provocations from the South, violations of our frontiers and the disturbance of our frontiers and the disturbance of our quiet, persistent and constructive labour, we

need, although we are only a small country, to have a people's army strong in spirit, with profound knowledge and skill in the art of war, unreservedly devoted to our country, with courageous soldiers and intelligent and brave commanders, devoted to our People's Republic.

The more closely we are united as a people, the stronger we are economically, politically and culturally, the more powerful we shall be from a military viewpoint, and with an unflinching iron spirit. The stronger our ties with the freedom-loving nations, the less insolent will our foreign enemies be in trying to violate our freedom, independence and sacred frontiers, the territorial integrity of our country; and the less will they try to kindle the fire of a new war. That is why we should every day and every hour, in accordance with the programme of the Fatherland Front, educate ourselves and all sections of our people in the spirit of our people's democracy, in the spirit of the programme of the Fatherland Front, in the spirit of socialism. That is why our Army should in every way be prepared, it should keep fit and should not suffer in its ranks any doubt or hesitation about our people's forces, about the forces of our allies and the power and leading role of the great Soviet Union and its glorious Soviet Army.

Our people and all people's democracies, as well as all democratic forces in Western Europe, North America, Latin America, China, Korea and other countries, are fortunate that they have a great teacher in the person of the great socialist country – the Soviet Union. Our Army and the armies of all those countries are fortunate at the existence of such a mighty, great and freedom-loving army, tested in the hardest battles against fascism in the last World War – the heroic Soviet Army. You, young officers, generals and officers of all the services, study by day and by night the experience, strategy and military art of the invincible Soviet Army.

Progressive mankind, including our people, the peoples of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Poland, the democratic powers of the world democratic

camp, have a common salutary teaching as their lodestar, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why, dear officers, generals, leaders and educators of our people's Army, our people under the leadership of the working class can confidently and resolutely march forward without being alarmed by the war hysteria and war panic, by which some people are trying to threaten and confuse the freedom-loving and democratic peoples. That is why, gripping firmly the arms in your hands and consolidating our people's unity, our fraternity with friendly nations, and taking advantage of the leadership of the great Soviet Union, we can resolutely and confidently say today: the question whether we are going to have democracy or reaction in our country has been definitely resolved in favour of people's democracy. Definitely resolved! As regards all foreign threats, thank God there are forces which are growing stronger with every passing day – the forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp in which our people take an active part, and which are in a position to prevent the kindling of a new, third world war.

Together with you I raise my glass in the first place to the good health and cheer of our young officers, to their loyalty to the country and the sacred oath which they have taken, to their successful passing the test within the Army ranks, to our officers, generals, leaders and educators of our people's Army, to our young and dear People's Republic which must develop, grow strong and flourish as a future socialist Bulgarian republic!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 103
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(Slightly abridged)

THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN BULGARIA
AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LASTING DEMOCRATIC
PEACE

*Answers to Questions by V. P. Hampshire International News
Service Representative*

Question: What can Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia contribute to the preservation of world peace?

Answer: By its overall policy of sincere co-operation with all freedom-loving and democratic nations, as well as by the unflinching defence of its freedom, independence and state sovereignty, the People's Republic of Bulgaria contributes within the power and possibilities of a small nation to the establishment of world peace.

Although not yet admitted to the UNO, Bulgaria is acting consistently in accordance with the principles on which this organization is built. War propaganda is unthinkable in our country. Our people hate, reject and do not tolerate instigators of war. They are held strictly responsible before the laws of the People's Republic as disturbers of peace and enemies of the country.

Subjected to various threats and provocations from abroad, Bulgaria is naturally vigilant for her safety and territorial integrity, and is firmly resolved to defend her boundaries against all agents provocateurs and adventurers.

The treaties of alliance which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has concluded so far with Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and those to be signed with other countries will, I am convinced, exercise a favourable influence on the preservation of peace.

I had the opportunity of convincing myself that our ally

Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Gottwald People's Government, is prompted by the same goals and aspirations.

Question: Do you think that the endeavour to preserve peace will prove successful and that Europe's future will be undisturbed?

Answer: At a mass meeting in Prague on the occasion of the signing of the treaty I stated my views that a new world war is neither inevitable nor imminent, and I also explained why I hold such views.

Question: According to information received from the Soviet Union, we learned that some time ago a demobilization was carried out there. Has anything of the kind taken place in Bulgaria?

Answer: Bulgaria has cut down her army exactly to the numbers provided for in the Peace Treaty.

Question: Do you intend to pay other visits for the signing of treaties or agreements?

Answer: The conclusion of a treaty for friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with Poland and Hungary is forthcoming. The Bulgarian Government has repeatedly declared that it is ready to sign treaties with all democratic nations on the basis of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. As to trade agreements and treaties, Bulgaria has already concluded such with a number of European states.

Question: What do you expect of the treaty between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria which you have just signed?

Answer: The treaty which we have just signed between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, I not only expect but am sure, will lead to a stepped up development and deepening of the friendly relations between our People's Republics, and consolidation of the feeling of security in the peoples of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. From an international point of view, I assess this treaty as a major contribution to the establishment of a lasting democratic peace in general, and in Europe in particular.

Question: The world will never forget your heroism at the Reichstag Fire Trial. What is your opinion now about

the German people? Do you think that Germany can be included in the world and European community?

Answer: Insofar as I know the German people, and especially their working class, I can confidently say that they could achieve the unity and democratization of Germany, as well as her inclusion in the world and European community as an element of peace and democracy. But undoubtedly this is now seriously impeded by those imperialist circles which are working for Germany's division and for utilizing West Germany, its resources and its productive capacity, for fostering reactionary and militarist plans, fully at variance with the interests of the German people, peace and international co-operation.

As to my conduct at the Reichstag Fire Trial, it was in fact only a fulfilment of my duty as an anti-fascist and communist. I know that some Americans, Englishmen and others who at the time praised me in the press and at meetings to the skies, do not hesitate to curse and slander me now, and together with me my country. Some of us have changed in the past 15 years. As I have doubtlessly remained the same anti-fascist and communist, it is obvious that my former admirers in question are those who have changed under the influence of special considerations and interests, which, of course, can have nothing in common with historical reality.

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THE BULGARIAN-POLISH TREATY OF ALLIANCE
LAYS A SOUND FOUNDATION FOR FAR-REACHING
CO-OPERATION FOR THE GOOD OF THE TWO
FRATERNAL PEOPLES, FOR THE GOOD OF WORLD
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

*Speech at the Mass Meeting in the Capital on the Return of the
Government Delegation from Warsaw, after Signing the
Bulgarian-Polish Treaty of Alliance*

Citizens!

Comrades!

I have been asked by our Polish friends to convey to you the most cordial fraternal greetings of the heroic Polish people, their Government, and personally of the honorable President of the Polish Republic.

I was visited by delegations of Polish youths, representatives of the Union of People's Youth in Poland with the request to convey their greetings and best wishes to our Bulgarian people's youth. The sincere desire of the Polish people's youth is to come into closest and fraternal contact with our people's youth for joint constructive work for the good of the two people's republics and for joint struggle in defence of peace and against the instigators of a new world war.

The organized Polish democratic women also extend warm greetings to the Bulgarian working women – workers, peasants, employees, school-teachers, midwives, brigaders, housewives – to all women and girls in our country.

Even more valuable and cordial greetings are sent by the glorious working class of Poland to our Bulgarian working class.

The workers and the engineering and technical staff of the new Ursus Tractor Works near Warsaw gave our peasants three of their modern, newly built tractors.

Old and young, and the children in new Poland have feelings of friendship and love for our Bulgarian people, for the men, women and children who have devoted themselves to constructive work and labour for the happy future of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In the short time during which we were in Warsaw, we had the opportunity of seeing with our own eyes the terrible, perfidious and cruel destruction wrought by the barbarous nazi hordes in the beautiful capital of Poland. The greater part of Warsaw was destroyed and now lies in ruins, under which hundreds of thousands of citizens of Warsaw lost their life. We shared the boundless indignation of the Polish people at those barbarous outrages of German fascism.

It was with a heavy heart, full of protest and disgust that we examined Warsaw street after street, quarter after quarter, turned into monumental ruins – a terrible indictment against fascism and against those who are now endeavouring to revive fascism in new forms and under new banners for the attainment of goals in the name of which Hitler's fascism perpetrated these terrible crimes. We understood still better and more clearly why the Polish people have firmly and unswervingly decided to defend to the last and to fortify once and for all their western frontiers, which include the old Polish territories seized in the past by the Teutonic conquerors, but which have now been annexed to the Polish homeland.

But, comrades, we were also happy to see how this destroyed Warsaw, thanks to the heroic labour and enthusiasm of the Polish people old and young, under the leadership of the working class and with the active participation of the Polish youth and progressive intelligentsia, is rapidly being rebuilt. Out of the ashes, like the Phoenix in the old legend, rises a new Warsaw to become a still more beautiful and finer capital of the Polish Republic.

It is worthy of admiration that in the short period of two years the Polish people, their working class and their working peasants and people's youth have done a tremendous job of restoration and reconstruction throughout the country.

We saw with our own eyes that people's democracy in Poland enjoys the strong support of the masses, and their productive strata. Contrary to the myths and slander spread abroad by biased journalists, diplomats and statesmen – we realized that the present Polish People's Government enjoys the full confidence and support of the Polish people. We saw and become still more profoundly convinced that the domestic and international situation of new Poland is consolidated and that a return to the past is impossible. As the Polish people are now working and living under the leadership of the working class in alliance with the working peasants and with the participation of the people's intelligentsia, a return to the past is indeed impossible. All roads in new Poland lead to her development forward and always forward.

We convinced ourselves of the brilliant prospects for new Poland's future development. A radical turn in Poland's situation with regard to industry, agriculture and culture has set in. All those who thought that there could be a restoration of the old capitalist and big landowners' regime in Poland are forced to admit that this is already impossible, that the people, rallied under the banner of people's democracy are putting up insurmountable barriers against any restoration. Doubting Thomases and wavering persons from among the intelligentsia and other social sections either reorient themselves sincerely, according to their own deep conviction, in favour of people's democracy, or adapt themselves and march not against the tide but with the tide, surging from the people.

As formerly in other people's democracies, with which we signed treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid, we found a common language between our people and the Polish people, between our government and the Polish

Government. We concluded a treaty of alliance with fraternal Poland, with developing Poland, with that Poland which in the none too distant future will become one of the strongest Slav people's democratic states in every respect.

With her population of 24 million, with her rich territory, with her growing industry, potential forces and inner resources, our Polish ally will undoubtedly become a strong bulwark of Slav solidarity, a strong detachment in the democratic camp against imperialist aggression, and a serious factor for peace and democracy in the world.

From what we saw in Poland and from the friendly talks which we had with leaders of the Polish Republic, we became convinced of the great possibilities, hitherto unused, for closer co-operation – economic and cultural, for joint political work in the international arena and for the establishment of closest and most intimate relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish Republic.

The treaty which we concluded and the special trade and cultural agreements lay a solid foundation for the widest utilization of these hitherto unutilized possibilities for the good of the two fraternal nations, for the promotion of world peace and democracy.

As you already know from what our press has published and from what our radio has broadcast, the treaty signed between us and our Polish friends, between our republic and the Polish Republic, is a treaty similar to the treaties with the Soviet Union, with Czechoslovakia and other countries, a treaty for fraternal co-operation, for sincere mutual aid and friendship, for joint work to raise our countries economically and culturally, and to improve our national defensive power against any attempt of violation of our freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

The treaty is a treaty between peoples and not only between governments, a treaty between peoples unreservedly engaged in curing the wounds and destruction of the last World War, peoples fully engaged in peaceful constructive work, in economic and cultural construction.

These peoples now need only one thing – peace, lasting democratic peace.

Such peoples are not interested in war treaties. They are vitally interested in having contractual relations and other agreements with the different states, but for the aims of peace, for fraternal co-operation, for marching onward towards common prosperity.

And that is why in our country, and we found the same true of Poland, war propaganda is not tolerated. On the contrary, we punish and will continue to punish mercilessly with all the severity of our laws, those who practice such criminal anti-popular propaganda in favour of new wars.

An American correspondent who approached me with a number of questions put also the following question: What is the use of your treaty of alliance with Poland, when Poland and Bulgaria are separated from each other and have no common frontier. With his question he meant to say that we were making a lot of noise in vain, that we were fussing about a treaty which would be of no use. This correspondent forgot two things: first, that with modern means of communication it is not at all obligatory or inevitably necessary that states should by all means have a common boundary for the promotion of co-operation, friendship and mutual aid between them. Even without this common frontier, the Parties in question have ample possibilities of taking full advantage of their sincere friendship, of their fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance. Second, that although in fact Bulgaria and Poland do not have a common boundary, between them lie countries which are friendly to Poland and friendly to Bulgaria, people's democracies and people's republics which either have or will have treaties of alliance and which will facilitate our co-operation.

Every objective observer, every honest man will easily understand that both the treaties of alliance concluded earlier and this new treaty of alliance between Bulgaria and Poland are undoubtedly of great significance for the two nations, for their all-round progress, for raising the

material and cultural standards of their urban and rural working people, for still better consolidation of their freedom, independence and national sovereignty, and especially for strengthening to a maximum the confidence of these nations in the morrow and in their own future. He will easily understand that these treaties are useful not only for the countries and peoples that conclude them, but that they are also an exceedingly valuable and healthy contribution to the great endeavour to establish lasting, democratic peace in the world.

We are returning from Poland as envoys of our people, as a Government Delegation, happy to have concluded this treaty, happy to have laid a solid foundation for the further development of our fraternal relations with the Polish people, happy to have found absolutely no questions that divide us from our Polish friends, and that the road is clear along which we can march forward hand in hand towards our common prosperity, towards our happy future.

A guarantee for this are our peoples headed by their working classes, our diligent peasants, our people's youth and, finally our people's governments which stem from the people, live with the people and have no other desires, goals and intentions but the happiness of their peoples.

On your behalf and on behalf of the whole Bulgarian people I was able to assure our Polish brothers that our People's Republic will consistently fulfil all obligations assumed under the treaty and agreements and that it will always remain a sincere and devoted ally of the heroic Polish people and their republic.

A remarkable coincidence, comrades, is the fact that I am reporting to you on our visit to Warsaw, on the concluded treaty and agreements attached to it, on their importance, and on the future prospects of our mutual relations with new Poland on a day when our people throughout the country, in towns and villages, are getting ready to celebrate the memory of our great revolutionary and national poet Hristo Botev. By celebrating his memory, our people will be celebrating the memory of thousands

upon thousands of known and unknown peoples' militants, heroes and heroines, who gave their life for the freedom of our country and our people.

This day of celebration will give an opportunity to all of us – big and small servants of the people, ordinary citizens, working men and women, peasants, employees, craftsmen, intellectuals, school and university students, to look back in history, the history of our militant people, so as to see clearly how the freedom which we now as a people and a state enjoy was won, what sacrifices and hard-fought battles led to the victorious Ninth of September, to the triumph over the monarcho-fascist dictatorship in our country, and how many bright and precious human beings, our brothers, sisters, sons and daughters of the people, shed their blood following the behests of Hristo Botev, Dimitar Blagoev and of our great teacher Lenin.

This hard road, drenched with tears and heavy toll of life, ought today and tomorrow to be before the eyes of every intelligent man and woman in our country, so that we may draw the lessons which we so badly need as a people and as a people's republic now and in the future.

We have to realize that what we have done so far to honour the great memories of our great heroes since the days of Botev, not to speak of those before Botev, is very little, and that paying respects to their memory by means of meetings, literary writings, accounts of their lives and their struggles, is not used to educate the growing generations. Tomorrow we should find out how the people and local leaders paid homage to the memory of our heroic fighters, without whose sacrifice and blood we could never have had this liberty and this possibility of marching onward towards ever greater prosperity and happiness. Monuments, however modest they may be, should remind us about the achievements of each one of these great heroes. We must also have national monuments dedicated to the unknown heroes fallen in the fight against the enemies of our people.

The attitude encountered at certain places with regard to our dead heroes cannot and should not be tolerated in future.

There can be no doubt, comrades, that the best nationwide commemoration of the heroic feats of Hristo Botev and of succeeding militants who gave their life for our freedom and happiness would be if we all started working still more energetically, still more devotedly and tirelessly for the building of our dear People's Republic.

Let us study and work, each one in his place, for the people's common good, for our country's progress; let us improve our skill and our capacities every day, so that we may cope successfully with the tasks facing us. Let us not suffer in our midst, wherever we may be, people who shirk their duty to the country, or to the factory or enterprise in which they are working. Let us not suffer idlers, empty prattlers and megalomaniacs, maniacs of various calibres who think that they know all and know it best. Let us not suffer lazy bureaucrats and officials who always rush through their work at the office so as to be able to devote themselves to their personal pleasures. Let us not tolerate such intellectuals, 'learned men' – I am glad to say that they are not many – who are very much like horses with blinkers and are unable to see what is going on either to their left or to their right. Let us not tolerate in the schools and especially in the higher institutions of learning pupils and university students who do not study seriously, but only try somehow or other to get a diploma and thus only take the place of other, worthy sons of the people. Let us not suffer injustices in the rationing of our rather scanty goods, in determining the production quotas in town and country, or those centrally distributed; let us not suffer but signalize these injustices and, as good patriots with a profound feeling of love for our country, let us criticize others and ourselves when everything is not as it should be in our country.

Finally, the commemoration of our heroes fallen for

Bulgaria's freedom and happiness, the commemoration of the great Hristo Botev obliges us to be vigilant, to keep our eyes wide open as the saying goes, not to let ourselves be blinded by our successes and grow negligent, but to watch what is going on around us, what is going on at the factory or the department, in the street, in our district, in the educational establishments – everywhere. We should have a sharp nose and learn to sniff out our disguised enemies, we should be able to tell the wolf from the sheep and a wolf who has donned a sheepskin should at one be pulled by the ears. We need to be highly vigilant!

There are still spies, traitors, and wreckers in our country sitting in their dens, some of them still in their fine houses and flats, who all the time do nothing but talk and guess when the 'Americans' and 'British' will declare war. A war against whom? Against the people among whom they are living, against the country in which they were born. They are waiting for it and are rubbing their hands with satisfaction, and when they see that it does not happen, regret bitterly that the Americans have led them astray and have betrayed them. Oh, those wolves dressed in sheep-skins! There should be no room for them in the fine houses and flats in Sofia and other towns, which are needed for homeless and honest employees, shock-workers, engineers and other worthy builders of the People's Republic. They pin their hopes on a war against our people, on destruction through war and through atom bombs; one atom bomb was enough, they say, to put an end to the Fatherland Front which they hate so much! They are not worried by the fact that such an atom bomb would destroy not only the Fatherland Front, but also the people, and would lay waste the whole country. For such people there is no room in the apartments in Sofia and in the other towns. For them the people's government has prepared other 'apartments' and the people should help them move into them as soon as possible.

We ought to educate our people and especially certain sections which are lagging behind through no fault of their

own, but through their bad luck, in a spirit of love of country, such as Botev had in his heart, of devotion to our country, such as the tens of thousands of known and unknown heroes who gave their life and blood for our freedom and for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, carried in their hearts.

Let us love our country, let us be devoted to it, let us tirelessly work for its reconstruction and all-round prosperity, for its rapid advance towards the new, just and happy socialist order. This is the demand imposed upon us by the great memory of Hristo Botev and the heroes who fell in the fight against fascism and against foreign enemies of our people, in the fight for our freedom and happiness as a people and as a people's state.

But all this, comrades, means that we should still more tightly and strongly rally our constructive people's forces within the ranks of the invincible and unshakable Fatherland Front. The Fatherland Front must rally within its ranks all sound, honest and patriotic people in our country. Only what is rotten and deserves to be buried, buried by history, should remain outside its ranks, whereas all that is viable and creative should in the near future be included in the ranks of the organizations of the Fatherland Front and should be actively working for the building up of our young and promising country and for its brilliant future, inspite of all hardships and obstacles and all wicked prophecies in our country and abroad.

Eternal glory to the great memory of Hristo Botev and our people's heroes!

Long live the diligent and peaceful Bulgarian people!

Long live the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters!

Long live Bulgarian-Polish friendship, co-operation and fraternal mutual aid; may they grow ever stronger!

Long live the worthy President of the Polish Republic, Boleslav Bjerut!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its

allies, headed by the great Soviet Union; may it flourish ever further!

Forward and ever forward – through labour, education, science and struggle against the survivals of fascism, of reaction and imperialism – towards fresh successes and victories!

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G. Dimitrov, Works,
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THE TREATY BETWEEN BULGARIA AND HUNGARY IS
A FRESH IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE
OF PEACE AND THE DEEPENING OF FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS

*Speech at the Meeting in Sofia on the Occasion of the Signing of
the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance
between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian
Republic*

July 16, 1948

Citizens of Sofia! Labour Brigaders! Comrades!

After the kind words of our dear Hungarian friends, I wish only to say a few words about today's solemn celebration of our Bulgarian people and the Hungarian people.

The treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, which we signed today with the Government Delegation of the Hungarian Republic, is not an accidental event. This event, which is of tremendous importance for our future relations as nations and people's republics, was prepared by the long struggle of our people and of the Hungarian people against fascism and against the German conquerors and invaders.

This event was in particular prepared by the liberating role of the great Soviet Union, whose glorious and heroic Army brought about the liberation of our countries from fascist and nazi oppression. It was also prepared with the moral, political and material support of our common great ally and protector, the Soviet Union, by the establishment of a system of people's democracy in Bulgaria and Hungary, and by the historic fact that our peoples took their destinies into their tough and iron hands.

This treaty of alliance had long been desired and expected by our two fraternal nations. It corresponds to their supreme vital interests, which dictate that they help and co-operate with each other, that they jointly defend their democratic

gains and march onward shoulder to shoulder with the other people's democracies and under the leadership of the mighty Soviet Union, to build the prosperity of their people by the construction of socialism in their countries.

This treaty of alliance is not a treaty signed in the diplomatic chancelleries strictly between the representatives of two governments. Sealed with the blood shed by our people, this treaty expresses the profound feelings of mutual understanding, of mutual fraternal love, of joint disgust for fascism, imperialism and the instigators of a new war of joint profound loyalty and devotion to the Soviet Union. This is a treaty concluded by the peoples themselves – the Bulgarian and Hungarian people.

Such treaties push forward a nation's development. Such treaties are the flesh and blood of the healthy people's forces and are a barrier, a powerful barrier, against the aggressive onslaught of imperialism.

This all the more so, comrades, at the present moment, *when the imperialists are sparing no effort to revive German militarism and industrial potential as an instrument of imperialist aggression*, for an attempt against the security of the world, against the people's security, against peace. Our people, who have suffered so much under German imperialism and who have given so many dear sacrifices owing to the regime of oppression and plunder of the German barons, princes and big landlords, are vitally interested in their joint defence, relying on the united world front of peace and democracy, headed by the invincible country of socialism.

It is only too natural that the news of the signing of the treaty is welcomed with such great joy, enthusiasm and admiration not only in Sofia, but I am sure also in Budapest; not only in Bulgaria, but also in Hungary.

Neither can there be any doubt that all peaceful and freedom-loving nations and all honest progressive people in the world will assess our treaty as *a fresh and important contribution to the establishment of lasting and democratic peace*.

I must underscore that the discussion and signing of the

treaty gave us the opportunity to confer sincerely and like brothers on a number of questions regarding economic co-operation between new Bulgaria and new Hungary. We came unanimously to the conclusion that so far we have strongly underestimated our real possibilities for far-reaching economic co-operation in favour of our two peoples, of the two republics. It turned out that we can increase and expand severalfold our reciprocal trade and consolidate our co-operation. We and our Hungarian friends are firmly resolved to make up in the nearest future for what we failed to do in the past, to step up the economic co-operation necessary for the accelerated development of the national economy both in Bulgaria and in Hungary. We were also glad to learn from our Hungarian friends that the government of the Hungarian Republic shows lively interest in the construction of a bridge across the Danube, agreed upon in our treaty with Romania, and which will be of tremendous economic and other significance.

With our treaty and the fraternal feelings developed in the Bulgarian and Hungarian people, *we are building a living bridge between Sofia and Budapest*. In the near future, however, we have to build with our joint efforts also the iron bridge across the Danube, which through Romania will link Sofia with Budapest, Bulgaria with Hungary.

As regards the assessment of the international position of our countries, we found complete unanimity between the two governments. We are unanimous on the point that *there can be no people's democracy capable of developing, building and clearing the road to socialism, if this people's democracy does not join forces with the united world front of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, and if it does not rest on this growing united front*.

We are unanimous in our conclusion that our two countries, in applying the treaty which we signed today and in expanding and consolidating their mutual fraternal relations, should rally their forces ever more closely in the united democratic front. Alien to any narrow-minded nationalism and inspired by the international solidarity of

the working people and healthy co-operation between the democratic nations, *we unanimously consider every deviation from the united democratic front against imperialism every attempt at undermining this united front and every underestimation of the leading role played in it by our great ally, the Soviet Union, as betrayal of the cause of people's democracy, as betrayal of the supreme vital interests of our own people.*

We are profoundly convinced that every such attempt, wherever it might or has manifested itself, will be thwarted by the peoples, because the people's democracies under the leadership of the working class and its tried communist vanguard, not only cannot wish the weakening of this front, but are vitally interested in sparing no effort to strengthen it, because without it they cannot march forward and because our peoples, the peoples in the countries of people's democracy and the democratic forces in the whole world do not want to return to the situation existing prior to the Second World War and be exposed to the horrors of a new imperialist war. They are resolved to consolidate peace, because they need peace to build up their own prosperity; they need it to advance and implement the just and happy socialist system of their countries.

Comrades, we have followed the development of our fraternal Hungarian Republic with profound interest. That is why the words which we heard today from this rostrum about *the progress and successes of people's democracy in Hungary* will fill the hearts of all our working people and of all Bulgarian men and women patriots with joy and moral satisfaction.

I avail myself of this opportunity on your behalf and on behalf of the whole Bulgarian people to ask the Government Delegation of the Hungarian Republic to convey our warmest greetings and good wishes to the Hungarian people, to the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian working people's party, which is resolutely and successfully leading the democratic development of the Hungarian people towards socialism.

Long live and flourish our ally, new ally, loyal ally, fraternal ally – the Hungarian People's Republic!

Long live Bulgarian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Bulgarian friendship!

May the united front of peace, democracy, progress and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, grow stronger with every passing day!

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THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OPENED FOR MANKIND THE ROAD TO TRUE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened for mankind the way to true democracy, socialism, the road wiping out exploitation of man by man. In thirty one years of Soviet power, the USSR has become the most advanced and powerful socialist state, tirelessly marching forward towards communism.

After shattering the nazi military machine, the heroic Soviet Army not only preserved the freedom and independence of the socialist country, but also saved mankind from fascist and Teutonic barbarity.

At present the Soviet Union, which stands at the helm of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp, is a hopeful bulwark of peace, democracy and progress against the instigators of war and the new pretenders for world domination – the American imperialists.

In reply to the wrathful instigations and cowardly slander of the imperialists on the day of the 31st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, millions of people throughout the world will be demonstrating their love and devotion to the country of socialism so selflessly and wisely fighting for lasting democratic peace; they will be demonstrating their firm resolve to march shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people and not to allow the war designed by the imperialists against the Soviet Union ever to break out.

The nations are fully aware of the fact and well

remember that between the desire of the imperialists to start a new world war and real war threat there is a tremendous gap. The Anglo-American imperialists are clamouring for a new war not because they are actually ready for it. They know perhaps better than we do how such a new adventure may end for them. As you all know, the First World War ended in victory of the working people over one sixth of the globe. During the Second World War several people's democracies dropped out of the imperialist system. The imperialist gentlemen should not entertain any doubts that a new world war, if the leading circles in Wall Street start it, will end for them in a still greater and maybe definite defeat – in a complete wiping out of the capitalist system.

The imperialists, who have already had their day, are aware of this. Nevertheless, they are making noise everywhere about an immediate war threat.

While the Soviet Union is sparing no effort to preserve and consolidate peace, for a peaceful settlement of controversial international issues, while the Soviet Union comes forward with proposals for banning nuclear arms and cutting down the armaments of the five Great Powers and with other undertakings aimed at the preservation of peace and the people's security, the arrogant American imperialists, who experience abject fear before the growing forces of peace, democracy and socialism, are systematically carrying on themselves and with the help of their satellites a war propaganda, undertaking military preparations, threatening the nations with the atom bomb and are cynically, like international gangsters, boasting that with their atomic weapon they can destroy millions of people from among the peaceful population who are unwilling to obey their dictates. For those imperialists it is obviously necessary to maintain a situation of war danger, to trouble the waters as the saying goes in Bulgaria, and fish in these troubled waters in the interest of the monopolists, arms manufacturers and financial magnates.

But they will not be able to trouble the waters in the world for long, because we have the great Soviet Union, because we have the countries of people's democracy and the growing world camp of peace and democracy. Upon the unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces of peace, upon their resolve to fight for peace and security, for genuine democracy and socialism, depends the future of the world. The working class and the working people in the whole world, rallied still more closely around the Soviet Union, are in a position to shatter the sinister designs and foil the intrigues of the instigators of war, and not to allow a new holocaust.

A guarantee for peace and for the people's freedom is the growing might and international prestige of the Soviet Union. It was never so clear as it is now, after the Second World War, that without the Soviet Union there is no and there cannot be any freedom and independence for the peoples of any nation.

Only outright traitors of the interests of their peoples, hopeless adventurers and men blinded by ambition can try to divert their people from the only salutary road to the development of people's democracy and the building of socialism – the road of sincere and indissoluble friendship with the Soviet Union, of close solidarity with the world camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by it.

In celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the working people in the people's democratic countries and all honest people in the world turn their eyes with profound gratitude to Lenin's great Party, which secured the victory of the socialist revolution and the building up of the powerful Soviet state and a socialist society over one sixth of the globe, the creation of the glorious Soviet Army which liberated a number of European nations from fascist oppression, and which enabled them to build a new life by embarking resolutely on the road of democratic development and the building of a socialist society.

The Bulgarian people, who 31 years ago with heartfelt joy hailed the October Socialist Revolution, are now more strongly than ever aware of the fact that their destinies are most closely linked with the destiny of the great and fraternal Soviet Union.

Without the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian people would still have been under the yoke of the German imperialists and their agents – the Bulgarian fascists.

Without the support of the Soviet Union Bulgaria would have been exhausted and would have fallen into the tentacles of other, not less shameless, aggressive and perfidious imperialists than were the nazi robbers.

Without the sincere help of the Soviet people our people would have been dying from starvation during the hard years of drought. Our economy at this moment would have been disrupted and devastated.

Without the Soviet Union there would have been no freedom and independence for the peoples in Southeast Europe and development of people's democracy along the road to socialism.

The Bulgarian people who, under the leadership of the working class and its communist vanguard, are building a new way of life, are gratefully learning from the heroic Soviet people and the Great Bolshevik Party how to fight and conquer their enemies, how to overcome all difficulties and dangers in defending the freedom, independence and socialist reconstruction of their country. They are deeply convinced that the more and the better they take advantage of the rich experience gained in the struggle for the building of a socialist society in the Soviet Union, the sooner and more successfully will they be able to build a free, cultured and happy life.

Glory be to the Great October Socialist Revolution

which established the first socialist state in the world – the lodestar and inspirer of all progressive mankind!

Glory be to the great Party of Lenin, the one and only teacher and model for all communists, for all people fighting for lasting peace, for genuine democracy and socialism!

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POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN
WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)

December 19, 1948

Comrades and Delegates,

The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) which, I do not doubt, the Congress will today unanimously rename Bulgarian Communist Party, has its roots deep in the past. It was founded as the Social Democratic Party in 1891 at the Congress on Mt. Bouzloudja¹⁷. However, it was only in 1903, following the rift with the 'broad' Socialists, i.e. after it cleansed itself of the Social reformist, opportunistic wing, that it became a Marxist working class party under the leadership of Dimiter Blagoev and his comrades-in-arms Georgi Kirkov and Gavril Georgiev.

During its development our Party waged a ceaseless struggle against alien petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences, and championed the formation of an independent working class with an ideology and organization of its own. About the turn of the century it was a small but growing detachment trying to imbue the workers with class-consciousness, organize them and defend their vital interests, i.e. it was primarily a propagandistic organization out to popularize socialism. From this modest status it gradually developed during and especially in the wake of World War I, into a mass political party of the working class.

Under the impact of the Russian Revolution, enthusiastically welcomed by the Bulgarian working peo-

ple, and whose great principles our Party made its own, the Party proclaimed itself in 1919 as the *Bulgarian Communist Party* and, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, participated in the foundation of the Communist International whose active member it remained until the latter dissolved itself in 1943.

In the course of three decades, especially after the September 1923 Uprising, our Party, ridding itself of its non-Bolshevik, orthodox Narrow-Socialist vestiges, fighting against various Right- and Left-wing deviations, learning from the Bolshevik Party, and accumulating an ever-increasing store of experience, developed, transformed and rearmed itself ideologically in a Marxist-Leninist spirit. It became a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, the organized and conscious vanguard of the working class, a party of a new type, capable of mobilizing and leading the working class in a life and death struggle, of forging a militant alliance between the working class and the destiny of our country, firmly resolved to lead it on to the victory of socialism, to the complete triumph of communism.

In its development the Party had to follow a difficult, thorny and zigzagging road, replete with heroism and unshakable faith in the working class and the toilers. Passing through a long period of underground activity, suffering severe setbacks and tremendous casualties, our Party never flagged nor gave up the fight.

The Party remained always loyal to the emancipatory cause of the working class. Throughout its existence, despite errors, weaknesses and vacillations, it strove to always be amid the masses, to move forward with them, to instruct them in a spirit of uncompromising class struggle and proletarian internationalism, to honestly and selflessly defend their interests, and to boldly lead them into battle against their sworn enemies. During the hardest years of monarcho-fascist dictatorship and German occupation, the Party fearlessly headed the fight against fascism and the alien conquerors, organized and conducted the Partisan movement, created the Fatherland Front and by its selfless

and correct guidance succeeded in leading the nation on to the victorious September 9, and in winning the sympathies and the confidence of the broad masses.

The recent fusion of the Social-Democratic Party participating in the Fatherland Front with our Party, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and our by-laws and discipline, did away with the last divisive elements within the working class, which is now united in a single political party.

It is quite natural and logical that our Party should be acknowledged today as the leading force in the state administration and in the entire public life of our country.

Our Party's undisputed merits, the general interest which our Congress has evoked and the hopes our people are pinning on its decisions, show clearly that it is entrusted with the historical mission of ensuring our country's progress by laying the cornerstone of socialist society, a society without exploitation of man by man.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Party of the Bulgarian Communists, heading the working class, enjoying the confidence and the support of the working people and remaining always loyal to the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist doctrine, will successfully fulfil its historic mission. The decisions of our present Congress will be an additional guarantee.

MAIN PERIODS OF THE PARTY'S DEVELOPMENT

Before examining the present condition of our Party and its immediate tasks, a general critical survey of its development from its inception up to the present is called for. This has both a historical and political significance for the Party as well as for our people and country. It is indispensable to shed full light on certain questions of its past history.

The history of our Party can be divided into the following main periods:

1) From its foundation in 1891 to the split with the opportunist Socialists in 1903.

2) From its formation as a Marxist working class party in 1903 to the Russian Revolution, to its transformation into a Communist Party in 1919 and its participation in the founding of the Communist International.

3) From 1919 to the September 1923 Uprising.

4) From the September 1923 Uprising to World War II in 1940.

5) From World War II to the Uprising of September 9, 1944.

6) From September 9 to the present.

These main periods in the Party's history naturally have their own stages of development.

Let us briefly examine the salient features of these periods in the development of our Party.

NARROW SOCIALIST PERIOD

Before proceeding to analyze the Narrow Socialist period, I wish to observe that the first period of our Party from 1891 to 1903, was characterized by a growing and persistent propaganda of socialist ideas and by a relentless struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologists who denied the possibility of a socialist movement under the then still undeveloped social conditions. It had to be proved that in Bulgaria, which had barely turned capitalist, there existed chances for socialism, the exponent of which would be the incipient working class, that the future belonged to this class, and that it had to have its own political party. Around these issues there ensued a growing strife within the Party between the revolutionary Marxist trend of Dimiter Blagoev, and the reformist-opportunist trend of Yanko Sakuzov. This long ideological fight ended in the victory of revolutionary Marxism over petty-bourgeois reformist Socialism.

The Party's main qualities during its Narrow Socialist period were a deep loyalty to Marxism, proletarian

socialism and internationalism, an uncompromising class attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its reformist tools, an unshakable faith in the forces and future of the working class, and a conscious iron discipline. The Narrow Socialists firmly believed in the subordination of the Party member's personal life, private interests and individual will to the interests and the will of the proletarian party. Thanks to these qualities, our Party achieved great success in the period prior to World War I and immediately following it. They enabled it to become the organizer and leader of the workers' struggles and to dislodge reformism from its key positions in the labour movement. They also helped it during World War I to adopt a firm internationalist stand, to draw nearer to the Bolsheviks and, after the Russian Revolution and the creation of the Comintern, to proceed with its own bolshevization.

During the Narrow Socialist period our Party cleansed its ranks of the reformists, ensured the independent development of the working class as a separate class, and waged an implacable struggle against the ruling bourgeois class. Class vs. class was the Party's slogan and policy during that period. It assumed command of the intensifying struggles of the workers and toilers for an eight-hour working day, social legislation, improvement of living and working conditions, and against the reactionary domestic and foreign policy of the bourgeoisie. It organized and led the trade union movement. It directed the great miners' strike at Pernik in 1906, as well as other strikes and battles of the working class during the ensuing years. There was not a single strike which was not under its command or at least under its influence.

The Party educated the working people in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. It seized the initiative and participated most actively in the creation of a Balkan Federation of Socialist Parties, and strove with all its might to strengthen the solidarity between the Bulgarian working people and the working people of other Balkan states and all over the world.

The Narrow Socialists' inflexibility towards reformism and the various reformist factions, their refusal to cohabitate with bourgeois agents in the labour movement, their militant struggle in defence of the vital interests and rights of the working class – all this stamped them as a distinct revolutionary Marxist trend in the international labour movement and in the Second International, the most akin to Bolshevism among all Left Social-Democratic trends.

From this it did not follow, however, that Narrow Socialism did not differ from Bolshevism on basic issues. The Party suffered from the dangerous misconception that Narrow Socialism was a Bulgarian brand of Bolshevism and that all it had to do was to adapt itself to the new international situation.

It should be stressed that it was this very misconception of the Party and especially of its leadership, from Dimiter Blagoev down, which long delayed it in the position of 19th-century Marxism and prevented it from assimilating the new in Marxism, the valuable contributions of Lenin, who brought Marxism up-to-date by adapting it to the epoch of imperialism – the highest stage of capitalism. This substantially retarded the bolshevization of our Party, and explains the erroneous position of its leadership during the Vladaya events, and especially during the military-fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923.

It is true that Narrow Socialism, especially in its uncompromising class attitude, its struggle vs. Bulgarian Menshevism and its iron discipline, was close to Bolshevism. It is no less true, however, that it differed from Bolshevism and Leninism on several basic problems of principle and tactics.

What were the main differences between Narrow Socialism and Bolshevism?

Narrow Socialism did not consider the proletarian dictatorship a basic tenet of the proletarian revolution. This question was missing in the Party programme. Unaware yet of the emergence of a new phase of capitalism as its

final phase, just on the eve of the proletarian revolution, it did not put forward concretely the question of power and armed insurrection as a means of overthrowing the bourgeois class.

Narrow Socialism did not hold Leninist positions on the question of the role of the Party as a militant vanguard of the working class in the revolution, in the struggle for power, although in its structure, organization and discipline, the Party came close to the Leninist doctrine of the party. Our Party did not yet consider itself a higher form of organization of the Bulgarian working class which could lead all other organizations of the working people, establish the closest contact with the masses and thus ensure a successful revolutionary activity.

Narrow Socialism was not quite free from a certain worship of spontaneity in the labour movement. It was under the spell of the Social-Democratic conception of the automatic functioning of objective social laws. It saw its main task in agitation and propaganda, in explaining and elucidating the objectively functioning laws of social development, in organizing and educating the workers and toilers in a socialist spirit, in raising the class consciousness of the workers, in guiding their day-to-day struggles with a view to the inevitable socialist revolution which would occur as a result of the maturing objective conditions. The Party did not consider itself an active force, called upon not only to organize and educate the working people and to direct their everyday struggles, not only to explain events, but also to participate in the creation and canalization of revolutionary events, to become a guiding factor in the preparation, organization and development of the proletarian revolution. Hence, a certain lag and passivity of the Party at moments of sharp class struggles, a sectarian isolation from the masses who had risen in revolt.

Narrow Socialism transformed into a dogma a series of Marxist postulates, as a result of which the Party lapsed into sectarianism and impeded its contacts with the broad masses. Thus, for instance, pursuing a policy of uncom-

promising struggle against the bourgeoisie as a class, correctly opposing indiscriminate electoral coalitions with bourgeois parties, and the 'constructive' legislative work in the bourgeois parliament, the Party raised independent action into a dogma, denied in general the advisability of an understanding with other social and political groups under any conditions and thus in fact isolated itself. Our Party was alien to the Leninist doctrine of revolutionary compromises without which no revolutionary Party can wage a successful struggle and make progress.

Failing to understand the role of the peasants as allies of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, it stood on Plekhanovist and not on Leninist positions regarding the peasant problem. It enlisted peasants under its banner only insofar as they moved over to the positions of the proletariat. As is well known, Lenin supplemented and further developed the Marxist doctrine about the relations of the proletariat towards the peasantry. He formulated and developed the idea of a militant alliance between workers and peasants in the struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie, with the working class winning over as allies the peasants in their capacity of small commodity producers before they are ready to assimilate socialism. Lenin showed the possibility of using the latent revolutionary potentialities of the peasant masses in the bourgeois-democratic as well as the socialist revolution.

Our Party was rightly and successfully fighting against the reformists who wanted to transform the Party of the working class into an unprincipled, petty-bourgeois party, to turn it thus into a tool of the bourgeois class and deprive the working class of its independence. But our Party failed to understand that the peasants who were petty commodity producers, subjected to the exploitation and ruin by big monopoly and predatory capital, had substantial revolutionary potentialities, that they were the natural ally of the working class in its liberating fight; that as a matter of fact, without an alliance between workers and peasants, without the leadership of the working class in this alliance

it was impossible to overthrow capitalist domination and the victory of the proletariat was impossible.

