GEORGI DIMITROV

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SELECTED WORKS

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GEORGI DIMITROV

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WORKS
IN THREE
VOLUMES

DIMITROV

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WORKS

VOLUME 1

SOFIA PRESS



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INVALUABLE NATIONAL CAPITAL

TODOR ZHIVKOV

The name of Georgi Dimitrov is surrounded by an aureole not only in the minds of the Bulgarian working class in which he was born, reared and educated, not only in the minds of the Bulgarian people, with the heroic history of whom he is forever indissolubly linked. Georgi Dimitrov's name is one of those great names in the annals of the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat, which the communists, the working people and all progressive people throughout the world pronounce with profound respect and devotion.

Having joined the ranks of the Bulgarian workers' movement as a young printing worker, nurtured with the ideas of Botev and Levski and the Russian revolutionary democrats, having mastered and thoroughly assimilated the ideas of scientific socialism, Georgi Dimitrov from his earliest youth merged his personal destiny with the destinies of the proletarian emancipation. The times were propitious for a versatile development of his titanic personality. A son and militant of the Bulgarian working class movement and of the Party of the Bulgarian Left-wing Socialists, a disciple and close comrade-in-arms of such prominent Marxists as Dimiter Blagoev and Georgi Kirkov, Georgi Dimitrov naturally and in a law-governed manner became the universally acknowledged and beloved leader of the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian working class, of the Bulgarian working people. Brought up amid the left-wing socialists, educated in the spirit of their great revolutionary virtues, Dimitrov became profoundly aware of the weaknesses and shortcomings of left-wing socialism and stood at the helm of the struggle for the Party's rearmament with the ideas of Leninism, for its bolshevization. Under his leadership the Party drew lessons from the defeats of the Vladaya, the June and September 1923 Uprisings, overcame defeatist, ultra-leftist and sectarian trends, and embarked upon a Leninist

course. Under his leadership the Party forged a worker-peasant alliance, established a popular front during the years of the anti-fascist struggle, rallied the democratic forces in the Fatherland Front and led the long struggles of the Bulgarian working people to the great victory of the September 9, 1944 socialist revolution.

Bulgaria was fortunate in having in those stormy years such a tested and wise leader as Georgi Dimitrov at the helm of the Party and the state. Surrounded by the devotion of the communists and the working people, he directed with a firm and resolute hand the nation along the road to socialism. Under his leadership the people's rule was consolidated, the resistance of the internal and international counter-revolution was broken and the road to the future was cleared. At the Fifth Congress of the Party Georgi Dimitrov gave a theoretical elucidation and practical solution to the major problems set by Bulgaria's social development during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

Today, when we say that even without Dimitrov we are marching forward along the Dimitrov road, we have in mind that Georgi Dimitrov's road is that of the all-conquering Leninist teaching; we have in mind our fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the constructive application of the laws of socialist construction with due account taken of local conditions and of the international situation, as well as of the epochal experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. A brilliant reaffirmation of this truth is the fact that under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party the Bulgarian working people fulfilled Georgi Dimitrov's behest and in 15 to 20 years accomplished what it took other peoples and countries under different conditions a whole century to accomplish.

At present the Party and country are faced with new important tasks. The Party programme adopted at the Tenth Congress set the task and mapped out the road of the construction of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, the historical bridgehead to communism. The Party programme embodies the constructive experience, collective mind and wisdom of the Party, its energy and will to lead Bulgaria to the front ranks not only in the socio-political field, but also in the sphere of material production, in the promotion of science and technology, in education and culture. True to the great cause of Georgi Dimitrov, heirs of his revolutionary thought and indomitable spirit, the Bulgarian com-

munists will transform the bright prospects of the programme into a splendid reality.