Narrow Socialism dogmatically defined the peasant commodity producer solely as a conservative element. It did not realize that the domination of the trusts leads to the growing exploitation and pauperization of the peasant masses, renders them ever more dissatisfied and imbues them with revolutionary sentiments. This non-understanding of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry as an ally of the working class in the revolution constitutes one of the most characteristic differences between Narrow Socialism and Leninism. It is therefore by no means accidental that in 1900, during the peasant revolts, the Party neglected the revolutionary potentialities of the peasants in the struggle against capitalism, potentialities which can be developed and realized only under the leadership of the working class and its militant vanguard. Nor is it an accident that our Party did not have at that time its revolutionary agrarian programme. Not on a single one of the problems which Lenin developed and contributed to the treasury of Marxism, as its continuation and application in the imperialist era, and this should be clearly stressed, did Narrow Socialism stand on Leninist positions. Hence it failed to profit from the lessons of the first Russian Revolution in 1905, and both in its appraisal of that revolution and its deductions thereof it did not go beyond Kautsky. It was completely alien to the new essential aspects of Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution, developed by Lenin in his 'Two Tactics', about the leading role of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, about the latter's transformation into a socialist revolution and about an armed uprising. That is why, although it tirelessly propagated the idea of a socialist revolution as the only salutary way out for the working people, our Party had no clear conception of its basic problems. It did not elaborate the question of the specific ways and means by which the revolution could be carried out in Bulgaria, of its main propelling forces, its character

and peculiarities and the role of the working class and the Party. It did not tackle the question of the allies of the working class.

This shows that our Party, despite its great revolutionary services to the Bulgarian working people, was not yet a Bolshevik, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of the new type – ‘sufficiently bold to lead the proletariat in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to orient itself in the complex conditions of the revolutionary set-up and sufficiently elastic to avoid all obstacles on the road towards the goal,’ as Comrade Stalin said.

Prior to World War I, when the uppermost task was to organize and render class-conscious the forces of the working class, the shortcomings and weaknesses of Narrow Socialism were not yet felt in practice. But, when World War I broke out and the overthrow of capitalism became a practical problem, they stood out glaringly and were felt intensely.

During World War I, especially after the October Socialist Revolution, the Party launched an educational and propaganda drive among the soldiers to prepare them ‘to follow the example of their Russian brothers,’ i. e. of the Revolution. But at the decisive moment, when the soldiers at the front turned their bayonets against the war-culprits, rose en masse and started towards Sofia (i. e. followed in practice the example of their Russian brothers), the Party was not up to its task. It failed to organize and successfully direct the insurrection, to give it a nation-wide character by enlisting the workers and peasants, to give it guidance, and to transform it into a people’s uprising against the monarchy (the main agency of German imperialism) and the ruling capitalist class which used the war for plunder and enrichment. The Party could at that time undoubtedly have united the urban and rural masses by raising the slogan for peace and for a popular democratic republic. Unity of action between our Party and the Agrarian Union would have ensured the success of the uprising. A victorious popular uprising in the name of a people’s republic

in 1918 might have changed the general trend of development of the country and the Balkans to the advantage of the people.

The main reason why our Party did not assume command of the soldier masses, who had revolted in the autumn of 1918, lies in its doctrinairism, its non-Bolshevik concepts, methods, and vestiges of Narrow Socialism.

Devoid of a Leninist conception of the peculiarity of the revolutionary process in the different countries, of the relationship and organic connexion between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, our Party deemed that in the onsetting epoch of socialist revolution the slogan of a people's republic could not be raised by a Marxist party, since it was not a specifically socialist slogan.

Devoid of a Leninist conception of a militant alliance of the workers and peasants, our Party held that, since the soldiers' masses, composed predominantly of peasants, were not ready to fight for Soviet power, they were incapable of any real revolutionary struggle. Just because of this dogmatic interpretation of Marxism, it did not assume command of the soldiers' insurrection and did nothing to transform it into a general uprising. As a result, the insurrection remained isolated, without proper leadership and was quelled.

Thus, Narrow Socialism was a revolutionary Marxist trend, but not a Bulgarian brand of Bolshevism. A long struggle was necessary to bolshevize the party in order to turn it into a party of a new type, a Marxist-Leninist Party, such as it appears today before the Congress with a justified feeling of pride.

OUR PARTY IN THE COMINTERN AND THE BEGINNING OF BOLSHEVIZATION

Our Party unanimously and enthusiastically welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution, adopting its slogans and mobilizing our working people in defence of the young Soviet Socialist Republic.

During the civil war, imperialist intervention and famine in the Volga region, our Party carried through a remarkable political and relief campaign. Who can forget the historic months when our toiling peasants with rare enthusiasm and self-abnegation collected considerable quantities of food for their Soviet brothers and when the working class, headed by the Party, sapped the 20,000 men strong Wrangel Army in Bulgaria and prevented its use by Churchill and his ilk in the military intervention against the Soviet Union.

At its 1919 Congress our Party renamed itself Communist Party. In contrast to the parties in many other countries, our Party as a whole joined the Communist International. What is more, it participated in its creation, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the immortal Lenin. It adopted a new programme; the proletarian revolution, no longer a long-range aim, became an immediate task, for which the objective conditions had already matured and the solution of which depended on the subjective factor of the revolution, *i. e. mainly on the readiness and ability of our Party to organize and lead the revolution.* At its 1921 Congress it adopted the Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a basic factor of the proletarian revolution. In its resolution on the peasant problem the Party proclaimed the alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class an indispensable prerequisite for the victory of the revolution. The adoption of these programme points, which it popularized through translations of Lenin's basic works, was accompanied by the active participation of the Party in the work of the Comintern.

The Party also adopted in principle the methods of illegal struggle and their combination with the widest use of all legal possibilities for struggle and revolutionary propaganda, such as the parliament and the municipal and county councils.

The Party proceeded to set up a military organization of its own, engaged in considerable propagandist and

organizational activity among the soldiers and started to arm the masses. It headed the stormy struggles of the working people in the wake of the disastrous war, the great drives for amnesty, against the high cost of living, against the turning of Bulgaria into an anti-Soviet bridgehead, and for recognition of the USSR.

At the same time the Party launched a mass struggle for transforming the municipalities from a tool for oppression, spoliation and exploitation, into organs serving the interest of the working people. A series of important town municipalities and several village communes passed into the hands of the Communist Party. Thus, in 1920 we had 22 town and 65 village Communist municipalities. Their economic and cultural policy in favour of the working class and the other toilers naturally met with the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie and of the central authorities. In the history of our country these long and very bitter struggles for the formation and consolidation of those then-called Communes will forever remain memorable.

Unless the proletariat, led by the Party, seized all power, these Communes were bound to be ephemeral; they were eventually suppressed by the bourgeoisie one by one.

However the struggle of the working people under the leadership of our Party to capture the municipalities, contributed much to the unification of the masses in the struggle against the exploiters and enhanced considerably the prestige of the Party.

Our Party connected the struggles of the working people for their immediate needs with the preparation of the decisive battles for the victory of the revolution. When important interests of the working people were at stake or their political rights and liberties in serious jeopardy, the Party did not hesitate to resort also to the organization of a general political strike, as was the case in 1919-20 with the transport strike, and to major mass actions, going as far as to collaborate with the Agrarian Government in 1922 against rising reaction and fascism. Thus the Party rallied new masses from town and village.

Despite its participation in the Comintern and its considerable successes in emerging as the leader of the class struggle of the working people under the revolutionary post-World War I set-up, the Party had not yet grasped and the leadership had not pointed out concretely the basic difference between Narrow Socialism and Bolshevism, had not yet drawn from it the necessary lessons for the Party, and had not yet headed the struggle for surmounting the negative survivals of Narrow Socialism and to rearm the Party with Marxism-Leninism.

The Party was indeed accumulating its own revolutionary experience, but there continued to predominate in it legalistic, propagandistic habits and a tendency to consider Marxism rather as a doctrine than as a guide to revolutionary action.

They became most apparent in the position taken by the Party leadership on June 9, 1923, when within it this very Narrow Socialist dogmatic concept of the revolutionary process gained the upper hand. The ill-fated policy of neutrality, proclaimed then by the Party leadership, was justified by lifeless dogmatic considerations completely alien to the reality and to revolutionary Marxism. The Party leadership maintained the thesis that inasmuch as the Agrarian Government had discredited itself by its administration, the masses would not rise in its defence against the fascist coup d'état. On the other hand, since the peasants were not yet ready to fight for a worker-peasant government, they would not follow the appeal of the Communist Party for an uprising against fascism. The Party leadership evidently underestimated the great prestige which the Communist Party had won among the masses by its struggles. It underestimated popular hatred of fascism and the bankers-militarist oligarchy provoked by the representatives of the Palace and the bourgeois-monarchist cliques and fanned by the Communist Party. Had it followed the example of the Bolshevik Party during the attempted Kornilov coup d'état in September 1917, had it united with the sound forces in the Agrarian Union and

had it come out openly against the fascist plotters, the coup d'état would undoubtedly have been smashed.

The prevailing non-Bolshevik Narrow Socialist concepts of the revolution within the Party leadership, on June 9 and the days following, led to a moral and political setback. An excellent opportunity was missed to utterly rout the monarcho-fascist forces at the very start of their offensive and to win important positions in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

Narrow Socialism as an ideological and political weapon of the working class did not stand the scrutiny of history under the new conditions of the postwar crisis of capitalism and the immediate struggle for power. This weapon proved to be quite inadequate to ensure a proletarian victory in our country.

Our Party had to grasp this, to see the difference between Narrow Socialism and Bolshevism in the light of its own revolutionary experience, and to overhaul its entire political and organizational activity in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, overcoming its vestiges of negative Social-Democratic concepts, habits and methods once and for all. The sound Marxist Narrow Socialist traditions, qualities and experience had to be purified by melting in the Bolshevik cauldron.

Our Party had already set out along that road, but it was under the hard conditions of underground work and white terror following the suppression of the September Uprising, under the unceasing and merciless fire of the enemy, that it had to rid itself of the pernicious vestiges of Narrow Socialism and to become Bolshevik.

THE SEPTEMBER 1923 UPRISING – A TURNING POINT IN THE PARTY BOLSHEVIZATION

The anti-fascist popular uprising in September 1923, organized and headed by the Bulgarian Communist Party, marks a turning-point in its development from Narrow Socialism to Bolshevism.

What the BCP failed to achieve during the crisis caused

by the fascist coup d'état, it attempted to do later when the fascist government plunged the country into a new crisis which led to the armed September Uprising. In August 1923, aided by the Comintern, the sound Marxist nucleus gained the upper hand within the Party leadership and imposed a radical change in its strategy and tactics. The Party broke with its former isolation, embarked upon a course of rallying all anti-fascist forces in a broad front of working people from town and village and proceeded to prepare the masses for a general struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, including an armed uprising under the slogan of a worker-peasant government.

Steering this new course, the Party concluded an alliance for action with the Agrarian Union, tried to achieve an agreement with the leadership of the Macedonian organization and extended a hand for joint struggle to the Social-Democratic Party whose leaders had hitched it to the chariot of Tsankov. In co-operation with the Agrarian Union it took command of the September 1923 Uprising.

The conditions under which this uprising took place were naturally no longer as favourable as in June. The initiative had passed into the hands of the enemy. But even in September the victory of the uprising was objectively possible. All depended on the energy, boldness and unity of the Communist Party and of the masses in revolt. Failure of the Party rank and file and leadership to fully realize the erroneousness and harmfulness of the June 9 tactics and the Party's incomplete bolshevization, as I have already stressed, prevented it from properly organizing and leading the September 1923 Uprising and ensuring its success.

The September events demonstrated that many local and central Party leaders had either not adopted the course of uncompromising struggle against fascism, or had done so only in words, without conviction and a will to fight, without a desire to really prepare the Party for such a struggle. As a result, many Party organizations were caught

napping by the events. During the uprising many local leaders could not or would not undertake any action against the fascist authorities. Herein lies the main reason for its defeat.

There exist, however, defeats which contribute much to the future victory of the emancipation cause of the working class. Such was the case with the defeat of the September 1923 Uprising.

The fact that the BCP took command of the uprising, put an end to the defeatism of June 9 and adopted a firm course of struggle against the fascist dictatorship, was of crucial importance for its own future and for that of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement.

The September Uprising created a blood-stained and unbridgeable gap between the masses and the fascist bourgeoisie. As a result, during the succeeding years fascism never managed to stabilize its positions and to create a broad social basis. The selfless struggle and the consistent and tireless work of the BCP for the establishment of a united anti-fascist front brought the Party much closer to the masses, strengthened its ties with them and created the prerequisites for its emergence as the true leaders of the working people from town and village in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

These were great achievements which became firmly imbedded in the revolutionary arsenal of our Party.

The bloody lesson of the September Uprising galvanized the bolshevization process of the Party. It was considerably facilitated by the open admission of the June 9 error by the leader of the Party, Dimitar Blagoev, and by his full backing of the September Uprising.

At the same time, however, the defeat and the heavy casualties suffered by the Party and the masses kept alive liquidationist Right- and Left-wing tendencies within it. Both trends condemned the September Uprising and united in an unprincipled bloc against the September leadership of the Party. The final goal of this bloc was to liquidate in practice the Communist Party.

A group of Communist militants, headed by Nikola Sakarov and Ivan Klincharov, proclaimed the Party 'liquidated' and founded an opportunistic miscarriage – the Independent Labour Party. The workers met this treacherous 'party' with deep indignation, while the Central Committee excluded the liquidators from the Party. This development showed the danger threatening the Party after the defeat of the September Uprising and against which a decisive struggle had to be waged.

An important event in the Party's history after the September setback and after its ban by the fascist government was the illegal Vitosha Conference held in April 1924 with the participation of delegates from most districts.

The Vitosha Conference agreed with the Comintern's Executive Committee in its appraisal of the events and tactics of our Party during the period under review. It admitted that on June 9 the Party had not properly applied the united front tactics and that it had made a fatal error.

The Conference sanctioned 'the Party's orientation towards an armed uprising, adopted at the beginning of August but condemned both the pre- and post-September "June 9 tactics" maintained stubbornly by the majority of the Central Committee and the Party Council. The justification of the erroneous position on the part of the Central Committee hindered quite a bit the conscious orientation of the Party towards an armed uprising,' stressed the Vitosha Conference.

The Conference considered as correct that the Party 'had assumed command of the uprising', started by the masses, and 'had fixed as its aim a worker-peasant government' and under 'exceedingly difficult conditions' had attempted 'to organize, unify and broaden it'. The Party had shown thereby that it was 'capable of passing over from revolutionary propaganda and agitation to revolutionary action,' that it was a genuine Communist Party which will worthily fulfil its assigned task: to prepare and lead the working people towards a new armed up-

rising for the establishment of a worker-peasant government.

The significance of the Vitosha Conference consists in the fact that the Party, at a most crucial moment in its life, succeeded in rallying its sound forces around the September nucleus of the Central Committee, in uniting them around the September policy of the Party, approved and ratified by the Comintern. But, while mobilizing the masses in pursuit of the proper Party course, combating the Right deviation, it failed to give adequate warning of the danger on the Left, against which a decisive fight had to be also waged.

The situation during the period after the September Uprising, the outlawing of the Communist Party and of the class labour organizations, is characterized by the following facts:

- 1) The country was facing the prospect of new struggles for the overthrow of the fascist government and the creation of a worker-peasant government. This estimate of the Party leadership, coinciding with that of the Comintern, was confirmed by the results of the parliamentary elections in November 1923. They showed that the opposition against the fascist government, represented by the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, was quite strong. The conclusion was that the indignation of the masses was great and that they were ready to continue the fight for the overthrow of the fascist government.

- 2) The fact that Communists and Agrarians participated in the election campaign with a common ballot showed that they had learned a lesson from the past and had adopted the united front tactics. The joint struggle of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union was of decisive importance for the victory in those elections.

- 3) The fascist dictatorship seriously impeded the legal mass work of the Party. Simultaneously, the prospects of a new armed fight induced the Party to pay special attention to the military preparation of the masses.

In that set-up, and stimulated by the White Terror of

the fascist government, there arose the danger of an ultra-Left deviation within the Party and particularly within its military organization which, in response to the government terror, formed its own bands and committed terrorist actions.

Meanwhile, the end of 1924 and the beginning of 1925 marked a change in the general situation. The international and domestic position of fascism was temporarily strengthened as a result of the temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism in Europe. There no longer existed prospects for a new armed uprising. In March 1925 the Party representatives abroad reassessed the country's position nationally and internationally and proposed to shelve the policy of armed insurrection. Instead, they recommended a course of creating mass organizations and of intensifying the mass struggle of workers and peasants for the satisfaction of their vital needs. This new course was to forestall the imminent danger of an ultra-Left deviation which would have been fatal to the Party and the revolutionary movement. The Party executive within the country, however, proved unable to cope with the ultra-Left deviation, to discontinue in time the course of armed uprising and to proceed with the reorganization of the Party's activity in conformity with the changed conditions.

The fascist government continued its terroristic course with even greater fierceness. Exploiting the desperate acts of the leaders of the Party's military organization, culminating in the attempt to blow up the Sofia Cathedral, it started a mass extermination of active Communists, worker and peasant militants.

The terror following the attempt in the Sofia Cathedral on April 16, 1925¹⁸ dealt, as is known, a very serious blow to the Party. Its leadership was disorganized. The majority of the Party cadres who had survived the September Uprising were killed, imprisoned or driven into exile. Conditions of underground work became exceptionally hard. It is under such circumstances that the Party had to ensure a leadership to the struggle of the working people and to

continue the fight against fascism. It had to learn also its lessons from the defeats of 1923 and 1925, to discover their main causes and to unify the Party members on a Bolshevik basis. Having suffered serious setbacks, considerably weakened, deprived of its best leaders, the Party was undergoing a most trying period of development.

The question of the Party's past and its bolshevization was discussed for the first time at the Moscow Conference in 1925, summoned on the initiative of the Party's leadership abroad with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and attended by the survivors of the Central Committee and those Party militants who had emigrated during the 1923-25 events. The estimate given by this conference, viz. that the Party had managed 'to pass gradually and painlessly, without serious internal crises, from the period of capitalism's organic development to that of its decline, to assimilate and adapt itself to the peculiarities of the revolutionary epoch,' was, however, exaggerated and did not correspond entirely to the reality. Experience showed that the Party's transition from 'the epoch of organic development of capitalism to that of its decline,' was difficult, vacillating, accompanied by serious errors, as, for instance, during the Vladaya insurrection in 1918, the June 9 misjudgement and the ultra-Left error of the leadership of the military organization on April 16, 1925.

The assimilation of the typical features of the revolutionary epoch was in general a hard and serious task, and it was still more difficult to grasp its specific features in the Balkans, where our Party had to function. The conference correctly noted the necessity of acquiring Marxism-Leninism as a guide for action, by studying our own revolutionary experience and that of the Russian Revolution. Using sound self-criticism, the Party 'had to re-educate itself so as to be able to find its way in every historic set-up and, taking into account the concrete conditions, to correctly lead the fight of the masses on their path towards the world revolution.'

The enlarged Vienna session of the Central Committee in 1926 did not go beyond the Moscow Conference on the question of the Party's bolshevization. Indeed, it did stress specifically the task of the 'ideological rallying of the Party masses around the Party banner and the Comintern on the basis of Leninism.' The Moscow Conference and the enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee in Vienna were also quite correct in stressing the tremendous importance of the Party's study of its own experience in the light of Leninism for its bolshevization. But they erred in considering bolshevization 'a process of organic development,' rather than a fight to surmount the non-Bolshevik traditions of the Narrow Socialist period.

After the Vitosha Conference, which rallied the Communist Party around the policy of the September Uprising, the Second Party Conference, held in Berlin late in December 1927 and the beginning of 1928, submitted the Party's post-1923 activities, its tactics, achievements, errors and setbacks to a thorough scrutiny. A bitter fight had to be waged during the Second Conference against Left and Right deviations.

Already at the Moscow Conference serious controversies had arisen over the appraisal of the mistakes made by the Party. The defenders of the June 9 defeatism and the proponents of the ultra-Left deviation of the April 1925 events united de facto in the struggle against the September leadership of the Party. The representatives of the September course had to wage a battle on two fronts. After a thorough discussion of all questions, the Right-wingers and Left-wingers folded their banners and formally approved the resolutions proposed by the Party leadership. But after the conference, dissensions broke out with a new vigour. The Right opportunists and Left sectarians united in an unprincipled bloc against the September Party leadership. This became very apparent at the Vitosha Party Conference.

As a result of the Party's difficult organizational situation, the representatives of its organizations at the

Conference were few in number and, to a large extent, accidental. Besides, within the Party, an undercover ultra-Left sectarian faction, composed of a handful of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, had taken shape; it tried to create an artificial majority through subversive agitation in order to impose its sectarian views and to take over the Party leadership.

During the prolonged and acrid debates; the June 9 opportunism and Right-wing defeatists were thoroughly and finally exposed and disarmed. But the ultra-Left sectarian faction, abetted by Trotskyite and Left-wing elements in some other Communist parties, although it voted for the resolutions of the September leadership, did not disarm, resuming and increasing its factional activities immediately after the conference.

The Conference made a real attempt to furnish an analysis and a general appraisal of the Party's past. It pointed out the elements which brought Narrow Socialism closer to Bolshevism and helped the Party's orientation towards Bolshevism. It also showed up many questions on which Narrow Socialism differed from the Bolsheviks and which handicapped its bolshevization. But the Second Party Conference, although it made a major step forward, did not go all the way, did not clearly define the fundamental difference between Narrow Socialism and Leninism on the basic questions of the revolution. It, too, considered the bolshevization of the Party as an adaptation of revolutionary Narrow Socialism to the new conditions, and not as a fight for the surmounting of Social-Democratic vestiges within the Party and its Bolshevik (Marxist-Leninist) rearmament. Emphasizing that during the postwar period the Party was 'developing and functioning in general as a revolutionary party of the Bulgarian proletariat,' the Second Party Conference stated that it was gradually passing over 'from the methods of agitation and propaganda and of economic struggle of the pre-war period to the methods of mass revolutionary action, adapting itself to the needs and requirements of the

revolutionary epoch.' Indeed, the Conference stressed that this development 'did not advance in a straight line, but proceeded through zigzags and vacillations,' that the bolshevization of the Party took place through 'a clash between Bolshevik trends pushing it forward and Social-Democratic vestiges pulling it backward', but simultaneously it uncritically declared that 'the revolutionary Narrow Socialism and the September current had merged into two basic and unshakable roots of the Party as a Bolshevik Party of the Bulgarian proletariat.'

'The Second Party Conference' characterized the September Uprising as 'a full negation of the June 9 tactics,' as 'a major turning point in its development, which laid the foundation for a final and irretrievable break with the Social-Democratic and June 9 vestiges,' as the decisive step on the Party's road to bolshevization.

In its appraisal of the Narrow Socialist period, the Second Party Conference, without identifying Narrow Socialism with Bolshevism, nevertheless stressed the similarities between the two and did not dwell sufficiently on the differences.

Summarizing that period, I wish to restate from this tribune that unfortunately we, Dimiter Blagoev's closest collaborators, after his death were unable to make the necessary Marxist-Leninist re-appraisal of all values of the Party's revolutionary past and of the Bulgarian proletariat at the proper time and to fully avail ourselves of the positive and great capital of the revolutionary movement, in order to overcome, once and for all, all non-Bolshevik vestiges of the Narrow Socialist period.

That fact, along with the serious illegal situation of the Party, was exploited by various ultra-Left and accidental elements who penetrated its leadership and even took it over temporarily.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LEFT SECTARIANISM IN THE PARTY AND ITS LIQUIDATION

Misusing the authority of the Comintern, posing inside the country as the best interpreter of its decisions, taking advantage of the difficult conditions of illegality, the left sectarians Iskrov, Georgi Lambrev and Iliya Vassilev (Boiko)¹⁹ assisted by disguised hostile elements in the apparatus of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and in other Communist Parties of that time succeeded, through organized factions, in holding a plenum of the Central Committee during the summer of 1929, and in taking over the Party leadership. Under the guise of bolshevization of the Party, the Left-sectarians actually pursued an anti-Bolshevik course. They raised the slogan 'extirpation of Narrow Socialism,' waged an insidious struggle against loyal old Party members, against its revolutionary past, and pushed the Party along the disastrous road leading to isolation from the masses. This was facilitated by the inactivity of some old and renowned Party militants inside the country who had then withdrawn from Party work.

The Left sectarian faction became the main obstacle to the Party's bolshevization. At the very moment when the fascist dictatorship not only persecuted our Party, but also strove to undermine it from within, to decapitate it and to smash its leadership, it found its best allies in the main leaders of the Left sectarian faction.

Yet in spite of the temporary ascendancy of the Left sectarian faction, there existed enough sound forces within the Party to lead the struggle of the working people on a local scale during the new upsurge of the labour movement. The stagnation which had gripped the entire labour and progressive movement after the cruel 1923-25 defeats was gradually overcome. In 1927 the Workers' Party was set up as a legal party of the working class; trade unions were re-established. The Workers' Party, acting under the direction of the illegal BCP, within a short time managed to win con-

siderable authority among the masses. Symptoms of a new revolutionary upsurge of the masses became apparent. Big strikes broke out, major election victories were scored and legal possibilities began to be used widely. The Party was growing and moving forward boldly. Its successes would undoubtedly have been much greater, however, but for the harmful influence of the Left sectarian faction. Thus, for instance, at the Second Plenum the Left sectarians, instead of concentrating on the Party's assuming command of the new militant upsurge of the masses, went in for scholastic sectarian discussions about the Party's past and composed mileages of resolutions which no worker could read through. And again, through the fault of this faction, our Party was unable to carry to a successful conclusion the break-through in the front of the fascist dictatorship in the summer of 1931, as well as during the coup d'état of May 19, 1934.²⁰

The Left sectarian course which was in fact a Trotskyite course, had nothing in common with the Comintern line, and was opposed to it.

1. Instead of a sober appraisal of the situation on the basis of a concrete Marxist analysis of the forces in action, the general formulas of Leninist strategy and tactics were being reiterated and the formulations of other Communist parties were mechanically applied regardless of the concrete conditions prevailing in our country. The Left sectarians took credit for the successes won by the Party in spite of their leadership, and proclaimed as its immediate task the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in Bulgaria.

2. 'Revolutionary' phraseology and bombastic appeals for revolutionary actions were substituted for serious and steadfast agitation among the workers and peasants for the popularization of party slogans, for the preparation of the struggle and the mobilization of the masses. 'General and Open Offensive,' 'Conquer the Streets,' 'Occupy the Land' and similar 'revolutionary' verbiage were typical Left sec-

tarian slogans. The slogan of a political strike was so discredited by the Left sectarians that the Profintern was compelled to specifically condemn its use in Bulgaria.

3. Genuine leadership, based on a conscious adoption of the Party decisions and directives by the members of the Party and the mass organizations, gave way to mechanical and rude commandeering. The attitude of the Left sectarian leaderships towards the legal Workers' Party created by our Party was incorrect and exceedingly harmful. Although the Workers' Party numbered among its members many workers with experience in mass work, and although it serve as a transmission belt through which the BCP exerted its influence on the masses, its cadres were treated as second-rank cadres. After the coup d'état of May 19, 1934 when the Workers' Party and the other mass organizations were banned, the Left sectarian leadership put up no resistance and hastened to declare the Workers Party as 'self-dissolved'.

4. Under the guise of a false 'bolshevization' the entire Narrow Socialist period of the Party was proclaimed as 'Menshevik' and 'anti-Bolshevik'. Under the pretext of defending the September Uprising, a Trotskyite 'criticism' of that uprising was popularized and the September cadres of the Party were ostracized. The Left sectarian leadership went even so far as to sabotage the international anti-fascist campaign in connexion with the Leipzig trial.

5. Having temporarily conquered with the assistance of their Trotskyite colleagues abroad, the internal leadership of the Party, and having identified themselves with the Party, the Left sectarians formed themselves into a secret Trotskyite faction within the Party. Under the guise of Leninism and using the authority of the Comintern in a double dealing away, they were destroying the foundations of the Party and discrediting the revolutionary movement.

The support received by the Party in its struggle to overcome Left sectarians from the Comintern and from the Bolshevik Party, especially as regards the Second Plenum of the Central Committee, whose harmful decisions were

rejected by the Comintern's Executive Committee, should be gratefully acknowledged.

The Resolution of the Political Secretariat of the Comintern's Executive Committee of August 1930 played an exceedingly important role for our Party. It dealt with the basic problems of the communist movement in Bulgaria and served as a solid basis for uniting the sound forces within the Party on a genuine Marxist-Leninist policy.

This Resolution clearly pointed out the revolutionary Marxist elements in the Narrow Socialist period which the Party should not reject but should become their 'conscious protagonist and elaborator.'

At the same time, it clearly showed the difference between *Narrow Socialism and Leninism* on the basic questions of the proletarian revolution. It defined the September Uprising as a decisive turning-point in the Party's bolshevization, as the beginning of a Bolshevik crystallization amidst the old and new Party cadres which was impeded by the insufficiently consistent ideological struggle of the Party leadership against the vestiges of the non-Bolshevik traditions and against the infantile disorder of Left-Wing Communism.

The Resolution called on the Party to completely overcome those vestiges of the *Narrow Socialist period* which impeded it during its transition from its role as agitator and propagandist of the masses to the position of organizer and leader of the masses in the struggle for power, to unite on a common platform for a struggle against the main danger – opportunism, lagging behind events and passivity, as well as against Left sectarianism.

The Political Secretariat of the Comintern's Executive Committee bade the Party fight resolutely against group formation and the rising danger of the Party's disintegration factions.

The process of uniting the Party on the Comintern platform was impeded by the Left sectarians who adopted the Resolution in words, but hid from the Party and the

Comintern their disagreement with it, proceeding to revise it in a Left sectarian spirit.

The Party's very existence and development were again at stake. All forces had to be mobilized in order to save it by liquidating the Left sectarian course, by wresting the Party leadership from the hands of the Left sectarians, and by making a decisive turn from revolutionary phrase-mongering to truly Bolshevik mass work and struggle. Only by rapidly overcoming the sectarian distortions in all phases of its work could the Party re-establish its contacts with the masses and build a united anti-fascist dictatorship.

In spite of the serious difficulties, due to the conditions of illegality and fascist terror, our Party, with the aid of the Comintern, succeeded in coping with this important task.

THE NEW BOLSHEVIK COURSE OF THE PARTY

The Seventh Comintern Congress brought about a change in policy of the Communist Parties, by postulating as the basic and immediate task the struggle against fascism as the foremost threat to the working class and the toilers, to peace and to the freedom of the peoples. To stop the fascist onset and to smash fascism, the working class had to be united and to serve as a foundation for the building up of a powerful anti-fascist popular front. The translation into practice of the united front made it incumbent on the Communists to overcome the smug sectarianism within their own ranks which had become a deeply rooted evil. By overestimating the degree of revolutionaryization of the masses and underestimating the struggle in defence of the immediate interests and rights of the working people, sectarianism led to passivity in face of the fascist offensive. Substituting abstract propaganda and doctrinairism for a mass policy, stereotyping the slogans and tactics of all countries and disregarding the specific peculiarities existing in every particular nation, sectarianism delayed the growth of the Communist Parties,

impeded the development of a genuine mass struggle, and blocked the winning over of the broad masses of working people by the Communist Parties. Simultaneously, the Communist Parties had also to be vigilant with respect to the Right danger which was bound to grow with the wide application of the united front, and to manifest itself through spontaneity and automatism, depreciation of the role of the Party and vacillation at the crucial moment.

This was the fundamental thesis of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Its decisions were instrumental in helping our Party make a turn-about and become truly Bolshevik in character. The Resolution of the Comintern against the Left sectarian leadership in connexion with the events of May 19, 1934, had already raised sharply the question of changing that self-styled leadership which was completely incapable of bringing about a turn in the Party. This change was brought to its consummation early in 1935.

The new Party leadership, in its Open Letter of October 1, 1935, basing itself on the 1934 Comintern Resolution, made a clear exposé of the essence of the Left opportunistic sectarian course during the preceding years, when 'certain petty-bourgeois elements – doctrinaires, sectarians and factionists – had temporarily gained the upper hand in the Party leadership and imposed their Left opportunistic sectarian course.' Basing itself on the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the Open Letter formulated as the fundamental tasks of the Party: a) to build a united anti-fascist popular front, and b) to organize the working class, through a general consolidation of the Party.

The decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party in February 1936 constitute a correct and consistent elaboration of its new Bolshevik course in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress. This elaboration consisted in the following:

1. As the fundamental immediate task the Plenum set the building of an 'anti-fascist' popular front of all non-fascist organizations in the struggle for the following basic

political demands: re-establishment of the Turnovo Constitution, elections to the National Assembly according to the old electoral law, invalidation of all anti-Communist decrees, dissolution of all fascist organizations. In the name of these demands all sound popular forces should be united firmly.

At the same time, the Party proposed to all organizations of working people, a joint struggle for the satisfaction of their basic needs. It expressed its readiness to support the Government of an anti-fascist popular front which would carry through the above platform, although it considered that a radical improvement of the situation of the masses and the fullest and most consistent defence of the popular liberties, of peace and national independence could only be achieved by a Soviet Government in Bulgaria.

2. The Plenum endorsed the dismissal of the Left sectarian leadership and the entrusting of the Party leadership to tested proponents of its new Bolshevik course. Simultaneously, it stressed the need of intensifying the criticism of the Left sectarian course in order to bare its anti-Leninist and Trotskyite character before the rank and file, and to carry out a thorough-going and systematic education for a conscious assimilation, not in words, but in deeds, of the new Party course.

3. The Plenum worked out a detailed directive for rallying and enlisting all loyal Party cadres, young and old, in practical work for a genuine and conscious unification of the Party on Marxist-Leninist positions and around its Central Committee.

Thanks to this new Bolshevik course, the Party re-established its contact with the masses, and its role in the political life of the nation increased rapidly.

Although with some difficulties, the anti-fascist popular front was growing notwithstanding the resistance and sabotage of the Right leaders of the other non-fascist parties. The popular front and, in particular, the Party proved

a great political force at the parliamentary and communal elections.

The main internal enemy, against whom the anti-fascist popular front was waging a struggle, were the protagonists of fascism: the government of Tsar Boris and Tsankov's so-called Social Movement. The main external enemy, who threatened peace and Bulgaria's national independence, was Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Against this double peril, the anti-fascist popular front mobilized the masses for a fight for peace, against the warmongers and their Bulgarian stooges, for defence of Bulgaria's national independence, for friendly relations with all neighbouring countries, for collective security and common defence of all big and small democratic nations which pursued a policy of peace and democracy, against war and fascism.

The feverish preparations of Nazi Germany for a new world war, Hitler's aggressions in Austria and Czechoslovakia and the attempts of the German imperialists, with the aid of Bulgarian monarcho-fascism, to rule Bulgaria and include it in their 'Lebensraum', and then the outbreak of World War II in wake of the German aggression against Poland threatened to engulf Bulgaria and the Balkans in the war. The Party correctly considered the USSR as the only powerful factor for the preservation of peace in the Balkans and the independence of the Balkan peoples.

The Party, therefore, raised as the No. 1 task of Bulgaria's foreign policy the conclusion of a pact of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. Should Bulgaria, however, in order to be pushed into the war, find herself faced by the threat of aggression or actually be attacked by either of the two warring parties, the Bulgarian people would fight with all forces for the defence of her freedom and independence by seeking the backing of the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, the Party focussed its efforts on unifying all democratic forces in defence of peace and

national independence, of the liberties and basic needs of the masses, against war, reaction and capitalist plunder.

The Soviet Government's offer in December 1940, through its emissary Sobolev, to conclude with the Bulgarian Government a pact of friendship and mutual assistance, bore out the Party's correct stand for a pro-Soviet orientation and strengthened its position among the people. It became the centre of a powerful popular movement for the conclusion of a friendship pact with the USSR. The only ones to remain outside this popular movement were the openly capitalist and reactionary elements in the two camps – the pro-Germans and the pro-British – who were united in their hatred against the USSR and Bolshevism.

The Seventh Party Plenum in January, 1941, stood under the sign of the struggle against Bulgaria's forcible entry into the war. The Party realized that the fascist government of Tsar Boris, in rejecting the Soviet offer, had hitched Bulgaria to the bandwagon of nazi Germany – a circumstance which could not but increase the approaching danger of Bulgaria's being drawn into the vortex of the war. It conducted a still more energetic propaganda among the masses in favour of a pact with the USSR, and of non-intervention in the war.

As a result, disorders broke out in many localities among the mobilized Bulgarian soldiers along the frontier who refused to obey the orders of their officers. Slogans were raised for a return home and against Bulgaria's joining the war on the side of nazi Germany. The nazi forces of occupation and their local Quislings realized that Bulgaria was far from constituting a safe rear and that their criminal policy could not rely on the support of the Bulgarian people.

Hitler's foul aggression against the USSR on June 21, 1941, produced a basic change in the international situation. World War II, which had started as a war between two imperialist camps, turned into a war of the freedom-loving peoples, headed by the Soviet Union, against nazi

aggression. From the very start our Party adopted a firm stand against the nazi-fascist bloc and its Bulgarian hirelings. As early as June 22 the Party's Central Committee issued an appeal to the Bulgarian people, in which the positions were clearly formulated.

It read as follows:

History knows of no more brigand-like, more counter-revolutionary and imperialist war than the one launched by fascism against the USSR. And inversely, there is no juster and more progressive war than the one waged by the Soviet people against the fascist invader and on whose issue will depend the destinies of all nations. So just a war cannot but enjoy the sympathy and support of every honest and progressive person in the world ... The Bulgarian people, who in their overwhelming majority harbour a deep love for the fraternal Soviet peoples and pin on them their greatest hopes for a better future... are faced with the colossal task of preventing their land and army from being used for the predatory aims of German fascism ...

Be vigilant and oppose resolutely all measures which the Government may take to involve us in the war or to put our country in the service of the fascist brigands. Not one grain of Bulgarian wheat, not one piece of Bulgarian bread for the German fascists and plunderers. Not a single Bulgarian in their service.

In the same appeal the Central Committee characterized the nazi aggression against the USSR as a 'reckless adventure,' in which 'Hitler is bound to break his neck.'

On June 24, 1941, the Politbureau of the Party proceeded to prepare the Bulgarian people for an armed struggle against the nazi forces of occupation and their local Quislings. A special military commission was set up to carry through this preparation. Armed military units were organized for diversionist and sabotage activities with the aim of disrupting German communications, of destroying plants and warehouses serving the nazis, of organizing workers for the sabotage of production (as a result, in several plants output fell off 40-50 per cent), of inducing peasants to conceal farm produce, etc. The slogan was raised to assail German units and bases and, in general, to create in the country insecure conditions for the

Germans and their local Quislings, to disrupt and paralyze their war efforts. At the same time the Party proceeded to step up its work in the army, raising the slogan 'Not a Single Soldier to the Eastern Front'. Among the soldiers of the occupation troops in Yugoslavia, the slogan was raised to fraternize with the Yugoslav partisans and to go over to their side. As early as 1941 the first partisan units appeared in the districts of Razlog, Batak, Karlovo, Eastern Sredna Gora, Sevlievo, Gabrovo, and elsewhere.

This heroic struggle involved great sacrifices and sufferings: scores of fighters dangled from the gallows or were shot, partisan heads were paraded in towns and villages, prisons and concentration camps were overcrowded. Yet in spite of the bestial terror, the struggle gained in momentum. The greater the German setbacks on the Eastern Front as a result of the Soviet victories, the clearer the prospects of nazi Germany's inevitable defeat, the brighter became the conditions for rallying all sound patriotic forces among the people in a Fatherland Front, which was founded on the initiative of our Party towards the middle of 1942 with the publication of its programme.

The Fatherland Front programme clearly and categorically stated that Hitler's plan for world domination was bound to end with the downfall of nazi Germany and that the policy of the Tsar Boris government, which had turned Bulgaria into a vassal of Hitler, was directed against the people and would lead the nation to catastrophe. Hence, it was the supreme duty of the Bulgarian people, their army and patriotic intelligentsia to unite in a powerful Fatherland Front for the salvation of Bulgaria.

The programme demanded that Bulgaria's brigand alliance with nazi Germany be severed immediately; that the German aggressors be expelled from Bulgarian soil; that national wealth and labour be protected against alien attempts; that the fascist organizations be dissolved and rendered harmless; that the political rights of the working people be restored, extended and consolidated; that the army be taken from the hands of the monarcho-fascist

clique and transformed into a people's army, so that the material and moral forces of our people be added to the efforts of other peoples under the leadership of the USSR, for the complete defeat of the German imperialists. The programme bade all anti-fascist forces unite in the Fatherland Front and form a Fatherland Front government to ensure our political and economic development as a free and independent nation, closely allied with the other freedom-loving peoples and especially with the Soviet Union.

The Party estimated that the struggle for the destruction of domestic fascism was the main nexus comprising all essential problems of the life and future of the working people and of the whole nation. Without the destruction of the fascist regime, the country could not be wrested from the fascist camp and saved from catastrophe, ruin and retrogression. The more evident the inevitable and ignominious end of nazi Germany became, the clearer the Bulgarian people realized that our fascist regime, which had completely identified its fate with Hitler's slaveholders' policy, represented the main danger which had to be immediately removed. Bulgaria's liberation from the shackles of fascism followed from the entire international and domestic situation, and became the central task of the working class, of the toilers from town and village, and of all our truly democratic and patriotic forces.

Such then was the national and democratic platform of our Party during the war for the liberation of the country from fascism and German occupation. It found a deep echo, rallied the bulk of the people under the banner of the Fatherland Front and became a truly national cause.

The Party considered the fulfilment of this programme an inevitable and decisive stage in the further development of the country on the road to radical political, economic and social changes.

Armed with this militant programme, the Party exerted all its energies to rapidly make the Fatherland

Front a truly national movement, to broaden the resistance movement, and give it a mass character.

During the second half of 1942, there was a considerable upswing in the struggle of the masses against the nazi forces of occupation and their Bulgarian tools. In several localities numerically small partisan units grew into organized detachments enjoying wide support among the people. In the winter of 1942-43 partisan detachments in Sredna Gora waged memorable and epic struggles against some 20,000 policemen and soldiers. During March-April 1943, by decision of the Central Committee, the country was divided into 12 guerrilla combat zones with a unified military leadership. The attacks of partisan detachments against the Germans and the Quisling authorities in towns and villages went usually hand-in-hand with a broad political activity among the population. The more defeats the nazi hordes suffered on the Eastern front, especially after the rout at Stalingrad, the fiercer became the partisan struggle and the more the people from all parts of the country were drawn into the partisan movement.

Towards the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, an army of 100,000 soldiers and gendarmes under fascist command was involved in the struggle against the partisan movement. Hitler's and Tsar Boris' inability to send a single Bulgarian soldier to the Eastern front was due primarily to the fact that the main forces of the Bulgarian army were engaged in a struggle against the partisans both in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

It was a truly epic period, a real test for our Party and for the Bulgarian people. We can safely say that our Party, backed mainly by the Communist youth, passed this test with honour, in spite of terrific casualties, bestial terror and opportunistic vacillations of some Party members. This period will remain inscribed with gold letters in the annals of our Party and our people who can justly pride themselves with their heroic Partisans, men and women, and their assistants, whom the Party managed to organize

and lead to battle against the German forces of occupation and Bulgarian fascists.

The growing scope of the Partisan movement, facilitated by the victorious advance of the Soviet Army and the fascists' failure to cope with it, inspired the people and consolidated their faith in ultimate victory, emboldened and activated our allies in the Fatherland Front.

The Fatherland Front grew in the course of the struggle for the basic needs of the masses and against Bulgaria's spoliation and enslavement by the German fascist imperialists. Its spark plug was our Party, but other non-fascist parties and organizations were drawn into its activity.

In 1944, the serious and irreparable defeats of the German hordes on all fronts, the lightning thrust of the Soviet armies towards Germany, the capitulation of fascist Italy, the approach of the Third Ukrainian army towards Bulgaria's frontiers – all these factors hastened the downfall of nazi Germany. Our panic-stricken Quislings and ruling monarcho-fascist clique began to disintegrate. In vain were their attempts to drown the Partisan movement in blood. Their attempt to split the Fatherland Front also failed. Intent on forestalling the maturing people's uprising, through the Bagryanov Government and then through the Mouraviev-Gichev²¹ Government, they approached the Anglo-American General Staff with an offer for unconditional surrender. They hoped, in case of an Anglo-American occupation, to escape punishment for their crimes and to preserve the shaky foundations of the monarcho-capitalist regime in Bulgaria.

This scheme, however, was foiled by the lightning advance of the Soviet armies and the vigilance of our Party.

On August 26, 1944, our Party's Central Committee addressed the historic Circular No. 4, calling for the immediate overthrow through an armed uprising of the fascist regency and the Bagryanov Government and for the establishment of Fatherland Front Government, to all its organizations, executives and members. This Circular, among other things, state:

The 12th hour has struck for Bulgaria.

Its fate today depends solely on the people and the patriotic army. Our country is doomed unless the self-imposed regency and pro-German government of Bagryanov are immediately overthrown and the alliance with Germany severed.

The Party, the Fatherland Front, the entire Bulgarian people and the army, are faced with the imperative task of staging a general, bold and decisive armed uprising.

The Fatherland Front is the only political force capable of saving the country by immediate bold and decisive actions.

The same day the General Staff of the Partisan Army issued the order:

Launch a general offensive and establish Fatherland Front rule on a local basis. Direct the main blows against the big centres, especially wherever one can count on the support of certain army units.

Conscious of its historic mission at the head of the proletariat, the Party made full use of its past fighting experience, of all lessons from its victories and setbacks, marshalled its forces, staked its immense authority, counting on the decisive aid of the Soviet army, in order to mobilize the Bulgarian people united in the Fatherland Front for the armed overthrow of the most dangerous and diabolic bastion of capitalism and reaction in Bulgaria — the monarcho-fascist dictatorship.

When on September 8 Soviet armies stepped on Bulgarian soil, the armed uprising was already in full swing. In Plovdiv, Gabrovo and in the Pernik mines general strikes broke out while in Sofia the street-car workers went on strike and the population demonstrated. The storming of the prisons in Pleven, Varna and Sliven was coordinated in time with the occupation of many towns and villages by Partisan detachments. Under the iron pressure of the Soviet armies, the German hordes beat a hasty retreat from Bulgaria. The Bulgarian soldiers refused to carry out the orders of the reactionary officers and deserted to the Partisans.

The victory of the uprising was ensured. On September 9, under the hammer blows of the united masses, assisted

by the Partisan detachments and the revolutionary-minded soldiers and officers, the loathed monarcho-fascist dictatorship collapsed and the first popular government in Bulgaria – the Fatherland Front Government – was established.

However, the greatest credit for the victory of the September 9 Uprising and the liberation of our country from the German fascist yoke is due to the fraternal heroic Soviet Army. The party, the working class, and all our working people will remain forever grateful.

THE SEPTEMBER 9 UPRISING CLEARED THE PATH FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN BULGARIA

From September 9, 1944 to the Grand National Assembly Elections

Comrades,

The September 9 Armed People's Uprising marks a turning-point in our history.

On September 9, 1944 the political power in our country was wrested from the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the monarcho-fascist minority of exploiters and passed into the hands of the vast majority of the people, the toilers from town and countryside, headed by the working class and its vanguard – the Communist Party. Having triumphed with the decisive aid of the heroic Soviet Army, the September 9 Uprising cleared the road for building socialism in our country.

The combination of the September 9, 1944 People's Anti-fascist Uprising and the victorious advance of the Soviet Army in the Balkans not only ensured the triumph of the uprising but gave it also great scope and impetus. The hatred against fascism stored up in the course of two decades and the determination of the working people to do away with it burst forth irrepressibly and swept away the fascist regime at a blow. The bourgeois-fascist police apparatus which had repressed the working people was

smashed in the days following the September 9 Uprising, and a popular militia was formed for crushing the resistance of the fascist elements and for the defence of the people's uprising. Power was wrested from the capitalist class, rallied round the monarchy and closely allied with German imperialism. It passed into the hands of the militant bloc of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intelligentsia united in the Fatherland Front under the leadership of our Party. State power changed radically in character: the instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the masses in favour of the capitalists was destroyed and a popular government was set up as an instrument for the annihilation of capitalism and for the gradual liberation of the working people from all exploitation.

True, the old bourgeois state machine was not completely smashed on September 9. The Communists were still a minority in the newly-formed cabinet. Many key posts were still in the hands of individuals, some of whom later proved unstable or even hostile to the people's regime. In many localities, however, power was actually in the hands of the Fatherland Front committees. Our Party held the Ministry of the Interior, as well as the newly-created posts of Assistant Commanders in the army. This was in the interests of the people because only our Party was able to organize the suppression of the overthrown monarcho-fascist clique, to ensure internal order and the successful participation of the reorganized army in the anti-nazi war. The Party's preponderant power and influence among the people, as well as its position in the Fatherland Front Committees, actually enabled it to assume a leading role in the government and to cope with the fascist reactionary elements and their stooges in the Fatherland Front ranks.

New men, springing up from the working class and the people, came to the fore. Vast strata of people, long oppressed under the boot of the fascist dictatorship, woke up to active political life and, under the leadership of the Party, entered various organs of the administration. A new

type of government, popular democratic in character, was created and gradually improved.

Although its immediate tasks were of a democratic character, the September 9 Uprising could not but shake the very foundation of the capitalist system in our country, thus transcending the limits of bourgeois democracy

This then, is the salient feature of the September Uprising.

It is due to the fact that you cannot eliminate fascism, secure democratic rights to the working masses, consolidate and develop these rights without challenging the very rule of capitalism, for fascism is nothing but the ruthless, terroristic dictatorship of big business. The eradication of fascism cannot be completed without challenging big business. Democratic rights cannot be granted to the working people, if big business preserves its political and economic power. The September 9 Uprising, therefore, tackling problems of a democratic character, as well as the great national question of our people's participation in the war for the final destruction of nazism, could not but turn subsequently against the domination of big business, deal it further serious blows and prepare the ground for its abolition, for the abolition of the capitalist system in general and the passing over to socialism.

However, in order to translate these possibilities into reality, our Party had to wage a bitter struggle.

The foremost task was to defend and consolidate the victory of September 9. The Party had to be clear about the conditions under which the uprising was carried out, about the most imperative measures to be taken, and about the possible scope of the tasks which could be fulfilled immediately.

The September 9 Uprising took place while the war against nazi Germany was still on. The victorious termination of the war ranked, of course, first priority and nothing was to be undertaken which could possibly impede its victorious end. We must not overlook this important fact. Nor should we forget when appraising our Party's activity

during this period of the country's development – from September 9 until the end of the war and the signing of the peace treaty – that Bulgaria, as a former satellite of Nazi Germany, was under an Allied Control Commission, whose British and American representatives were antagonistic to the people's regime. On the other hand, in the interests of her freedom, Bulgaria had to actively join the war against Nazi Germany on the side and under the command of the Soviet Union.

A sober estimate of the international and national situation was imperative under those circumstances. Only the most mature questions could be submitted for solution so as not to skip some stages in the development of the struggle of the working class and the toilers from town and countryside against capitalism. In this respect our Party was fully aware of its historic responsibility before the working people.

On September 9 and in its wake our Party went all out to rally the democratic and patriotic forces of the whole nation for the final and ruthless destruction of the monarcho-fascist clique and to mobilize all material and moral resources, of the country in the common fight of all freedom-loving peoples under the command of the Soviet Union. Our Party carried out this central task successfully. Bulgaria contributed to the best of her abilities to the liberation of the Balkans from the Nazi conquerors and to their final defeat. 'All for the Front, all for Victory in the anti-Nazi War' – that was the supreme slogan of the Party, of the Fatherland Front and of the nation during that period. All other questions were subordinated to it. The Party fought against every deviation from this slogan. It opposed the leftist deviations in its own circles, the impatience of certain comrades who insisted on immediate socialist changes.

The only correct policy was to weld together closely all anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces of the nation, including some anti-German elements from the bourgeoisie, for the total rout of the fascist clique, the vic-

torious participation in the anti-nazi war, the defence and safeguarding of our national independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty. Its realization was a precondition and guarantee for the protection and further development of the historic achievements of the September 9 Uprising. It enabled the Party to draw close to the masses, to strengthen its positions and to isolate the enemies of the uprising and of people's rule. Our Party's Central Committee carried through this policy firmly and steadfastly.

A smashing blow was dealt to the out-and-out fascist elements during that period. Severe punishment was meted out to the main representatives of fascism and the German agency, those responsible for our brigand's alliance with German imperialism and for bringing the nation to the brink of a third catastrophe. The fascist organizations were dissolved. The political, economic and cultural organizations of the working people grew by leaps and bounds. Many major democratic reforms were carried out. Women were granted full equality and given all facilities to take an active part in public life. Broad vistas opened up for the youth. Full equality was also granted to the national minorities and their schools were given state subsidies. The Land Act²² was adopted, limiting landholdings to 20 hectares (except the Dobroudja where the limit was set at 30 ha). Another law provided for the confiscation of all illegally acquired wealth. Measures were taken to make the army popular in character. The institution of assistant-commanders, composed of tested sons of the people and fighters against fascism, was introduced.

The entire state apparatus was overhauled and put on a new and popular basis. The democratic rights and liberties of the broad masses were consolidated. These and similar changes found an expression and confirmation in the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the People's Republic.

In the economic field all efforts were concentrated on the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged national economy, ruthlessly plundered by the Germans and further disrupted

by two consecutive droughts. At that time the question of major economic changes was not yet on the agenda, and could not be. The war was still on and Bulgaria's unsettled international status, with the presence of the Allied Control Commission in Sofia, did not permit an immediate radical encroachment on the economic basis of capitalist reaction. The big industrial, banking and commercial establishments remained in the hands of private capitalists.

It is true that the capitalists were no longer absolute masters of their enterprises and capital. Public control had been established. The role of the trade unions grew immensely. But however much the power of the capitalists had been restricted, they remained the owners of their enterprises, a fact they exploited to hinder the production and the government measures in one way or another. Disposing of an economic base, they could exert a certain pressure on the people's regime. An uphill fight was still necessary to squeeze the capitalist elements out of their political and economic positions.

The blow of September 9 against the people's enemies, as represented by the fascist clique, was so powerful that for a certain time the capitalist bourgeoisie crept under cover. However, this did not mean that it had abandoned its intention of turning back the clock of history.

Propped on its economic base and backed by reactionary American and British circles, our capitalist bourgeoisie soon attempted to translate these hopes and intentions into reality. Within the Fatherland Front it had its own agency among the Right-wing reactionary elements who had hidden in some Parties. Not yet ready to openly challenge the people's regime, it made use of these reactionary elements who soon after September 9 began to combat fiercely the Communist Party and to take exception to its dominant role, while striving to dislocate our economy, impede the implementation of governmental measures, discredit the Party, weaken the Fatherland Front and prepare the ground for a restoration.

Our Party had to organize the working people for a

decisive resistance against the concerted and growing efforts of domestic and international reaction to subvert the gains of September 9. It had to be most vigilant, demonstrate great manoeuvrability, tact and determination in order to emerge as victor in this tough struggle. Our Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, fulfilled this task with honour. It proved up to par during that period as the leader of the Fatherland Front, of the working people and of the whole nation.

The Bulgarian working people remember with what energy and determination the Party called them out into the streets against the well-known Decree No 4²³ of Danyan Velchev,²⁴ by which the reactionary elements within the Fatherland Front Government wanted to save their erstwhile butchers who had hidden in the army from the people's wrath and to use them as cadres for staging their plots. Our Party unmasked the self-styled Agrarian leader and notorious foreign agent Gemeto²⁵ on whom the reactionary Anglo-American circles were banking in the struggle against our people's regime. Gemeto attempted to organize the Right-wing reactionary elements within the Fatherland Front into an anti-Communist bloc. These elements tried to abolish the Fatherland Front committees, pretending that they had already become out of date, to transform the Fatherland Front into an ordinary inter-party coalition, and to oppose Bulgaria's participation in the anti-nazi war together with, and under the command of, the Soviet army. They carried out an insidious propaganda against the popular militia and people's courts, preached and practised defeatism on the front and in the rear.

Our Party succeeded in exposing Gemeto and his political ilk in the eyes of the broad masses as an enemy agency, to isolate and smash them by seeking an ever closer alliance with the sound forces in the Fatherland Front and especially with the Agrarian Union. The infamous Dr. G. M. Dimitrov soon became a general without an army and, despised and spurned, hid in the American

Legation in Sofia and then fled ignominiously to the United States.

The unsuccessful debut and failure of Gemeto, as the chief agent of Anglo-American imperialism in Bulgaria, compelled the latter to seek other tools. With the cessation of hostilities the pressure of British and American reactionary circles in our country increased. Under their direct dictation Nikola Petkov²⁶ and Grigor Cheshmedjiev²⁷ and their cohorts split off from the Fatherland Front and formed a vicious anti-people's opposition – the unconcealed agency of American imperialism.

The still unsettled international status of our country, the open intervention of American imperialists in our domestic affairs (the postponement of the elections scheduled for August 26, 1945), the considerable economic, supply and other difficulties, due to the German pilfering and war ravages, created propitious conditions for the oppositionist leaders to start a subversive and disintegrating activity against the Fatherland Front, the people's power and our Party.

Yet the anti-people's opposition suffered a fiasco. The boycott of the elections for the 16th Ordinary National Assembly proved a failure. In the subsequent elections for the Grand National Assembly the Fatherland Front won a brilliant victory, garnering over 70 per cent of the votes, notwithstanding all the blackmail, threats of foreign intervention, demagogy, anti-Communist slander and distortions of the Fatherland Front programme, practised by the opposition during the electoral campaign. Our Party alone got more than 50 per cent of the votes and a clear majority in the Grand National Assembly.

The results of these elections showed that the working people put their complete trust in our Party, as the dominant force in the administration of the country and in its socialist reconstruction. In a normal and free election, on the basis of a general and equal electoral law with secret ballot, the leading role of our Party in the Fatherland Front and in the nation was confirmed also in a parlamenta-

ry way. The Party could now march forward still more firmly and confidently on the road opened up by the September 9 Popular Uprising.

Despite the active resistance of the opposition, a peace-treaty was concluded and diplomatic relations with the USA and UK were resumed. The broad educational work carried out by the Party and the Fatherland Front among the peasants and townsfolk, temporarily misled by the opposition, completely isolated it from the masses. Spurned by the people, the opposition leaders began to hatch plots for the forcible overthrow of the people's authority by means of foreign intervention, which later brought about the downfall of Nikola Petkov's pseudo-Agrarian Union.

Under the leadership of our Party several reactionary plots were uncovered and liquidated. The same fate befell the conspiracy of Damyan Velchev's group. The army was purged of reactionary officers.

Our Party brought the struggle against the reactionary opposition to a close, fighting for the utmost unification of all sound democratic and patriotic forces under the Fatherland Front banner. It completely exposed the national treachery of the oppositionist leaders who had become foreign agents. This was a sharp class struggle. The enemies of the working class were also enemies of our nation. Simultaneously, the Party did its utmost to consolidate the positions of the working class, to strengthen the alliance between workers and peasants and to close the ranks of the Fatherland Front. It proceeded from the thesis that henceforth it would have to lead the growing democratic political army of the Fatherland Front by making proper use of the forces and possibilities of all its diverse detachments and elements for the country's democratic development. It realized that from this army there would drop off individual groups and elements, vacillating and inconsistent Fatherland Front adherents, depending on the character of the tasks it would have to grapple with. It understood that within this army a consistent fight had to be waged against the agents of fascism and

capitalist reaction. But it also knew that in the process of common work and struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, individual detachments of this army would get closer together, the Fatherland Front would become more cohesive and the authority and dominant role of our Party within it would continue to grow.

Our Party's policy for welding all democratic and patriotic forces under the Fatherland Front banner undoubtedly consolidated the positions of the working class, led to the complete victory of our people over reaction and ensured the realization of the Fatherland Front programme.

The dominant role of the working class was clearly expressed in the composition of the new Fatherland Front Government, formed after the elections to the Grand National Assembly. The main levers of command were occupied by Communists and trusted Fatherland Front leaders.

The Fatherland Front was also consolidated. Its Right-wing elements were eliminated (Damyán Velchev, Yuroukov²⁸ et tutti quanti). Our main ally, the Agrarian Union, under the leadership of its tested leaders, Fatherland Front adherents, weeded out the vacillating and double-dealing elements and openly declared itself in favour of a militant alliance of peasants and workers under working class leadership, of socialist construction and socialist transformation of agriculture on the basis of co-operative farms and a consistent policy of restricting and liquidating the kulak exploiters in the villages. There was a growing mutual confidence and rapprochement between the Fatherland Front parties.

The onslaught of domestic and international reaction was thus beaten off. The struggle ended in the victory of the working class and of the people. An exceedingly important phase of the hard struggle of our Party and of the Fatherland Front for the successful defence of the historic gains of the September 9 Uprising came to a close.

In this context it should be emphasized that if the

assault of domestic and international reaction during that period did not assume the form of open armed action, this was due to the resolute measures of the People's Government, to the vigilance and energy of our Party, and also, in no mean degree, to the presence on our soil of units of the Soviet liberation army, a presence which by itself practically paralyzed reaction.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

The victory of the people under the leadership of our Party over the attempt of capitalist reaction to set back the clock of history created the necessary conditions for speeding up the political and economic development of our country, for proceeding towards the execution of the radical changes and constructive tasks of our people's rule.

Under the conditions created by the elections to the Grand National Assembly and the formation of a government under the direct leadership of our Party, there could be no further development of the productive forces, of the national economy and of the wellbeing of the working people without a radical encroachment on the economic basis of the capitalist class. Bulgaria's experience confirmed Lenin's thesis that under decaying capitalism, when the hopeless organic crisis of bourgeois democracy gives birth to fascism, no serious and lasting democratic changes are possible, no progress is feasible, without tackling the very foundations of capitalism, without taking steps in the direction of socialism. In this our country's task was greatly facilitated by the fraternal aid received from a powerful socialist state — the USSR.

The deck was cleared for proceeding with the constructive tasks of the People's Government and the revolutionary changes in our national economy, for the elimination of the economic basis of capitalist reaction, for the transition from capitalism to socialism, which of course cannot be realized without an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist elements.

In this set-up the Party had to formulate its new tasks in order to arm its own cadres, the Fatherland Front and the working people with a clear perspective. There occurred, however, a certain lag. After the chief tasks of the preceding period had been solved in the main, the Party by and large continued to be guided by its old slogans. We permitted a certain delay in the destruction of the reactionary opposition. We were still speaking of the possibility of coordinating the interests of private industrialists and merchants with the general interests of the state at a time when the whole set-up made it possible to take radical measures for the elimination of the rule of big business in the national economy, and when the necessary possibilities and forces existed for us to pass on resolutely towards laying the foundations of socialism in our country.

We have never lost track of the general perspective of our development towards socialism. We have always clearly realized that the destruction of fascism and the realization of many reforms, which figure in the Fatherland Front programme of July 17, 1942, is intimately tied up with our ultimate goal - socialism and communism. We have reiterated that, from the viewpoint of our Party as the vanguard of the working class, the complete realization of the Fatherland Front programme means the creation of those necessary conditions which will enable our people to pass on towards socialism. We have always underlined that there exists no contradiction between our Fatherland Front policy and the struggle to unite all democratic and progressive forces in the Fatherland Front for the realization of its programme, on the one hand, and the struggle for socialism, on the other. But at that time the transition to socialism still seemed to us a relatively faraway question and the international and domestic set-up was not yet conducive to an application of such radical measures.

Meanwhile, the Fatherland Front programme, as proclaimed in 1942 and specified after September 9, 1944, in the declaration of the first Fatherland Front Government, had by the end of 1946 been fulfilled in its main

lines. What is more, with the proclamation of the People's Republic and the elaboration of the Two-Year Plan, we had already gone beyond the first Fatherland Front programme. The development of the revolutionary process started on September 9 necessitated decisive measures for abolishing the large capitalist private property, restricting the kulak elements in the countryside, radically overhauling the entire state apparatus and for working out a new Fatherland Front programme with clearly formulated perspectives of the movement towards socialism, for a corresponding reconstruction of the Fatherland Front and a further consolidation of the dominant role of the Party.

This delay in the rate of the social and political development of our country shows that our Party temporarily underestimated its own forces and those of the working class and toilers, and overestimated the forces of reaction. As the Sixteenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee stated, our Party 'lacked the necessary clarity regarding the perspectives and the rate of our movement towards socialism'. It was not armed with a consistent Marxist-Leninist analysis of the September 9 turning-point and the ensuing possibilities and failed to grasp at the proper time the different stages of our development. Fortunately, however, the Party, although with a certain lag and with an insufficient theoretical explanation, managed to set forth and ensure the solution of the new tasks prompted by the changed conditions.

The old truth that it is easier to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism than to apply them in practice as a guide to action, correctly and timely, at every stage of the social development, was borne out once again in our case. For the mastery of this art, the Party leaders, big and small, must work tirelessly and study diligently lest the Party fall behind and be late in taking necessary actions or rush ahead too much.

We shall forever appreciate the invaluable and timely aid received from the great Bolshevik Party through ad-

vices and elucidations on matters of our Party's policy as a dominant force of the popular democracy, and which enabled us to quickly correct our mistakes.

During the past year and a half, under the leadership of our Party, a series of momentous and basic measures were carried out which completely consolidated the popular democracy and prepared the soil for laying the economic foundations of socialism in Bulgaria.

The new Republican Constitution was adopted, which legislatively consolidated the historic gains of the September 9 Uprising and of the popular democratic form of government and opened up prospects for the country's further progress.

On the initiative and under the direction of our Party, industry, private banks, foreign trade, domestic wholesale trade, large urban real estate and forests were socialized, while the large agricultural inventory was bought up from the farmers. The bulk of the means of production and exchange thus passed into public ownership.

The nationalization of industry is the most important revolutionary measure in our economy. It consolidated our planned development on the road towards socialism. In industry, credit and transport, the public sector has come to occupy an almost monopolistic position. The same is true of foreign trade and wholesale domestic trade. In our retail domestic trade the public sector already outweighs the private sector. In agriculture and crafts the public sector has grown firm roots which become ever stronger through the creation of more than 70 machine-tractor stations, of over 2,000 co-operative farms with some 300,000 hectares of arable land, of state farms disposing of almost 100,000 hectares of land, of new crafts' co-operatives, and through the upsurge of the co-operative movement in town and countryside.

Hand in hand with these radical changes and in conformity with our Constitution, the entire state apparatus was thoroughly overhauled and, in spite of some defects, it continues to improve as an apparatus of a People's Democracy.

Our Party took the initiative and, as you know, under its direction the Fatherland Front was reconstructed into a unified social and political organization with its by-laws and a revamped programme formulating the new tasks of transforming the country with a view to its forward march towards socialism. Thus, as a result of the Party's long and steadfast work, the elements of coalition in the Fatherland Front were completely eliminated. It has now become an organization of the militant alliance of working people from town and countryside under the generally acknowledged leadership of the working class headed by our Party. All parties and public organizations composing the Fatherland Front admit today the necessity of building socialism.

The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front marked a very important stage in its development. The hostile, vacillating and unstable elements which had infiltrated it dropped off or were expelled. The Fatherland Front only gained from that. In their place, after the Second Congress, new forces, from the ranks of the working people and their mass organizations, entered. The Fatherland Front as a mass political organization of the militant alliance of working people from town and countryside, under the leadership of the working class, is now mightier and more cohesive than ever. Favourable conditions exist for a closer collaboration between the Fatherland Front parties. Applying different methods of persuasion, agitation and propaganda, depending on the peculiarities of those circles wherein each is predominantly working, the Fatherland Front parties contributed to the rallying of as many people as possible for the common goal: the construction of the foundations of socialism by means of a People's Democracy.

Today the Fatherland Front incarnates the ever increasing moral and political unity of the working people in our country – a basic condition of bringing to a successful close the fight against the capitalist elements and the building of the foundations of socialism.

The transformation of the Fatherland Front into a unified political organization with a common programme, socialistic in essence, with strict discipline and the recognized leading role of the Communist Party, is indubitably a great achievement. It is for this reason that we firmly reject all underestimation of its significance and role. It was and continues to be a vital necessity for our country. We cannot but reprove those communists whose scornful attitude towards the Fatherland Front pours water into the mill of our class enemies who are principally interested in discrediting it. It goes without saying that within the framework of the Fatherland Front some of the component parties may prefer to merge or to discontinue their independent organizational existence, whenever they consider it timely and useful. But that is completely up to them.

These profound transformations and the changed correlation of the class and political forces, with the active support of the Soviet Union, paved the way for the building of the foundations of socialism as an urgent, vital and practical task. This is now the general policy of our Party. At the head of the working class closely allied to the working people from town and countryside, it will carry out that correct general policy, firmly and unflinchingly, with unshakable confidence in its victory, notwithstanding all internal and especially external difficulties and obstacles.

CHARACTER, ROLE AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

To be able to march confidently forward along the correct road chosen by us, the road of socialism, full light must be shed on the character, role and perspectives of the popular democratic system and the People's Democracy. In this respect we must render more precise certain of our concepts and correct others, recording the experience accumulated so far as well as the most recent data on this

new complex problem affecting our country, as well as the other People's Democracies.

What does this problem boil down to?

First, popular democracy and the People's Democracy became possible, as you know, as a result of the utter defeat of the German fascist forces, of the historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War II and the struggle of the peoples, led by the working class, for national freedom and independence. These led to the falling off of a number of Eastern and Southeastern European states from the system of imperialism.

The character of a People's Democracy is determined by four factors:

1) A People's Democracy represents the power of the working people, of the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of the working class. This means first, that the rule of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and the rule of the working people from town and countryside, under the leadership of the working class, established, that the working class as the most progressive class in modern society is playing the principal role in the state and public life. Second, that the state serves as an instrument in the fight of the working people against the exploiting elements, against all efforts and tendencies aimed at re-establishing the capitalist order and bourgeois rule.

2) A People's Democracy is a state in the transitional period, destined to ensure the development of the country along the path to socialism. This means that although the rule of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and their property handed over to the people, the economic roots of capitalism are not yet extirpated; capitalist elements still persist and develop, trying to restore their rule. Therefore, the onward march towards socialism is possible only by waging a relentless class struggle against the capitalist elements for their liquidation.

Only by advancing undeviatingly on the road to socialism, can a People's Democracy stabilize itself and

fulfil its historic vocation. Should it cease to fight against the exploiter classes and to eliminate the capitalist elements, the latter would inevitably gain the upper hand and would not only sap the foundations of the People's Democracy, but also bring about its doom.

3) A People's Democracy is built in collaboration and friendship with the Soviet Union, with the land of socialism. Just as the liberation of our country from the fetters of imperialism and the establishment of a People's Democracy were made possible by the aid and liberating mission of the USSR in the fight against fascist Germany and its satellites, so the further development of our popular democracy presupposes the preservation and further promotion of close relations and sincere collaboration, mutual aid and friendship between our country and the Soviet state. Any tendency towards weakening this collaboration with the USSR is directed against the very existence of popular democracy in our country.

4) A People's Democracy belongs to the democratic anti-imperialist camp.

A) Only by participating in the unified democratic anti-imperialist camp, headed by the mighty Soviet state, can every People's Democracy ensure its independence, sovereignty and security against the aggression of the imperialist forces.

B) With the military collapse of the fascist aggressor states, the abrupt sharpening of the general capitalist crisis, the immense strengthening of the power of the Soviet Union and the existing close collaboration with the USSR and the People's Democracies, our country and the other People's Democracies were enabled to realize the transition from capitalism to socialism, without the establishment of a Soviet system, through the rule of a popular democracy, on condition that it gets stabilized and develops, and with aid of the USSR and the other People's Democracies.

C) Embodying the rule of the working people under the leadership of the working class, a People's Democracy, under the existing historic set-up, as already proved by

experience, can and must successfully perform its functions of proletarian dictatorship for the liquidation of the capitalist elements and the organization of a socialist economy. It can crush the resistance of the overthrown capitalists and landlords, quell their attempts to restore the rule of capital, and organize the building of industry on the basis of public ownership and a planned economy. The regime of a popular democracy will succeed in overcoming the vacillations of the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle peasantry, in neutralizing the capitalist elements in the countryside and in rallying the working people around the working class for the onward march towards socialism.

The regime of popular democracy will not change its character during the implementation of this policy which aims at eliminating the capitalist elements from the national economy. The key positions of the working class in all spheres of public life must continuously be stabilized and all peasants who might become allies of the workers during the period of sharp struggles against the kulaks and their supporters must be rallied. The popular democratic regime must be stabilized and improved in order to restrict and liquidate the class enemies.

D) The People's Democracies, including Bulgaria, are already marching towards socialism, in relentless struggle against all domestic and especially foreign enemies. They are now creating the conditions necessary for the building of socialism, the economic and cultural basis for a future socialist society.

This is the central task facing today the People's Democracies and, hence, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

This general task embraces a number of important tasks, among which the following are of decisive importance in our country:

a) Consolidation of the key positions held by the working class, headed by the Communist Party, in all spheres of state, political economic and cultural life.

b) Strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasant toilers under the former's leadership.

c) Accelerated development of the public sector of the national economy and, in particular, of heavy industry.

d) Creation of conditions propitious to the liquidation of the capitalist elements in the countryside through a consistent policy aimed at their isolation and subsequent annihilation.

e) All-round development of the co-operative farms among the peasants, giving state assistance to the poor and middling peasants by aiding them through machine-tractor stations, farm machines, credit, seed loans, etc., intensifying their interest in an alliance with the working class, persuading them by examples of the advantages of the co-operative farm system, and re-educating them in an uncompromising spirit towards the capitalist elements.

As regards the nationalization of land, we deem that in our conditions and with the development of co-operative farms this question has no practical importance, i.e. we think that nationalization of land is not an indispensable prerequisite for the development and mechanization of our agriculture.

E) A People's Democracy stands for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with a People's Democracy, because it is a weapon of capital, of capitalist reaction. Our Party sees in internationalism, i. e. international collaboration, a guarantee for the independent existence, prosperity and progress of our country towards socialism. We think that nationalism, no matter under what guise, is an enemy of communism. Hence, combating nationalism is a primary duty of the Communists.

Combating all manifestations of nationalism, we must re-educate the working people in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to their country, i. e. in a spirit of genuine patriotism.

Education in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to one's country means, above all, to make people fully conscious of the exclusive importance of a firm

unified front of the People's Democracies and the USSR in the struggle against the aggressive forces of international reaction and imperialism. The entire future of our people depends, on the one hand, on the power of the Soviet Union, and, on the other, on their readiness and ability, in case of capitalist aggression, to fulfil their duty honourably in the common fight.

At the same time, education in a spirit of proletarian internationalism means to render people fully aware of the importance of complete co-ordination of the activities of the Communist Parties, and of the leading role of the Bolshevik Party. Because, for the Communist Parties there exists a unified theory as a guide to action – the theory of Marxism-Leninism, a unity of purpose in their policy, and there exists the great Party of Lenin as the leading party of the international labour movement.

To tirelessly educate the Party, the working class, the toiling peasantry and intelligentsia, the whole people in that spirit is, according to us, the prime condition for all our successes.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Comrades,

In addition to what I said in this morning's session let me pass on to the questions of the international situation and our foreign policy, and then to our prospects in the development of our economy and culture, and finally, to the future of our party.

Two basic facts characterize the present epoch as regards the international situation: 1) the general crisis and disintegration of capitalism, and 2) the continuous growth and flourishing of socialism in the USSR.

The general crisis of capitalism is the logical sequence of its own development. By developing the productive capacities of society to an unprecedented extent,

capitalism got enmeshed into contradictions which it cannot solve. World War I ushered in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. The Great October Revolution in Russia wrested from the system of world capitalism 1/6 of the globe. Capitalism ceased to be the only and general system of world economy; it lost its former resilience.

World War II, which was prepared by the forces of international reaction and started by the fascist aggressors, deepened and sharpened the general crisis of capitalism. As during the first war, the net result was a further weakening of capitalism.

The destruction of the main centres of fascism and world aggression deprived international reaction of its bridgeheads—Germany, Italy and Japan—in the struggle against the USSR, democracy and socialism, against the working class and the national liberation movement, deprived capitalism of the fascist countries.

The international authority and power of the Soviet Union increased tremendously. By its heroic struggle it not only defended its own freedom and independence but also liberated the European peoples from enslavement. The USSR played a decisive role in the winning of the war against the aggressors and saved human civilization from fascist barbarity. It showed to the whole world that the forces of socialism and democracy are invincible. The USSR became a decisive factor in international affairs. It is a pillar of peace and of the security of the nations, of their free development towards progress and genuine democracy. The USSR, at the head of the unified anti-imperialist front in the world, is now an unsurmountable barrier to the realization of the dark schemes of international reaction to hurl the peoples into a new holocaust.

Just as World War I ended with Russia's dropping out of the world capitalist system, so World War II and the defeat of fascism led to the falling off from the imperialist system of a series of Eastern and South-Eastern European states. Liberated with the aid of the Soviet Army, these states were thereby enabled to determine their own

destinies through the free choice of their peoples, based on the selfless aid of the Soviet Union.

The crisis of the colonial system, aggravated by World War II, led to a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries and threatens the rear of the imperialist system. The colonial peoples no longer wish to live in the old way and have risen in decisive struggle for the establishment of their own free and independent states.

In the whole capitalist world the war has brought about an unprecedented pauperization of the masses, a rise in unemployment, misery and hunger and a sharpening of class contradictions, because everywhere the bourgeoisie is striving to shift the main burden of the war and the postwar difficulties onto the back of the working people. At the same time, the war was followed by a great upsurge of the international labour movement.

After the rout of the fascist aggressors, the centre of world reaction shifted to the United States. Hitler's plans to enslave the world, which suffered a fiasco in the last war, were superseded by the plans of the American imperialists for world domination. Under the cover of the so-called Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, these adventurist plans for the economic, political and ideological enslavement of Europe and the whole world are directed against the vital national interests of the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples. They are prompted by the greedy imperialist appetites of a financial oligarchy and by its fear of the growth of socialism and people's democracy throughout the world.

Under the flag of the so-called 'Western democracy' American imperialism is trying to impose its regime, based on the almightiness of the dollar and the domination of a handful of monopolists on the nations of Europe. Its aim is to turn the UN into a tool of its expansionist policy by violating the principle of sovereignty and equality of the member-nations of this organization. American imperialism is striving to enslave the small and temporarily

weakened nations and to build up an imperialist bloc against the USSR, the People's Democracies and the revolutionary movements of the working people and the colonial peoples fighting for their freedom. It is pursuing a policy of reckless increase of armaments. The Anglo-American imperialists are brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of other states as is the case with our neighbour Greece, and are everywhere supporting the reactionary and openly fascist elements which have been rejected by the peoples.

But the Anglo-American bloc, established in the wake of World War II with Britain playing second fiddle, can hardly be lasting and stable. The contradictions between the two main powers of contemporary imperialism – US and UK, as well as between other capitalist nations, are bound to grow more acute in the struggle for markets and spheres of influence in the different parts of the world.

Today's great divide between the democratic camp and the reactionary camp in the world arena, between the warmongers and the proponents of a lasting democratic peace, is the attitude towards the Soviet Union.

The USSR is firmly resisting all attacks of the imperialists and their attempts to scare the peoples with their atom bombs. Pursuing a tested policy of peace and friendly collaboration between nations, the USSR is backed by its growing economic and political power, its invincible Soviet army, its unconditional support of the workers and toilers in the whole world, who have an abiding interest in the preservation of peace. *The plans of the aggressors and fanners of a new war are doomed to failure.*

Gone are the days when the peoples were blind and helpless tools in the hands of the ruling capitalist and monarchic cliques. The peace-loving peoples of both hemispheres are increasingly mobilizing themselves in defence of peace, democracy and world culture; the anti-imperialist world front, headed by the great Soviet Union, whose forces are growing continuously, is becoming ever more clearly delineated. Now, when the imperialist cliques

are impudent enough to brandish the atom bomb, *all peoples see in the Soviet Union the main guardian of world peace and defender of civilization from capitalist barbarity.* The peace-loving nations learned a good lesson from the recent duel between the forces of war and peace in the UN Assembly. Rejecting the Soviet proposals for the ban of atom weapons and for an immediate reduction in the armaments of the five great powers, *the Anglo-American imperialists were exposed before the eyes of the entire world as the enemies of-peace and international collaboration.*

They revealed how low the leaders of American imperialism have sunk by their brazen boasts that they possess the atom bomb and are ready to carry out mass murders in the world in order to save their corrupt and doomed imperialist system.

Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are ranging themselves on the peace front, but also the overwhelming majority of the peoples in the capitalist countries and colonies. The defeat in the recent US election of the reactionary and bellicose Republican Party showed conclusively that the majority of the American people *do not want war and reject the reactionary programme of the big capitalist trusts.* A sober observer might well ask himself what British Minister could coax the British people, who remember that it was precisely the Soviet Army which saved them from the horrible nazi threat, into an anti-Soviet war. The struggle of the broad masses against the incendiaries of a new war has assumed particularly acute forms in France and Italy. Increasingly losing faith in the peoples of the bourgeois-democratic nations as a possible cannon fodder against the Soviet Union, the war-minded imperialists are pinning their hopes on their West German zones of occupation and on fascist Spain which they wish to use as a base and tool in their aggressive policy in Europe. These hopes of the American imperialists are, however, exceedingly dubious, not to say vain.

After the war the anti-imperialist camp has extended

far to the East and on its side the peoples of Indonesia, Vietnam, Burma and other colonial states are now fighting for their independence.

The Korean people, enjoying the selfless support of the USSR, carried off a brilliant victory over reaction and the lackeys of imperialism by proclaiming their independent people's republic which the Bulgarian Government has recognized and greeted warmly.

Of exceptional importance for the balance of power between the two world camps is the long drawn-out, stubborn and heroic struggle which the Chinese people are waging for their independence against the imperialists and their corrupt reactionary stooges in China. At this very moment the million-strong national-liberation army of China which, under the bold and far-sighted leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, has won a series of spectacular victories over the hordes of Chinese reaction, despite the aid and arms given by American imperialists, has already freed all of Manchuria, practically the whole of North China, almost all of Inner Mongolia, and is now advancing headlong towards Nanking, the capital of Chiang Kai-Shek. The forces of democracy in China with its population 500 million are winning the upper hand over the forces of reaction, and their final victory is, to our joy, only a question of time.

The events in China are one of the major factors which are upsetting and turning upside down the plans of the presumptuous American imperialists.

The anti-imperialist front is thus continuously growing and consolidating. Today it already constitutes an unshakable force. The people's masses and the anti-imperialist forces in all lands in the front ranks of which are to be found the fraternal Soviet Union and all the Communist Parties, will know how to paralyze the war-like machinations of aggressive imperialism and will thus ensure a lasting democratic peace to the world.

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The basic lines of our foreign policy, the policy of our Party and of the Fatherland Front were already mapped out in the 1942 programme: safeguarding the national freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people in close friendship with the USSR and understanding with the neighbouring states.

True to these principles, the Fatherland Front Government from its very inception passed over to the side of the Allies and led the Bulgarian armies against the nazi hordes; it withdrew its armies from the Greek and Yugoslav regions which had been occupied by them and entered into an understanding with the Soviet command for the speedier liberation of the Balkans from nazi occupation.

We know today and can appraise the great political and moral importance of the fact that Bulgaria participated, under Soviet command, in the liberation war for the defeat of nazi Germany.

The powerful and irreplaceable aid of the USSR we felt once again when, at the Paris Peace Conference, the authoritative voice of our comrade Molotov was raised, saying that the Bulgarian people could rest assured about their boundaries, because not a span of their land would be appropriated by anybody!

Ever since the Soviet Government, intent on preventing Bulgaria's involvement in the war on the side of Germany, proposed to the Filov Government a pact of friendship and mutual assistance between the USSR and Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people have felt the presence of the powerful *friendly hand of the USSR*. They recall the warning of the Soviet Government, when the criminal monarcho-fascist clique concluded an alliance with Germany and permitted the nazi hordes to step on Bulgarian soil. On September 5, 1944, when the provocations of the German agency had overtaxed the patience of the Soviet Government, the latter declared war on Bulgaria. *Today we can fully appreciate the*

decisive importance of this act for the destiny of Bulgaria. In this 'war' not a single Soviet or Bulgarian soldier was killed. But the entry of the Soviet army into Bulgaria helped overthrow the fascist dictatorship and ensure the future of the Bulgarian people, their freedom and national independence. We shall never forget that, even while the war was still on, the Soviet Government started to provide Bulgaria with precious materials for the rehabilitation of our economy, helped to feed our people during the years of drought and is lending us now valuable political, economic, moral and technical assistance on an ever-increasing scale.

Our Party, closely connected with the Russian revolutionary movement from before the October Socialist Revolution, has the historic merit of deepening still more the gratitude of the Bulgarian people towards their liberators and of transforming friendship with the USSR into the *cornerstone of the foreign policy of our People's Republic.* Today our friendship is also formally embedded in the Pact of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between the two nations.

Relying securely on Soviet friendship, our free and independent People's Republic was recognized by all nations, concluded a most advantageous peace treaty under the existing conditions, and resumed normal diplomatic relations with practically all countries. Now it is fighting for its right to admission into the UN, which would remove the last international consequences of Bulgaria's former status as a satellite of nazi Germany. And this fight is bound to be crowned with success.

The friendship between our Republic and the other People's Democracies is another very important facet of our foreign policy. Its historic inception dates from the struggle of our peoples, aided by the USSR, for their freedom and independence. We highly value the assistance which the governments of fraternal Poland and Czechoslovakia lent us during the Peace Conference in Paris and also during the just concluded UN Assembly, where Bulgaria was sub-

jected to unwarranted accusations and unfair attacks. Our friendly relations with these two countries as well as with the People's Republic of Romania, Hungary and Albania, which were sealed by pacts of friendship, mutual assistance and collaboration, are growing ever firmer and open up broad vistas for close co-operation between our nations for the ensurance of their future along the path of democracy and socialism.

The friendship between our Party and the Greek Communist Party weathered the storm of World War II. During the hardest period of German-Bulgarian occupation our Party was on the side of the Greek national-liberation movement and helped it to the best of its ability. During the voluntary evacuation of Western Thrace, the Bulgarian soldiers left behind all food stocks to the hungry local population. Our Party and our people are deeply shocked by the sufferings to which the heroic Greek people, who were the first in the Balkans to fight the Italo-German aggressors, have been subjected by a monarcho-reactionary clique, enjoying the military support of foreign powers. We follow with great sympathies the epic struggle of the Greek people against the alien occupation forces and their local Quislings. *The Greek Communist Party and the fraternal Greek people may consider our Party and the Bulgarian people their true friends.* We staunchly believe in the final victory of popular democracy in Greece, which alone will ensure freedom and independence to the Greek people and will create on Greece's part the necessary conditions for sincere friendship and collaboration with us and her other northern neighbours.