An embodiment of the best qualities of the Bulgarian communists, Georgi Dimitrov stood out as one of the great leaders of the international communist and workers movement. His unshakeable conviction in the just struggle of the world proletariat, his devotion to the communist ideas and profound attachment to the Soviet Union – the country of workers and peasants, his proud courage in the face of the class enemy, demonstrated by the great son of the Bulgarian working people during the Reichstag Fire Trial, revealed his colossal figure in vivid relief, turning his name into a symbol and banner of the anti-fascist struggle in all continents. Having grown up as a proletarian worker in the atmosphere of the Bulgarian workers' movement where the problems of proletarian unity and the alliance of the working class with the peasants and the other non-proletarian labour strata were of vital importance, having accumulated tremendous theoretical and practical experience in the anti-fascist struggle both on a national and on an international scale, having become acquainted with the problems of the anti-fascist struggle in France and Germany, in Yugoslavia and Austria, in the Baltic countries and Poland, and immediately experienced the tragic defeat of the disunited working class in Germany, Georgi Dimitrov became a prominent theoretician and builder of the united proletarian and popular anti-fascist front, a consistent fighter for a new Leninist course of the world communist movement.

The Bulgarian Georgi Dimitrov revealed himself as such a figure at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, as an 'anti-fascist tribune, a brilliant and bold bolshevik, a strategist of the struggle against fascism, the glorious leader of the Communist International', as he was characterized in the Pravda of August 14, 1935.

The ideological weapons forged at the Seventh Comintern Congress with the closest participation of Georgi Dimitrov stood the test of history during the anti-fascist resistance in the years of the Second World War. In our days, enriched and further developed by the three conferences of the representatives of the international communist and workers' movement and by the experience of the individual parties, these weapons find ever wider application in the struggle of the forces of peace, socialism and

progress in all countries. It is no accident that the representatives of the fraternal parties repeatedly and on different occasions expressed their profound gratitude to the 'far-sighted teaching of the great teacher and hero of the anti-fascist struggle, Georgi Dimitrov', to the advice received from the great son of the Bulgarian people, to his wise words which, as they say, 'serve us as a guide in our struggle'.

Educated in the ranks of the Bulgarian left-wing socialists, Georgi Dimitrov emerged as one of the outstanding and most consistent internationalists of the epoch. An ardent patriot, boundlessly devoted to the interests of the people, he became convinced of the indivisibility of the class struggle on an international scale, of the unity of the national detachments of the working class as a vitally important condition for the triumph of socialism on a national and international scale. Boldly and categorically, with a daring typical of a great revolutionary, Dimitrov defined the attitude towards the October Revolution and towards the Soviet Union as a basic criterion, a touchstone for checking the sincerity and honesty of every militant of the workers' movement, of every workers' party and organization of working people, of every democrat.

The Bulgarian Communist Party unswervingly follows and develops the internationalist traditions of Georgi Dimitrov. Incessantly it consolidates and strengthens fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, combats the deviations and retreats from Marxism-Leninism, fights for the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers' movement, for unity of action of all forces of the world anti-imperialist front. The high international prestige which Georgi Dimitrov won for our Party was preserved and enhanced during the two decades after his death by the successful socialist construction in Bulgaria, by the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the Party, by its clearcut and unshakeable internationalism. The greetings of the representatives of the great number of fraternal parties who attended the Tenth Congress once again clearly and with full force demonstrated that the world communist and workers' movement sees in the person of the Bulgarian communists of today loyal successors of Georgi Dimitrov's ideas and cause.

The life, thoughts and work of Georgi Dimitrov are our invaluable national capital.

AFTER MAY DAY

This year Labour Day was celebrated with rare impressiveness in all our bigger towns. The mass evacuation of workshops and factories, the non-appearance of the daily press and of various productions, the participation in the May Day demonstrations of a considerable number of workers who until yesterday were indifferent to the struggles of their organized comrades – all this lends to this year's May Day an unprecedented demonstrative and agitational character.

On this historically and politically great day we were fortunate not only to manifest our class solidarity and proletarian demands together with the whole world proletariat, not only to demonstrate against the existing capitalist regime, but also to count our ranks, to measure our forces and to review the road travelled, fortifying our conviction that the workers' socialist movement in Bulgaria, despite all ups and downs, is properly developing and forging ahead.