The imperialists and war incendiaries do not choose their means in the attempt to obstruct the development of our People's Republic. They have made numerous efforts to abet the defeated forces of reaction in Bulgaria. Day in and day out the Voice of America slanders and insults our country and its Government and leaders and openly calls for criminal actions against the people's rule.

The leaders of Loulchev's bankrupt Social Democratic

Party recently bared the covert schemes of certain foreign diplomats before the Court and before the whole world. But even after this fiasco of the plotters, our Republic continues to be the butt of vicious slanders and attacks. Just when our people are mobilizing all their material resources and their labour for the fulfilment of the forthcoming Five-Year Plan, when they are focusing their entire attention on the tasks of our economic and cultural construction, the war incendiaries, as though at a given signal, impudently accuse our peaceful little republic of 'militarism' and 'aggressive designs' with respect to its neighbours.

Just the opposite is true. Every honest and unbiased observer sees and knows the undeniable truth. Our republic needs lasting peace, friendship and collaboration with other nations, in order to catch up with the more advanced countries and to become an economically developed, highly civilized, democratic and socialist state. *That is the goal of its foreign policy.* But our Party knows that this can be accomplished only if our nation is free, independent and enjoys equal rights. That is why, at the head of the Fatherland Front, it is fighting against foreign interference, watching-over Bulgaria's freedom and independence and working for ever closer collaboration with our allies, with the peace- and freedom-loving nations.

Working hard in that direction, our people will be ready to rise like one man in order to nip in the bud all provocations and attempts on the territorial integrity and the frontiers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROSPECTS AND TASKS

Let me pass on now to our prospects in the economic and cultural fields.

In the economic field the People's Government was confronted with the immediate task of repairing the damages caused by the war and German plunder and of clearing the deck for the rapid development of our country towards socialism.

In industry the tasks of reconstruction was successfully solved in the course of the Two-Year Plan. In 1948 industry exceeded prewar output by 75 per cent. Its progress was particularly stimulated by the nationalization which opened the door to socialist reconstruction, to the merger of industrial enterprises and the centralization of output by combining it according to branches and concentrating it in the most productive units.

In agriculture, the process of rehabilitation is not yet completed, mainly on account of the three postwar droughts. Certain branches of stockbreeding and plant-breeding are lagging behind. But here, too, simultaneously with the efforts to reach and surpass the prewar level in all branches, socialist reconstruction was started with the creation of large co-operative and state farms. Co-operative farms have become stabilized as a new form of agriculture, which alone is capable, with the aid of machine-tractor stations, of improving the well-being of the peasants, of mechanizing and modernizing our farming, and of orienting it towards socialism.

Recently the attitude of the middle peasants towards co-operative farms has undergone a favourable change, and the number of these farms is now steadily increasing. The task now is to consolidate, strengthen and multiply these farms, while strictly observing the principle of voluntariness, and to make them serve as examples for the further establishment of co-operative farms.

The national revenue for 1948 already exceeds the prewar level by 10 per cent, thanks mainly to the successful nationalization of industry. Besides, with the expropriation of industrial enterprises, banks and wholesale trade from the bourgeoisie and the elimination of large landholdings and large urban real estate lots which did away with big unearned incomes, its social distribution has become much fairer.

However, our task is not merely to rebuild our economy, but to rapidly proceed with the further development of our country's productive forces so as to rapidly

eliminate its economic backwardness and transform it into a highly developed industrial-agricultural state. The task now is, I repeat, through the country's industrialization and electrification and the mechanization of its agriculture, to achieve within 15-20 years what other countries have achieved under different conditions in a whole century. For this purpose it is necessary to create a powerful electrical basis by exploiting the country's water and fuel resources, to rapidly develop mining, to build up our own metallurgy and a sufficiently developed machine-building and other heavy industries, as well as to develop, modernize and amalgamate our light industry. It is further necessary to strengthen our agriculture by putting at its disposal enough large farm machines, primarily tractors, and to increase yields through agro-technical improvements, irrigation, electrification, and a wide use of artificial fertilizers.

Our industrial policy should be: systematic reduction in cost, cheapening of output and lowering of the factory prices of industrial goods. That is the broad boulevard along which industry must move if it is to develop and strengthen, to lead agriculture in its tow and to speed up the laying of the foundations of our socialist economy.

The nationalized industry, developing in accordance with the laws of expanded socialist reproduction, i. e. increasing its output year by year and establishing new enterprises, will make ever larger demands for foods and agricultural raw materials. The growing needs of industry, of the urban population and of the army cannot be satisfied by private and small-commodity farming which has a low productivity. This raises the problem of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture simultaneously with the socialist reconstruction and development of industry. You cannot base for a long time popular democratic rule and socialist construction on two different principles: a large-scale, amalgamated socialist industry and scattered, backward, small-commodity farming. Agriculture must be transferred gradually, systematically and steadfastly to a new technical basis, that of large-scale output through the

amalgamation of private farms into large and mechanized co-operative farms. That is why the Five-Year Plan provides for a 60 per cent collectivization of the farmers. Bearing in mind the recent progress of the co-operative farms, this task is quite feasible.

In building socialism our people must rely primarily on their own forces and on our country's resources, on their labour and savings, on the economic, expedient utilization of their means and possibilities. A regime of strict economy must be the permanent and daily slogan of every economic and state leader, of every worker and peasant in our People's Republic and, above all, of every Communist. Our people are happy that they can also rely on the disinterested brotherly aid of the great land of Socialism – the Soviet Union, and on the planned collaboration with the other People's Democracies, which will save much labour and efforts and will speed up our development.

Like every good manager we shall not consume all that we produce, but will save part of the national revenue for the further development of our national economy – for the construction of new factories and plants, new machine-tractor stations, for a new upsurge of the productive forces in industry and agriculture. We shall thus be able to satisfy the growing needs of the urban and rural population and to ensure the gradual and continuous improvement of their standard of living, as well as to guarantee the rapid economic development of our country, which is the gauge for tomorrow's well-being of our working people and of our children.

We are gratified that with the increased rations the food supply of our people is completely ensured until the new crop, despite the difficulties in collecting the food, which are not yet quite overcome. The bulk of the working peasants has carried out its obligations towards the state and the people honestly and readily. Only an insignificant minority, mainly from among the kulaks and the former reactionary opposition, some of whom infiltrated into the

Fatherland Front, tried to sabotage and to speculate with the people. Their resistance, however, will be broken.

The new system of compulsory delivery of farm produce to the state, which was adopted by the government and which will be perfected on the basis of our experience, through the free sale of surpluses, distributes more fairly the obligations among the peasant producers in accordance with the size of their property and their possibilities and stimulates them to cultivate their soil more diligently and get higher yields. By selling part of their produce to the state at fixed prices, the peasants receive, again at fixed prices, an ever-increasing quantity of indispensable industrial goods.

The entire price policy of the state aims at establishing a relatively stable and just ratio between the prices of different commodities. Thus every producer will know what he can get in exchange for his produce, today, tomorrow and the following day. We must avoid a repetition of the post-World War I situation, when an agricultural boom was followed by a catastrophic drop in prices, entailing the ruin of many farmers. The systematic increase of labour productivity in industry and agriculture will gradually reduce the prices of industrial and agricultural products and result in a lower cost of living and a stabilization of the lev.

The supply of the population with basic necessities made a new step forward during the last months. But we are not yet able to completely satisfy all needs. Two or three consecutive good crops should enable us to completely satisfy the increased needs and the growing consumer's capacity of the working people and to abolish the coupon system. We must, therefore, exert all efforts for the fulfilment of the sowing plan, for a maximum increase of yields. And until it becomes possible to abolish the coupon system, the distribution will have to be carried out not according to the principle of perfect equality, but according to the quantity and importance of the work done. All parasites, loafers and exploiters must be deprived of the possibility to get

goods at fixed prices. The regular and adequate supply of the most strategic categories of workers and toilers, on whom the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the economic plans depend, must be ensured. Everyone according to his deed' – that is both just and economically expedient. Everyone is ensured the possibility of working more and better and hence of earning more.

The successful solution of the basic economic task – the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan – will require the efforts and enthusiasm of all working people. The trade unions will have to play an exceedingly important role in this respect. Under their leadership shock-work and socialist emulation must become a general method of work, involving workers and peasants, men and women, young and old. In Bulgaria work must increasingly become a matter of honour, dignity and heroism. The country must get to know its heroes of labour, its inventors, rationalizers, innovators, the talented and loyal exponents of intellectual and physical work, who increase the economic and cultural might of our nation and multiply national wealth. It should honour them as its best and most worthy sons and daughters. *In new Bulgaria everyone's place will be determined not by his name or origin, nor by his talk or self-opinion, but exclusively by his work, by what he contributes to the economic, cultural and political progress of his nation.*

There can be no other criterion in this respect.

The broad sweep of constructive activity in all branches of our economy requires the creation of an army of construction workers, engineers and technicians, as well as their proper supply with up-to-date tools. The entire nation follows with admiration the labour exploits of our brigaders and working youth. Many of our major constructions will carry the proud and honourable name 'youth construction.' Continuing to make the fullest use of the work of brigaders and labour-service men as well as that of local brigades, we must at the same time multiply the army of permanent construction workers, masters and enthusiasts of their trade, armed with the achievements of

modern construction technique. The building profession must become one of the most honoured professions in Bulgaria.

We shall get new labour cadres for our expanding economy from amid that part of the peasant population which finds no work in agriculture as well as from among housewives whose work in the private household is not efficiently utilized. *We cannot become a prosperous nation and considerably improve our living standard as long as a large part of our man power is wasted unproductively or utilized inadequately for a good part of the year.* Many urban and rural part-time employed will find work in the new constructions and new industrial enterprises. The creation of more kindergartens and nurseries, of public canteens and laundries, will relieve household work and enable many housewives to seek a more rational and socially useful way of applying their labour and abilities. Through free courses and schools we have already started to train labour reserves, i.e. qualified industrial and construction workers from among worker and peasant youth. This should be continued with even greater energy.

Our country has already set out on the road to socialist development. The major factors for our socialist construction are present: a popular democratic government, the alliance of the proletariat with the peasants under the former's leadership, large-scale industrial production in the hands of a People's Democracy, a rapid development of the productive forces through new construction and co-operation, especially co-operative farms and craft co-operatives and, last but not least, the active fraternal support of the USSR and close economic collaboration with the People's Democracies which guarantees and considerably accelerates our socialist development.

During the First Five-Year Plan our task will be to lay the foundations of socialism both in industry and in agriculture. That plan aims precisely at the solution of this task. Upon these foundations the next two or three five-

year plans will see the building of socialism and the establishment of a socialist society.

Our main tasks for the building up of the economic and cultural foundations of socialism can be formulated as follows:

1. Exertion of all forces and resources for the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

2. Complete socialization of the means of production and exchange, i.e. their transformation into the property of all working people; abolition of all non-labour income on the basis of the principle 'Who does not work, shall not eat'.

3. Encompassing the nation's whole economic activity in an overall economic plan; a strict regime of economy in materials, funds, foods and other resources.

4. Intensified prospecting of our national wealth, detection of oil, creation of our own metallurgy for ferrous and non-ferrous metals.

5. Elimination of the existing disproportion between the output of electric power and the needs of industry and agriculture by the constructing of power stations and the expansion of coal output from existing basins and the exploitation of new ones; transformation of low-grade coal into electric power.

6. Running our light industry at full capacity by introducing two and three shifts, rationalizing and reconstructing it, and eliminating the disproportion between the interrelated branches, so as to completely satisfy the needs of the population.

7. Altering the ratio between light and heavy industry in favour of the latter by developing electric power, coal and ore output, machine-building, the chemical, rubber and other industries, in order to increase the well-being of the people and to reduce the dependence of our economy on imports.

8. Maximum production of raw materials for our industry by increasing the sown area of industrial crops, im-

provement of livestock breeding and intensified exploitation of the subsoil wealth.

9. Radical reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of co-operative and state farms with high yields and high commodity production in order to ensure the growing needs of the population, industry and export.

10. Solution of our bread problem once and for all on that basis; ensuring of rich crops through modern machine cultivation of the soil, use of artificial fertilizers, creation of forest-shelter belts and irrigation.

11. Development of highly productive stockbreeding, primarily of pigs and poultry; increase of the area sown to fodder, introduction of grass crop-rotation.

12. Planned afforestation, food protection measures and proper exploitation of forestry, so as to improve the country's climate and to satisfy the growing needs of timber for construction; efficient exploitation of forests by making full use of their yearly increase; creation of highland agriculture (flax, potatoes, etc.) and livestock breeding (refinement of highland pastures).

13. Development of sea and Danubian fisheries, creation of artificial ponds and dissemination of fish in our rivers.

14. Introduction of comfortable and rapid means of communication through extension and electrification of our railway net, creation of a dense network of well-kept roads, development of automobile and air transport.

15. Raising the material and cultural standards of the workers, the toiling peasants and intelligentsia; improvement of the supply of the population with basic necessities.

16. Extension and consolidation of state and co-operative trade, creation of an apparatus for the purchase of farm surpluses and for a fuller servicing of the exchange between town and village.

17. Creation of a new *socialist labour discipline* through the re-education of the masses, the development of shock-work and socialist emulation by enlisting more and more workers and working people.

The fulfilment of the economic tasks is closely tied up with the raising of the cultural and ideological level of the Bulgarian people. Special attention should therefore be paid to the education of working people from town and countryside and of the intelligentsia in a socialist spirit.

Let us never forget that the struggle on the cultural and ideological front is of first-rate importance for extirpating the putrefied legacy of capitalism, for overcoming bureaucracy, waste and parasitism, for increasing labour productivity, for fulfilling the Five-Year Plan and, in general, for the progress of our nation towards socialism.

As a result of this development, Bulgaria will in the course of a few five-year plans be transformed from a backward agrarian nation. This means that with maximum increase of farm yields we shall speed up our industrial development, which in turn will incommensurably increase the wealth and prosperity of our nation and ensure its economic independence from imperialism and its defensive capacity.

This development *will be along socialist lines*. The last vestiges of the exploiters' classes in the towns – the urban bourgeoisie – will be economically liquidated. Craftsmen will unite in craft co-operatives. The village bourgeoisie – the kulaks – will be increasingly restricted and squeezed out of its economic positions as an exploiter of the toiling peasants, while the progress of the co-operative farms will create the conditions for their complete elimination. Antagonistic classes will disappear, and society will be composed of workers, peasant toilers and a working intelligentsia, whose interests will not clash and who, with united efforts, will push our country on towards socialism and then towards communism.

The socialist development of our country is the prerequisite for the solution of our demographic problem. During the next five-year plans Bulgaria's population must reach the figure of ten million through an increase of births and a drop in infant mortality. Thus our people will con-

clusively affirm themselves as a healthy and vital nation, building up their own culture, national in form and socialist in content, and making a contribution to the treasure-store of human culture.

THE PARTY AS SPARK PLUG AND DOMINANT FORCE

On the eve of September 9, 1944, the Party numbered some 25,000 members, steeled in the long fight against fascism, having gone through the vicissitudes of underground activity under a ferocious fascist dictatorship. After September 9, when the Party became a governing party and started to work for the reconstruction of our country on a new basis, thousands of workers, toiling peasants and intellectuals gravitated towards it. It became a magnetic centre, attracting the most active, militant and progressive elements in our country, who were eager to contribute their forces to secure Bulgaria's development as a People's Democracy towards socialism. Only six months after September 9, at the time of the Seventh Enlarged Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the Party numbered 254,000.

This Party growth continued during the following years. By the end of 1946 its membership exceeded 490,000. It had deliberately thrown its doors wide open to the working people and had admitted new members on a mass scale. We did not want to exclude the mass of working people, awakened for the first time to political life and gravitating towards the Party, as a result of the liberation war and the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We decided to accept into the Party many working people who, despite their political immaturity, were to play a role in the vanguard, intending to train and educate them politically within the Party and with the aid of our pre-September 9 cadres. We therefore founded a network of schools and Party courses, organized many educational meetings, circles, lectures and discussion groups.

The Sixteenth Party Plenary Session of the Central

Committee approved that policy. But simultaneously it noted that the ideological and political education of the new members was far from adequate. This did not prove so easy and required a longer time. Hence, the ideological and political level of the Party rank and file still falls far short of requirements to ensure the dominant role of the Party, especially in the provinces. There are quite a few members and even entire primary Party organizations, mostly in the villages, which are not yet able to fulfil their role as a vanguard, lag behind events, become exponents of retrograde sentiments and not only fail to combat difficulties but sometimes go so far as to sap discipline in offices, factories and fields. This was clearly manifested during the compulsory grain delivery to the state. In some villages there were 'Party members' and even Party executives who, instead of heading the campaign for ensuring food to the people, de facto sabotaged grain delivery. The same holds true of some village communists who do not help and sometimes even impede the creation of co-operative farms.

Such and similar facts show that along with the honest and devoted members, who constitute the great majority of the Party rank and file, there are some accidental, rotten careerist elements who have infiltrated into the Party for purely personal and selfish ends. These elements create an unhealthy atmosphere, weaken discipline and spread the virus of disintegration. This leads to 'ailing' organizations, rent by internal strifes between different groups dickerings for positions.

Similar phenomena cannot be tolerated in a Communist Party — the vanguard of the working people. Drastic and quick measures must be taken to purge the Party of all alien, accidental, rotten and careerist elements. In May, 1948, the Politbureau of the Central Committee decided to suspend the enrollment of new Party members until the end of the current year. The Sixteenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee confirmed this decision in July and decided to propose to the present Congress the introduction

of a candidate apprenticeship and measures for the regulation of the Party's social composition. It also decreed the further purging of the Party of accidental elements.

As a result, the Party participates in the present Fifth Congress with 8,053 *primary Party organizations and 464,000 members*. If we add to these the Party members in the Army, the Labour Corps and the former members of the Social-Democratic Party who joined our Party after the fusion of the two Parties the total *amounts to 496,000 - i. e.; almost half a million*.

No village, no factory or major construction, no city district, or ward is without its primary Communist Party organization. Half a million Party members in a 7-million Bulgaria - that is indeed a mighty political army, an invincible force which can move mountains, as the saying goes, on condition that every Party member becomes a conscious and educated Communist and Bolshevik, ready to die for the Party, his country and the great cause of communism, capable of being a real leader and organizer of the non-Party masses.

Under the generally acknowledged political leadership of the Party, there are such mass organizations as the Fatherland Front, numbering about 1,000,000 members, the Trade Unions with 680,000 members, the Bulgarian Women's Union - 539,000, the Union of People's Youth - 586,000, the Farmer's Union - 1,000,000 members, the co-operatives - over 2,000,000. There is some doubling, but such is the mass organized in public organizations under the leadership of our Party. To these we should add the fine, nationally useful organization - the Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Association, which soon will have over 1,000,000 members-workers, peasants and intellectuals, fighting for the sacred eternal Bulgaro-Soviet friendship. This explains why our nation's entire political, economic and cultural life proceeds under the exclusive ideological and political leadership of our Party.

As regards the social composition, the 464,000 Party members, about whom detailed information is available, are distributed as follows:

Workers	123,000 or 27%
Peasants	207,000 or 45%
Employees	76,000 or 16%
Craftsmen	30,000 or 6%
Free professions (students, housewives, pensioners, etc.)	28,000 or 6%

Among the employees there are many former workers, commissioned by the Party to consolidate the state apparatus or appointed as heads of nationalized enterprises. One should also mention the Party's great influence on the intelligentsia, which facilitates its enlistment in the active construction of socialism. While the membership figure of 500,000 is quite enough for the Party to play its leading role, the social composition leaves as yet much *to be desired*.

The percentage of workers in the Party should be increased to at least 30 to 35 per cent, mainly from among the industrial and construction workers. At present the workers who are Party members can be subdivided as follows: industrial workers – 40 per cent, artisans – 16 per cent, agricultural labourers – 12 per cent, general workers (incl. construction workers) – 32 per cent.

The Party's peasant composition may be assessed as *satisfactory*. Some 11 per cent of the rural Party members are co-operative farmers; 57 per cent are poor peasants, and 32 per cent are middling peasants.

By age groups Party members can be divided as follows:

Up to 20	less than 1%
20-30	25%
30-40	39%
40-50	25%
50-60	8%
Above 60	2%

The picture here is rather satisfactory. Work among the youth must be intensified, however, so as to enlist the best and most active of them in the Party.

A classification by education of Party members shows the following picture:

Illiterate	7%
Public school education	45%
Semi high-school	30%
High school	6%
Junior college	7%
College	2%
University	2.5%

The relatively large number (31,000) of illiterate Party members, who stem mainly from the national minorities (Turks, Gypsies and others) in the Rhodope and Loudogoriyé districts and the Dobroudja, poses before the Party the task of taking immediate measures for the eradication of illiteracy among its members. We must get rid of the erroneous notion that there are no illiterate among us, when in the Party, the vanguard of our people, there are 31,000 illiterate members. The considerable number of partially literate, mainly in the villages, should induce us to publish a political primer and a series of popular pamphlets, printed in large type and written in simple language. The collective reading of newspapers, followed by discussions, as well as radio broadcasts in the villages, should also assume considerable importance.

The percentage of women in the Party is also unsatisfactory – 13 per cent. Women workers constitute only 18 per cent of all the female Party members as against 44 per cent peasant women, 16 per cent employees, 19 per cent housewives and 3 per cent students. The small participation of women, and especially of women workers, in the Party is inexcusable in view of the great political and social activity displayed by women and the great part played by women workers in the promotion of shock work and

socialist emulation. Evidently our Party organizations underestimate the work among women and especially among women workers, and are unable to facilitate their entrance and stay in the Party, considering that besides their regular occupation in enterprises, offices and mass organizations they have to perform household chores. Too frequent and too long conferences; overburdening women-activists with work; a petty bourgeois attitude towards women, which lingers even among many Party members; a certain inferiority complex among women, a vestige of their age-old yoke; shyness and uncertainty as to their ability to cope with the requirement of Party membership – these are the main obstacles to a larger woman membership in the Party. The unsatisfactory participation of women in the Party is that weak link whose strengthening will both increase the number of women Party members and improve the social composition of the Party.

The quantitative and qualitative composition of its leading cadres testifies to the strength of the Party and the scope of its work. Whereas during its greatest upswings prior to 1928, the Party never had more than 40,000 members, now the members of the Party committees alone are in excess of 46,000. Of these 3,558 are former partisans and political prisoners, 676 have been Party members for over 20 years, 2,536 from 10 to 20 years, 3,415 – from 5 to 10 years, 22,000 from 3 to 5 years and 17,000 less than 3 years (the latter are mainly in the leaderships of the primary Party organizations). Hence the complaints, still frequently heard, that the old Party members are being neglected during the election of leaderships are not quite warranted.

The primary organization network of the Party embraces practically all localities of the country and is connected with all working categories of our people. We have 4,900 village territorial primary organizations, 878 town territorial, 854 factory organizations, 811 organizations in institutions and ministries, 209 in co-operative farms, 16 in

machine-tractor stations, 13 in state farms, 89 in craft co-operatives, 120 in transport, 49 in mining, 23 in constructions and 91 in schools, or a total of 8, 053 primary Party organizations. This represents a tremendous achievement of our Party. The primary Party organizations, however, must yet get consolidated and become true leaders and organizers of the masses. The great task now is not so much to increase the numerical composition of the Party organizations but to improve the quality of their work. The enhanced influence of the Party depends not only on the number of its members but, above all, on their quality, their Marxist-Leninist education, their loyalty to the cause of the Party and socialism, their ability to keep in touch with the masses, to mobilize them and lead them towards the fulfilment of the national tasks set by the Party and government.

From this point of view the situation within the Party is far from satisfactory. As was stressed by the Sixteenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, there are quite a few members in the Party who in reality should at best be candidates for membership. In the life of the Party organizations, internal Party democracy is not what it should be. Criticism and self-criticism, irrespective of persons, has not yet become the basic motor of Party life from top to bottom. We have not yet completely abandoned the methods of giving orders to Party organizations and do not always know how to develop and how to heed the collective mind and the experience of the Party. The Party leaderships have not yet organized their work on a basis of complete collegiality.

What is more, we often forget the wise concept of Vladimir Ilich Lenin that two things are of decisive importance for the soundness and successes of the Party: *selection of people (cadres) and check-up of the fulfilment of a given task.*

Today there are no organized Left-wing and Right-wing groups of factions. The Party does not and will not tolerate such factions. However, there still exist quite a few Right-wing and Left-wing manifestations of individual Party

members. Besides the above-cited cases, there are also cases when Party members fold up before hardships, are ready to capitulate before the resistance of the class enemy. Others refuse to submit to any Party or state discipline, or fail to recognize the stages of development, fail to understand the People's Democracy and the Fatherland Front as a special path which enables the onward march towards socialism; hiding behind bombastic demagogic 'revolutionary' phrases, in practice they impede the development towards socialism.

The correctness of the Party's policy for the abolition of the capitalist system and the construction of socialism in our country, through an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist elements and through adoption of the planning principle in our economy, is not disputed by anyone in our Party. It is generally recognized and firmly carried out in practice.

Unfortunately, however, there still does not exist complete unity of thought and action in our Party from top to bottom. In order to achieve this, we shall still have to work hard. The cases are not rare when decisions of the Central Committee are accepted only formally, while in practice they are carried out in a different and distorted way. There still exist in our Party 'little dictators' who banking on their past merits, real or imaginary, and exploiting their positions, do not abide by any laws or decrees and act in an arbitrary manner. There are still chatterboxes and egomaniacs, people with big and perverse ambitions who pretend that there is nothing they cannot do, and yet lack the ability or intelligence to work and run things systematically and efficiently, and to wind up what they have started. These people do not like to learn and are capable of wrecking every useful enterprise.

The Party must fight such unhealthy phenomena, by word and by deed, through the elucidation and correction of those that have erred, through the removal and even expulsion of the incorrigible. The Party will be purged of the pseudo-Communists who have joined it by some mis-

understanding or for selfish careerist ends. We shall work with all our strength for the creation of that Bolshevik unity in thought and action, from top to bottom, which is the basic guarantee for the success of our great cause.

In order to strengthen continuously and unswervingly our Party, we must do the following:

1) Purge our Party organizations of hostile, careerist and accidental elements who have infiltrated its ranks.

2) Make a strict selection among the new members and candidates wishing to enter the Party and regulate its social composition by strictly adhering to the by-laws and by systematically increasing its proletarian composition.

3) Promote internal Party democracy by overcoming the vestige of commandeering. Discuss and decide collective Party problems in the Party leaderships and organizations. Entrust every Party member with a concrete task and check up on its execution. Encourage sound criticism and self-criticism in the Party, raise the general activity of its members, tighten Party discipline and unity in its organizations.

4) Organize systematic Marxist-Leninist collective and individual education of every Party member and candidate on a much broader basis. A Party member who is unwilling to learn, to educate himself and to progress, is not and cannot be a genuine member of our Party.

At the end of 1947 certain changes were made in the organizational structure of our Party. On account of the reorganization of our state apparatus and the abolition of the administrative counties, the Party county committees had to be dissolved. This was unavoidable, since our Party, as the leading force of the administration, cannot have a structure different from that of the state. When the county Party leaderships were disbanded their cadres either got jobs in the state apparatus at the centre and in the localities or were switched to the district and municipal organizations of the Party and the Fatherland Front for their consolidation.

With the abolition of the county committees the Cen-

tral Committee had the opportunity to contact and supervise more directly the 95 district and 7 municipal Party committees. It got a better idea of the true state of affairs in the district committees and could exercise a more direct control on their activities and lend them the necessary assistance. On the other hand, the district Party leaderships evinced greater self-initiative in their activities and around them there grew up cadres capable of heading Party organizations.

But along with the positive aspects of this re-organization there were also serious flaws. Some anemic district committees were deprived of the daily aid which they had formerly been getting from the county committees. The Central Committee was too far removed from them, while its apparatus was temporarily weakened rather than strengthened. In spite of the measures taken in this respect after the Sixteenth Plenary Session, the Central Committee apparatus has not yet been sufficiently consolidated.

What should be done in this respect?

1. It is necessary to intensify the measures for the consolidation of the instructors' apparatus at the Central Committee, to improve and strengthen the aid of the latter to the district committees; the members of the Central Committee and other leading comrades should personally visit more often the district and municipal Party organizations.

2. The district committees should be strengthened by elevating new comrades from among the Party cadres of the primary organizations, in particular from those in industrial enterprises. The district secretaries should be retained longer as such, and their authority as influential activists, enjoying local popularity, should be consolidated.

During the past four years ever since our Party is a ruling Party, several personnel changes had to be made in order to ensure the Party leadership and to improve the work in a series of important cog-wheels of our state and economic apparatus. Thus it was necessary to select and send 3,533 Party members into the People's Army, 2,000

into the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1,101 into the Ministry of Industry, and 5,576 into the other ministries. In other words, over 12,000 Party members were selected and sent in a leading capacity to work in the state apparatus. This was no easy job, and its execution entailed the surmounting of many and various difficulties.

One should expect the inflow of so many Communists into the state and economic apparatus to substantially help overcome bureaucracy. Unfortunately, in many cases the very reverse is true. It is remarkable with what ease some of our comrades, instead of trying to uproot bureaucracy, turn themselves into bureaucrats. The fight against bureaucracy is no easy task. It will require great efforts and perseverance. In order to completely overcome bureaucracy, the people must take an ever greater part in the administration of the state and in its public control. In this respect, the committees attached to the various departments of the People's Councils will have to play an important role. All this is connected with the raising of the general cultural and political level of the population. The struggle against bureaucratic distortions and lethargy must never be taken off the agenda. Every manifestation of bureaucracy must be ruthlessly exposed and reprovved.

Nor must we forget that the brilliant victories of our Party incite certain activists and Party organizations towards smugness and conceit. In order that the Party may develop normally and fulfil its forthcoming complex tasks, it must fight with all forces against that great peril of which our great teacher, Lenin, has time and again warned the Communist Parties.

And thus, during the four years of People's Government, since September 9, 1944, our Party has grown and developed into a first-rate political party, the decisive, motive and leading force in the construction of a new life in our country along the path of popular democracy and socialism. Through bold Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, the Party combats its weaknesses, which are

mainly weaknesses of rapid growth, and is consolidating itself more and more as a true Marxist-Leninist Party.

Before its eyes, our Party has the example of the great Bolshevik Party, whose Central Committee have lent us more than once invaluable aid by their advice and guidance. Our Party, which actively participates in the Informbureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, is proud of belonging to the great family of world communism, headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The entire experience of the international Communist movement confirms the truth that one cannot be a true Marxist without being a true Leninist.

I conclude the political report of the Central Committee with the general Party slogan:

Under the victorious banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin, onward towards Socialism and Communism.

*G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 221-340 (slightly abridged)
Published by the BCP, 1955*

CONCLUDING SPEECH

Delivered on December 25, 1948, before the Fifth Congress of the Party after the Conclusion of the Discussions on the Report

Comrades and Delegates,

After all that has been said so far, I feel that I can confine myself to a short concluding speech.

The discussions have shown the complete unanimity of the Congress with the Political Report of the Central Committee, as well as with the other reports on the agenda of the Congress, with the appraisals made and the inferences drawn, with the general Party line on the building of the economic and cultural foundations of socialism in Bulgaria, and with the concrete tasks mapped out in all spheres of our social, economic, political, and cultural life. The Congress thus expressed complete unanimity on the basic problems of Party policy. This is undoubtedly one of the most important guarantees for our future success.

The working out of a correct Party line and its unanimous approval by the Party members is the most important fact and factor. We should not forget, however, that good resolutions and declarations on the general line of the Party are merely a beginning, for they merely indicate a desire to win, but are not tantamount to victory.

For the success of the general Party line adopted unanimously by our Fifth Congress it is necessary: a) to wage a systematic and steadfast fight against all difficulties, of which there are quite a few on our road, to surmount them by mobilizing the forces of the entire Party, of the working class, of all working people, of the Fatherland Front; b) to organize an ever more active participation of new forces in

the socialist construction; c) to make a constant and strict selection of cadres, raising the capable ones to positions of leadership in the struggle against hardships, and removing the incompetent ones, those that do not wish to grow and develop or are incapable of doing so.

Now that our Party stands at the helm of the state, its members occupying key positions in it and its authority having soared to unprecedented heights, now that our working people express their readiness to follow our Party and its general line – as was splendidly demonstrated in yesterday's manifestation of Sofia's working masses, the role of our organizations and their leaderships becomes crucial. Today our Party leaderships carry the main responsibility for all shortcomings, omissions and mistakes. On our Party and on the work of its cadres will hinge the successful execution of a task truly stupendous for our conditions, the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, as well as the other important decisions of the Congress.

In my report I stressed what a mighty force our Party represented, how wide a support it enjoyed, how firm and close were its bonds with the existing mass organizations, how deep were the roots it had grown in the working class, in the toiling masses, in our people. And if in spite of the presence of these great possibilities which facilitate its successes, we still have many shortcomings, weaknesses and omissions, the fault for this lies within ourselves, especially in our insufficiently concrete practical leadership, in the serious flaws which creep into our organizational work.

We must do away as soon as possible with the lag in our organizational work behind the requirements of the political line and the tasks of the party. We must raise the level of organizational leadership to that of the political leadership in all spheres of our activity, especially in our national economy, so that our organizational work may ensure the implementation of the political line and the decisions of the Party.

In this respect, as was already stressed at the Congress,

the selection of cadres, the check-up on the execution of decisions and the extensive use of criticism and self-criticism within the Party, of internal party democracy, are of decisive importance.

Our Congress shows the undeniable growth of our Party cadres, especially of our *intermediary cadres* which in the main decide on the success of Party policy in all spheres of our construction. We must promote with all forces the further growth of our Party cadres and unflinchingly remove incorrigible bureaucrats and office rats, well-headed little tyrants, windbags and all inefficient elements. *We must boldly promote new cadres to positions of leadership those that have proven themselves capable organizers and efficient workers.*

It is highly important for the proper selection of cadres, for their growth and training, for the timely correction of mistakes and shortcomings in their work, to check up on the execution of the decisions taken and on the tasks entrusted to every single Party member. It is not exaggerated to say that most of the flaws and omissions in our work *are due to the absence of a constant and correct check-up system.*

Only such a check-up can ensure successful struggle against bureaucracy, against those incapable of directing and organizing the implementation of the Party decisions, against all distortions of the Party line. This check-up, however, must be systematic and constant and be carried out by the very leaders of the organizations.

As we noted at the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, criticism and self-criticism within our Party have not yet become a genuine motive force of its development. In this respect the Congress has undoubtedly made a big step forward, especially in the discussions of the Five-Year Plan and of organizational problems.

I cannot bypass the fact, comrades, that here at the Congress as well, not enough courage was shown openly and justly to point out the errors and shortcomings allowed, concretely to name those responsible for them, to reveal the reasons for these errors and shortcomings and to

suggest the ways and means of their prompt and effective elimination.

The great stress on of constructive criticism and self-criticism in our Party and the exposure of inadequacies in our work must be our constant and paramount task after the Congress as well in all sections of the Party from top to bottom.

We must never forget that the acme of wisdom for a real Communist is to frankly admit his mistake, to boldly expose its causes and to be ready to promptly and radically correct it.

In the Party and in all spheres of our life we must get rid of the harmful habit of not concretely pointing out mistakes lest we jeopardize friendships and kinships, hurt someone, or create personal troubles. We must ruthlessly flay every nepotism when deciding on Party or state matters. The interests of the Party of the working class, of the people, must stand above all such petty bourgeois considerations and prejudices.

Comrades,

In connexion with the discussions and some questions addressed to me in writing, permit me to make two more remarks on matters of principle.

1. From what I have said in my report, to wit that under our present conditions, with the development of co-operative farms, we do not consider nationalization as an indispensable condition for the development of agriculture, it should by no means be deduced that the construction of socialism in the countryside is, in general, possible without the nationalization of land. We consider, however, that by gradually winning over the poor and middling peasants into the co-operative farms by developing the machine-tractor stations, by prohibiting the renting out of farms, by restricting and subsequently prohibiting the purchase and sale of land, by reducing and subsequently abolishing rent through decision of the co-operative farmers themselves when conditions permit, *the practical problem of land nationalization will be solved by leaving all land for the perpetual use of the toiling peasants.* Thus the toiling peasant who is

today a slave of his small plot will be enabled to make the widest use of the fruits of the land which will be considerably increased through modernized and mechanized cultivation in the large co-operative farms.

2. The second remark refers to the definition of popular democracy given in my report. Some comrades who in their discussions touched on this problem were inclined to put the main emphasis on what distinguishes popular democracy from the Soviet regime, something which may lead to incorrect and harmful deductions.

According to Marxist-Leninist principles, the Soviet regime and popular democracy are two forms of one and the same rule – the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people from town and countryside. They are two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The particular form of transition from capitalism to socialism in Bulgaria does not and cannot alter the basic laws on the transition period from capitalism to socialism which are valid for all countries. The transition to socialism cannot be carried out without the dictatorship of the proletariat against the capitalist elements and for the organization of the socialist economy.

But whereas bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of capital, of an exploiting big business minority over the great majority of working people, popular democracy fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interest of the overwhelming majority of working people and realizes the widest and most complete democracy – socialist democracy.

From the fact that popular democracy and the Soviet regime coincide *in the most important and decisive respect*, i. e. that they both represent the rule of the working class in alliance and at the head of the working people, there follow some highly essential deductions on the necessity of making the most thorough study and widest application of the great experiment of socialist construction in the USSR. *And this experiment, comrades, adapted to our conditions, is the*

only and best model for the construction of socialism in Bulgaria, as well as in the other People's Democracies.

The apprehension expressed by our comrade Todor Pavlov before this Congress that the definition of our popular democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship might encourage attempts to violate law and order, caused considerable consternation. Such apprehension is completely unwarranted. *Popular democracy, fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by its very essence and character cannot tolerate any arbitrariness and lawlessness. This rule is strong enough to be respected by everyone, irrespective of his position.*

We harbour no illusion – and in our Party there are no serious Party members who can have such an illusion – that the road along which our Party is travelling will be smooth. We know that this road is hard and thorny, but it is the only salutary road for the working class, the people and our country.

We realize that we still have many difficulties to overcome. But we also know and our people know it well – that our Party has proven that it is not afraid of difficulties in fulfilling its historic mission. Our Party has also proved that it knows how to overcome all difficulties, no matter how great they be and from what quarters they may stem, from our internal or external enemies.

Now, armed with the historic decisions of our Fifth Congress, learning constantly and tirelessly from the great Bolshevik Party, there can be no doubt that our Party – headed by a Central Committee to be elected by the Congress and which will be Leninist in spirit, firmness, iron discipline, diligence, fearlessness in face of hardships and dangers – will, in spite of everything, bring the already begun task of building a socialist society in our country to a victorious consummation.

FOR GENERAL ADVANCE OF BULGARIAN SOCIALIST
CULTURE

*Speech at the Dinner Given at the Jubilee of Honoured Artist
Adriana Boudevska²⁹*

February 20, 1949

Comrades,

I am happy to be able to meet you this evening on the occasion of the jubilee of our most esteemed Adriana Boudevska. The performance that was given here is but a small part of what our own intelligentsia gives and is capable of giving. This small part is such as to fill any honest, patriotic Bulgarian heart with profound joy.

It was said several times that we are a good and talented people. That is quite true. Indeed we are a talented and capable people. We can be and we shall be a still better and an even more capable people. In the person of Adriana Boudevska our people honour not only her creative work – may I be excused by some people – but also that of the Bulgarian theatre, not only her merits, but also those of our theatre art. She has created dramatic characters which none of us will ever forget and which can serve as a school to our young actors and actresses. In her person we honour all art workers in Bulgaria and especially those of the theatre art, who have manifested love of country, who have withstood many temptations and constraints and who, throughout the dark period of fascist tyranny, have held aloft the banner of true people's art – not art for art's sake, but art in the service of the people, art for improving their culture, for their education, art for the progress of our country.

We have what to be proud of. The names mentioned here are indeed the pride of our people, of our country, of the living and older generations, of the younger forces, who represent a tremendous cultural asset for our country and our people. It stands to reason that we ascribe such great importance to art and to workers in the field of art.

There are people in Bulgaria who say that the Communists strive to attract capable and gifted people so as to consolidate their power. They supposedly grant them certain privileges and shower them with honours only in order to make use of them. These views and assertions have nothing in common with reality. The new power as a genuine people's power is interested in doing everything possible, in a given time, for the maximum promotion of art, including the theatre and the opera. And we are all doing our best. Comrade Krustyu Sarafov³⁰ was right when saying that no one ever did as much as we are doing now. We consider – our Central Committee, the Fatherland Front and its Government – that what we are doing is merely a beginning.

In this respect we still have much to do and we will do it. We will draw on our limited means and resources and will give, doubly give to promote the theatre and the opera and all that will serve to raise the culture of our people, of our youth, as a mighty factor in building the new, socialist society in Bulgaria.

We don't go in for demagogy. As Communists and leaders of the people's state we don't do this to surround ourselves with talented people. Ferdinand, Boris, etc., used to do so. But they did not do that in order to create the necessary conditions for the development of our people and for the blossoming of our culture. They created this circle only to achieve their own exploitative ends, while we help the people of art, foster their talents so as to build socialism in our country. And this we will go on doing increasingly, because we firmly believe that we, who stem from the people, from the grass roots – to put it quite open-

ly – are able to appraise best what a great and invaluable blessing for the people art is.

I recall that when I was 16–17 years old, I used to spare a few leva from my low wages to be able, after a day of physical fatigue, to stay for hours in the gallery of the theatre and to admire the acting of Adriana Boudevska, Vassil Kirkov³¹ Vera Ignatieva, and others. I still recall the rapture, the enthusiasm and the moral satisfaction with which I used to return home, and how I would be unable to fall asleep the whole night. What emotions, what impulse for work for study and progress these splendid images gave me.

The Communist Party and the Fatherland Front Government are quite aware that more and more must be done for the promotion of art in all its fields. We have a modest National Theatre, we don't even have an Opera House. Now we are trying to do something, to patch up something, so that next year we might have premises for the opera. Now there is a possibility to employ many thousands of young gifted forces in the theatre, the opera and in the other fields of art. The whole country must be covered with such cultural establishments. There is much work for the old, too – they must teach the young, impart to them their experience. There is a great field of work for the young. You will agree that neither art nor our stupendous task – the building up of socialism in our country – can be the work only of the Government, the Central Committee of the Party and the National Council of the Fatherland Front. Here a blending of Party and state leadership, of the people's resources and initiative, efforts and day-and-night work of the servants of art themselves is necessary.

Art workers, no matter how talented they may be and how much we may esteem them, must work unremittingly to perfect themselves, to be able to march forward, for, you know, he who does not march forward, lags behind, and who lags behind is beaten. The decisive factor in this respect is the inner force within every man, the love of the

people and country that burns in the heart and soul of the artist, the director, the actor, the writer and of every man of art and culture.

Talent does not fall like manna from heaven. Not everybody can be an actor like Adriana Boudevska, Krustyu Sarafov or Stefan Makedonski.³² Not every talent is by itself a capital. If this talent is not developed, if this capital is not rationally used, there will be no result. And you know that there are tens and hundreds of people, not to say more, who, by working hard, have succeeded in developing their talents.

Allow me to tell you, as one who is older than you, that there are weak people in Bulgaria – actors and actresses, writers and artists, and so on, who think, that the sea is knee-deep and if they have some talent that is enough. They are more interested in the rank they might have, in the place they might occupy, in the role they might play, rather than in improving their talent in order to take that place which would be desirable and of benefit both to them and the nation. There is no room for self-conceit here. Self-conceit is deadly to man and art. Haughtiness is a terrible evil. Every day we must qualify ourselves, appraise ourselves, amend our shortcomings and improve our abilities. The latter may be 50 per cent or 80 per cent, but by self-criticism, by working on our weaknesses, by heeding the advice of more competent people, they may reach as much as 90 per cent and even more.

I would like to raise my glass to the genuinely talented and capable workers in the field of art who are keen on studying and improving and who are learning from the great masters of the great socialist fatherland.

In the field of culture there are, in ability, no small and great nations. There are no superior and inferior peoples. Every people, no matter how small they may be, can make their contribution to the general treasure-store of culture. Our nation is small, ours is a small country. We are so much the more interested in qualifying ourselves, because we cannot boast, neither today nor even ten years from

now, of such industry and wealth as the big countries possess. But we can and we must be able to boast of a sense of inner culture, to create highly artistic examples of art and in general in the field of science, and in this respect our people too can set examples and serve as models to many other nations. Let us all join together – statesmen, Party leaders, art workers, scientific workers, etc. – to make sure that, within a few years, the Bulgarian people will be considered and looked upon everywhere as a really capable, gifted, cultured and model socialist people, who take an active part in the creation of world socialist culture, headed by the great Soviet Union and together with our brothers of the other People's Democracies.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 147
June 7, 1949

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 360–365
Published by the BCP, 1955

MAY DAY MESSAGE

Dear fellow-countrymen!
Workers, engineers and technicians!
Shockworkers, innovators and inventors!
Working peasants!
Progressive workers in science, culture and the arts!
Brigaders!
Soldiers, officers and generals!
Glorious frontier guards!
Men, women, young men and girl workers, creators of
our people's prosperity and builders of socialism in our
dear country!
Dear little Septemvriichés – future builders of com-
munism!

On this solemn day of international solidarity and struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, prevented by illness from being with you I would like to assure you that with my best feelings, with all my heart and with all my thoughts I am with you while you are rejoicing at our people's achievements and are full of firm resolve to spare no effort for the successful fulfilment of the spring sowing plan, of the Five-Year National Economic Plan, and to secure the victory of the Fatherland Front under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party in the coming elections for people's councils and to march unswervingly onward with sharp vigilance in merciless struggle against the people's enemies along the road of socialism – for the prosperity, freedom and happiness of our beloved country.

Our people have traversed a hard and difficult road. They can rightly be proud of having successfully overcome all domestic and international trials, assisted at every step by their great liberator. Now, when our people are standing firmly and participating actively in the mighty camp of peace and democracy, headed by the great Soviet Union, against the imperialist instigators of a new war, when our people are indissolubly linked in sincere friendship with the Soviet people, enjoying their steady comradesly assistance and working in fraternal co-operation with their brothers in the people's democracies, when they are witnessing the brilliant creative upswing of the mighty socialist state – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; when the recently held historic world congress represented more than 600 million supporters of peace; when the national-liberation Chinese Army by its brilliant victories is dealing crushing blows to the imperialist plans and when the colonial and oppressed peoples everywhere are rising in a decisive struggle for freedom and independence – we can unhesitatingly say that the successful accomplishment of our national task – the building up of socialism in our country – depends upon us, upon our labour and efforts, upon our ability to work and create, upon our sharp vigilance with regard to our enemies, upon our faith in our own forces and in the forces of our allies, upon our zeal to learn daily from the tremendous experience of the Soviet Union in the construction of socialism and in the struggle against capitalism.

Brothers and sisters, remember and do not for a moment forget that there is absolutely no reason for any doubt whatever in the victory of our just cause – however false, alarming and panicky rumours may be floated by overt and hidden enemies of the people's rule and socialism. Drive out from among your midst all liars, slanderers, gossips and foreign agents. Unmask hypocrites, saboteurs and all foreign agents, but give friendly help to those lacking faith or hesitant – by explaining the truth so that they may understand the true trend of events, which is of benefit to the

peoples and against the imperialists, so that they can be sooner inspired by the deep faith and labour enthusiasm of our brave working people.

As for myself, I am burning with the desire, under the expert care of the fine Soviet medicine, to restore as soon as possible my health, which has been shattered ever since the time I was thrown into the fascist German dungeons and during the three months of the long Leipzig Trial, to return again among you and devote the last years of my life to service of the people, headed by the working class, in the ranks of the tried and heroic Bulgarian Communist Party, which brought me up and first imbued me with the great socialist ideas in a spirit of irreconcilable class struggles against the evils of capitalism and all enemies of the people, under whatever guise they may appear.

I wholeheartedly wish you to march onward and ever onward, with the Bulgarian Communist Party heading the Fatherland Front along the road of socialism, despite all hardships and obstacles! Your devoted,

G. Dimitrov

Prime Minister of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 110
May 1, 1949

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 365-372
Published by the BCP, 1955

LETTER ON THE OCCASION OF THE ELECTION
VICTORY

*To the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian
Communist Party*

Moscow, May 18, 1949

I welcome with a feeling of profound joy and sincere gratitude towards our brave working people the brilliant victory in the elections of people's councils – which the people under the banner of the Fatherland Front and the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party won over domestic reaction and its foreign inspirers and protectors.

The results of the elections are an irrefutable testimony of the tremendous political activity and the high class consciousness of the working people, of their profound faith in the Communist Party and our people's democratic state, in its ability to mobilize and organize the people's forces for the preservation of the country's freedom and independence and to lead it with a firm hand and sober mind along the road of socialism.

These results also prove that the working people from town and country, united under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, approve the policy of our Party of merciless struggle against the capitalist elements and for a more rapid building of the economic and cultural foundations of a socialist society. Resolutely rejecting perfidious nationalism as a tool in the hands of the imperialists, the people have taken a firm stand for proletarian internationalism the core of which consists in their indissoluble, sincere and lasting friendship

with the Soviet Union, heading the democratic anti-imperialist camp against the imperialist oppressors and instigators of a new war.

The devotion to our Party, manifested in the elections, and the great hopes which the people pin on it constitute an exceedingly great obligation for us. It is precisely now, in accordance with the results of the elections that we have to achieve, above all, in every locality of the country maximum organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party as a driving power behind people's democracy, and at the same time the further consolidation of the Fatherland Front, cementing the alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The communist councillors in towns and villages should be exemplary in the fulfilment of their duties and should be tirelessly working in their towns and villages for the implementation of the election programme of the Fatherland Front. They must serve as an example to all other Fatherland Front and non-party people's councillors.

The victory in the elections is so significant, that we should seriously guard ourselves against any smugness, against any semblance of vain glory. The victory will serve as another strong impulse for still more dedicated work for the implementation of the Five-Year Economic Plan and for a still more irreconcilable struggle against the people's enemies at home and abroad.

Reaction was indeed routed in the elections. But there can be no doubt that with the aid which it receives from abroad it will continue its destructive hostile activities with still greater ferocity and with increased malice and more refined perfidy. The Communist Party, the Fatherland Front, all true patriots, should always be on the look out, systematically eradicating all roots of reaction in the economic, political and cultural life of every town and village throughout the country down to its remotest corner.

I firmly shake your hands and in your person the hands

of all members of the Communist Party, the Fatherland Front, the Agrarian Union and all others – men, women, young men, girls, servicemen, labour corps men and brigaders, who have secured the brilliant victory, in which we and our friends in the other countries rightly take joy.

Yours, as ever
G. Dimitrov

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 129
May 20, 1949

G. Dimitrov, Works.
Vol. 14, pp. 375–377
Published by BCP, 1955

LETTER TO THE STUDENTS OF THE HIGHER PARTY SCHOOL

June 12, 1949

I thank you most heartily for your sincere greetings and good wishes for my speedier recovery.

I do not doubt for a minute that the graduates of the first year course of the Party School will honour the trust and hopes of our glorious Party, which is fulfilling such an exceptionally important mission for the prosperity of our country and the world camp of democracy and socialism, guided by the historic experience of Lenin's great Bolshevik Party.

Bear in mind, comrades, always and above everything else, three exceedingly important things:

First, that only the communist who never in his activity separates Marxist-Leninist theory from communist practice in the building of socialism can be a full-fledged functionary of our Communist Party and an actual leader of the working people.

Second, that after passing the course of the Party School you must continue to study every day, to develop ideologically and politically, and to improve your cultural standards in every way, regardless of the field you are working in.

Third, that you should show sharp vigilance and struggle resolutely against any deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, against every nationalistic deviation and Pan-

Bulgarian chauvinism – which would spell the ruin of our freedom, independence and of the building of socialism in our country. This is possible only along the road of sincere friendship with the great Soviet Union and its fraternal assistance.

I friendly shake your hands,

Yours, as ever,

G. Dimitrov

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 155
June 15, 1949

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 381–382
Published by the BCP, 1955

NOTES

1. After the Grand National Assembly ended its work on November 22, 1946, the third government after September 9, 1944 headed by Georgi Dimitrov, was formed.

2. Reference is made to the period before the nationalization of the large industrial and trading enterprises.

3. The widely-advertized British nationalization was to the advantage of the former owners, who were secured big compensations, considerably exceeding the value of their enterprises and their profits. A large number of the owners of these enterprises remained as their managers.

4 *Humanité*, central organ of the French Communist Party.

5. The Congress of the textile workers was held in Sofia from June 8 to 11, 1947. On June 11 Georgi Dimitrov received a delegation of men and women shock-workers elected at the Congress in the National Assembly, and delivered the published speech before them.

6. *Rudé Pravo*, central organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, founded in Prague in 1920.

7. Reference is made to the speech delivered by the Provisional President of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Vassil Kolarov, before the Grand National Assembly, after the adoption of the Constitution.

8. The 27th Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union was held on December 27 and 28, 1947. Georgi Traikov, President of its Executive Council, delivered a report on *The Political Situation in the Country*. The Congress unreservedly approved the government's foreign policy, welcomed the new Constitution, pledged to co-operate in its application, and adopted the new programme principles of the Fatherland Front for the establishment of a socialist society in Bulgaria.

9. The law on the nationalization of industry and mining was adopted by the National Assembly on December 23, 1947, and the law on the nationalization of the banks - on December 26, 1947.

10. The Declaration of the National Council of the Fatherland Front referred to Bulgaria's international and domestic situation and to the tasks facing the Fatherland Front in this connexion. It formulated the

main task as follows: still more resolute defence of Bulgaria's national independence and sovereignty against imperialist aggression, utmost cohesion and unity of all democratic and anti-imperialist popular forces, expansion of the state sector in the nation's economy and the introduction of a number of essential amendments and supplements in drafting the Constitution, referring to the organization of the supreme power of the republic, to the role and functions of the people's councils as local organs of state power, their leading role in socialist construction, etc.

11. Reference is made to the Balkan Commission, established by the UN following a complaint of the Greek Government to the Security Council (December 4, 1946) against Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, which it accused of rendering assistance to the Greek partisans, i. e. to the national-liberation struggle of the Greek people against Anglo-American intervention and their monarcho-fascist government.

A sub-commission, in which all members of the Security Council were represented, was sent to the Balkans to investigate the situation. After having failed to attain its goals in the Security Council, the US delegation submitted to the Second Session of the UN General Assembly a draft resolution, in which the blame for the situation in Greece was put on Albania and Yugoslavia and a proposal was made to set up a special committee in the Balkans to supervise the implementation of the resolution of the UN General Assembly. Actually, these manoeuvres aimed at paving the way for an intervention in these countries' home affairs.

The Soviet delegation objected against this proposal, submitting a draft resolution of its own and declared that it would not take part either in the election of a Balkan Committee or in its work. Analogous statements were made by the delegation of Poland, the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

12. Reference is made to Truman's message to the US Congress of May 12, 1947, containing a proposal that 400 million dollars be allotted for aid to Greece and Turkey.

13. The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front was held on February 3 and 4, 1948. It was attended by 1,105 delegates. The agenda was as follows: 1. The Fatherland Front, its development and forthcoming tasks - the report was delivered by Georgi Dimitrov. 2. Greetings from Bulgarian and foreign delegates. 3. Adoption of the programme and the constitution of the Fatherland Front. 4. Election of the Fatherland Front National Committee. 5. Approval of a manifesto to the Bulgarian people.

14. The foundations of the World Federation of Trade Unions were laid at the Trade Union Conference in London (February 1945). On September 25, 1945, the First World Congress of Trade Unions was convened in Paris. It unanimously adopted the Constitution of the World Federation, which set it the following tasks: to organize and unite the trade unions from all over the world, regardless of race, creed, sex, nationality or political affiliation; to help the workers in the socially and

economically underdeveloped countries; to fight against all manifestations of fascism and against war and its causes; to defend the interests of the working people throughout the world in all international organizations; to organize the struggle against infringements on the working people's economic and social rights, for a steady rise of wages, for a reduction of working hours and improvement of the working conditions and living standards. The seat of the World Federation of Trade Unions was established in Prague.

15. The International Democratic Federation of Women was set up in November 1945, at the international women's congress in Paris. It strives to unite the democratic women's organizations throughout the world, regardless of race, nationality, creed or political affiliation and to mobilize them in a struggle for peace and friendship among nations, for the complete eradication of fascism and its ideology, in defence of women's economic, political and social rights and for improving the children's living conditions. A member of the Social and Economic Council at the UN, it has membership of 135 million women.

16. The World Federation of Democratic Youth was set up at the First World Congress of Youth in London on November 10, 1945. It has a membership of more than 83 million young men and women from 84 countries. The goal of the federation is to fight for peace, against fascism, social, national and racial oppression, for the education of the younger generation in a democratic spirit and for meeting their social and economic needs.

17. Bouzloudja, a peak in the central part of the Balkan Mountains, on which a constituent congress was called and the foundations of the Bulgarian Communist Party were laid in August 1891. p. 287

18. The explosion in the Sofia Cathedral on April 16, 1925, the work of militants belonging to the ultra-left wing of the anti-fascist movement, aimed at killing off the representatives of the monarcho-fascist regime. The Bulgarian Communist Party, through its Central Committee, promptly condemned this act as reckless and ruinous, helping the implementation of the monstrous and bloody massacre of anti-fascist fighters, staged by the fascists. Tsankov's government took advantage of the attempt and started a reign of terror. Thousands of anti-fascists were murdered or burnt alive, other thousands thrown into prison and still others were forced to emigrate. The anti-fascist organizations were disbanded. p. 306

19. Peter Iskrov, Georgi Lambrev and Ilia Vassilev (Boiko), the leaders of the left sectarian faction of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which in 1929 seized the Party leadership, declared that the old Party cadres were unable to act as genuine revolutionaries, put forward a theory about the vanguard role of youth and raised incorrect slogans such as 'a general all-out offensive,' 'capture of streets,' 'seizure of land,' etc. p. 311

The activity of this faction held back the Party rearmament with Leninist theory and practice, led to the Party's estrangement from the

masses and led it to opportunist inaction during the military fascist coup d'état of May 19, 1934.

The sound Party forces, headed by Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov, carried on an unflinching struggle against left sectarianism, which was crowned with success in 1935 when a new Leninist course was adopted in the policy and practice of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

20. On May 19, 1934, the Officers' League and the ZVENO Political Circle carried out a military fascist coup d'état, overthrew the government of the popular bloc which had come to power as a result of elections held in 1921 and established a fascist dictatorship. p-372

After the coup d'état the last survivals of parliamentary and bourgeois democracy were done away with. The National Assembly was disbanded, the political parties and trade unions were dissolved, their publications were prohibited, political meetings were forbidden and the press was subjected to strict censorship. p-372

21. Konstantin Mouraviev, one of the right-wing leaders of the Agrarian Union. As Minister of War in Alexander Stamboliiski's government he allowed the fascist officers to organize a conspiracy and to carry out a military fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923. In 1931-34 Mouraviev was first Minister of Education and then of Agriculture. On September 2, 1944, he headed the government of the so-called 'legal opposition', appointed by the monarcho-fascist regents with a view to diverting the people from the insurrection which had come to a head and gaining time so that the nazi forces might be able to prepare new defense positions in the Balkans against the Soviet Union. On September 9, 1944, the people's uprising overthrew Mouraviev's government. The People's Court sentenced him to life imprisonment. p-324

22. The Law on Land Ownership, adopted by the National Assembly on March 12, 1946, determined the maximum size of a farmstead: 20 hectares (excl. South Dobroudja - 30 ha) for peasants, and 3 to 5 ha for non-peasants. The land of war criminals and people's enemies was confiscated. Most of it, 211,000 ha, was distributed among 128,000 landless and poor peasants (an average of one hectare per family).

The law encouraged the peasants to join agricultural producers co-operatives. 330

23. Decree No. 4 was issued on November 23, 1944, by a group of reactionaries, members of the Fatherland Front Government, headed by Damyan Velchev and Nikola Petkov, behind the back of the Communist Ministers. Its aim was to save the fascist officers who had committed crimes against the people from a just punishment, by offering them the opportunity to leave for the front and join the fighting forces so that they might thus 'atone for their guilt.' In case they were wounded or awarded a medal these persons were exempted from responsibility. This question had to be resolved, according to the decree, by the Minister of War, i. e. Damyan Velchev. p-332

The Bulgarian Communist Party firmly objected to this decree. On December 4, 1944, its Politbureau stated in a declaration that decree No. 4 ran counter to the Fatherland Front programme and demanded its immediate repeal. In answer to its appeal, nation-wide meetings and demonstrations were held at which the working people supported the Party's demand. Under the pressure of the masses, the reactionary ministers were forced to capitulate and on December 7, 1944 decree No. 4 was annulled. P-332

24. Damyan Velchev (1883-1955), a reactionary politician and general, one of the leaders of the right wing in the ZVENO political circle, an active participant in the June 9, 1923 fascist coup d'état in 1934. In 1944-46 he was member of the first Fatherland Front Government as Minister of War, but as a result of his anti-popular activities he was compelled to vacate his ministerial post. Later Velchev was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Bern. Subsequently he refused to return to Bulgaria. P-332

25. Gemeto (Dr. Georgi Mihailov Dimitrov), a reactionary politician and one of the leaders of the right wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union in the prewar period. During the years of the Second World War he emigrated. After Bulgaria's liberation Gemeto returned to Bulgaria and, having succeeded in seizing the post of Secretary General of the Agrarian Union, developed an activity which was hostile to the People's Government. He raised the demagogical slogan 'peace, bread and freedom', which at that time meant to put an end to the war against nazi Germany and to give free rein to the fascists and reactionaries. Through his agents Gemeto began to propagate the slogan of a homogenous agrarian government. Under the pressure of the broad masses of Agrarian Union members who wanted to strengthen their ties with the Fatherland Front and purge the Agrarian Union of all reactionary elements, in January 1945 Gemeto was forced to abandon the post of Secretary General and in May 1945 at the Agrarian Union Conference he was expelled from its ranks. However, he continued his subversive activity against the People's Government, as a result of which he was placed under home arrest. He succeeded in escaping and hid in the home of Mr. Barnes, the American political representative to Bulgaria. In September 1945, Gemeto left Bulgaria. Outside the country he headed the hostile activity of the reactionary emigrants against the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

26. Nikola Petkov, a reactionary politician. In 1943-45, as a representative of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, he was a member of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. After Bulgaria's liberation he was a Minister without portfolio in the first Fatherland Front Government (1944-45), but soon began an insidious struggle against the democratic undertakings of the People's Government. In 1945-47 he headed the right wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union which, together with the right wing of the Social Democratic Party had split off from the Fatherland Front to form the anti-popular opposition. For his activity

against the People's Government and for having plotted its violent overthrow. Petkov was sentenced to death in 1947. P-332

27. Grigor Cheshmedjiev (1879-1945), reactionary militant of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party. In 1944-45, as a Minister of Social Welfare, he was a member of the first Fatherland Front Government. In 1945, he headed a group of right wing social-democrats who left the Fatherland Front and the Social-Democratic Party and formed a social-democratic party of their own, which engaged in hostile activities against the people's democratic rule. P-333

28. Yuroukovtzi, supporters of Vassil Yuroukov, leader of the right wing in the ZVENO political circle. P-335

29. Adriana Boudevska, (1878-1955) People's Artist, one of the greatest Bulgarian actresses. Born in Dobrich, she graduated from high school in Varna and studied dramatic art in Moscow under A. P. Lenski, a prominent actor and teacher who highly valued her talent. Boudevska was educated in the spirit of the profoundly realistic traditions of Russian theatrical art. In 1899 she returned to Bulgaria and was immediately engaged at Sofia's National Theatre. Her artistic career was distinguished by her progressive ideas and highly realistic interpretation. Boudevska's versatile talent was particularly vividly manifested in the plays by Russian authors, which she was among the first to popularize on the Bulgarian stage. In 1927 Boudevska was dismissed from the National Theatre and later left the country. After the victory of the people's rule she returned to Bulgaria.

30. Krustyu Sarafov (1876-1952), outstanding Bulgarian actor, educated in Russia, representative of the realistic trend in Bulgarian theatrical art. During the fascist rule he was forced to leave the theatre, but returned there after the establishment of people's rule.

31. Vassil Kirkov (1870-1931), an outstanding Bulgarian actor of the realistic school, one of the founders of the Bulgarian National Theatre.

32. Stefan Makedonski (1885-1952), People's Artist, a well-known opera singer and progressive public worker. The Musical Comedy Theatre in Sofia has been named after him.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
(1882-1949)

- June 18* 1882
Georgi Dimitrov was born in the village of Kovachevt-
si, Radomir region. His parents were: father Dimiter
Mihailov Dimitrov and mother Parashkeva Dosseva
Dimitrova.
- January* 1883
The parents together with six-months-old Georgi
Dimitrov moved to Radomir.
- 1886
Georgi Dimitrov was three when his parents moved to
live permanently in Sofia.
- September* 1889
Georgi Dimitrov enrolled in the St. Clement of Ohrid
Primary School in Ycuchbounar, Sofia.
- 1894
Georgi Dimitrov began working as an apprentice type-
setter in Nikola Piperov's Printing House.
- 1896
In collaboration with a fellow worker Georgi Dimitrov
published the critical newspaper *Koukourigou* (Cock-a-
doodle-doo).
- May* 1898
Georgi Dimitrov organized a May Day demonstration
of printers in Sofia.
- April* 1899
Georgi Dimitrov worked as typesetter in the Napred
Printing House in Sofia.

- 1900
beginning Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the board of trustees of the printers' society. He took part in the editing of the newspaper *Printers' Society News in Sofia*, where he published articles about the plight of printers.
- 1901
beginning Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Executive Board of the Printers' Society in Sofia and its librarian. Georgi Dimitrov led the strike in the Govedarov Printing House.
- 1902
January 12 Georgi Dimitrov was elected book-keeper of the Board of the Type Setters' Society in Sofia.
February Georgi Dimitrov became member of the Sofia organization of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party. His sponsor was Vulcho Orachev.
- 1903
February Georgi Dimitrov took part in the strife between the two trends in the Sofia Party Organization and sided with the 53 most socially conscious Party members who established the new Sofia Party Organization, in support of the revolutionary nucleus headed by Dimiter Blagoev, Georgi Kirkov and Gavril Georgiev.
June 12-19 Georgi Dimitrov published the article *Opportunism in the Trade Unions* in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* Nos 39 and 40.
- 1904
July 18-21 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Plovdiv as delegate of the Sofia Party Organization. He was elected member of the press commission together with Dimiter Blagoev and Georgi Kirkov.
July 21-22 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the First Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Plovdiv, and was elected member of the Trade Union Committee.
- 1905
July 31 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia and was elected member of the commission entrusted with the working out of a set of rules governing the Party.

- August 4-6 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union. He was re-elected member of the Trade Union Committee and its secretary.
- October 29-30 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the conference for the unification of printers organized in the Bulgarian Typographic Society, the Bulgarian Printers' Society and the Printers' Trade Union.
- 1906
- beginning of May Georgi Dimitrov published an article 'In the Wake of May Day' in *Novo Vreme* magazine.
- June 18 - Georgi Dimitrov, entrusted by the Party, organized and led the Pernik strike.
- July 24
June 23 Georgi Dimitrov was arrested in Pernik as agitator in the strike of the Pernik Miners and was sent to Sofia.
- July 1 Georgi Dimitrov published the article 'The Class Struggle in Pernik' in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 81
- July 31 -
August 4 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sliven as delegate of the Sofia Party Organization. He motioned a resolution 'On the Organization of the Party and on Party Propaganda'.
- August 2-4 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Third Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Sliven and delivered the report of its Committee on the state, composition, organization, educational work, strikes, trade union press and the tasks of the trade union movement in Bulgaria. Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Trade Union Committee and its secretary.
- September 26 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Trade Unions and the Mixed Trade Unions' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 14.
- 1907
- April 10 Georgi Dimitrov published the article 'May Day and the Workers' Trade Unions' in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 65
- April 17 Georgi Dimitrov published the article 'The Day of Labour' in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 67
- April Georgi Dimitrov set out on an agitation tour of South Bulgaria.
- June 23 -
July 4 Issues Nos 84, 85, 86 and 87 of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* published Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The Need of Trade Unions and Their Organization'.

- July 8-11 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 14th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) held in Pleven, as delegate of the Sofia Party Organization. He suggested that cadres from among the workers be promoted as agitators.
- July 12-14 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fourth Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union held in Pleven and made the report of the Trade Union Committee on the composition of the organization, its educational work, finances and on the organization of the strikes by the union and the Trade Union Committee.
- He spoke on 'The Ultimate Goal of the Trade Union Movement - the Emancipation of the Working Class from Capitalist Oppression'. G. Dimitrov was elected member of the Trade Union Committee and its secretary.
- July 27 Georgi Dimitrov was elected President of the Central Board of the Workers' Trade Union in Sofia by the annual meeting.
- December 19 Georgi Dimitrov led the strike declared by the Pernik miners. He was arrested there but was released thanks to the protests of the indignant workers.
- December 23 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Bloody Dispute in Pernik' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 39.
- 1908
- February 12 Georgi Dimitrov was elected by the strikers as member of the Pernik strike committee and leader of the strike.
- February 29 Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Party Committee of the Sofia Party Organization.
- May 22 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the strikers at the Izida factory in Novoseltsi on 'The Situation of the Workers in the Factory and the Need of a Trade Union.'
- June 20, 27 and July 2 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Trade Union Unity' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 88; 'The Trade Unions and Our Enemies' in No 90 and 'Two New Trade Unions' in No. 91
- July 20-23 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 15th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) held in Gabrovo, as representative of the Sofia and Doupnitsa Party Organizations.
- July 23-25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fifth Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in

Gabrovo, as delegate of the Doupnitsa Mixed Trade Union. He made the annual report on the composition, activities, struggles and financial situation of the General Workers' Trade Union. Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Trade Union Committee and its secretary.

- July 23-24 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the first annual meeting of the Printers' Union at which he was elected permanent secretary.
- December Georgi Dimitrov was elected editor of the trade union department of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* by a decision of the 15th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) held in Gabrovo from July 20 to 23.
- 1909
- March 19 Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the commission entrusted with the election of a workers' representative of the Sofia Labour Committee as representative of the socialist trade unions.
- March 29-30 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the First Miners' Congress in Sofia as delegate of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union.
- May 24 Georgi Dimitrov was attacked around noon by policemen in the Plakalnitza mine, but the attackers were repelled by ore-miners.
- June 18 Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the strike committee by the strikers at the Payakov and Vuzharov rope factory in Pavlovo, Sofia.
- July 19-22 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 16th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Varna and was elected member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists).
- July 22-24 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Sixth Trade Union Congress in Varna. He delivered the annual report of the Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria and was elected secretary and treasurer of the Trade Union Committee.
- July 31 Georgi Dimitrov was elected President of the Union of Factory and Other Workers in Bulgaria at the Union's Constituent Assembly.
- December 25 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Destiny' about the fate of workers who betrayed the workers' movement was published in *Tekstilen Rabotnik* newspaper No. 4.
- December 25-27 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the First

Balkan Social Democratic Conference in Belgrade as delegate of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists).

1910

- April 19-25* Georgi Dimitrov made a tour of Bulgaria with the Serbian trade union functionary Trisa Kaclerovic and Georgi Kirkov in connexion with the decision of the First Balkan Social Democratic Conference on Balkan Solidarity in Belgrade.
- June 6-7* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the rally of the District Workers' Social Democratic Party Organization (Left-wing Socialists) in Vratsa as representative of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists).
- July 11-14* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 17th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia. He was re-elected member of the CC of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists).
- July 14-16* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Seventh Trade Union Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Sofia, at which he read the report of the Trade Union Committee on the composition, organization and the educational and financial activities of the General Workers' Trade Union. He was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee.
- September 12* On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov delivered a message of greetings at the meeting in Samokov on the occasion of the establishment of the Samokov Commune, the first commune in the Balkan Peninsula.
- September 17* A warning of the Trade Union Committee signed by Georgi Dimitrov in his capacity of secretary-treasurer, to the glass workers not to go to Italy to replace the workers of the Glass Industry Trust in Italy who were victims of a lockout, was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 48.
- December* Georgi Dimitrov's pamphlet entitled *The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria* was published by the Party Socialist Bookshop and Printing House in Sofia.

1911

- April 10-11* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Eighth regular Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Sofia, where he read the report of the Trade Union

Committee on the composition, organization and educational activities of the General Workers' Trade Union in 1910. He was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee.

April 24

Georgi Dimitrov was nominated national representative to the Grand National Assembly by the Sofia Party Organization.

May 24

Georgi Dimitrov headed the demonstration of the Pernik miners, who set out on foot to Sofia to protest before the Ministry of Trade against the authorities' terrible attitude to their plight.

July 3-7

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 18th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Plovdiv where he read a report on 'The Amendments and Supplements to the Party Constitution and Regulations.' He was re-elected by the Congress member of the CC of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists).

July 27-29

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Seventh International Conference held in Budapest as delegate of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union where he appealed to admit the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria to membership of the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres.

October 3

The article 'The Budapest Resolution' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 60.

October 7,
10 and 12

The issues Nos. 62, 63 and 64 of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* published Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the International'.

December 21

Georgi Dimitrov article 'Female Labour in the Trade Network' was published in *Turgovski Slouzhasht* No. 7.

1912

January

Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Workers' Strength' was published in the *Red People's Calendar* for 1912.

February 28

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No 90 carried a subscription for contributions to help the one million miners on strike in England signed by Georgi Dimitrov in his capacity of secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union.

March 11

Georgi Dimitrov was the nominee of the Sofia Party Organization for workers' representative in the Labour Committees.

March 24

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fourth Regular Congress of the Printers' Trade Union in Bulgaria as President of the Central Board.

- March 25-26 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Ninth regular Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Sofia, at which he read the report of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union on the composition and growth of the trade union movement, the activities of the trade unions, trade union mutual assistance, trade union press, etc. for 1911. He was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union.
- March 27-28 On behalf of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fourth Congress of the Tailors' Trade Union.
- March 30 Georgi Dimitrov was elected President of the Central Board of the Printers' Trade Union in Bulgaria.
- April 7 *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, No. 123 carried G. Dimitrov's article 'May Day and the Trade Unions'
- April 20 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the meeting called to mark the Day of Labour and International Solidarity, May Day.
- May 25 Georgi Dimitrov wrote the preface to Adelaide Pope's book entitled *A Booklet for Young Women Workers*.
- June 25 Under the title 'A Balance Sheet' Georgi Dimitrov wrote a preface to the pamphlet entitled *Workers' Unity and Its Enemies* published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*.
- June 29 - On behalf of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and the General Workers' Trade Union Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Regular Congress of the Romanian Social Democratic Party in Bucharest and delivered an address of greetings.
- July 1
- July 2 On behalf of the organized Bulgarian Metal Workers Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Conference of Romanian Metal Workers in Bucharest and delivered a message of greetings.
- July 3 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Conference of Shoemakers and Tanners in Bucharest.
- July 4 Georgi Dimitrov was expelled from Bucharest by the Romanian police, in connection with which the Central Committee of the Romanian Social Democratic Party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) expressing its privilege of having had Georgi Dimitrov as delegate to its Congress.
- July 10 - Georgi Dimitrov served one month's imprisonment in August 10 the Black Mosque, Sofia, to which he was sentenced by

the First Penal Department of the Sofia District Court for having 'insulted' Moutafov (a Right-wing Socialist), in exposing him as a forger and police agent.

Protest meetings were held all over the country against his unjust sentence.

July 16 From the Black Mosque Prison Georgi Dimitrov wrote the preface to the pamphlet *Fight for Wages*.

August 13-17 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 19th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Roussé and was elected member of the commission on employment accidents.

August 17 He was re-elected member of the CC of the BWSDP. On behalf of the Central Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and the General Workers' Trade Union Georgi Dimitrov delivered a message of greetings in Roussé at the Constituent Conference of the Workers' Social Democratic Youth Union.

September 13 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the public meeting of printers on 'The International Congress and the Unification of Printing Workers in Bulgaria.'

1913

March 30, Georgi Dimitrov published an article on 'The Trade Union International' in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, No. 19, 20 and 23.

April 18 Georgi Dimitrov published the article 'The Balkan War and the Workers' Movement' in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 25.

June 27 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Exploitation of the Working Class' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 77.

September 23-27 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Seventh Congress of the Austrian Trade Unions in Vienna as delegate of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria.

September 27 Georgi Dimitrov, as delegate of the General Workers' Trade Union, took part in the Vienna Conference, called immediately after the Congress of Austrian Trade Unions under instructions from the International Trade Union Conference in Zurich, to discuss the situation of the Serbian and Bulgarian Trade Unions.

October 13, 16, 19 and 20 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Unity of the Trade Union Movement' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* Nos 134, 136, 139 and 140.

November 24 Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 16th National Assembly in Vratsa and Turnovo Districts.

December 19 Georgi Dimitrov was elected secretary of the Social Democratic Parliamentary Group.

December 20 Georgi Dimitrov attended the opening of the 16th Ordinary National Assembly. The whole Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) left the hall as a sign of protest at the entry of King Ferdinand.

end of December Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Where Is the Strength of the Working Class?' was published in the *Red People's Calendar* for 1914.

1914

January 8 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech in Byala Slatina at a public meeting on 'Why Was Parliament Dissolved.' Arrested in the evening by a police gang Georgi Dimitrov sent a protest telegram to Minister Radoslavov against his groundless arrest.

January 9-10 Georgi Dimitrov was sent under guard to Cherven Bryag because he refused to sign in Byala Slatina the act drawn by the police chief in which he was accused of 'inciting the population against the Government.' He was later sent to Vratsa and detained in prison by virtue of the indictment by the public prosecutor accusing him of 'organizing a rebellion against the war, against the king and the army', for which he was to be tried under Art. 111 paragraph 5 of the Penal Law and his death sentence was demanded.

February 2 Georgi Dimitrov was arrested in Berkovitsa, where he attended an election meeting organized by the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists). Owing to the energetic protest of the population the police had to release him. He made a speech before a workers' meeting after which he was again arrested and taken under guard to the town of Ferdinand, from there to Byala Slatina and then to Vratsa.

February 4-8 The CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists), workers' organizations and groups protested against the authorities' arbitrary actions against Georgi Dimitrov. A protest telegram was received from the workers of Portland, Oregon, USA, in defence of Georgi Dimitrov.

February 9 Georgi Dimitrov was freed from the arrest in Vratsa. At a meeting there he made an election speech. The police tried to arrest him again but the workers resolutely opposed the arrest.
In the afternoon Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Sofia un-

der guard welcomed at the Sofia Railway Station by numerous workers and comrades. In the evening he delivered a speech in the Workers' House condemning the police atrocities and terror.

- February 23 Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 17th Ordinary National Assembly from the Vratsa District.
- March 19 Georgi Dimitrov was elected secretary of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party's (Left-wing Socialists) Parliamentary group.
- May 23-25 Georgi Dimitrov was delegate to the Fifth regular Congress of the Printers' Trade Union in Bulgaria. He was re-elected member of the Central Board.
- May 25-27 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 10th Jubilee Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union and read a report on 'The Balkan Trade Conference in Vienna and Karl Legin's Mission as to the Unity of the Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria.' He was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee.
- May 29 Georgi Dimitrov took the floor in the National Assembly and spoke in favour of repealing the bill on emigration, because the workers wished to emigrate to America and elsewhere where they were subjected to most cruel exploitation.
- May 30 Georgi Dimitrov was elected municipal councillor in Sofia.
- June 29 -
July 1 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the 20th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and read the report of its Parliamentary group to the Congress. He was re-elected member of the CC of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists).
- July 1 An interpellation by Georgi Dimitrov to the Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 53 on the failure to apply the law on children's and women's labour and the law on rest on Sundays and holidays.
- October 24 A leaflet addressed to the workers in Bulgaria against war, for the preservation of peace, was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 154 signed by the Central Committee and the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists), of which G. Dimitrov was secretary.
- November 19 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in the National Assembly against the bill on additional credits to be granted by the state to the Ministry of War.

1914 saw the publication of the following pamphlets by Georgi Dimitrov: *Trade Union Movement Unity and the International*; *The Balkan Trade Union Conference in Vienna and Its Decision*; *What Has the Workers' Social Democratic Party Done in the 16th National Assembly*; *The Workers' Organization*; *Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria, 1904-1915*.

- 1915
- January 9 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Unemployment and the Government' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 216.
- February 22 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the General Balkan Workers' Meeting in Sofia called by the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) for 'peace, friendship between the Balkan states, socialism and fraternity between the peoples'.
- March 25 Georgi Dimitrov published the report on the work done by the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) at the ordinary and extraordinary session of the 17th National Assembly in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 277.
- June 7 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a printers' meeting about the failure to apply the law on rest on Sundays and holidays and the law on women's and children's labour.
- July 5-8 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Second Balkan Social Democratic Conference in Bucharest as delegate of the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union together with D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov and V. Kolarov. He was elected to the Presidium of the impressive meeting held in Bucharest where he delivered addresses of greetings.
- July 6 Georgi Dimitrov's report on the Second Balkan Social Democratic Conference in Bucharest, was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 74
- July 12 Georgi Dimitrov delivered an address of greetings to the jubilee congress of the Teachers' Social-Democratic Organization on behalf of the CC and the Parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) and the General Workers' Trade Union.
- August 10-12 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 21st Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) as delegate of the Party's Central Committee. He read a report of the activity of

- the Parliamentary group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists).
- August 12* Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected to the CC of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists). Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Trade Union Conference in Sofia and read a report on the state of the General Workers' Trade Union in 1914 and the first half of 1915.
- September 7* An appeal to the working class in Bulgaria was published urging it to rally against the Balkan War which was being prepared by the Balkan bourgeoisie. It was signed by the Parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists): D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov, V. Kolarov, H. Kabakchiev, G. Dimitrov, etc.
- September 11* A declaration opposing Bulgaria's involvement in the European War was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 128, on behalf of the Parliamentary group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists) signed by D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov, V. Kolarov, H. Kabakchiev, G. Dimitrov and others.
- September 20* Georgi Dimitrov was arrested in connection with the appeal of September 7, 1915 of the Parliamentary Group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists) to the Bulgarian working class urging it to fight against Bulgaria's being dragged into the war, which was signed by D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov, V. Kolarov, H. Kabakchiev, G. Dimitrov and others.
- December 27* Together with the other members of the Parliamentary group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov was brought to trial with an indictment No 5 of 1915 by virtue of articles 167, 172 and 173 of the Penal Code for incitement by the Second Sofia Military Investigating Judge in connection with the appeal of the Parliamentary group to the Bulgarian working class against mobilization and the war, issued on the eve of the mobilization, on September 7, 1915.
- 1916
- February 5* The Parliamentary group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists) submitted to the National Assembly a motion to discuss the statements of the group concerning the legal proceedings taken against the members of the Social Democratic Parliamentary Group by the Second Sofia Military Investigating Judge, in connection with the Group's appeal to the working class in Bulgaria

- against mobilization and war issued on September 7, 1915.
- May 1* Issue No 11 of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* published Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Workers' Trade Unions during the War'.
At a meeting of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech in connection with May Day.
- May 3* *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 13 carried Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Feeding the People'.
- May 10* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov addressed an interpellation about the measures taken to vacate the school buildings, used as military hospitals, in order to be used for the regular teaching of children.
- July 15* At the session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov criticized the criminal budgetary policy of the government in passing the military credits.
- August 7* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on the law of the extra credit granted to meet the expenses of the war and insisted on guaranteeing the sustenance of the soldiers' families.
- September 27* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on applying the law on compulsory elementary education and appointing free canteens for poor school children.
- October 2* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion to set up a municipal library.
- 1917
- February 14* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Draft Budget of the Different Funds for 1917, Pensioning Funds and Workers' Insurance'.
- February 24 and 28* *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* Nos 250 and 252 carried Georgi Dimitrov's article 'For Durable Peace'.
- March 14* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov protested during the discussion of 'The Bill of the Extra Credit to Meet the Needs of the War.'
- April 4* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on the 'Bill on Sanitation and Labour Safety'.
- April 9* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion to assist the families of poor soldiers and others.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a May Day workers' meeting on the subject 'Social Democracy and Peace'.

- August 18* Georgi Dimitrov travelled from Turnovo to Gorna Oryahovitsa and in the train defended a group of soldiers against the rude behaviour of a colonel, as a result of which proceedings were instituted against him by the Roussé military court for 'instigating-serVICemen to disobedience.'
- September 16-17* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the First Conference of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia, at which he gave an account of the work done by the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union.
- October 25* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'About the Small Nations' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 139.
- December 2* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech before the Sofia men and women workers in the People's House on the subject 'The Russian Revolution and Peace'.
- December 20* At the session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov made a motion to pass a resolution in support of the proposal of the Russian revolutionary government to put an end to military operations and conclude peace without indemnities and annexations based on the peoples' right of national self-determination.
- December 22* At the session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov insisted that the proposal of the Russian military government to conclude democratic peace without annexations and indemnities, be accepted.
- 1918
- January 30* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov supported Dimiter Blagoev's speech in connection with the negotiations for the conclusion of peace between Russia and the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk.
- March 20* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the subpoena served to him via the Tsaribrod Military Field Court in Turnovo as defendant accused of 'insulting a military'. He insisted, abiding by Art. 96 of the Constitution on the immunity of the deputies to the National Assembly, that the government take measures against the brutal violations of the Constitution perpetrated by the authorities.
- March 28* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov protested against the government ban to distribute *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* at the front.
- April 8* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Commoncausers' Socialism' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 254.
- July 4* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi

Dimitrov read the declaration of the Social Democratic group in the council on the immediate conclusion of peace as proposed by the Russian revolutionary government.