Thanks to the persistent and energetic propaganda carried on among workers during the past year, our Party and trade union organizations in Sofia, Plovdiv, Roussé, Sliven, Pleven and other major proletarian centres can boast of considerable achievements in their educational and organizational work, as well as in their drive to improve working conditions and to clear the road of the workers' movement from alien influences and from those barriers which the bourgeoisie is systematically trying to set up. Under the influence of the workers' socialist organizations the frequent strikes, which at first were only a spontaneous manifestation of the seething dissatisfaction among the workers against unrestricted exploitation, have

recently been assuming the character of an organized struggle for better working conditions and of a fine school for their class education. Although their practical results are very limited, they have been most useful in organizing and educating the workers. The number of workers taking an active part in the political struggles under the banner of our Party is steadily growing. The December demonstration against the crafts law and the mass workers' protest meetings on February 19 for the application, extension and addenda of the Law on Woman and Child Labour testify to the growing political consciousness of the workers. On the very morrow of May Day this could also be noticed in the struggle of the Sofia printers against the yellow press, in the person of its typical representative, the *Vecherna Poshta* (The Evening Post) of Shangov.

When pointing out these successes, however, one should not forget that although quite a bit has been done and achieved by our organizations, it is still far from sufficient. Much more is required to have them reach the degree of intensity, consciousness and discipline necessary for a victorious organization of the forthcoming workers' struggles.

The percentage of trade union members in Bulgaria is very small. Hundreds of workers, men and women, are still outside the reach of socialist propaganda, and have not yet been inspired by the idea of organization and organizational struggle. The number of trade union members at the *factories* is insignificant. There are only a *few women workers* in all our trade unions. Furthermore, there are trade unions, mainly in Sofia and Varna, which constitute a special union headed not by the Workers' Social Democratic Party but by some petty bourgeois faction. Many of our trade unions are weak organizationally and financially, owing to which they perform their trade union functions irregularly and inadequately. Others are in the process of consolidation and have not yet stepped soundly on their feet. The proletarian element is insufficiently represented in some Party organizations. There is a great shortage of advanced workers agitators and propagandists. Socialist education among the workers in

certain towns is carried out unsystematically, even negligently. Our press has too limited a circulation, so that its influence over the workers' masses is limited. There are even organized workers (in some trade unions their number is not small), who do not receive the organ of their union *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* (Workers' Gazette) while many trade union workers do not subscribe to *Novo Vremé*.

Moreover, the Bulgarian workers live and work under appalling conditions. The long working day, the low wages and insanitary conditions at workshops and factories, work at night and on holidays, the wide use of woman and child labour, the frequent unemployment, the lack of any serious legislative brakes on exploitation – all this makes it impossible for the broad masses of workers to live decently, drives them to degenaration, checks their progress, organization and class consciousness. It is a well-known fact that the worker who is exhausted and emaciated from overwork and undernutrition cannot be a good element for the workers' organization. He does not get a chance to rest after his tiring work, cannot attend meetings and lectures regularly, read, meet freely with comrades, devote more attention to his organization and take an active part in its work for the organization and education of the workers. Many trade unions and educational societies are compelled to call their meetings and lectures very rarely, because the majority of their members work 12 to 15 and even 17 hours daily and have no regular rest on holidays. The financial weakness of our trade unions and their slow consolidation is due, above all, to the low wages which do not allow a substantial increase in the membership dues, which are quite insufficient to cover trade union work, propaganda and mutual aid. It is therefore a *vital necessity* for the proper development of the workers' organizations to win better working conditions and to obtain a genuine workers' legislation.

On the other hand, the restlessness of our working class, its organization and establishment as an independent and intransigent social and political force has drawn the attention of the bourgeoisie and prompted it to mobilize its forces and assume the offensive against the socialist move-