- August 8* Georgi Dimitrov was sentenced by the Roussé Military Court to three years of imprisonment for 'inciting servicemen to disobedience to their superiors.' (The sentence was approved by the Minister of War.)
- August 29 –
December 16* In the Sofia prison Georgi Dimitrov served the sentence of the Sofia Extraordinary Military Court on the trial of the Roussé Military Court, by which he was sentenced to three years of imprisonment for 'inciting servicemen to disobedience to their superiors.'
- September 27* Georgi Dimitrov addressed an appeal No. 1578 of September 29, 1918, to the Chairman of the National Assembly by which he desired, by virtue of Article 96 of the Constitution on the immunity of the deputies, to be released from prison to take part in the session of the National Assembly, since he had not been stripped of his civil and political rights.
- December 16* Under the pressure of the energetic protest of the revolutionary masses against this unjust sentence and the protest meetings organized in different towns of Bulgaria and the protest telegrams addressed to the Prime Minister and to the Chairman of the National Assembly, Georgi Dimitrov was released from prison.
- December 22* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech before the Pernik miners on the subject 'The International Situation and the Situation in the Pernik Mines', in which he described the future of the working class after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
- After the speech Georgi Dimitrov was arrested and escorted to Sofia. The workers travelled with him. At the Sofia station they were met by a large group of workers. Under the pressure of the impressive workers' demonstration, the authorities were forced to release Georgi Dimitrov at once.

1919

- January 12* Georgi Dimitrov was summoned and questioned by the examining magistrate at the Sofia Military Court in connection with the new penal proceedings which were instituted against him by the Public Prosecutor of the Sofia Military Court for his speech 'The International Situation and the Situation in the Pernik Mines', made before the Pernik miners on December 22, 1918.

- February 18* Georgi Dimitrov together with his wife and five comrades was arrested in Pernik and brought to Sofia. Thanks to the energetic protest of the Sofia workers and the Party, Georgi Dimitrov was promptly set free.
- March 7* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov spoke against the 'Bill on the Extra Credit to the Tune of 1,084,000,000 leva to Meet the Needs of the War which Started on October 1, 1915'.
- May 25-27* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 22nd Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia, named First Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists).
At the Congress Georgi Dimitrov read a report on the activities of the Parliamentary Group of the BWSDP (Left-wing Socialists).
Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists.)
- May 28* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 11th Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Sofia. At the Congress session he read a report on 'Forthcoming Tasks of the Trade Union Movement'.
Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Committee of the GWTT.
- July 19* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov spoke in support of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
- August 17* Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 18th National Assembly for Vratsa district.
- September 5* Georgi Dimitrov was elected district councillor in the Sofia District Council together with D. Blagoev, B. Hadjisotirov, Temelko Nenkov and others.
- September 15* At the sessions of the Party Council of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov read a report on 'The Programme of the Communist Party on Municipal and District Councillors'.
- October 12* Georgi Dimitrov was elected secretary of the bureau of the Communist Parliamentary group.
- December 15* A leaflet was published addressed to the Bulgarian working class to organize protest campaigns against the support given to the counter-revolutionary forces of the White Guards by the Bulgarian government, signed by the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists): D. Blagoev, V. Kolarov, H. Kabakchiev, G. Dimitrov, T. Loukanov and N. Penev.
- December 24* Georgi Dimitrov was at the head of the mass people's

demonstration organized by the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia on the occasion of the opening of Parliament with demands for 'Bread, coal, dwellings and clothing for the masses, for the restoration of repressed political liberties and putting an end to the supply of foodstuffs to the Russian counter-revolutionaries'.

December 27 *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 143 carried a decree of the Council of Ministers on the arrest of G. Dimitrov and V. Kolarov because of their leadership of the political demonstration of the Sofia workers. Georgi Dimitrov led the general strike declared by railwaymen, post office workers, telegraph workers and miners.

December 30 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a preface to Lenin's pamphlet 'To the Workers of Europe and America' (two open letters to the European and American workers). *Towards Unification and Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria*, report of the General Workers' Trade Union for the 1915-1918 period and the first quarter of 1919, were published in separate pamphlets by Georgi Dimitrov.

1920

January 16 Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected municipal councillor for Sofia.

January 25 Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected district councillor for Sofia.

February 18 Georgi Dimitrov was elected president of the bureau of the municipal group of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists).

February 29 After the end of the strike of the transport workers and miners Georgi Dimitrov was subjected to reprisals and terror together with all members of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and the communist deputies to the National Assembly.

End of February Georgi Dimitrov finished the Pamphlet 'From Defeat towards Victory' devoted to the general strike of transport workers, railwaymen and the Pernik miners.

March 2 The Police made an attempt to arrest Georgi Dimitrov in Pirov street.

March 9 *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 195 published the information that penal proceedings had been instituted against Georgi Dimitrov and the remaining members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) by the Prosecutor of the Sofia Military Court who wanted them to be sentenced for

- instigation under Articles 113, 114, 144 and 172 of the Penal Law and to pay bail of 50,000 leva each for the 'appeal to the Bulgarian working class issued by them to organize protest campaigns against the support given to the counter-revolutionary White Guard forces by the Bulgarian government of December 15, 1919'
- March 28* Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 19th National Assembly for the districts of Sofia and Vratsa.
- April 21* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov refused to take the official oath.
- April 29* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion to celebrate May Day by the municipality.
- May 20* At the session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion to grant voting rights to women.
- May 31 - June 2* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia. He was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- June 27* Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov left for Varna on their way to Moscow to take part in the session of the Second Congress of the Third Communist International opening in Moscow on July 19, 1920.
- June 29, 2 a.m.* Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov left by boat from Varna to Odessa.
- July 3 in the night* Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov were arrested by a Romanian man-of-war patrolling near the estuary of the River Danube.
- July 4* Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov were brought to Constanta and then to the military prison in Bucharest and a penal court investigation was instituted against them for 'espionage' in favour of the Soviet Russia.
- July 17* *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 6 published the ultimatum of the Soviet commissar for foreign affairs Chicherin to the Romanian government to release from prison Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov.
- July 22* Thanks to the intervention of the Soviet Government and the energetic protests of the working people in Romania and Bulgaria, Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov were released by the Romanian authorities after a 20-day stay in different Romanian prisons.
- July 29* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the grand meeting, organized in the Central House of Workers on the occasion of his and Vassil Kolarov's release from the Romanian prisons on 'The Importance of the Se-

- September 26-38 cond Congress of the Third Communist International. Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the 12th Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria, read the report of the Trade Union Committee on the state, composition, organization, educational activities, strikes, the trade union press and the tasks of the trade union movement in Bulgaria and delivered the concluding speech.
- October 27 Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected secretary of the GWTU. The instructions of the Trade Union Committee to the local workers' councils on celebrating November 7, the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, signed by Georgi Dimitrov, were published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 94.
- November 3 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Third Anniversary of the Russian Revolution' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 100.
- November 3-4 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the First Balkan Danubian Trade Union Conference and was elected Chairman of the Conference.
- November 6 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Congress of the Tobacco Workers' Union in Bulgaria and read a report on the 'Organization and Struggles of Tobacco Workers'.
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a workers' meeting on the subject 'In Honour and Defence of Fraternal Russia'.
- November 12 Penal proceedings were instituted against Georgi Dimitrov under Art. 138, 154, 173 and 248 of the Penal Law providing a punishment of life imprisonment and an order was issued for his arrest in connection with his speech 'In Honour and Defence of Fraternal Russia' delivered on November 7, 1920.
- December 20 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Trade Union Organizations and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat' was published in *Transport* newspaper, No. 1. Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria' was published in *Kommunisticheski International* review No. 15.
- December 29 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'One Year Ago' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 146.

The following pamphlets by Georgi Dimitrov were published in 1920: *The Tasks of the Workers' Trade Unions, From Defeat to Victory, The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria. Report of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union for the period of 1919 and the first half of 1920.*

1921

- January 17-26 Georgi Dimitrov was in Italy in connection with the 13th Congress of the Italian Socialist Party.
- January 21 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Constituent Congress of the Italian Communist Party in Livorno as member of the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists).
- January 27 Georgi Dimitrov left illegally from Italy for the Soviet Union to take part, as delegate of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), in the Third Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow. (This was Georgi Dimitrov's first visit to the Soviet Union).
- January 30 The great leader of the world proletariat and of the Soviet Peoples Lenin received Georgi Dimitrov in his study in the Kremlin. At this meeting Lenin gave Georgi Dimitrov proofs of his pamphlet 'On the New Economic Policy' and asked him to give his opinion on the booklet.
- End of April Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria' was published in *Mezhdunarodnoe Rabocheye Dvizhenie* review No 4.
- May 8-10 Georgi Dimitrov was elected honorary Chairman of the Third Congress of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- May 17-25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow as representative of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions, on whose behalf he delivered an address of greetings.
- May-June Georgi Dimitrov's two articles 'What the Red Trade Unions International Should Be' and 'Trade Union Movement in the Balkans' were published in Nos 5 and 6 of *Mezhdunarodnoe Rabocheye Dvizhenie*.
- June 16 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Trade Union Movement in the Balkans' was published in *Pravda* No. 130.
- June 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Green International' was published in *Pravda* No 133.
- June 22 - July 12 The Third Congress of the Third Communist International was held in Moscow. Georgi Dimitrov was delegate to the Congress together with V. Kolarov, H. Kabakchiev and others.
- July 3-20 Georgi Dimitrov was delegate of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) to the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Production Unions in Moscow. He tabled a motion to start regular publication of a review serving the Balkan states and delivered

- a speech in the discussions of the problem 'Tactics of the Trade Union'. He was elected member of the financial commission of the Balkan states.
- August 9* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Trade Union Movement in the Balkans' was published in No 32 of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*.
- September 14, 28;* Georgi Dimitrov's dispatches 'New Developments in Germany', 'The Political Party in Germany', 'Trade Union Movement in Germany' were published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* Nos 32, 74 and 98.
- October 27*
- October 9-11* The 13th Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria was held in Sofia. Georgi Dimitrov was elected honorary Chairman of the Congress. He was also re-elected secretary of the Trade Union Committee.
- November 25* Georgi Dimitrov returned to Bulgaria from abroad.
- November 26* Georgi Dimitrov was arrested early in the morning by the police. He was taken under guard to the afternoon session of the National Assembly.
- November 27* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a meeting of many thousands of the Sofia proletariat on the occasion of the opening of the International Red Trade Union Week.
- December 8* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the role of the Red Army in Soviet Russia in safeguarding the gains of the Russian people from the invaders.
- December 30* An appeal of the General Workers' Trade Union to the members of the trade unions and all workers to join in the relief campaign to help the starving population of Soviet Russia, signed for the Trade Union Committee by its secretary Georgi Dimitrov was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 152.
- 1922
- January 1* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Along a New Road' was published in *Graficheski Rabotnik* newspaper No 2.
- January 21* At a session of the Sofia Municipal Council Georgi Dimitrov spoke in favour of buying out entirely the concession of the Belgian electrical company on tramways and lighting.
- March 1* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Women Workers and the Trade Union Movement' was published in *Ravenstvo* newspaper No. 21.
- March 14* Georgi Dimitrov published an article on the 8-hour working day in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 211.
- March 24* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Action

against the Russian Counter-revolutionaries' at a workers' meeting in Vratsa.

March 31

Georgi Dimitrov made a speech before railwaymen. Afterwards all went to attend the meeting called by the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) on Svety Kral Square where Georgi Dimitrov made a speech 'In Defence of Soviet Russia, against the Protection of Wrangel's Forces in Bulgaria'.

April 2

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a mass meeting in Doupnitsa 'Against the Military Campaign against Soviet Russia, Organized on Bulgarian Territory'.

April 5

An appeal of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) to the working people in Bulgaria against the counter-revolutionary troops, signed also by Georgi Dimitrov was published in *Selski Vestnik* newspaper No 4.

April 28

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a protest meeting in Varna on a subject 'Against the Treason of the Bourgeoisie and Wrangel's Troops, for A Fraternal Alliance with Soviet Russia'.

May 1

Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Capitalist Offensive' was published in the May Day issue of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*.

May 7

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov was elected school trustee.

June 1

A letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was published addressed to all proletarian organizations affiliated to the Comintern and wishing to join it, signed: for Russia by Lenin, for Bulgaria by Georgi Dimitrov.

June 4-7

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Fourth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) in Sofia and read a report on 'The Tasks of the Trade Union Movement'. Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).

June 7

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at an international meeting in Sofia on the subject 'For Peace and Fraternity with Soviet Russia, for A Balkan Federation and for A United Front of the Workers Throughout the World'.

June 21

Georgi Dimitrov read a report to the Trade Union Conference on the subject 'The Forthcoming Practical Tasks of the Trade Unions'.

July 30

Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Trade Unionists and Communists' was published in the pamphlet 'The Red Trade Union International'.

September 18

On behalf of the Party Council of the Bulgarian Com-

- munist Party (Left-wing Socialists), Georgi Dimitrov greeted the delegates to the Conference of the Communist Rally in Vratsa district.
- October 3-5 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Party Council of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), at which the Party's draft programme was discussed.
- October 22 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a workers' meeting in Sofia on the subject 'For An Alliance with the Soviet Republic and the Disarmament of Fascist Organizations and Wrangel's Forces in Bulgaria, against Imperialism and War.'
- October 23 Georgi Dimitrov had a talk with trade union functionaries and spoke to them on History of the Factory and Plant Committees in Russia and the Need to Set up Such Committees in Bulgaria'.
- November 19 - Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Congress of the Profintern (Trade Union International) in Moscow at the head of the Balkan delegation. He was elected to the Presidium of the Congress. Georgi Dimitrov made a statement on organizational problems and a speech 'On the Success and the Tasks of the Profintern'. Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern.
- December 2 Georgi Dimitrov published a preface to a *Manual of the Activists of the Workers' Trade Union Movement*.
- End of December

Georgi Dimitrov's following books were published in 1922: *Tasks of the Trade Union Movement*, *The Immediate Tasks of the Trade Unions*, *Constituent Congress of the Red Trade Union International*, *The Red Trade Union International* (Amsterdam or Moscow), *The Lump-sum Aid to State Employees and his translation from German of the pamphlet The Fight for Wages*.

- 1923
- January 15 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Balkans' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 180.
- February 5 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria' was published in *Impecor* magazine No 24.
- February 11 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a report on 'The Decisions of the Second Congress of the Red Trade Union International' before a workers' meeting.
- February 22 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in Plovdiv at a big public meeting on the occasion of the dastardly murder of the Mayor of the Doupnitsa Commune, Kosta Petrov.

- End of February Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Revolutionaries and Reformists in the Bulgarian Trade Union Movement' was published in *Krasniy International Profsoyuzov* magazine No 2.
- March 3 Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the Central Council of the Sixth Regional Mayoralty (Sofia).
- March 4-5 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the enlarged Party Conference of Party groups and youth societies of Sofia district.
- March 14 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle against the Onset of Capital' was published in *Rabotnisheski Vestnik* No 220.
- March 16 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Sofia Proletariat and the 8-hour workday' before the working people.
- April 11 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a meeting of Varna workers on the subject: 'The Workers on the Eight-Hour Workday'.
- April 22 Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 20th National Assembly from the First Electoral College in Sofia.
- April 25-26 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Party Council of the BCP, which discussed the results of the elections for the 20th National Assembly and the country's internal situation.
- April 27 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a big public meeting on 'The May Day and the Forthcoming Elections for School Trustees'.
- May 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The United Workers' Front' was published in *Rabotnisheski Vestnik* No 259.
- May 27 Georgi Dimitrov delivered an address of greetings on behalf of the General Workers' Trade Union to the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Osvobozhdenie Cooperative.
- Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the solemn inauguration of the People's House on behalf of the General Workers' Trade Union.
- May 31 Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Budget Commission at the National Assembly.
- June 3 Georgi Dimitrov delivered an address of greetings to the Fourth Congress of the Union of Bank and Trade Employees.
- June 4 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Along Which Road' was published in *Artist* magazine No 2.
- Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Trade Union Congresses' was published in *Rabotnisheski Vestnik* No 285.
- June 22 Georgi Dimitrov chaired the General Conference of the

- Central Boards and Auditing Committees of Trade Unions and the Trade Union Committee and the Auditing Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union, at which he made a report on the subject: 'Today's Political Situation and the Tasks of the Trade Unions'.
- June 25 An information and instructions of the Trade Union Committee of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria on the situation created after the June 9, 1923, coup d'état were published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 18, signed by Georgi Dimitrov as secretary.
- July 1-6 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) together with representatives of the Party districts in connection with the developments of June 9 and the tasks of the Communist Party.
- July 6-9 Georgi Dimitrov chaired the General Conference of Central Boards and Auditing Committees of Trade Unions at which important decisions in connection with the country's internal situation were taken.
- July 24 Georgi Dimitrov went to Varna to organize the release of V. Kolarov who had been arrested there on his arrival from Moscow. (On his way back from Varna to Sofia, Georgi Dimitrov was arrested at Gorna Oryahovitsa station together with his wife Lyuba Dimitrova and taken under guard to the District Headquarters).
- July 25 Georgi Dimitrov and his wife Lyuba Dimitrova were released from the District Headquarters in Gorna Oryahovitsa.
- August 2 Georgi Dimitrov was taken to court and his old charge of an 'incitement to riot' was renewed as a result of his speech 'In Honour and Defence of Fraternal Russia' delivered on November 7, 1920 in connection with the celebration of the Third Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
- August 5-7 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) at which a decision was taken for a policy of resolute struggle against the government installed by the coup d'état and for preparing the Party for an armed uprising.
- August 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The United Front and the Onslaught of Capital' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 67.
- August 23 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The United Front

- and Bourgeois Reaction' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 68.
- August 24 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The United Front and the Political Crisis' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 69.
- August 27 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Fear of the United Labour Front' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 71.
- August 29 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'A United Front or Class Collaboration' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No. 72.
- August 30 Georgi Dimitrov's Article 'A United Front or Political Speculation' was published in *Rabotnischecki Vestnik* No 73.
- August 31 A message of greetings of the General Workers' Trade Union to the general congress of the workers' trade unions in Romania was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 74, signed by Dimitrov as secretary.
- September 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Their Front' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 75.
- September 4 The greeting of the General Workers' Trade Union to the proletariat in Greece, heroically defending their independence, their freedom against the attacks of the Greek bourgeoisie, was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 77, signed by Georgi Dimitrov as secretary.
- September 5 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'What Is Better' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 78.
- September 6 Georgi Dimitrov's leader 'Our Programme' was published in *Troud* newspaper No 1.
- September 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Red Reaction' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 80.
- September 10 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Now or Never' was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 82.
- September 12 Georgi Dimitrov together with the other members of the Central Committee of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) went completely underground.
- September 16 Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov met at an underground address and after a thorough discussion of the situation in the country came to the conclusion that the uprising was unavoidable and decided to submit to the Party's Central Committee the question of an armed uprising.
- September 17 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Central Committee of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) at which a decision was taken to start general armed uprising on September 22.
- September 20 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-

wing Socialists) at which on Georgi Dimitrov's and Vassil Kolarov's proposal the decision to start the general armed uprising on September 22 was approved. The same session approved also the elaborated plan for the armed uprising, and a General Military Revolutionary Committee, was appointed consisting of: Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Kolarov, Gavril Genov. The temporary residence of the Committee, according to the plan, was to be Vratsa district.

September 21 According to the plan for the uprising, Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Kolarov and Gavril Genov left clandestinely early in the morning for Vratsa district as members of the General Military Revolutionary Committee to lead the uprising.

September 22 Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov left for Ferdinand where the district leadership of the uprising had its headquarters.

September 23 The insurgents took Ferdinand. The General Military Revolutionary Committee assumed the leadership of military operations in the whole of Vratsa revolutionary district. The General Military Revolutionary Committee issued a proclamation to the working people of Vratsa district for their participation in the anti-fascist popular uprising against the rapacious and bloodthirsty bourgeoisie. The District Revolutionary Committee issued an Appeal to the Soldiers in the different units in Vratsa district urging them to embrace the unfurled banner of the labour republic and turn their arms against the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

The Military Operations Committee of the General Revolutionary Committee consisting of Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Kolarov, Gavril Genov, Hristo Mihailov and Assen Grekov took a decision to direct the forces of the insurgents to the capture of Berkovitsa, Vratsa, Boichinovtsi station, etc.

September 24 Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov delivered speeches at a meeting of many thousands of people in Ferdinand, attended by soldiers and civilians.

September 25 The insurgents captured Government army troops at Boichinovtsi station.

The District Revolutionary Committee took the important decision to requisition all the available wheat in the storehouses and to distribute it, through the respective revolutionary committees, to the poor population; all state and private financial establishments to be placed under the control and administration of the

- Revolutionary Committee. Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov visited Berkovitsa.
- September 26* The General Military Revolutionary Committee received information about the insurgents' operations and the major pressure of government troops.
- September 27* The General Military Revolutionary Committee received disturbing news about hard battles of the insurgent forces with government troops at Petrohan, Krivodol and Vratsa.
- September 28* After the suppression of the uprising in the other districts and the concentration of major military forces against the insurgents in Vratsa district, the General Military Revolutionary Committee decided together with the district revolutionary committee to organize the withdrawal of the insurgent detachments to the Yugoslav border.
- September end* The General Military Revolutionary Committee together with the main insurgent forces crossed the boundary and entered Yugoslavia.
- Early October* At the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov, an Organization of Bulgarian Political Emigrants was set up in Yugoslavia.
- October 5* A telegram of Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov to the communist and agrarian parties of Greece, Romania and Turkey containing an appeal to offer relief and fight to ensure the unobstructed stay of insurgents who had emigrated from Bulgaria, was published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 1, an underground Vienna publication.
- October 8* An appeal of Vassil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov to the working people throughout the world, to the workers and peasants from the Balkan states to assist the revolutionaries who had fled from their country, was published in the Vienna underground *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 3.
- October 10* Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov left for Vienna where they formed a provisional representation in exile of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) approved by the EC of the Communist International and started publication of the Party organ *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* of which 12 issues came out under the editorship of Georgi Dimitrov.
- October 13* An Appeal 'To the Balkan Proletariat' by Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov was published in *Pravda* No 232.
- October 25* An appeal by Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov to the Bulgarian people in connection with the

- September developments was published in *Pravda* No 234.
- October 27 The historic 'Open Letter to the Workers and Peasants in Bulgaria' by Vassil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov urging the people to be brave and believe in the ultimate victory was published in the first issue of the underground Vienna edition of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*.
- October 30 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the International Printers' Conference in Moscow and was elected to the presidium of the Conference.
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'In the Wake of the Uprising' was published in the second issue of the underground edition of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* in Vienna.
- November 11 Georgi Dimitrov's articles 'Who Is Ruling Bulgaria' and 'The Workers' Trade Unions' were published in the third issue of the underground publication of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* in Vienna.
- November 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'What Is Forthcoming' was published in the fourth issue of the underground publication of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* in Vienna.
- December 12 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The United Front' was published in the Vienna underground *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 7.
- December 19 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The People's Blood that Was Shed Calls for Retribution' was published in the Vienna underground *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* No 8.

In 1923 the following pamphlets by Georgi Dimitrov came out as separate publications: *The Factory Councils*, *The Blood - stained Crimes Perpetrated by the Bourgeois Fascist Government in Bulgaria during and After the September People's Uprising*.

- 1924
- January 21 Georgi Dimitrov attended the funeral of Lenin the leader of the Soviet peoples and of the proletariat of the whole world.
- End of January Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist International' was published in *Komunisticheski International* review No 1.
- February Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Lenin and the Revolutionary Workers' Movement in the Balkans' was published in *Krasniy International Profsoyuzov* Nos 2, 3.
- February - March Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Basic Elements in the Trade Union Movement in the Balkans' was published in *Krasniy International Profsoyuzov* review 2, 3.
- From the spring of 1924 to the end of 1926 Georgi Dimitrov lived in Moscow as political emigrant and political writer.

- April 8 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'A Socialist Balkan Conference' was published in *Imprekor* review No. 43.
- April 11 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Situation in Bulgaria' was published in *Imprekor* Nos 44, 57.
- June 17 - Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Fifth World Congress of the Third Communist International as delegate of the Bureau in Exile of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Moscow
- July 8 At the session of the Fifth World Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow Georgi Dimitrov was elected in the political, organizational, colonial, Polish, British and Austrian commissions of the Third Communist International as representative of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Georgi Dimitrov took the banner presented by the representative of the Sokolniki city district, greeting the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in response to the greeting conveyed on behalf of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and the Bulgarian workers. Georgi Dimitrov was elected candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International.
- July 8-22 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Third Congress of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow elected by the EC of the Communist International; Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the Presidium as representative of the Balkan states. He was elected member of the Executive Bureau as a representative of the Balkan states.
- July 9 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Bulgaria under the Regime of the Fascist Reaction' was published in *Pravda* No 153.
- July 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'On the Situation in Bulgaria' was published in *Imprekor* No 92.
- July 26 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Exacerbation of the Class Struggle in Bulgaria' was published in *Pravda* No 168.
- July 29 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Tenth Anniversary of the Imperialist War and the Balkans' was published in *Pravda* No 170.
- July - August Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The European War and the Workers' Movement in the Balkans' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* Nos 5, 6.
- August 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Workers' Movement under the Oppression of the Fascist Reaction' was published in *Krasniy International Profsoyuzov* review.
- September 11 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Seventh Communist Balkan Conference' was published in *Imprekor*.
- September 11 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Sofia Assassins in Action' was published in *Pravda* No 206.

- September 30 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Bulgarian Question and the Comintern' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 7.
- October 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Balance Sheet of the Fascist Regime in Bulgaria' was published in *Imprekor* No 130.
- October 21 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Balance Sheet of the Fascist Regime in Bulgaria' was published in *Izvestia* newspaper No 241.
- October 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Fifteen Months of Fascism in Bulgaria' was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* No 72.
- 1925
- January 9 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Anti-Bolshevik United Front in the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* Nos 8 and 9.
- Early March Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Moscow to take part in the work of the Fifth Extended Plenum of the EC of the Communist International. After the Plenum he continued to work in the EC of the Comintern as a representative of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- March 14 Georgi Dimitrov was sentenced in absentia to 15 years of solitary confinement by verdict No 982 of the Vratsa District Court, criminal section, according to Art. 19 para. 2 of the Penal Code, for being member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and organizer of the uprising in September 1923.
- March 30 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Yugoslav Commission at the enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
- March Georgi Dimitrov took part in session of the exiles' committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) which assessed Bulgaria's and international situation and made a proposal to abandon the policy of armed uprising and proceed to building up mass organizations and develop mass struggle of workers and peasants in Bulgaria.
- April 6 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at which he and Stanké Dimitrov-Marek made a proposal to abandon the policy of armed uprising in Bulgaria which was approved by the Executive Committee of the Comintern.
- April 22-23 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the enlarged plenum of the Balkan Communist Federation. He spoke about the Situation in the Balkans and discussed the Bolshevization of the communist parties.

- May 5 Georgi Dimitrov drafted a memorandum on behalf of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions to the trade unions of all countries in which he informed the proletariat of the unparalleled fascist terror unleashed in Bulgaria after the assault in the Sofia cathedral on April 16, 1925 and called upon them to support the struggle against Tsankov's government.
- July 25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Provisional Central Committee of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which defined the agenda and the composition of the forthcoming conference. He was entrusted to read a report to the conference on the organizational tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and on the trade union movement. He was elected member of the bureau of the conference.
- July 29 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Provisional CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which discussed certain problems of the work of the Party conference and the current tasks – rendering aid to individual emigrants, to their families, etc.
- July 30 – early September Georgi Dimitrov took an active part in the work of the Moscow Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), part of whose sessions he chaired. This conference abandoned officially the policy of armed uprising.
- August 12 Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the activities of the Balkan Communist Federation at the Moscow Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 9 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the provisional CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions to edit and publish the resolutions of the Moscow Conference of the BCP, decided the composition of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in exile and the editorial board at the CC. Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 21 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Provisional CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which discussed problems of the seat of the Central Committee, of the Party's relationships with the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, of the forthcoming meeting with activists of the representation in exile of the Agrarian Union, etc.
- October 18 Georgi Dimitrov read a report on the work of the Moscow Conference of the BCP to a Party meeting of Bulgarian emigrants in Moscow.
- November 3 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Crisis in the Bulgarian Social Democracy' was published in *Imprekor* No 150.

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November 18 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International, which discussed the application of members of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) to release V. Kolarov and G. Dimitrov from work with the International and to sent them to Vienna, the seat of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Georgi Dimitrov adduced arguments in support of this application.
- December 24 In a letter to Dr. N. Isaakov, Georgi Dimitrov expressed his admiration for the activity of A. Barbusse in deploying a campaign against white terror in Bulgaria.

Georgi Dimitrov's pamphlet 'The Bulgarian Lesson' was published in 1925.

1926

- January 12-14 Georgi Dimitrov took part in Moscow in the work of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern and read a report on 'The Situation of the Workers in Bulgaria and the Campaign for Unity by the Independent Trade Unions'.
- February 15 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to V. Kolarov informing him of the readiness of the Bulgarian communists in the USA to publish Marxist literature jointly with the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- February 17 Georgi Dimitrov informed in written form the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International about the opinion of the Bulgarian section to include individual delegates of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in the commissions of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Comintern. G. Dimitrov was to take part in the political commission of the Plenum.
- February 17 -
March 15 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International in Moscow where he delivered a speech on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation on the German question, denouncing the Trotskyite-Zinoviev traitors.
- March 7 Georgi Dimitrov and others were sentenced to death by hanging *in absentia* by virtue of sentence No 56-a of the Sofia District Court, Second Penal Department, penal trial No 1011 - 1925, for having, at the beginning of 1924, formed a revolutionary committee abroad, seated in Yugoslavia. In virtue of a third trial No 604- of 1924 of the Lom District Court, Georgi Dimitrov was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment for participation in the September 1923 Uprising.

- March 29* Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov about the formation of regional secretariats at the EC of the Communist International and that he (Georgi Dimitrov) was chosen to be member of the Balkan Secretariat and responsible secretary for Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.
- June 23* In a letter to Stanké Dimitrov Georgi Dimitrov expressed the opinion that a meeting of the representatives of the Executive Bureau of the Party and the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) should be held in Moscow with the participation of the EC of the Communist International.
- July 20* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a report before the Bulgarian emigrants in Odessa, in which he made a critical analysis of 1923–1925 developments discussing the activity of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in the conditions of fascist terror after the April developments and the tasks of the Bulgarian revolutionary emigration.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov informed by letter the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the decisions of the EC of the Communist International and of the International Red Relief on the Bulgarian questions.
- August 12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Vienna enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) at which the question about the ideological rallying of the Party masses around the banner of the Party and the Communist International on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was discussed.
- September* Georgi Dimitrov stayed in Germany where he got acquainted with the situation of the German workers and the German workers' movement. From Berlin he wrote a letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in which he described the factional struggle of the Ruth-Fischer clique and insisted on doing away with the counter-revolutionary opposition in Russia, under whose influence was also the opposition in the West.
- September 21 – October 1* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Vienna enlarged plenum of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 22* Georgi Dimitrov spoke on the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). He pointed out the successes scored in the restoration of the Party and of the trade union movement.
He criticized some weaknesses in the work of the BCP

- (Left-wing Socialists) underlining that the key to the solution of the Party problems was the establishment of a unified leadership.
- September 24* At the Vienna plenum G. Dimitrov delivered a report on the activity of the EC of the Communist International and the situation within the All-Russian CP (Bolsheviks). He was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 24* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 2.
- September 25* In a letter to the Small Commission of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov suggested, on behalf of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), to take prompt measures and organize a campaign against the new wave of terror in Bulgaria, by involving in the campaign the most important sections of the Comintern, the International Red Relief and the Profintern.
- October* Georgi Dimitrov was delegate to the 15th All-Union conference of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with the right of deliberative vote.
- November 22* – Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International. He was elected to the Secretariat of the Plenum, to the trade union and agrarian commissions.
- December 16*
- December 1* At a session of the trade union commission of the Plenum of the EC of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the popular workers' trade unions.
- Second half of December* After the Seventh Plenum of the EC of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov took part in a conference of the delegations of the Balkan communist parties and youth unions, which discussed problems of using the legal opportunities and strengthening the leadership and activity of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- 1927*
- January 4* Georgi Dimitrov informed the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with a letter that the Seventh Congress of the Trade Unions in the USSR had voted a resolution against the white terror in Bulgaria and the persecution to which the Independent Workers' Trade Unions had been subjected. He also informed about the plan of the reorganization of the EC of the Communist International, which had been approved and the discussions of the Balkan Conference, held after the

Seventh enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International.

- January 11* In a detailed letter to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov gave information about two Party meetings in Moscow, which discussed the situation of the emigrants in Yugoslavia. The letter contained also information about the decisions of the International Red Relief to organize a campaign against terror in Bulgaria.
- January 28* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Peasant International.
- January 28 in the evening* Georgi Dimitrov left for Vienna, to work in the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), accompanied by his wife Lyuba Dimitrova.
- February 8* At a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov substantiated the necessity to involve in direct Party work the main BCP forces outside Bulgaria.
- February 11-12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which decided to set up a Secretariat of the CC including: G. Dimitrov, A. Ivanov, M. Stoyanov. He was elected to chair the sessions of the CC. He was also entrusted with the responsibility for the work of the Secretariat, for the activity of the Balkan Communist Federation, and to render assistance to the editorial board of *Komunisticheskoto Zname* magazine.
- February 13* Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov in a letter about the organization of the work of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), about the composition of the collective representation of the BCP (left-wing Socialists) to the EC of the CI, about the foundation of the Workers' Party and the Bloc of Labour.
- February 25* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which discussed the question of resuming the links of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.
- Early March* Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin for several days on a Party mission.
- March 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions of the Secretariat of the CC and other problems were discussed.
- March 26* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists.) The problem of founding of the Workers' Party was discussed.
- April 1* In a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists)

- Georgi Dimitrov put forward a draft directives of the Central Committee to the Party's Executive Bureau.
- April 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP which adopted the directives, drafted by the Secretariat of the CC to the Executive Bureau on the celebration of May Day. Problems of the *international campaign against white terror in Bulgaria*, of subsidizing the election campaign, etc. were discussed.
- April 21* Georgi Dimitrov reported to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the political situation in the country, about the Party's tasks in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections and about the revolutionary movement in the Dobroudja.
- April 26* In a letter to the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, Georgi Dimitrov suggested that connections via correspondence be established or a meeting with one of the two members of this Representation be organized in Berlin, Prague or Vienna in the first half of May, to exchange views about the situation in the country, about the joint struggle of workers and peasants and to coordinate the campaign abroad against terror in Bulgaria.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), whose agenda included questions about the progress of the pre-election campaign, the preparation of the Party conference, the founding of a legal youth union, etc.
- Late June or early July* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions were taken on the tasks of the Party groups for cooperation, on the way of editing *Novini* newspaper. The preparation of the Party conference, the letter of the left wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and the contents of the latest issue of *Komunistichesko Zname* magazine were discussed.
- July 19* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov sent a letter to the CC of the Austrian Communist Party, in which he expressed the solidarity of the proletariat of the Balkan countries with the July uprising in Austria. He dwelt on the great and difficult tasks of the Austrian Communist movement after the defeat it had suffered.
- July* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov greeted Klara Zetkin on her 70th birthday.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which approved a letter of the Central Committee to the CC of the Austrian Com-

munist Party in Connection with the July events. A letter from the Political Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the situation in Bulgaria, a resolution for work among women and other questions were discussed.

August 25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP, at which the date, number of delegates and the reporters on the items of the agenda were determined for the forthcoming Party conference.

He was charged to deliver the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927.

September 13 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on the celebration of the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the September 1923 Uprising.

November 16 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Situation in Romania' was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* magazine No 115 and *La Federation Balcanique* newspaper No 81.

November 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The October Revolution and the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* magazine No 114.

Early in December Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the Second Underground Party Conference.

December 8 - January 15, 1928 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, at which, together with Vassil Kolarov, they defended the Bolshevik policy of the Party against leftist and rightist liquidators.

December 8 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a detailed report of the CC for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927 at the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin in which he explained the Party tactics on June 9 and during the September 1923 Anti-fascist Popular Armed Uprising.

December 21 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which mapped out measures to accelerate the work of the Party conference. New facts about the situation in the country and other questions are discussed.

December 28 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a concluding speech on the report of the CC to the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).

January 1-15 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the 2nd Underground Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, which had begun on December 8, 1927

1928

- January 2* Georgi Dimitrov answered in written form the questions put to him by the Enquiry Commission of the Second Party Conference about the preparations of the September Uprising and his attitude to the assault in the Sveta Nedelya Church in Sofia in April 1925.
- January 3* Georgi Dimitrov approved the report on the domestic and international situation of Bulgaria and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) delivered to the conference by V. Kolarov.
- January 11* Georgi Dimitrov spoke at the conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the draft resolution on the organizational question.
- January 12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussions of the draft resolution elaborated by him on the report of the CC of the BCP.
- January 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussion of the draft resolution on the domestic and international situation and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) seated in Vienna.
- January 16* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC and the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on publishing the resolutions of the Second Party Conference, on the functions of the Bureau in Exile and the Central Committee of the BCP, etc.
- Middle of March* Georgi Dimitrov travelled clandestinely to Moscow to take part in the work of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern.
- March 17 - April 8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow. He was elected member of the Profintern Secretariat as representative of the Balkan states. On behalf of the Balkan delegations to the Fourth Congress he submitted a written suggestion to the Executive Bureau of the Profintern to organize an international campaign in defence of the persecuted class trade unions in the Balkan states.
- March 28* At the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow, Georgi Dimitrov made a report 'On the Measures to Fight Fascism and the Yellow Trade Unions'.
- April 3* At the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, Georgi

- Dimitrov delivered a report 'On the Resolution to Fight Fascism'. He was elected in the composition of the Central Council of the Profintern as a representative of the Balkan states. In the session of the Plenum of the Profintern, Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Council.
- April 5* Georgi Dimitrov wrote to the Presidium of the Peasant International in connection with the exacerbating struggles within the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the danger of defeat of its left wing.
- April 24* Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 4 as member of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.
- First half of July* Georgi Dimitrov left for Moscow where he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- July 17 - September 1* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Sixth Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow.
- July 25* At a session of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Situation in the Balkans and the Tasks of the Communist Parties' and made a statement in the discussion of the question on a military threat on the subject 'A Diligent Study of the Experience Is Necessary.'
- July 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Dangers of An Imperialist War and the Anti-Soviet Bloc in the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* No 67.
- September 6* On behalf of the CC and the Bulgarian delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov addressed an appeal to the Presidium of the International Red Relief to lend assistance in the transfer of Bulgarian emigrants from Yugoslavia to the USSR and other countries to avoid the danger of their being handed over to Lyapchev's government.
- September - October* Georgi Dimitrov underwent treatment in the Desyatiletie Oktyabrya sanatorium in Kislovodsk.
- September 19* Georgi Dimitrov informed the Balkan Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the new blow dealt at the revolutionary workers' movement in Bulgaria by the arrest of almost the entire Central Committee of the BCP, of the activists of the Workers' Party and the Independent Workers' Trade Unions.
- November 14* Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 45 as candidate-member of the EC of the Communist International.

November 27-28 Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Berlin.

Early December Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Vienna where he stayed for about a week. He held a conference with representatives of the Yugoslav, Romanian and Bulgarian Communist Parties, of the department of international relations of the Communist International, of the Communist Youth International, on transferring the seat of the Balkan Communist Federation from Vienna to Berlin.

December 31 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which was attended by the three members of the CC. He spoke about the character of the Party's Bureau in Exile. He was chosen to report at the subsequent sessions of the Bureau in Exile about the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and the activities of the Bureau in Exile.

The Pamphlet *The Communists Accuse!* by Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Kolarov and Mladen Stoyanov was published in 1928.

1929

March 15 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Fascism in the Balkans' was published in *Balkanska Federatsia* magazine No 112.

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August - September Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Second enlarged Plenum of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin at whose session he, together with Vassil Kolarov, waged a resolute struggle against the left sectarian trend in the Party leadership. Georgi Dimitrov read a report on the trade union question.

November to May 1930 Georgi Dimitrov stayed in the Soviet Union.

1930

January 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Foundations, Ways and Prospects of the National Revolutionary Movements in the Balkans' was published in *Balkanska Federatsia* Nos 151-152.

1931

From December to June 1932 Georgi Dimitrov stayed in the USSR. He underwent treatment in the Desyatiletie Oktyabrya sanatorium in Kislovodsk.

1932

From June to the end of the year Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the campaign for full political amnesty in connection with the new bill in Bulgaria to grant amnesty to the rest of those sentenced for the 1923 events. With this aim in view Georgi Dimitrov travelled round Europe: Amsterdam, Paris, Brussels, where he met with eminent personalities – Stefan Zweig, Prof. Needly, Henrii Barbusse, Romain Rolland, and others.

1933

- January (30)* Georgi Dimitrov was in Vienna.
- February 6–8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the conference of the Italian and Yugoslav Communist Parties in Munich.
- February 9* Georgi Dimitrov returned from Munich to Vienna.
- February 13* Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin and put up at Mannsfeld's house, Klingsorstrasse 96.
- February 26* Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Munich.
- February 26–27* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a new conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party held in Munich.
- February 27* Georgi Dimitrov travelled to Berlin. In the train he learned from the newspapers about the setting of the Reichstag on fire.
- March 9* In restaurant Bayernhof at 10 Potsdamstrasse, Berlin, Georgi Dimitrov was arrested on the order of the German Criminal Police; he had a Swiss passport under the name of the Swiss writer Dr. Rudolf Hediger. Georgi Dimitrov was taken at once to the Reichstag building, Bismark Hall, where the Commissar of the Criminal Police Dr. Branschviz questioned him.
- March 9 (in the evening)* Georgi Dimitrov was placed under preliminary arrest at Berlin police headquarters. Georgi Dimitrov started writing a diary, which he kept up during the whole trial.
- March 20* Georgi Dimitrov made a statement to the police investigating authorities in which he categorically rejected the accusation of the communists' participation in setting the Reichstag on fire.

- March 28 The police inquiry was finished. Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the preliminary prison in Berlin to the Moabit Prison and was registered there as prisoner No 8085.
- April 3 Georgi Dimitrov received the decree of the examining magistrate Vogt of March 31, in which the Imperial Court officially accused him of setting the Reichstag on fire.
- April 4 After the instructions of the examining magistrate Vogt of April 3 Georgi Dimitrov was manacled (he wore the manacles for 5 months – from April 4 to August 31).
- May 20 Georgi Dimitrov was questioned for the sixth time by the investigating authorities. He protested for having been imprisoned without being guilty.
- July 31 Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of July 25 about the appointment of the lawyer Dr. Teichert of Leipzig as official counsel for the defence. Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his sister Elena Dimitrova, who was in Paris, telling him that the French lawyers Giafferi, Campinci, Thorez as well as the Bulgarian lawyer Dechev were ready to take up his defence.
- August 3 Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment for setting the Reichstag on fire.
- August 12 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert, whom he warned that he was bound to make proposals and take steps in connection with the trial only in accordance with his own personal instructions or with his consent.
- August 19 Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of August 14 refusing him to have as defence counsel the American lawyer Arthur Hays and the French lawyer Moro Giafferi.
- August 31 Under the pressure of world public opinion the manacles were removed.
- September 3 Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert. The latter advised Georgi Dimitrov to limit himself in his statements to his own defence and not to the defence of the communist party and ideology.
- September 6 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert in reply to the latter's letter of September 3, declaring that he preferred to defend himself if counsel and defendant could not come to an agreement.

- September 11 Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment.
- September 14 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in which he refuted the contents of the indictment.
- September 14-20 The first session of the counter trial in London had a sitting. It exposed the fascist terror in Germany and the trial staged in Leipzig establishing that the accused: Georgi Dimitrov, V. Tanev and B. Popov, as well as the German Communist Party had nothing to do directly or indirectly with the setting of the Reichstag on fire, which was the deed of the national socialists.
- September 18 Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the Moabit Prison in Berlin to the Imperial Court in Leipzig.
- September 21
9.00-15.00 h Georgi Dimitrov attended the first hearing of the Court in Leipzig, in which the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe was questioned.
- September 22 During the second hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov followed with interest the continued interrogation of the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe.
- September 23 At the third hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov pronounced his first historic speech in which he explained the anti-communist character of the Reichstag fire as an act of the enemies of communism, and having nothing in common with the communist movement.
- September 28 In the seventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov heard the evidence of the nazi spies, who were called as witnesses, constantly putting questions to them and exposing them. Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the President of the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Büniger, in which he informed him that he refused to be defended by his official counsel Dr. Teichert and insisted on the latter's replacement by the French lawyer Marcel Villard.
- October 4 The second session of the counter trial sat in Paris. In the course of the trial the speakers Moro Gjafferi and Gaston Bergery stated that the charge against Georgi Dimitrov and his comrades was completely refuted and called upon the working people to fight against the trumped-up charge.
- October 6 At the eleventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov proved the forgery and planting of other people's documents among the papers confiscated at his lodgings by the police authorities. (The President of the Court expelled Georgi Dimitrov from the hearing.)
- October 7 At the twelfth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in which he pointed out that as a com-

- Communist and an innocent defendant he should be given the opportunity freely to defend himself.
- October 8* Georgi Dimitrov was taken to Berlin to attend the second part of the Leipzig trial: an analysis of the material evidence.
- October 10* In court Georgi Dimitrov refused to be defended by his officially appointed counsel Dr. Teichert.
- October 12* Georgi Dimitrov protested before the President of the Fourth Penal Department for having been removed from the hearings of the Court which hindered him from following the whole trial.
- October 18* Georgi Dimitrov put questions during the interrogation of Weber, chief of Goering's personal guard, from whom he wrested the confession that at the time of the fire, on Goering's order, the latter was in the Reichstag's basement.
- October 27* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the President on the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Bünger, insisting that he should be given the shorthand minutes of the case in his capacity of counsel for the defence.
- October 30* At the twenty-seventh hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov consistently unmasked the false testimonies of the various witnesses, as a result of which the President of the Court deprived him of the right to speak.
- November 1* At the twenty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov unmasked many depositions of the witnesses and was therefore expelled from the hearing.
- November 3* At the thirtieth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov accused the President of the Court of distorting the civil laws of the Soviet Union and was expelled from the hearing.
- November 4* Although expelled, Georgi Dimitrov was brought to attend the thirty-first hearing of the Court specially in connection with Goering's testimony. At this hearing Georgi Dimitrov unmasked Goering as being the actual incendiary of the Reichstag, as a result of which he was expelled from the hearing of the Court for the fifth time.
- November 8* In the thirty-fourth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov unmasked the lies of the fascist propaganda minister Goebbels.
- November 15* In the thirty-ninth hearing Georgi Dimitrov insisted on being given the opportunity to defend himself, by being supplied with all documents, minutes, etc.
- November 16* Georgi Dimitrov addressed a statement to the Imperial Court demanding that Ernst Thaelmann, the President

- of the German Communist Party, be summoned as witness.
- November 18* The forty-first hearing of the Court in Berlin marked the conclusion of the second part of the trial – the examination of the material evidence.
- November 20* Georgi Dimitrov was again taken to Leipzig in a locked cage.
- November 28* At the forty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov insisted on summoning the leader of the German Communist Party Ernst Thaelmann and other communist functionaries, to testify that the German Communist Party had prepared no armed uprising and that it had nothing in common with the Reichstag fire.
- December 2* At the forty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov was deprived of the right to put questions to the witnesses.
- December 4* Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department with the request that O. Kuusinen of Finland, who made the report to the 12th Plenum of the Comintern, the Frenchman Marcel Cachin and the Japanese Sen Katayama, explain the tasks set by the Comintern to the German Communist Party at the beginning of 1933.
- December 5* At the fifty-first hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov put questions to communist witnesses and in fact conducted the interrogation, stressing the immediate tasks facing the German Communist Party at the time prior to the fire in accordance with the 12th Plenum of the Communist International: the building of a united front of all working people against fascist terror and the danger of an imperialist war.
- December 6* The fifty-second hearing of the Court marked the conclusion of the court interrogation.
- December 11* Georgi Dimitrov contracted bronchitis owing to the hard conditions in prison.
- December 14* At the fifty-fourth hearing of the Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor Dr. Werner asked for Georgi Dimitrov's acquittal because of the lack of evidence in support of the indictment against him.
- Georgi Dimitrov, not satisfied with the reasons thus put forward, insisted on being acquitted because of his utter innocence and of his non-participation in the setting of fire to the Reichstag.
- December 16* At the fifty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov made his concluding speech. Georgi Dimitrov analyzed the programme of the Communist International for the building of a united front of all working people in the

- and fascism appealing to them to contribute to the liberation from prison of E. Thaelmann and the other fighters.
- March 29* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Henri Barbusse congratulating on his 60th birthday and appealing on him to continue fighting against fascism.
- April 14* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the workers in Holland appealing to them to continue the united anti-fascist struggle.
- April 18* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the British Anti-War Youth Council in support of the manifesto against war and fascism.
- April 20* Georgi Dimitrov's letter to the Austrian workers was published in *Pravda* No 109.
- April 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'There Is No other Way to the Victory Over Fascism, except the Struggle for Soviet Rule' was published in *L'Humanité* No 12915.
- End of April* Georgi Dimitrov was in a sanatorium in the neighbourhood of Moscow where he received correspondents for the foreign and Soviet press.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov attended the march past of Moscow's working people on the occasion of May Day.
- May 4* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the assistant secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen in England about the necessity of class unity of the proletariat.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov had a talk with foreign workers.
- May 7* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a grand meeting on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Dimitar Blagoev's death, organized by the Bulgarian emigrants in Moscow.
- May 26* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Arkhangelskoe to the Soviet writer Marshak in connection with the use in the press of the numerous congratulatory letters sent to Dimitrov from children on his release from prison.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Danish Section of the International Red Relief expressing gratitude for its participation in the struggle for the release of the accused communists in Leipzig and its forthcoming tasks.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the proletarian revolutionary writers from the Hitzing group in Vienna, wishing them to take part, through their writing, in the anti-fascist struggle.
- Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Swedish anti-fascists about the struggle against fascism in the northern countries.

- March 29* Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov about the formation of regional secretariats at the EC of the Communist International and that he (Georgi Dimitrov) was chosen to be member of the Balkan Secretariat and responsible secretary for Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.
- June 23* In a letter to Stanké Dimitrov Georgi Dimitrov expressed the opinion that a meeting of the representatives of the Executive Bureau of the Party and the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) should be held in Moscow with the participation of the EC of the Communist International.
- July 20* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a report before the Bulgarian emigrants in Odessa, in which he made a critical analysis of 1923-1925 developments discussing the activity of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in the conditions of fascist terror after the April developments and the tasks of the Bulgarian revolutionary emigration.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov informed by letter the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the decisions of the EC of the Communist International and of the International Red Relief on the Bulgarian questions.
- August 12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Vienna enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) at which the question about the ideological rallying of the Party masses around the banner of the Party and the Communist International on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was discussed.
- September* Georgi Dimitrov stayed in Germany where he got acquainted with the situation of the German workers and the German workers' movement. From Berlin he wrote a letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in which he described the factional struggle of the Ruth-Fischer clique and insisted on doing away with the counter-revolutionary opposition in Russia, under whose influence was also the opposition in the West.
- September 21 -*
October 1 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Vienna enlarged plenum of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 22* Georgi Dimitrov spoke on the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). He pointed out the successes scored in the restoration of the Party and of the trade union movement.
He criticized some weaknesses in the work of the BCP

- (Left-wing Socialists) underlining that the key to the solution of the Party problems was the establishment of a unified leadership.
- September 24* At the Vienna plenum G. Dimitrov delivered a report on the activity of the EC of the Communist International and the situation within the All-Russian CP (Bolsheviks). He was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 24* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria' was published in *Komunisticheskij International* No 2.
- September 25* In a letter to the Small Commission of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov suggested, on behalf of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), to take prompt measures and organize a campaign against the new wave of terror in Bulgaria, by involving in the campaign the most important sections of the Comintern, the International Red Relief and the Profintern.
- October* Georgi Dimitrov was delegate to the 15th All-Union conference of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with the right of deliberative vote.
- November 22* – Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International. He was elected to the Secretariat of the Plenum, to the trade union and agrarian commissions.
- December 16*
- December 1* At a session of the trade union commission of the Plenum of the EC of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the popular workers' trade unions.
- Second half of December* After the Seventh Plenum of the EC of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov took part in a conference of the delegations of the Balkan communist parties and youth unions, which discussed problems of using the legal opportunities and strengthening the leadership and activity of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- 1927
- January 4* Georgi Dimitrov informed the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with a letter that the Seventh Congress of the Trade Unions in the USSR had voted a resolution against the white terror in Bulgaria and the persecution to which the Independent Workers' Trade Unions had been subjected. He also informed about the plan of the reorganization of the EC of the Communist International, which had been approved and the discussions of the Balkan Conference, held after the

Seventh enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International.

- January 11* In a detailed letter to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov gave information about two Party meetings in Moscow, which discussed the situation of the emigrants in Yugoslavia. The letter contained also information about the decisions of the International Red Relief to organize a campaign against terror in Bulgaria.
- January 28* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Peasant International.
- January 28 in the evening* Georgi Dimitrov left for Vienna, to work in the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), accompanied by his wife Lyuba Dimitrova.
- February 8* At a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov substantiated the necessity to involve in direct Party work the main BCP forces outside Bulgaria.
- February 11-12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which decided to set up a Secretariat of the CC including: G. Dimitrov, A. Ivanov, M. Stoyanov. He was elected to chair the sessions of the CC. He was also entrusted with the responsibility for the work of the Secretariat, for the activity of the Balkan Communist Federation, and to render assistance to the editorial board of *Komunistichesko Zname* magazine.
- February 13* Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov in a letter about the organization of the work of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), about the composition of the collective representation of the BCP (left-wing Socialists) to the EC of the CI, about the foundation of the Workers' Party and the Bloc of Labour.
- February 25* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which discussed the question of resuming the links of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.
- Early March* Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin for several days on a Party mission.
- March 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions of the Secretariat of the CC and other problems were discussed.
- March 26* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). The problem of founding of the Workers' Party was discussed.
- April 1* In a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists)

- Georgi Dimitrov put forward a draft directives of the Central Committee to the Party's Executive Bureau.
- April 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP which adopted the directives, drafted by the Secretariat of the CC to the Executive Bureau on the celebration of May Day. Problems of the international campaign against white terror in Bulgaria, of subsidizing the election campaign, etc. were discussed.
- April 21* Georgi Dimitrov reported to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the political situation in the country, about the Party's tasks in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections and about the revolutionary movement in the Dobroudja.
- April 26* In a letter to the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, Georgi Dimitrov suggested that connections via correspondence be established or a meeting with one of the two members of this Representation be organized in Berlin, Prague or Vienna in the first half of May, to exchange views about the situation in the country, about the joint struggle of workers and peasants and to coordinate the campaign abroad against terror in Bulgaria.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), whose agenda included questions about the progress of the pre-election campaign, the preparation of the Party conference, the founding of a legal youth union, etc.
- Late June
or early July* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions were taken on the tasks of the Party groups for cooperation, on the way of editing *Novini* newspaper. The preparation of the Party conference, the letter of the left wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and the contents of the latest issue of *Komunistichesko Zname* magazine were discussed.
- July 19* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov sent a letter to the CC of the Austrian Communist Party, in which he expressed the solidarity of the proletariat of the Balkan countries with the July uprising in Austria. He dwelt on the great and difficult tasks of the Austrian Communist movement after the defeat it had suffered.
- July* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov greeted Klara Zetkin on her 70th birthday.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which approved a letter of the Central Committee to the CC of the Austrian Com-

munist Party in Connection with the July events. A letter from the Political Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the situation in Bulgaria, a resolution for work among women and other questions were discussed.

August 25

Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP, at which the date, number of delegates and the reporters on the items of the agenda were determined for the forthcoming Party conference.

He was charged to deliver the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927.

September 13

Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on the celebration of the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the September 1923 Uprising.

November 16

Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Situation in Romania' was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* magazine No 115 and *La Federation Balcanique* newspaper No 81.

November 18

Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The October Revolution and the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* magazine No 114.

Early in
December

Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the Second Underground Party Conference.

December 8 -
January 15,

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, at which, together with Vassil Kolarov, they defended the Bolshevik policy of the Party against leftist and rightist liquidators.

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December 8

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a detailed report of the CC for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927 at the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin in which he explained the Party tactics on June 9 and during the September 1923 Anti-fascist Popular Armed Uprising.

December 21

Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which mapped out measures to accelerate the work of the Party conference. New facts about the situation in the country and other questions are discussed.

December 28

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a concluding speech on the report of the CC to the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).

January 1-15

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the 2nd Underground Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, which had begun on December 8, 1927

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- January 2* Georgi Dimitrov answered in written form the questions put to him by the Enquiry Commission of the Second Party Conference about the preparations of the September Uprising and his attitude to the assault in the Sveta Nedelya Church in Sofia in April 1925.
- January 3* Georgi Dimitrov approved the report on the domestic and international situation of Bulgaria and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) delivered to the conference by V. Kolarov.
- January 11* Georgi Dimitrov spoke at the conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the draft resolution on the organizational question.
- January 12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussions of the draft resolution elaborated by him on the report of the CC of the BCP.
- January 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussion of the draft resolution on the domestic and international situation and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) seated in Vienna.
- January 16* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC and the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on publishing the resolutions of the Second Party Conference, on the functions of the Bureau in Exile and the Central Committee of the BCP, etc.
- Middle of March* Georgi Dimitrov travelled clandestinely to Moscow to take part in the work of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern.
- March 17 - April 8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow. He was elected member of the Profintern Secretariat as representative of the Balkan states. On behalf of the Balkan delegations to the Fourth Congress he submitted a written suggestion to the Executive Bureau of the Profintern to organize an international campaign in defence of the persecuted class trade unions in the Balkan states.
- March 28* At the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow, Georgi Dimitrov made a report 'On the Measures to Fight Fascism and the Yellow Trade Unions'.
- April 3* At the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, Georgi

- Dimitrov delivered a report 'On the Resolution to Fight Fascism'. He was elected in the composition of the Central Council of the Profintern as a representative of the Balkan states. In the session of the Plenum of the Profintern, Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Council.
- April 5* Georgi Dimitrov wrote to the Presidium of the Peasant International in connection with the exacerbating struggles within the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the danger of defeat of its left wing.
- April 24* Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 4 as member of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.
- First half of July* Georgi Dimitrov left for Moscow where he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- July 17 – September 1* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Sixth Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow.
- July 25* At a session of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Situation in the Balkans and the Tasks of the Communist Parties' and made a statement in the discussion of the question on a military threat on the subject 'A Diligent Study of the Experience Is Necessary.'
- July 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Dangers of An Imperialist War and the Anti-Soviet Bloc in the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* No 67.
- September 6* On behalf of the CC and the Bulgarian delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov addressed an appeal to the Presidium of the International Red Relief to lend assistance in the transfer of Bulgarian emigrants from Yugoslavia to the USSR and other countries to avoid the danger of their being handed over to Lyapchev's government.
- September – October* Georgi Dimitrov underwent treatment in the Desyatiletie Oktyabrya sanatorium in Kislovodsk.
- September 19* Georgi Dimitrov informed the Balkan Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the new blow dealt at the revolutionary workers' movement in Bulgaria by the arrest of almost the entire Central Committee of the BCP, of the activists of the Workers' Party and the Independent Workers' Trade Unions.
- November 14* Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 45 as candidate-member of the EC of the Communist International.

November 27-28 Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Berlin.

Early December Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Vienna where he stayed for about a week. He held a conference with representatives of the Yugoslav, Romanian and Bulgarian Communist Parties, of the department of international relations of the Communist International, of the Communist Youth International, on transferring the seat of the Balkan Communist Federation from Vienna to Berlin.

December 31 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which was attended by the three members of the CC. He spoke about the character of the Party's Bureau in Exile. He was chosen to report at the subsequent sessions of the Bureau in Exile about the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and the activities of the Bureau in Exile.

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November to May 1930 Georgi Dimitrov stayed in the Soviet Union.

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1932

From June to the end of the year Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the campaign for full political amnesty in connection with the new bill in Bulgaria to grant amnesty to the rest of those sentenced for the 1923 events.

With this aim in view Georgi Dimitrov travelled round Europe: Amsterdam, Paris, Brussels, where he met with eminent personalities – Stefan Zweig, Prof. Needly, Henrii Barbusse, Romain Rolland, and others.

1933

- January (30)* Georgi Dimitrov was in Vienna.
- February 6–8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the conference of the Italian and Yugoslav Communist Parties in Munich.
- February 9* Georgi Dimitrov returned from Munich to Vienna.
- February 13* Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin and put up at Mannsfeld's house, Klingsorstrasse 96.
- February 26* Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Munich.
- February 26–27* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a new conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party held in Munich.
- February 27* Georgi Dimitrov travelled to Berlin. In the train he learned from the newspapers about the setting of the Reichstag on fire.
- March 9* In restaurant Bayernhof at 10 Potsdamstrasse, Berlin, Georgi Dimitrov was arrested on the order of the German Criminal Police; he had a Swiss passport under the name of the Swiss writer Dr. Rudolf Hediger. Georgi Dimitrov was taken at once to the Reichstag building, Bismark Hall, where the Commissar of the Criminal Police Dr. Branschwitz questioned him.
- March 9 (in the evening)* Georgi Dimitrov was placed under preliminary arrest at Berlin police headquarters. Georgi Dimitrov started writing a diary, which he kept up during the whole trial.
- March 20* Georgi Dimitrov made a statement to the police investigating authorities in which he categorically rejected the accusation of the communists' participation in setting the Reichstag on fire.

- March 28* The police inquiry was finished. Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the preliminary prison in Berlin to the Moabit Prison and was registered there as prisoner No 8085.
- April 3* Georgi Dimitrov received the decree of the examining magistrate Vogt of March 31, in which the Imperial Court officially accused him of setting the Reichstag on fire.
- April 4* After the instructions of the examining magistrate Vogt of April 3 Georgi Dimitrov was manacled (he wore the manacles for 5 months – from April 4 to August 31).
- May 20* Georgi Dimitrov was questioned for the sixth time by the investigating authorities. He protested for having been imprisoned without being guilty.
- July 31* Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of July 25 about the appointment of the lawyer Dr. Teichert of Leipzig as official counsel for the defence. Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his sister Elena Dimitrova, who was in Paris, telling him that the French lawyers Giafferi, Campinci, Thorez as well as the Bulgarian lawyer Dechev were ready to take up his defence.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment for setting the Reichstag on fire.
- August 12* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert, whom he warned that he was bound to make proposals and take steps in connection with the trial only in accordance with his own personal instructions or with his consent.
- August 19* Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of August 14 refusing him to have as defence counsel the American lawyer Arthur Hays and the French lawyer Moro Giafferi.
- August 31* Under the pressure of world public opinion the manacles were removed.
- September 3* Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert. The latter advised Georgi Dimitrov to limit himself in his statements to his own defence and not to the defence of the communist party and ideology.
- September 6* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert in reply to the latter's letter of September 3, declaring that he preferred to defend himself if counsel and defendant could not come to an agreement.

- September 11 Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment.
- September 14 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in which he refuted the contents of the indictment.
- September 14-20 The first session of the counter trial in London had a sitting. It exposed the fascist terror in Germany and the trial staged in Leipzig establishing that the accused: Georgi Dimitrov, V. Tanev and B. Popov, as well as the German Communist Party had nothing to do directly or indirectly with the setting of the Reichstag on fire, which was the deed of the national socialists.
- September 18 Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the Moabit Prison in Berlin to the Imperial Court in Leipzig.
- September 21
9.00-15.00 h Georgi Dimitrov attended the first hearing of the Court in Leipzig, in which the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe was questioned.
- September 22 During the second hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov followed with interest the continued interrogation of the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe.
- September 23 At the third hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov pronounced his first historic speech in which he explained the anti-communist character of the Reichstag fire as an act of the enemies of communism, and having nothing in common with the communist movement.
- September 28 In the seventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov heard the evidence of the nazi spies, who were called as witnesses, constantly putting questions to them and exposing them. Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the President of the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Bünger, in which he informed him that he refused to be defended by his official counsel Dr. Teichert and insisted on the latter's replacement by the French lawyer Marcel Villard.
- October 4 The second session of the counter trial sat in Paris. In the course of the trial the speakers Moro Giafferi and Gaston Bergery stated that the charge against Georgi Dimitrov and his comrades was completely refuted and called upon the working people to fight against the trumped-up charge.
- October 6 At the eleventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov proved the forgery and planting of other people's documents among the papers confiscated at his lodgings by the police authorities. (The President of the Court expelled Georgi Dimitrov from the hearing.)
- October 7 At the twelfth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in which he pointed out that as a com-

- Communist and an innocent defendant he should be given the opportunity freely to defend himself.
- October 8* Georgi Dimitrov was taken to Berlin to attend the second part of the Leipzig trial: an analysis of the material evidence.
- October 10* In court Georgi Dimitrov refused to be defended by his officially appointed counsel Dr. Teichert.
- October 12* Georgi Dimitrov protested before the President of the Fourth Penal Department for having been removed from the hearings of the Court which hindered him from following the whole trial.
- October 18* Georgi Dimitrov put questions during the interrogation of Weber, chief of Goering's personal guard, from whom he wrested the confession that at the time of the fire, on Goering's order, the latter was in the Reichstag's basement.
- October 27* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the President on the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Bünger, insisting that he should be given the shorthand minutes of the case in his capacity of counsel for the defence.
- October 30* At the twenty-seventh hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov consistently unmasked the false testimonies of the various witnesses, as a result of which the President of the Court deprived him of the right to speak.
- November 1* At the twenty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov unmasked many depositions of the witnesses and was therefore expelled from the hearing.
- November 3* At the thirtieth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov accused the President of the Court of distorting the civil laws of the Soviet Union and was expelled from the hearing.
- November 4* Although expelled, Georgi Dimitrov was brought to attend the thirty-first hearing of the Court specially in connection with Goering's testimony. At this hearing Georgi Dimitrov unmasked Goering as being the actual incendiary of the Reichstag, as a result of which he was expelled from the hearing of the Court for the fifth time.
- November 8* In the thirty-fourth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov unmasked the lies of the fascist propaganda minister Goebbels.
- November 15* In the thirty-ninth hearing Georgi Dimitrov insisted on being given the opportunity to defend himself, by being supplied with all documents, minutes, etc.
- November 16* Georgi Dimitrov addressed a statement to the Imperial Court demanding that Ernst Thaelmann, the President

of the German Communist Party, be summoned as witness.

November 18 The forty-first hearing of the Court in Berlin marked the conclusion of the second part of the trial – the examination of the material evidence.

November 20 Georgi Dimitrov was again taken to Leipzig in a locked cage.

November 28 At the forty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov insisted on summoning the leader of the German Communist Party Ernst Thaelmann and other communist functionaries, to testify that the German Communist Party had prepared no armed uprising and that it had nothing in common with the Reichstag fire.

December 2 At the forty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov was deprived of the right to put questions to the witnesses.

December 4 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department with the request that O. Kuusinen of Finland, who made the report to the 12th Plenum of the Comintern, the Frenchman Marcel Cachin and the Japanese Sen Katayama, explain the tasks set by the Comintern to the German Communist Party at the beginning of 1933.

December 5 At the fifty-first hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov put questions to communist witnesses and in fact conducted the interrogation, stressing the immediate tasks facing the German Communist Party at the time prior to the fire in accordance with the 12th Plenum of the Communist International: the building of a united front of all working people against fascist terror and the danger of an imperialist war.

December 6 The fifty-second hearing of the Court marked the conclusion of the court interrogation.

December 11 Georgi Dimitrov contracted bronchitis owing to the hard conditions in prison.

December 14 At the fifty-fourth hearing of the Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor Dr. Werner asked for Georgi Dimitrov's acquittal because of the lack of evidence in support of the indictment against him.

Georgi Dimitrov, not satisfied with the reasons thus put forward, insisted on being acquitted because of his utter innocence and of his non-participation in the setting of fire to the Reichstag.

December 16 At the fifty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov made his concluding speech. Georgi Dimitrov analyzed the programme of the Communist International for the building of a united front of all working people in the

fight against fascism and imperialist war and the economic and political situation of Germany on the eve of the Nazi provocation. He refuted the accusation in the indictment and demanded that the Supreme Court should pronounce him innocent, insisting that those who are guilty should be punished. (The President of the Court kept interrupting Georgi Dimitrov's speech.)

December 23 (in the evening) At the last hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov was found by the Imperial Court not guilty of having set fire to the Reichstag owing to the lack of evidence.

December 23 Georgi Dimitrov was served an order by the Leipzig Polizeipräsidentium to be kept in custody until further notice.

Georgi Dimitrov was again locked up in the Imperial Court Prison in Leipzig in the same cell and under the same regime as before his acquittal.

December 24 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that he should be allowed to see some relations and friends.

December 25 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that he should have a copy of his acquittal.

December 28 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the Polizeipräsidentium in Leipzig in which he protested against his detention after having been acquitted by the Court. He insisted on being extradited to Czechoslovakia, France or the Soviet Union.

December 30 Georgi Dimitrov sent a wire to Bulgaria's Prime Minister N. Moushanov, with the request to be allowed to return to Bulgaria. (Georgi Dimitrov's request was left without response).

1934

January 2 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a letter to the State Secret Police in Berlin with the request that his confiscated suitcases and books be returned to him. Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the Imperial Minister of the Interior Dr. Friek with the request that, after having been acquitted by the Imperial Court, he should be extradited to Austria, Czechoslovakia or Holland.

January 11 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that a copy of the Court's ruling acquitting him be sent to him.

- January 13 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter of protest to the Polizeipräsident in Leipzig against the tampering with his correspondence.
- January 15 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the Imperial Minister of the Interior Affairs Dr. Friek with the request to give a prompt order for his release and extradition.
- January 28 Georgi Dimitrov was transferred to Berlin to the Gestapo prison.
Violent workers' demonstrations in all countries insistently called for the release of Georgi Dimitrov.
- February 7 Georgi Dimitrov's replies to the *Daily Express* correspondent were published in *Rundschau* magazine No 15 of February 15 under the heading: 'Goering-Wants Me to Be Executed!'
- February 15 The Soviet Government decided to grant Soviet citizenship and a Soviet passport to Georgi Dimitrov.
- February 27 Georgi Dimitrov received documents of a Soviet citizen. Early in the morning he was released without warning from the Gestapo prison and taken to a plane which left for an unknown destination. At the Königsberg airport he conveyed his greetings to the German workers in the following words: 'We shall come back again to Soviet Germany!'
- In the evening Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Moscow enthusiastically welcomed by the Moscow working people.
Georgi Dimitrov gave an interview to representatives of the Soviet and foreign press in Moscow immediately on arrival.
- February 28 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a solemn meeting on the occasion of Nadezhda Krupskaya's 65th birthday at the Old Bolshevik Society.
- March 4 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Victory of Proletarian Solidarity' was published in *Pravda* No 62
- March 8 Georgi Dimitrov greeted the Moscow regional Conference of the Red Relief.
Georgi Dimitrov greeted the Soviet women on the occasion of the International Women's Day. Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Moscow Regional Conference of 'Red Relief' with gratitude for the participation of the working people in the USSR in the struggle to release the defendants in Leipzig.
- March 9 Georgi Dimitrov greeted the meeting of men and women shock workers held at the Bolshoi Theatre and devoted to March 8.
- March 10 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the French writers and public figures Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse about their merits in the struggle against war

- and fascism appealing to them to contribute to the liberation from prison of E. Thaelmann and the other fighters.
- March 29* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Henri Barbusse congratulating on his 60th birthday and appealing on him to continue fighting against fascism.
- April 14* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the workers in Holland appealing to them to continue the united anti-fascist struggle.
- April 18* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the British Anti-War Youth Council in support of the manifesto against war and fascism.
- April 20* Georgi Dimitrov's letter to the Austrian workers was published in *Pravda* No 109.
- April 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'There Is No other Way to the Victory Over Fascism, except the Struggle for Soviet Rule' was published in *L'Humanité* No 12915.
- End of April* Georgi Dimitrov was in a sanatorium in the neighbourhood of Moscow where he received correspondents for the foreign and Soviet press.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov attended the march past of Moscow's working people on the occasion of May Day.
- May 4* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the assistant secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen in England about the necessity of class unity of the proletariat.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov had a talk with foreign workers.
- May 7* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a grand meeting on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Dimitar Blagoev's death, organized by the Bulgarian emigrants in Moscow.
- May 26* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Arkhangelskoe to the Soviet writer Marshak in connection with the use in the press of the numerous congratulatory letters sent to Dimitrov from children on his release from prison.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Danish Section of the International Red Relief expressing gratitude for its participation in the struggle for the release of the accused communists in Leipzig and its forthcoming tasks.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the proletarian revolutionary writers from the Hitzing group in Vienna, wishing them to take part, through their writing, in the anti-fascist struggle.
- Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Swedish anti-fascists about the struggle against fascism in the northern countries.

March 29

Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov about the formation of regional secretariats at the EC of the Communist International and that he (Georgi Dimitrov) was chosen to be member of the Balkan Secretariat and responsible secretary for Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

June 23

In a letter to Stanké Dimitrov Georgi Dimitrov expressed the opinion that a meeting of the representatives of the Executive Bureau of the Party and the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) should be held in Moscow with the participation of the EC of the Communist International.

July 20

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a report before the Bulgarian emigrants in Odessa, in which he made a critical analysis of 1923-1925 developments discussing the activity of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in the conditions of fascist terror after the April developments and the tasks of the Bulgarian revolutionary emigration.

August 3

Georgi Dimitrov informed by letter the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the decisions of the EC of the Communist International and of the International Red Relief on the Bulgarian questions.

August 12

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Vienna enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) at which the question about the ideological rallying of the Party masses around the banner of the Party and the Communist International on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was discussed.

September

Georgi Dimitrov stayed in Germany where he got acquainted with the situation of the German workers and the German workers' movement. From Berlin he wrote a letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in which he described the factional struggle of the Ruth-Fischer clique and insisted on doing away with the counter-revolutionary opposition in Russia, under whose influence was also the opposition in the West.

September 21 -

October 1

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Vienna enlarged plenum of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).

September 22

Georgi Dimitrov spoke on the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). He pointed out the successes scored in the restoration of the Party and of the trade union movement.

He criticized some weaknesses in the work of the BCP

- (Left-wing Socialists) underlining that the key to the solution of the Party problems was the establishment of a unified leadership.
- September 24 At the Vienna plenum G. Dimitrov delivered a report on the activity of the EC of the Communist International and the situation within the All-Russian CP (Bolsheviks). He was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- September 24 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 2.
- September 25 In a letter to the Small Commission of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov suggested, on behalf of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), to take prompt measures and organize a campaign against the new wave of terror in Bulgaria, by involving in the campaign the most important sections of the Comintern, the International Red Relief and the Profintern.
- October Georgi Dimitrov was delegate to the 15th All-Union conference of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with the right of deliberative vote.
- November 22 - Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Seventh
December 16 Enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International. He was elected to the Secretariat of the Plenum, to the trade union and agrarian commissions.
- December 1 At a session of the trade union commission of the Plenum of the EC of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov spoke about the popular workers' trade unions.
- Second half of After the Seventh Plenum of the EC of the Communist
December International Georgi Dimitrov took part in a conference of the delegations of the Balkan communist parties and youth unions, which discussed problems of using the legal opportunities and strengthening the leadership and activity of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- 1927
- January 4 Georgi Dimitrov informed the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with a letter that the Seventh Congress of the Trade Unions in the USSR had voted a resolution against the white terror in Bulgaria and the persecution to which the Independent Workers' Trade Unions had been subjected. He also informed about the plan of the reorganization of the EC of the Communist International, which had been approved and the discussions of the Balkan Conference, held after the

Seventh enlarged Plenum of the EC of the Communist International.

- January 11 In a detailed letter to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov gave information about two Party meetings in Moscow, which discussed the situation of the emigrants in Yugoslavia. The letter contained also information about the decisions of the International Red Relief to organize a campaign against terror in Bulgaria.
- January 28 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Peasant International.
- January 28 in the evening Georgi Dimitrov left for Vienna, to work in the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), accompanied by his wife Lyuba Dimitrova.
- February 8 At a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) Georgi Dimitrov substantiated the necessity to involve in direct Party work the main BCP forces outside Bulgaria.
- February 11-12 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which decided to set up a Secretariat of the CC including: G. Dimitrov, A. Ivanov, M. Stoyanov. He was elected to chair the sessions of the CC. He was also entrusted with the responsibility for the work of the Secretariat, for the activity of the Balkan Communist Federation, and to render assistance to the editorial board of *Komunistichesko Zname* magazine.
- February 13 Georgi Dimitrov informed V. Kolarov in a letter about the organization of the work of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), about the composition of the collective representation of the BCP (left-wing Socialists) to the EC of the CI, about the foundation of the Workers' Party and the Bloc of Labour.
- February 25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which discussed the question of resuming the links of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) with the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.
- Early March Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin for several days on a Party mission.
- March 13 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions of the Secretariat of the CC and other problems were discussed.
- March 26 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists.) The problem of founding of the Workers' Party was discussed.
- April 1 In a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists)

- Georgi Dimitrov put forward a draft directives of the Central Committee to the Party's Executive Bureau.
- April 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP which adopted the directives, drafted by the Secretariat of the CC to the Executive Bureau on the celebration of May Day. Problems of the international campaign against white terror in Bulgaria, of subsidizing the election campaign, etc. were discussed.
- April 21* Georgi Dimitrov reported to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the political situation in the country, about the Party's tasks in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections and about the revolutionary movement in the Dobroudja.
- April 26* In a letter to the Representation in Exile of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, Georgi Dimitrov suggested that connections via correspondence be established or a meeting with one of the two members of this Representation be organized in Berlin, Prague or Vienna in the first half of May, to exchange views about the situation in the country, about the joint struggle of workers and peasants and to coordinate the campaign abroad against terror in Bulgaria.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists), whose agenda included questions about the progress of the pre-election campaign, the preparation of the Party conference, the founding of a legal youth union, etc.
- Late June or early July* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists). Decisions were taken on the tasks of the Party groups for cooperation, on the way of editing *Novini* newspaper. The preparation of the Party conference, the letter of the left wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union to the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) and the contents of the latest issue of *Komunistichesko Zname* magazine were discussed.
- July 19* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov sent a letter to the CC of the Austrian Communist Party, in which he expressed the solidarity of the proletariat of the Balkan countries with the July uprising in Austria. He dwelt on the great and difficult tasks of the Austrian Communist movement after the defeat it had suffered.
- July* On behalf of the Balkan Communist Federation G. Dimitrov greeted Klara Zetkin on her 70th birthday.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which approved a letter of the Central Committee to the CC of the Austrian Com-

- munist Party in Connection with the July events.
A letter from the Political Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the situation in Bulgaria, a resolution for work among women and other questions were discussed.
- August 25 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP, at which the date, number of delegates and the reporters on the items of the agenda were determined for the forthcoming Party conference.
He was charged to deliver the report of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927.
- September 13 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on the celebration of the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the September 1923 Uprising.
- November 16 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Situation in Romania' was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* magazine No 115 and *La Federation Balcanique* newspaper No 81.
- November 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The October Revolution and the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* magazine No 114.
- Early in December Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the Second Underground Party Conference.
- December 8 - January 15, 1928 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, at which, together with Vassil Kolarov, they defended the Bolshevik policy of the Party against leftist and rightist liquidators.
- December 8 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a detailed report of the CC for the period between June 9, 1923 and December 1927 at the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin in which he explained the Party tactics on June 9 and during the September 1923 Anti-fascist Popular Armed Uprising.
- December 21 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which mapped out measures to accelerate the work of the Party conference. New facts about the situation in the country and other questions are discussed.
- December 28 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a concluding speech on the report of the CC to the Second Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
- January 1-15 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the 2nd Underground Conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin, which had begun on December 8, 1927

1928

- January 2* Georgi Dimitrov answered in written form the questions put to him by the Enquiry Commission of the Second Party Conference about the preparations of the September Uprising and his attitude to the assault in the Sveta Nedelya Church in Sofia in April 1925.
- January 3* Georgi Dimitrov approved the report on the domestic and international situation of Bulgaria and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) delivered to the conference by V. Kolarov.
- January 11* Georgi Dimitrov spoke at the conference of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) about the draft resolution on the organizational question.
- January 12* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussions of the draft resolution elaborated by him on the report of the CC of the BCP.
- January 13* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the discussion of the draft resolution on the domestic and international situation and the immediate tasks of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists).
Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) seated in Vienna.
- January 16* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the CC and the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which took decisions on publishing the resolutions of the Second Party Conference, on the functions of the Bureau in Exile and the Central Committee of the BCP, etc.
- Middle of March* Georgi Dimitrov travelled clandestinely to Moscow to take part in the work of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern.
- March 17 – April 8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow. He was elected member of the Profintern Secretariat as representative of the Balkan states. On behalf of the Balkan delegations to the Fourth Congress he submitted a written suggestion to the Executive Bureau of the Profintern to organize an international campaign in defence of the persecuted class trade unions in the Balkan states.
- March 28* At the session of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in Moscow, Georgi Dimitrov made a report 'On the Measures to Fight Fascism and the Yellow Trade Unions'.
- April 3* At the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, Georgi

Dimitrov delivered a report 'On the Resolution to Fight Fascism'. He was elected in the composition of the Central Council of the Profintern as a representative of the Balkan states. In the session of the Plenum of the Profintern, Georgi Dimitrov was elected member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Council.

- April 5 Georgi Dimitrov wrote to the Presidium of the Peasant International in connection with the exacerbating struggles within the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the danger of defeat of its left wing.
- April 24 Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 4 as member of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.
- First half of July Georgi Dimitrov left for Moscow where he took part in the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.
- July 17 - September 1 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Sixth Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow.
- July 25 At a session of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on 'The Situation in the Balkans and the Tasks of the Communist Parties' and made a statement in the discussion of the question on a military threat on the subject 'A Diligent Study of the Experience Is Necessary.'
- July 30 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Dangers of An Imperialist War and the Anti-Soviet Bloc in the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* No 67.
- September 6 On behalf of the CC and the Bulgarian delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists) to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov addressed an appeal to the Presidium of the International Red Relief to lend assistance in the transfer of Bulgarian emigrants from Yugoslavia to the USSR and other countries to avoid the danger of their being handed over to Lyapchev's government.
- September - October Georgi Dimitrov underwent treatment in the Desyatiletie Oktyabrya sanatorium in Kislovodsk.
- September 19 Georgi Dimitrov informed the Balkan Secretariat of the EC of the Communist International about the new blow dealt at the revolutionary workers' movement in Bulgaria by the arrest of almost the entire Central Committee of the BCP, of the activists of the Workers' Party and the Independent Workers' Trade Unions.
- November 14 Georgi Dimitrov received mandate No 45 as candidate-member of the EC of the Communist International.

November 27–28 Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Berlin.

Early December Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Vienna where he stayed for about a week. He held a conference with representatives of the Yugoslav, Romanian and Bulgarian Communist Parties, of the department of international relations of the Communist International, of the Communist Youth International, on transferring the seat of the Balkan Communist Federation from Vienna to Berlin.

December 31 Georgi Dimitrov took part in a session of the Bureau in Exile of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) which was attended by the three members of the CC. He spoke about the character of the Party's Bureau in Exile. He was chosen to report at the subsequent sessions of the Bureau in Exile about the Eighth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation and the activities of the Bureau in Exile.

The Pamphlet *The Communists Accuse!* by Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Kolarov and Mladen Stoyanov was published in 1928.

1929

March 15 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Fascism in the Balkans' was published in *Balkanska Federatsia* magazine No 112.

July 15 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Imperialism in the Balkans' was published in *Balkanska Federatsia* No 120.

July 30 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Dangers of An Imperialist War and the Anti-Soviet Bloc in the Balkans' was published in *Imprekor* No. 67.

August – September Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Second enlarged Plenum of the CC of the BCP (Left-wing Socialists) in Berlin at whose session he, together with Vassil Kolarov, waged a resolute struggle against the left sectarian trend in the Party leadership. Georgi Dimitrov read a report on the trade union question.

November to May 1930 Georgi Dimitrov stayed in the Soviet Union.

1930

January 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Foundations, Ways and Prospects of the National Revolutionary Movements in the Balkans' was published in *Balkanska Federatsia* Nos 151–152.

1931

From December to June 1932 Georgi Dimitrov stayed in the USSR. He underwent treatment in the Desyatiletie Oktyabrya sanatorium in Kislovodsk.

1932

From June to the end of the year Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin to take part in the campaign for full political amnesty in connection with the new bill in Bulgaria to grant amnesty to the rest of those sentenced for the 1923 events.

With this aim in view Georgi Dimitrov travelled round Europe: Amsterdam, Paris, Brussels, where he met with eminent personalities – Stefan Zweig, Prof. Needly, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, and others.

1933

- January (30)* Georgi Dimitrov was in Vienna.
- February 6–8* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the conference of the Italian and Yugoslav Communist Parties in Munich.
- February 9* Georgi Dimitrov returned from Munich to Vienna.
- February 13* Georgi Dimitrov left for Berlin and put up at Mannsfeld's house, Klingsorstrasse 96.
- February 26* Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Munich.
- February 26–27* Georgi Dimitrov took part in a new conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party held in Munich.
- February 27* Georgi Dimitrov travelled to Berlin. In the train he learned from the newspapers about the setting of the Reichstag on fire.
- March 9* In restaurant Bayernhof at 10 Potsdamstrasse, Berlin, Georgi Dimitrov was arrested on the order of the German Criminal Police; he had a Swiss passport under the name of the Swiss writer Dr. Rudolf Hediger. Georgi Dimitrov was taken at once to the Reichstag building, Bismark Hall, where the Commissar of the Criminal Police Dr. Branschwitz questioned him.
- March 9 (in the evening)* Georgi Dimitrov was placed under preliminary arrest at Berlin police headquarters. Georgi Dimitrov started writing a diary, which he kept up during the whole trial.
- March 20* Georgi Dimitrov made a statement to the police investigating authorities in which he categorically rejected the accusation of the communists' participation in setting the Reichstag on fire.