ment. The application of the crafts law, the drawing up of the draft Law on Persons, the 'social policy'[1] of the present government are aimed, in general, at diverting the workers' movement from its final and natural goal – the abolition of the present-day capitalist exploitation, and at confining it to tasks that do not transcend the limits of the bourgeois system. And just as individual capitalists import from the West the most perfect means of production – the latest word of technology, so the bourgeoisie resorts to the most modern ways of combating social democracy. All bourgeois bodies and departments are seriously concerned with removing this 'dangerous enemy'. The bourgeois press, particularly the yellow press, spreads deception among the workers, so as to keep them in ignorance and to reconcile them with the present state of affairs. The Holy Synod translates and publishes 'scientific' pamphlets against socialism, freely disseminated in thousands of copies. 'Popular lectures' are being organized at which, along with general educational subjects, lectures are also held on the 'unsoundness' and the 'utopian character' of Marxism. And the government organ *Nov Vek* (New Age) makes use of every opportunity to recommend its party as a defender and benefactor of the workers and to appeal to them to leave the socialist organizations and to rally under its banner. The government agents hastened to introduce *Zubatov's*[2] *methods* in Bulgaria. They formed a railwaymen's union for the purpose of diverting the railway workers from their independent organization. And the Party of the Radical Democrats is getting ready to penetrate the workers' masses with its demagogy in order to organize them along bourgeois lines and against social democracy. Moreover, the Industrial Union[3] does not confine itself to interventions in favour of individual industrialists, but goes further: it wants to preserve the capitalist class from the offensive of the socialist movement. It firmly opposes the application of the Law on Woman and Child Labour and insistently calls for a legislative ban on strikes. Nor does the Crafts Union[4] stand with folded hands. It, too, aims its arrows against the workers, trying by all possible means to bring them 'under the influence of the crafts' organizations

and to prevent their becoming organized in the socialist trade unions.

It is clear, however, that we are on the eve of far-reaching and intense trade union and political struggles both for improving working conditions and for clearing the road of the workers' movement and parrying the reactionary blows of the bourgeoisie; struggles which require much stronger organizations than those which our working class has at present.

Today, after the celebration of the international socialist holiday, encouraged by the successes achieved so far, the Party and trade union organizations should, therefore, with redoubled energy continue their work for the organization and socialist education of the workers, doing their utmost to attract factory workers, men and women, no matter how difficult this may be. The organizations must do their utmost to make effective and expedient use of all the forces at their disposal for all-round socialist activity.

May Day is of great importance from the viewpoint of propaganda. The preparations for its celebration, the pre-May Day meetings, conferences, appeals and in particular the May Day demonstration have galvanized the workers' masses and aroused a certain interest in the movement, struggles and demands of the organized workers among them. The workers' organizations have been offered a rare opportunity to attract new workers. They must not only step up, but also more effectively organize their propaganda, paying attention to its purely socialist content. The Party organizations, trade unions and educational societies should hold regular meetings and lectures, while the workers' agitators should go zealously among the workers and made use of the post-May Day unrest in their midst to strengthen the workers' organizations. The consistent and daily work for the ideological and organizational consolidation of the trade unions, for enlisting new militants in their ranks, for a fruitful settlement of all conflicts between labour and capital, should be carried on most energetically. The present moment requires that all func-

tionaries, all Party and trade union members devote all their efforts and capacities to the proletarian cause.

And thus, in the struggles against ignorance and bourgeois influence, for rallying the workers under the banner of social democracy, against individual capitalists and the state, for better working conditions and workers' legislation, against all organs of the bourgeoisie, for clearing the road of the workers' movement – the workers' socialist organizations will attract an ever greater part of the working class, will become an ever stronger factor, will go from victory to victory, and will come ever closer to the great proletarian goal – the emancipation of mankind from the present economic, political and spiritual oppression.

Novo Vremé. No. 5, 1906
Signed G. D.

G. Dimitrov, Works. Vol. 1, pp. 10–18
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THE NEED OF TRADE UNIONS IN BULGARIA AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

I

It is not for the first time that the question of the formation of trade unions is being raised in our country. As early as 1894, as a result of the efforts of the Social Democratic Party to organize the printing workers who had grown restless at that time, the Central Workers' Trade Union was set up in Sofia, with branches in the provinces. However, after the Sofia general printers' strike and the strikes in Roussé and Varna this newly-founded trade union *went to pieces*. It was destroyed at its very inception by the anarchic movement of the printers. Around 1900, when the printers' trade union was re-established and a few other trade union organizations were set up in Sofia, the question of their unification with those existing in the provinces into trade unions was again put forward. It was considered at that time that several trade unions should be set up first, with the General Trade Union then emerging from among their midst, as happened in the more advanced Western nations. Attempts were made first to form a printers' union which was to serve as a model to the unions of blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, etc. These attempts, however, encountered insurmountable obstacles in the weak development of capitalist production. The small trade union groups, scattered all over the country, which were actually educational circles, did not feel directly and strongly the need of a trade union organization. The Sofia trade union associations, which should have formed the basis of the trade unions, were in their early phase of stabilization, in a weak and insecure condition. The trade union organization affected practically only the artisan workers. The trade-