- March 28* The police inquiry was finished. Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the preliminary prison in Berlin to the Moabit Prison and was registered there as prisoner No 8085.
- April 3* Georgi Dimitrov received the decree of the examining magistrate Vogt of March 31, in which the Imperial Court officially accused him of setting the Reichstag on fire.
- April 4* After the instructions of the examining magistrate Vogt of April 3 Georgi Dimitrov was manacled (he wore the manacles for 5 months – from April 4 to August 31).
- May 20* Georgi Dimitrov was questioned for the sixth time by the investigating authorities. He protested for having been imprisoned without being guilty.
- July 31* Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of July 25 about the appointment of the lawyer Dr. Teichert of Leipzig as official counsel for the defence. Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his sister Elena Dimitrova, who was in Paris, telling him that the French lawyers Giafferi, Campinci, Thorez as well as the Bulgarian lawyer Dechev were ready to take up his defence.
- August 3* Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment for setting the Reichstag on fire.
- August 12* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert, whom he warned that he was bound to make proposals and take steps in connection with the trial only in accordance with his own personal instructions or with his consent.
- August 19* Georgi Dimitrov received the decision of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Berlin of August 14 refusing him to have as defence counsel the American lawyer Arthur Hays and the French lawyer Moro Giafferi.
- August 31* Under the pressure of world public opinion the manacles were removed.
- September 3* Georgi Dimitrov received a letter from his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert. The latter advised Georgi Dimitrov to limit himself in his statements to his own defence and not to the defence of the communist party and ideology.
- September 6* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to his official defence counsel Dr. Teichert in reply to the latter's letter of September 3, declaring that he preferred to defend himself if counsel and defendant could not come to an agreement.

- September 11 Georgi Dimitrov received the indictment.
- September 14 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court in which he refuted the contents of the indictment.
- September 14-20 The first session of the counter trial in London had a sitting. It exposed the fascist terror in Germany and the trial staged in Leipzig establishing that the accused: Georgi Dimitrov, V. Tanev and B. Popov, as well as the German Communist Party had nothing to do directly or indirectly with the setting of the Reichstag on fire, which was the deed of the national socialists.
- September 18 Georgi Dimitrov was transferred from the Moabit Prison in Berlin to the Imperial Court in Leipzig.
- September 21
9.00-15.00 h Georgi Dimitrov attended the first hearing of the Court in Leipzig, in which the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe was questioned.
- September 22 During the second hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov followed with interest the continued interrogation of the main defendant Marinus van der Lubbe.
- September 23 At the third hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov pronounced his first historic speech in which he explained the anti-communist character of the Reichstag fire as an act of the enemies of communism, and having nothing in common with the communist movement.
- September 28 In the seventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov heard the evidence of the nazi spies, who were called as witnesses, constantly putting questions to them and exposing them. Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the President of the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Bünger, in which he informed him that he refused to be defended by his official counsel Dr. Teichert and insisted on the latter's replacement by the French lawyer Marcel Villard.
- October 4 The second session of the counter trial sat in Paris. In the course of the trial the speakers Moro Giafferi and Gaston Bergery stated that the charge against Georgi Dimitrov and his comrades was completely refuted and called upon the working people to fight against the trumped-up charge.
- October 6 At the eleventh hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov proved the forgery and planting of other people's documents among the papers confiscated at his lodgings by the police authorities. (The President of the Court expelled Georgi Dimitrov from the hearing.)
- October 7 At the twelfth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in which he pointed out that as a com-

- Communist and an innocent defendant he should be given the opportunity freely to defend himself.
- October 8* Georgi Dimitrov was taken to Berlin to attend the second part of the Leipzig trial: an analysis of the material evidence.
- October 10* In court Georgi Dimitrov refused to be defended by his officially appointed counsel Dr. Teichert.
- October 12* Georgi Dimitrov protested before the President of the Fourth Penal Department for having been removed from the hearings of the Court which hindered him from following the whole trial.
- October 18* Georgi Dimitrov put questions during the interrogation of Weber, chief of Goering's personal guard, from whom he wrested the confession that at the time of the fire, on Goering's order, the latter was in the Reichstag's basement.
- October 27* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the President on the Fourth Penal Department Dr. Büniger, insisting that he should be given the shorthand minutes of the case in his capacity of counsel for the defence.
- October 30* At the twenty-seventh hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov consistently unmasked the false testimonies of the various witnesses, as a result of which the President of the Court deprived him of the right to speak.
- November 1* At the twenty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov unmasked many depositions of the witnesses and was therefore expelled from the hearing.
- November 3* At the thirtieth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov accused the President of the Court of distorting the civil laws of the Soviet Union and was expelled from the hearing.
- November 4* Although expelled, Georgi Dimitrov was brought to attend the thirty-first hearing of the Court specially in connection with Goering's testimony. At this hearing Georgi Dimitrov unmasked Goering as being the actual incendiary of the Reichstag, as a result of which he was expelled from the hearing of the Court for the fifth time.
- November 8* In the thirty-fourth hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov unmasked the lies of the fascist propaganda minister Goebbels.
- November 15* In the thirty-ninth hearing Georgi Dimitrov insisted on being given the opportunity to defend himself, by being supplied with all documents, minutes, etc.
- November 16* Georgi Dimitrov addressed a statement to the Imperial Court demanding that Ernst Thaelmann, the President

- of the German Communist Party, be summoned as witness.
- November 18* The forty-first hearing of the Court in Berlin marked the conclusion of the second part of the trial – the examination of the material evidence.
- November 20* Georgi Dimitrov was again taken to Leipzig in a locked cage.
- November 28* At the forty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov insisted on summoning the leader of the German Communist Party Ernst Thaelmann and other communist functionaries, to testify that the German Communist Party had prepared no armed uprising and that it had nothing in common with the Reichstag fire.
- December 2* At the forty-ninth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov was deprived of the right to put questions to the witnesses.
- December 4* Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department with the request that O. Kuusinen of Finland, who made the report to the 12th Plenum of the Comintern, the Frenchman Marcel Cachin and the Japanese Sen Katayama, explain the tasks set by the Comintern to the German Communist Party at the beginning of 1933.
- December 5* At the fifty-first hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov put questions to communist witnesses and in fact conducted the interrogation, stressing the immediate tasks facing the German Communist Party at the time prior to the fire in accordance with the 12th Plenum of the Communist International: the building of a united front of all working people against fascist terror and the danger of an imperialist war.
- December 6* The fifty-second hearing of the Court marked the conclusion of the court interrogation.
- December 11* Georgi Dimitrov contracted bronchitis owing to the hard conditions in prison.
- December 14* At the fifty-fourth hearing of the Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor Dr. Werner asked for Georgi Dimitrov's acquittal because of the lack of evidence in support of the indictment against him.
Georgi Dimitrov, not satisfied with the reasons thus put forward, insisted on being acquitted because of his utter innocence and of his non-participation in the setting of fire to the Reichstag.
- December 16* At the fifty-sixth hearing of the Court, Georgi Dimitrov made his concluding speech. Georgi Dimitrov analyzed the programme of the Communist International for the building of a united front of all working people in the

fight against fascism and imperialist war and the economic and political situation of Germany on the eve of the Nazi provocation. He refuted the accusation in the indictment and demanded that the Supreme Court should pronounce him innocent, insisting that those who are guilty should be punished. (The President of the Court kept interrupting Georgi Dimitrov's speech.)

December 23 (in the evening) At the last hearing of the Court Georgi Dimitrov was found by the Imperial Court not guilty of having set fire to the Reichstag owing to the lack of evidence.

December 23 Georgi Dimitrov was served an order by the Leipzig Polizeipräsidium to be kept in custody until further notice.

Georgi Dimitrov was again locked up in the Imperial Court Prison in Leipzig in the same cell and under the same regime as before his acquittal.

December 24 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that he should be allowed to see some relations and friends.

December 25 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that he should have a copy of his acquittal.

December 28 Georgi Dimitrov addressed an application to the Polizeipräsidium in Leipzig in which he protested against his detention after having been acquitted by the Court. He insisted on being extradited to Czechoslovakia, France or the Soviet Union.

December 30 Georgi Dimitrov sent a wire to Bulgaria's Prime Minister N. Moushanov, with the request to be allowed to return to Bulgaria. (Georgi Dimitrov's request was left without response).

1934

January 2 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a letter to the State Secret Police in Berlin with the request that his confiscated suitcases and books be returned to him. Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the Imperial Minister of the Interior Dr. Friek with the request that, after having been acquitted by the Imperial Court, he should be extradited to Austria, Czechoslovakia or Holland.

January 11 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the President of the Fourth Penal Department of the Imperial Court Dr. Bünger insisting that a copy of the Court's ruling acquitting him be sent to him.

- January 13 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter of protest to the Polizeipräsidium in Leipzig against the tampering with his correspondence.
- January 15 Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the Imperial Minister of the Interior Affairs Dr. Friek with the request to give a prompt order for his release and extradition.
- January 28 Georgi Dimitrov was transferred to Berlin to the Gestapo prison.
Violent workers' demonstrations in all countries insistently called for the release of Georgi Dimitrov.
- February 7 Georgi Dimitrov's replies to the *Daily Express* correspondent were published in *Rundschau* magazine No 15 of February 15 under the heading: 'Goering Wants Me to Be Executed!'
- February 15 The Soviet Government decided to grant Soviet citizenship and a Soviet passport to Georgi Dimitrov.
- February 27 Georgi Dimitrov received documents of a Soviet citizen. Early in the morning he was released without warning from the Gestapo prison and taken to a plane which left for an unknown destination. At the Königsberg airport he conveyed his greetings to the German workers in the following words: 'We shall come back again to Soviet Germany!'
- In the evening Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Moscow enthusiastically welcomed by the Moscow working people.
Georgi Dimitrov gave an interview to representatives of the Soviet and foreign press in Moscow immediately on arrival.
- February 28 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a solemn meeting on the occasion of Nadezhda Krupskaya's 65th birthday at the Old Bolshevik Society.
- March 4 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Victory of Proletarian Solidarity' was published in *Pravda* No 62
- March 8 Georgi Dimitrov greeted the Moscow regional Conference of the Red Relief.
Georgi Dimitrov greeted the Soviet women on the occasion of the International Women's Day. Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Moscow Regional Conference of Red Relief with gratitude for the participation of the working people in the USSR in the struggle to release the defendants in Leipzig.
- March 9 Georgi Dimitrov greeted the meeting of men and women shock workers held at the Bolshoi Theatre and devoted to March 8.
- March 10 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the French writers and public figures Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse about their merits in the struggle against war

- and fascism appealing to them to contribute to the liberation from prison of E. Thaelmann and the other fighters.
- March 29* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Henri Barbusse congratulating on his 60th birthday and appealing on him to continue fighting against fascism.
- April 14* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the workers in Holland appealing to them to continue the united anti-fascist struggle.
- April 18* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the British Anti-War Youth Council in support of the manifesto against war and fascism.
- April 20* Georgi Dimitrov's letter to the Austrian workers was published in *Pravda* No 109.
- April 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'There Is No other Way to the Victory Over Fascism, except the Struggle for Soviet Rule' was published in *L'Humanité* No 12915.
- End of April* Georgi Dimitrov was in a sanatorium in the neighbourhood of Moscow where he received correspondents for the foreign and Soviet press.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov attended the march past of Moscow's working people on the occasion of May Day.
- May 4* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the assistant secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen in England about the necessity of class unity of the proletariat.
- May 5* Georgi Dimitrov had a talk with foreign workers.
- May 7* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at a grand meeting on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Dimitar Blagoev's death, organized by the Bulgarian emigrants in Moscow.
- May 26* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Arkhangelskoe to the Soviet writer Marshak in connection with the use in the press of the numerous congratulatory letters sent to Dimitrov from children on his release from prison.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Danish Section of the International Red Relief expressing gratitude for its participation in the struggle for the release of the accused communists in Leipzig and its forthcoming tasks.
- June 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the proletarian revolutionary writers from the Hitzing group in Vienna, wishing them to take part, through their writing, in the anti-fascist struggle.
- Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the Swedish anti-fascists about the struggle against fascism in the northern countries.

- End of August Georgi Dimitrov wrote a preface to Mikhail Las' book entitled *Save Comrade Thaelmann*.
- September 6 Georgi Dimitrov sent a wire to the Bulgarian government, the chief prosecutor and the martial court in Plovdiv protesting against the sentencing of 150 soldiers by the Plovdiv Field Martial Court and the participants in the underground printing house of *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* that had been uncovered.
- November 3 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Soviet Union - Our Homeland' was published in *Rundschau* magazine No. 58.
- November 5 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle for A United Front' was published in *Pravda* No 308.
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov attended the parade of the Moscow working people on the occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
- November 20 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at the grand meeting of Komsomol activists of the Moscow Komsomol Organization of the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Communist Youth International.

1935

- February 27 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Incendiaries' was published in *Rundschau* No 11, on the occasion of the anniversary of his release from fascist prison.
- February 28 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech in the House of Soviet Writers on 'The Revolutionary Literature - in a Struggle against Fascism!'
- March 8 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the grand meeting celebrating the International Women's Day.
- March 10 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter from Moscow to Romain Rolland asking him to defend in the press the victims of Bulgarian fascism and in the first place the scores of anti-fascist soldiers sentenced to death.
- March 18 Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the Presidium of the grand meeting, dedicated to the 64th anniversary of the Paris Commune in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Soviets in Moscow.
- April 12 Georgi Dimitrov wired a message of greetings to the European conference in aid of the victims of Spanish fascism appealing to deploy an international campaign in defence of the Spanish fighters.
- April 20 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a May Day appeal for defence of all working people threatened by the common enemy - fascism. The appeal was published in *Rundschau* No 20.
- May 11 At a meeting in Moscow Georgi Dimitrov made a

- speech on the 11th anniversary of Dimiter Blagoev's death.
- May 23 From Moscow Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter to the City committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Taganrog in connection with the celebration on Chekhov's 75th birth anniversary.
- May 24 On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Georgi Dimitrov's article 'A Magnificent Weapon of Education' was published in its 118th issue.
- May Georgi Dimitrov made a speech in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Soviets before the foreign workers' delegations on the occasion of May Day.
- June 23 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The United Front of Struggle against Fascism and the Warmongers' was published in *Rabochaya Moskva*.
- July 8 Georgi Dimitrov's preface to M. Austin's book 'Hubert in Wonderland' was published in *Pravda* No 186.
- July 26 Georgi Dimitrov cabled a message of greetings to the International Congress of Socialist Students in Oxford, England.
- August 2-20 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the sessions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.
- August 2 Georgi Dimitrov read a report before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern entitled 'The Onslaught of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for Working-Class Unity against Fascism', published in *Pravda* No. 215.
- August 13 Georgi Dimitrov made a concluding speech on the report to the Seventh Congress 'On the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism'.
- August 20 Georgi Dimitrov made the concluding speech of the Seventh Comintern Congress on 'Today's Rulers of the Capitalist Nations Will not Last Long. The Proletariat Is the True Master of the World'.
At the Seventh Comintern Congress Georgi Dimitrov was elected General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
- September 2 The article 'An Ardent Fighter against War and Fascism' devoted to Henri Barbusse was published in *Pravda* No 242.
- September 23 Georgi Dimitrov addressed in Moscow a congratulatory letter to the participants in the grand meeting devoted to the 12th anniversary of the September 1923 Uprising in Bulgaria.
- September 23 On behalf of the Executive Committee of the

- Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov sent an address to the Second International to fight against the imperialist war.
- September 25 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a message of greetings to the Sixth Congress of the Youth International in Moscow on the subject: 'Let Us Unite All Forces of the Anti-Fascist Youth.'
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov's congratulatory message to Harry Pollitt containing good wishes for success in the struggle of the English Communist Party for a united front was published in *Rundschau* No 63.
- December Georgi Dimitrov wrote a preface to N. Chernishevsky's book *What Is to Be Done?* entitled 'To the Young Reader'.
- 1936
- January 1 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to the Soviet youth on the occasion of the new year was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No 1.
- January 8 Georgi Dimitrov's interview with press representatives on 'The Legal System of German Fascism. A reply to Mr. Ribbentrop,' was published in *Pravda* No 8.
- January 22 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to the Eighth Congress of the French Communist Party was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* magazine No 3.
- January 25 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to the Finnish Communist Party was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* magazine No 2.
- January 28 Georgi Dimitrov's message of congratulations to Romain Rolland on the occasion of his 70th birthday was published in *Pravda* No 28.
- April 16 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to Ernst Thaelmann on the occasion of his 50th birthday, was published in *Pravda* No 106.
- April 30 Congratulatory letter to the old Italian workers' functionary Genari was published in *Rundschau* No. 20.
- May 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The United Front of the Struggle for Peace' was published in *Pravda* No 120.
- June 19 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'Gorky's Name Will Inspire Millions' was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No 142.
- August Georgi Dimitrov's article 'On the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No. 14.
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The Popular Front of Struggle against Fascism and War' was published in *Pravda* No 38.

1937

- February 25 Georgi Dimitrov's appeal 'Set Thaelmann Free' was published in *Rundschau* No 7.
- March Message of greetings was sent on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the theoretical organ of the Italian Communist Party, *Stato Operaio* review, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its foundation signed by Georgi Dimitrov as General Secretary of the Comintern.
- April 29 An obituary issued by the ECCI on the death of Gramsci, leader of the working class and the Communist Party in Italy, was published in *Rundschau* No 18, signed by Georgi Dimitrov, Ercoli, D. Manuilski, O. Kuusinen and others.
- May 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Unity of the International Proletariat, A Supreme Challenge of the Present Moment' was published in *Pravda* No 120.
- May 20 A message of greetings by Georgi Dimitrov on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Swedish Communist Party was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 6.
- June-3 Georgi Dimitrov sent a wire on behalf of the ECCI to the President of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' International de Brucher, for joint action of the international workers' organizations with the Spanish people was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 6.
- June 4 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Lessons from Almeria' was published in *Pravda* No 152.
- July 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'One Year of Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People' was published in *Pravda* No 196.
- August 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Fascism Means War' was published in *Pravda* No 210.
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Soviet Union and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries' was published in *Pravda* No 308.
- November 15 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Romain Rolland about his contribution to the anti-fascist movement wishing him to continue the struggle at the front of peace, freedom and socialism.
- December 8 Georgi Dimitrov's speech as nominee to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, delivered at a pre-election meeting with the electorate in Kostroma was published in *Pravda* No 339.

December 17 Georgi Dimitrov wrote a letter from Moscow to the Spanish Communist Party containing recommendations to work for the strengthening of the economic situation and the defence of the country.

In 1937 a collection of articles and speeches by Georgi Dimitrov was published in the Russian language under the title *In the Fight for A United Front against Fascism and War*. The same collection appeared in many languages.

1938

May 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'A Pledge for Victory' was published in *Pravda* No 120.

July 18 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'Two Years of Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People' was published in *Pravda* No 196.

July On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in his capacity of Secretary General, Georgi Dimitrov greeted the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party.

September 21 The appeal to the peoples in defence of the Bulgarian people signed by Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov, was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* magazine No 49.

October 3 From Kislovodsk Georgi Dimitrov wrote to the Secretariat of the ECCI about the necessity to achieve unity in the workers' movement in Czechoslovakia.

October 5 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Kislovodsk to the Secretariat of the ECCI about the need to act in order to preserve and strengthen the popular front in France.

October 11 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Kislovodsk to the Secretariat of the ECCI about the need to step up the movement on solidarity with the Czechoslovak people against the fascist aggressors and their collaborators.

November 7 Georgi Dimitrov wired from Yalta a telegram to the Secretariat of the ECCI containing notes on the appeal of the Comintern on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

November 7 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled 'The United Front of the International Proletariat and of the Peoples against Fascism (after Munich)' was published in *Pravda* No 308.

Many of the articles and speeches of Georgi Dimitrov were published in 1938 in Russian, Italian, French, English and other languages.

A collection of articles and speeches by Georgi Dimitrov entitled *Problems of the United Front against Fascism and War* was published in Moscow in Bulgaria.

- 1939
- May 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Land of Socialism and the Struggle of the International Proletariat' was published in *Pravda* No 120.
- June 24 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to Martin Andersen Nexö was published in *Rundschau* No 35.
- July 22 Georgi Dimitrov's message of greetings to the students socialists and communists was published in *La Correspondence Internationale* No 38.
- August Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The War and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* Nos 8 and 9.

The book 'The Reichstag Fire Trial' was published in 1939 in Russian. It contained all documents of Georgi Dimitrov connected with the trial in Leipzig as well as many other articles and speeches.

- 1940
- May 2 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'May Day and the Struggle against Imperialist War' was published in *Pravda* No 121.
- May 1 On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in his capacity of General Secretary, Georgi Dimitrov addressed an appeal to the workers and working people throughout the world to fight against the imperialist war.
- 1941
- March Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The 70th Anniversary of the Paris Commune' was published in *Komunisticheskiy International* No 3.
- December 15 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'There Is Only One Way of Saving Our People' was read over the Hristo Botev Radio Station.
- 1942
- July 17 'The Programme of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria' worked out by Georgi Dimitrov was announced over Hristo Botev radio station.
- September 23 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Dolores

- Ibaruri expressing condolences in connection with the heroic death of her son.
- September 25* Georgi Dimitrov's appeal to the working men and women in Bulgaria to rally the people around the Fatherland Front programme was read over Hristo Botev Radio Station.
- 1943
- September 16* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Whither Bulgaria' was published in *Pravda* No. 230.
- December 27* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Bulgarian Crisis' was published in *Pravda* No. 318.
- 1944
- March 28* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) instructions to step up the armed struggle aimed at diverting the threat of an overt nazi occupation of Bulgaria.
- June 2* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Bagryanov's Government' was broadcast over Hristo Botev Radio Station.
- July 20* Georgi Dimitrov's mother Parashkeva Dosseva-Dimitrova died.
- August 6* Georgi Dimitrov wrote a preface to the pamphlet entitled 'The Salutary Path for Bulgaria'.
- August 27* Georgi Dimitrov sent from Moscow the historic telegram to the Central Committee of the Party and to the General Staff of the partisan forces on the formation of the first partisan national liberation division.
- September 9* Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Georgi Dimitrov and with the decisive assistance of the heroic and invincible Soviet Army, the people in Bulgaria overthrew the hated monarcho-fascist dictatorship and set up their own people's democratic rule, forming the first People's Government, the Government of the Fatherland Front.
- September 28* Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter of greetings to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in which he underlined the historic significance of the Fatherland Front for Bulgaria.
- November 14* Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Traicho Kostov for the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) regarding the ideological and political training of the Party cadres.
- 1945
- January 1* Georgi Dimitrov sent from Moscow New Year's greetings to the Bulgarian people.
- January 14* Georgi Dimitrov had talks with the Bulgarian

economic delegation in Moscow about the economic stabilization and independence of new Bulgaria.

- January 17 Georgi Dimitrov wired from Moscow a telegram to the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) about the moral character of the communist and the Fatherland Front member.
- March 6 Georgi Dimitrov wrote from Moscow to Tsola Dragoicheva about the preparations for and the holding of the First Congress of the Fatherland Front.
- March 6 Georgi Dimitrov sent a telegram from Moscow to the enlarged Plenum of the CC of the BWP (communists) expressing a wish for the Party's all-round strengthening.
- March 11 From Moscow Georgi Dimitrov sent a message of greetings to the National Congress of the Fatherland Front Committees: 'The Fatherland Front Is A Lasting Fighting Alliance of All Democratic and Progressive Forces'.
- March 15 Georgi Dimitrov's letter from Moscow to the First Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union entitled 'The Tasks of the General Workers' Trade Union' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* newspaper No 153.
- May 19 Georgi Dimitrov sent a telegram from Moscow to Georgi Traikov, Chairman of the National Conference of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union: 'On the Militant Fraternity between the Toiling Peasants and the Workers'.
- June 27 The Supreme Soviet of the USSR awarded Georgi Dimitrov with the Order of Lenin for his great contribution to the struggle against fascism and war.
- June 28 Georgi Dimitrov's letter from Moscow to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) 'On the Role of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in the Fatherland Front' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 245.
- July 14 Georgi Dimitrov wired a telegram from Moscow to the First Congress of the Bulgarian People's Women's Union: 'Women Are A Mighty Force'.
- August 21 The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR complied with Georgi Dimitrov's request and relieved him from his duties as deputy in view of his forthcoming return to Bulgaria.
- September 22 Georgi Dimitrov's article entitled: '1923-1945. Important Lesson from the September Uprising' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No. 313.
- November 6 Georgi Dimitrov returned to Bulgaria after 22 years in

emigration, welcomed with unprecedented enthusiasm by the Bulgarian people.

- November 15* Georgi Dimitrov made his election speech at an impressive meeting in Sofia. The subject of the speech was 'Towards An All-People's Victory over Reaction and the Ill-Wishers of New Bulgaria'.
- November 16* Georgi Dimitrov had a conversation with foreign journalists, communists.
- November 18* Georgi Dimitrov was elected national representative to the 26th National Assembly.
- December 5* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at the Congress of Railwaymen and Sailors.
Georgi Dimitrov gave a reception to the young Sofia Septemvriiche pioneer children and their leaders.
- December 7* Georgi Dimitrov visited the primary school in Boyana.
Georgi Dimitrov talked with members of the CC of the Young Workers' League.
- December 12-14* Georgi Dimitrov presided over the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and delivered the concluding speech.
- December 15* Georgi Dimitrov attended the ceremonial opening of the 26th National Assembly.
- December 25* At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov made a speech 'The Ninth of September Cause Is A Historic Cause'.
- December 30* Georgi Dimitrov attended the Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.
- December 31* Georgi Dimitrov addressed New Year's greetings to the whole Bulgarian people entitled 'The Key to the Solution of All Difficulties Is in Our Hands'.

1946

- January 19* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the brigaders' grand meeting on 'The Role of the Brigades'.
- January 20* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the General Workers' Trade Unions about the place and role of the trade unions in the new state.
- February 10* Georgi Dimitrov made a speech at the partisan meeting on 'The Duties of the People's Partisan'.
- February 17* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the grand meeting in the Vassil Levski Military School on 'The National Ideals of the Bulgarian People's Army'.
- February 21* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the First Conference of commanding officers of the people's

- militia on 'The People's Militia – An Unshakeable Bulwark of the Democratic Government.'
- February 26-* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Sofia Regional Conference of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) and delivered a speech on 'The Historic Mission of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists).'
- March 3* Georgi Dimitrov attended in the National Theatre the grand celebration of the 68th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman bondage.
- March 8* Georgi Dimitrov addressed a message of greetings to the Bulgarian women from towns and villages on the occasion on the *International Women's Day*.
- March 23* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) about the reasons for the resignation of the Government.
- April 5* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the parliamentary group of the BWP (communists) on 'The Two Lessons'.
- April 12* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a dinner given to John Mack entitled 'Our Nation Is Small but Has A Definite National Pride'.
- April 23* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Our National Cause Is Just and Powerful' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 89.
- April 30* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Struggle for Lasting Peace and People's Democracy' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 95.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov took the salute of the May Day march past of the Sofia working people.
- May 2* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the common grave in Freedom Park 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes'.
- May 9* Georgi Dimitrov took the salute of the march past of the people's army in connection with the victory over fascism.
- May 12* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the Congress of Technicians on 'The Role of Technicians in Our Economic Life'.
- May 19* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech about emulation and shock-work at the grand meeting organized to celebrate the textile shock workers.
- May 23* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the First National Congress of the Anti-fascist Democratic Youth on 'Anti-fascist Youth Should Be in the Front Ranks of the Struggle'.

- May 24 Georgi Dimitrov took the salute of the youth march past in the capital on the occasion of the Day of Cyril and Methodius and education and culture.
- May 26 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the celebration held in the Rila Monastery to mark the millennial anniversary of Ivan of Rila.
- June 2 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Hristo Botev Is A Banner Which Will Fly Ever Higher over New, Democratic Bulgaria' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No. 120.
- June 8 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'A Call of Warning' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 125 in connection with the commemoration of Alexander Stamboliiski.
- June 18 Georgi Dimitrov received delegations of shock workers, miners, railwaymen, textile workers, trade union, women's and youth functionaries and many others who congratulated him on the occasion of his birthday.
- June 28 Georgi Dimitrov received the members of the CC of the BWP (communists) who congratulated him on his birthday.
Georgi Dimitrov attended the regional conference of the plenum of the Sofia regional committee of the BWP (communists) with the Bureau of the Sofia City Committee.
- June 29 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a letter of congratulations to the Congress of Mothers with Many Children in Bulgaria.
- July 2 At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov tabled a suggestion on the bill on the leadership and control of the army; to set up a government commission of representatives of the five parliamentary groups, which would collect material on purging the army from hostile elements.
- July 25 At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the special commission on reviewing the 'Bill on A Referendum to Abolish the Monarchy and Proclaim A People's Republic'.
- August 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Three Major National Tasks' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 171.
- August 5 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before an enlarged plenum of the Bulgarian People's Women's Union on 'The Bulgarian Woman Has Won A Place of Honour in Our Country.'
- August 9 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the enlarged plenum of the CC of the BWP (communists) on the subject 'The BWP (communists) Should Be the First in the

- Drive for A People's Republic and A Grand National Assembly.'
- September 7 Georgi Dimitrov addressed the Bulgarian nation over the radio: 'Bulgaria Will Be A People's Republic.'
- September 10 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the reception in honour of foreign trade-union delegations and journalists on the occasion of the referendum to proclaim Bulgaria a people's republic.
- September 15 Georgi Dimitrov attended the ceremonial session of the National Assembly on the occasion of Bulgaria's proclamation as a people's republic.
- September 26 Georgi Dimitrov made a statement before the French journalists about the importance of the Nürnberg Trial.
- September 28 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the parliamentary group of the BWP (communists), members of the CC and the Sofia City functionaries, on the subject 'Forward, against Reaction and Fascism, for the Triumph of the Cause of the Salutary and Unshakeable Fatherland Front.'
- October 25 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the mass election rally on 'The Fatherland Front Will Triumph in Spite of All.'
- October 29 Georgi Dimitrov had a talk with foreign journalists in connection with the electoral victory of the Fatherland Front in the elections for a Grand National Assembly.
- November 1 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Ten Major Commands' was published in *Rabotnicheskio Delo* No 254.
- November 2 Georgi Dimitrov made a statement before representatives of *Associated Press* on the role of the Fatherland Front in the country's public life after the elections for a Grand National Assembly - 'The Government Will Be A Government of the Fatherland Front.'
- November 7 Georgi Dimitrov attended the ceremonial opening of the first Grand National Assembly of the republic.
- November 17 Georgi Dimitrov chaired the 12th plenum of the CC of the BWP (communists).
- November 21 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Let Our Friendship Live through the Centuries' was published in *Rabotnicheskio Delo* No 271.
- At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion to vote a resolution in connection with the meeting of the four Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Britain, France and USA on drafting the peace treaty of Bulgaria.
- November 21 At a session of the National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov was entrusted with the formation of the new government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

- November 22 Georgi Dimitrov was elected Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
- November 23 Georgi Dimitrov sent a message of greetings to the First Congress of the Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship societies in Bulgaria containing an appeal to work for the strengthening of Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship.
- November 24 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the Congress of the Union of Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Societies.
- November 28 At a session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov proclaimed the policy declaration of the new government of the Fatherland Front.
- December 13 At a session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech: 'The Overwhelming Majority of the People Approve the Government Declaration.'
- 1947
- January 1 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a New Year message of greetings to the Bulgarian people.
- January 28 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the solemn meeting of shock workers on the subject 'What Is Necessary for the Success of the Shock Work Movement and the Emulation'.
- February 3 Georgi Dimitrov made statements before representatives of the press in connection with the signing of the peace treaty of Bulgaria by the USSR, Britain and France.
- February 4 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the National Conference of the Cooperative Farms on 'The Most Important Conditions for Strengthening the Cooperative Farms'.
- February 12 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a message of greetings to the 'Artists' Congress wishing them to deploy their creative faculties in producing realistic works.
Georgi Dimitrov's statements before the representative of *Associated Press* in connection with the signing of Bulgaria's peace treaty in Paris were published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No. 34.
- February 22 Georgi Dimitrov delivered the speech 'The Two-Year Economic Plan Will Be Fulfilled and Overfulfilled' before the 44th Session of the Grand National Assembly.
- February 24 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the Sofia regional party conference on 'The Forecasts of Our Party Have Been Brilliantly Confirmed'.
- April 16 Georgi Dimitrov wired a message of greetings to the first republican recruit of the People's Army.

- April 17 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech of gratitude to the standing committee of the Union of Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Societies on the occasion of his being proclaimed Honorary President of the Union.
- May 1 Georgi Dimitrov made a May Day address to the Bulgarian people 'Forward for the Implementation of the Two-Year National Economic Plan'
- May 6 Georgi Dimitrov congratulated the General People's Students' Union on the students' active participation in the brigaders' movement.
- May 7 Georgi Dimitrov took part in the homage paid to Dimiter Blagoev, the founder of socialism in Bulgaria, at his grave to mark the 23rd anniversary of his death.
- May 14 Georgi Dimitrov received the members of the Standing Body of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.
- May 18 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech to the Congress of the printing workers and those working in paper production.
- May 24 Georgi Dimitrov hailed the impressive youth march past in Sofia on the Occasion of May 24, the Day of Education and Culture and of Cyril and Methodius.
- May 27 Georgi Dimitrov made a speech of greetings at the celebration organized in the National Theatre to mark the conclusion of the review of youth amateur artistic activities.
- June 8 Georgi Dimitrov made statements before Rigal, special correspondent on *L'Humanité*, about the main trends of Bulgaria's foreign policy.
- June 11 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the delegation of textile shock workers.
- June 16 Georgi Dimitrov wired a telegram from Sofia to the Swedish jurist and political figure Georg Branting, Stockholm.
- June 17 Georgi Dimitrov gave an interview to the American journalist Pittman 'Present-Day Fascists and Their Goals Should Be Exposed.'
- June 18 Georgi Dimitrov was awarded the Gold Star of the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the occasion of his birthday.
- June 21 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the dinner in honour of the Czechoslovak government delegation on the occasion of the signing of the cultural convention: 'Let Us Build up the Granite Foundation of Slav Unity.'
- June 24 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the Congress of Railwaymen and Sailors.
- July 14 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the dinner given in honour of the Romanian government delegation.

- July 19 Georgi Dimitrov received the French communist writers Louis Aragon and Elsa Triolet who were on a visit to Bulgaria.
- July 24 Georgi Dimitrov had a conversation with the correspondent of the Greek newspaper *Rizospastis* on the situation in the Balkans.
- July 26 Georgi Dimitrov answered questions put by the European Editor of 'Saturday Evening Post' *Demares Bes* about the political and economic relations between Bulgaria and the USA.
- August 1 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the dinner after the signing of the Bled Agreement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.
- August 3 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a rally of many thousands held in Sofia on the arrival of our government delegation from Yugoslavia.
- September 8 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a message of greetings to the working people, the workers in the field of science, art and culture, to the people's army and the people's militia on the occasion of September 9.
- October 31 Georgi Dimitrov addressed a messages of greetings to the congresses of the Workers' Youth League and the Agrarian Youth Union.
- November 6 Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The USSR - An Indestructible Bulwark of Peace and Democracy' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo*, No. 260.
- November 25 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the rally in Sofia to welcome the Yugoslav Government delegation.
- November 27 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the dinner given in Euxinograd on the occasion of signing the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.
- December 4 Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the 124th session of the Grand National Assembly after the adoption of the Constitution.
- December 10 At the 126th session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the suggestion of the parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists), the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, the Zveno National Union and the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party.
- December 11 At the 127th session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov tabled a motion for a new government.

- December 13* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the farewell dinner given to the representatives of the Soviet Army in Bulgaria on the occasion of the Soviet Troops' departure from the country.
- December 22* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the Constituent Congress of the Union of the People's Youth.
- December 29* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the 27th Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.
- 1948
- January 1* Georgi Dimitrov addressed a New Year message of greetings to the Bulgarian people.
- January 3* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before the National Conference of the Zveno Party.
- January 13-19* At the head of a Bulgarian government delegation, Georgi Dimitrov visited Romania at the invitation of the Romanian government to conclude a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania.
- January 16* On behalf of the Bulgarian government delegation, Georgi Dimitrov signed the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania. At the grand meeting in Bucharest called to celebrate the signing of the treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania, Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech.
- January 18* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the grand meeting in Sofia after the return of the Bulgarian government delegation from the People's Republic of Romania.
- February 2-3* Georgi Dimitrov took part in the work of the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front in Sofia.
- February 2* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a report to the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front.
- February 3* Georgi Dimitrov delivered the concluding speech at the closing of the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front.
- February 4* Georgi Dimitrov was elected to the Standing Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Fatherland Front. He delivered the concluding speech at the Constituent Session of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.
- February 22* Georgi Dimitrov's article "The Bulgarian People Cherish Deep Love and Gratitude for the Soviet Liberating Army" was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 43.

- March 2* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech to the Second Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union.
- March 3* Georgi Dimitrov congratulated the young soldiers who had taken an oath for loyal service to the people and the People's Republic.
- March 5* At the 15th sitting of the First Regular Session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov spoke on the bill on expropriating large urban estate.
- March 15-24* At the head of a Bulgarian government delegation Georgi Dimitrov visited Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet government to conclude a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
- March 18* Georgi Dimitrov delegated by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Vyacheslav Molotov, delegated by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, signed the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.
- March 24* Georgi Dimitrov made a statement before representatives of the press before the departure from Moscow to Bulgaria of the Bulgarian government delegation.
- March 24*
15.000 h Georgi Dimitrov together with the members of the Bulgarian government delegation arrived in Sofia. Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech before a meeting of many thousands called in Sofia on the occasion of the return of the Bulgarian government delegation from Moscow.
- April 1* Georgi Dimitrov attended the ceremonial session of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, called to ratify the treaty of alliance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.
- April 6* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a congratulatory speech before the Plenum of the Bulgarian People's Women's Union.
- April 7* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a congratulatory speech at the celebration of the Day of Mothers and Children.
- April 20-28* At the head of a Bulgarian government delegation Georgi Dimitrov visited the Czechoslovak People's Republic to conclude a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Czechoslovak People's Republic.
- April 20* Georgi Dimitrov had a cordial meeting with two comrades at whose house he had lived in 1928 and 1929 when underground in Brecla who had helped him to enter Austria illegally.

- April 23* Georgi Dimitrov delegated by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, and Klement Gottwald, delegated by the President of the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia, signed the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia.
- Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech after the signing of the treaty of alliance between the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a meeting of many thousands in Prague, called on the occasion of the signing of the treaty of alliance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia.
- April 25* Georgi Dimitrov signed the treaty for the provisional settlement of economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.
- April 27 in the morning* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech 'Advance to New Common Victories' on his departure for Bulgaria.
- April 28 7 o'clock* At the head of the Bulgarian government delegation, Georgi Dimitrov arrived in Sofia. He delivered a speech at a meeting of many thousands in Sofia, called to welcome the Bulgarian government delegation, which signed a treaty with the Czechoslovak People's Republic.
- April 30* Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech in the Vassil Levski people's military school on the occasion of the commissioning of officers of the Dimitrov socialist alumni.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov, together with the members of the Council of Ministers and the Politburo, took the salute of the impressive May Day march past of the working people in Sofia.
- May 4* Georgi Dimitrov received a delegation of the Union of the People's Youth, which handed him an address-and-pledge of 600,000 brigaders from all over the country. He delivered a speech of instructions.
- May 12* Georgi Dimitrov attended the celebrations commemorating Dimiter Blagoev, the Grand Old Man, on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of his death.
- May 15-17* Georgi Dimitrov made a tour of South Bulgaria, visiting cooperative farms and some factories.
- May 18* Georgi Dimitrov gave a dinner to the prominent French public figure, Vice President of the national committee for the celebration of the centenary of the 1848 revolution, Justin Goddard.
- May 24* Georgi Dimitrov took the salute of the impressive

march past of the Sofia students on the occasion of the Day of Cyril and Methodius and of Education and Culture.

May 28 -

June 1

A Bulgarian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov paid a visit to Warsaw to conclude a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Poland.

May 29

Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov signed the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Poland. Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on signing the treaty. In the evening Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at a meeting of many thousands organized by the Polish-Bulgarian Society and the Slav Committee in Warsaw on the occasion of signing the treaty of alliance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Poland.

June 1

Georgi Dimitrov and the members of the Bulgarian government delegation arrived in Sofia.

Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov were awarded high Polish distinctions by the President of the Polish People's Republic.

Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech at the meeting, called in Sofia on the occasion of the return of the Bulgarian government delegation from Poland.

June 18

The entire Bulgarian people congratulated Georgi Dimitrov on his 66th birthday.

Georgi Dimitrov received Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grottevoll, leaders of the German Workers' Unity Party, who were on a visit to Bulgaria.

June 20

Georgi Dimitrov took the salute of an impressive sports parade.

June 27

Georgi Dimitrov took part in the session of the enlarged Plenum of the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists).

July 12

Georgi Dimitrov made a report to the 16th Plenum of the BWP (communists).

July 16

Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov, delegated by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, signed in Sofia the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Hungary, also signed by the Prime Minister of Hungary. Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech.

September 9

Georgi Dimitrov, together with the members of the

- Council of Ministers and the Politburo, took the salute of the September 9 march past of the Sofia working people.
- November 1* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The October Socialist Revolution Opened the Way of Mankind to Genuine Democracy, to Socialism' was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 259.
- December 18–25* Georgi Dimitrov participated in the sessions of the historic Fifth Congress of the BCP*.
- December 19* Georgi Dimitrov delivered the political report of the CC of the BCP to the Fifth Party Congress.
- December 24* Georgi Dimitrov, together with the Presidium of the Congress and the foreign guests took the salute of the impressive march past of the Sofia working people on the occasion of the Congress.
Georgi Dimitrov delivered the concluding speech at the Fifth Congress of the BCP.
- December 25* Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the CC of the BCP.
- December 27* Georgi Dimitrov was re-elected member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.
- 1949
- January 5* At the 24th session of the Grand National Assembly Georgi Dimitrov delivered a speech on the approval of the annual state budget for 1949.
- January 15* Georgi Dimitrov's article 'Under the Great and Invincible Banner of Leninism' was reprinted from *Za Traen Mir, Za Narodna Demokratsia* magazine No 2 in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 15.
- January 21* Georgi Dimitrov attended the ceremonial commemorative meeting in the capital organized in honour of the 25th anniversary of Lenin's death.
- End of April* Georgi Dimitrov left for Moscow for treatment.
- May 1* Georgi Dimitrov sent May Day greetings from Moscow to the working people in Bulgaria.
- May 18* Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter from Moscow to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP in connection with the brilliant results from the elections for people's councils held in Bulgaria.
- June 12* Georgi Dimitrov's letter from Moscow to the students from the Higher Party School in Sofia was published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 155 of June 15.

* The Fifth Congress changed the name of the Party from Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) to Bulgarian Communist Party.

June 27

Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter from Moscow to the Supreme Committee for Physical Culture and Sports.

June 28

Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP (his last letter).

Georgi Dimitrov received the writer Dimiter Polyakov at the Borovikha Sanatorium.

July 2

9.45 a.m.

Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, died in the Borovikha Sanatorium near Moscow. *Pravda* No 184 carried an announcement of the CC of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of Ministers of the USSR about Georgi Dimitrov's death.

Rabotnichesko Delo No 173 published an announcement of the CC of the BCP, of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly about Georgi Dimitrov's death.

GEORGI DIMITROV
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