union-organized struggle was in its initial stage. The Workers' Social Democratic Party, which until then, owing to the petty bourgeois character of our country, had been almost entirely engrossed in political propaganda among the petty bourgeoisie, was just beginning to pay more serious attention to the needs of the workers' movement. On the other hand, the fateful struggle against the bourgeois influence of the Right-Wing Socialists in the ranks of the Party and the ensuing Party and trade union split[5] in 1903 relegated the question of the unification of the local trade union associations either into trade unions or into a General Trade Union somewhat to the background

Experience shows clearly that under the then prevailing conditions within the trade union movement it was impossible to form individual trade unions. The only form of organization for the unification of the trade union associations into a whole was the *General Trade Union*. And when after our split with the Right-Wing Socialists the workers' movement, which had grown stronger at that time, called for a unification of the trade unions, the foundations of the General Workers' Trade Union were laid in 1904. Moreover, as it was impossible to form individual trade unions in most of the towns, mixed trade unions were formed which are a transitional form in organizing the workers in trade unions.

Having anticipated the establishment of trade unions, the General Trade Union had to assume many of their functions. But as the mixed trade unions, owing to their heterogeneous composition, are not able adequately to fulfil the task of a trade union organization, so also the General Trade Union, although playing a very important role in the organization and unification of the trade union movement in our country and in intensifying the general class struggle, cannot successfully and adequately perform the work of the individual trade unions. The sooner the latter are set up and take over their functions from the Union, the more successful these functions will be performed and the better it will be able to devote itself to its special task – *as general organizer and leader of the trade union movement*, as an

idea underlying the organization of the broad masses of factory workers, the bulk of whom are still unorganized, and draw them under its banner.

The question of the trade unions was again put forward at the trade union congress last year. Without going into greater detail, the congress adopted in principle the *necessity* and *feasibleness* of such unions under the new conditions and recommended to the local trade union associations *able* to do so to proceed to the formation of trade unions. To this end, the Trade Union Committee drew up a special trade union draft constitution during the current year. After studying the question in detail, the Sofia printers' trade union, in agreement with the existing printers' groups and sections of the mixed trade unions in the provinces, laid the foundations of the *printers' trade union*. After all this, this year the fourth trade union congress will deal specially with the question of the formation of trade unions and will have to give a definite instruction to the trade union associations along this line.

It is clear to everybody that today this question is being put forward under conditions quite different from those of a few years ago. With the development of capitalist production and the passing over of some crafts to a more or less capitalist form of production, the number of factories has considerably increased, and big workshops were opened with many more workers. The constant shifting of workers from one town to another, from one branch of production to another, shows all too clearly the close link between the interests of the Sofia and provincial workers. The workers' movement on the whole and the trade union movement in particular are assuming a mass character. The struggle is now waged not only against individual masters, but against their organizations as well – the crafts and the industrial associations. The latter also rely on the support of the state with all its organs – police, army, chambers of commerce and industry, etc. As an illustration we can point out, apart from many other strikes, *the strike of the Pernik miners*[6] and *the general railwaymen's*[7] *strike*. The individual strikes are growing into struggles for wage scales. There is already a strong movement among tobacco, textile

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and other factory workers. In order to oppose the strikers' movement, besides everything else, the bosses, irrespective of their party differences, formed a common *bloc against the workers' strikes*,[8] against which we shall have to battle.

On the other hand, the enlistment of the workers in our union has made considerable progress. The number of *trade union* associations is growing more rapidly than that of the *mixed* ones. Most of the former have already stepped firmly on their feet. They are being speedily transformed from primarily *educational* organizations, as they were before, into *real trade union associations*, which seriously look upon improving working conditions and promoting the constant class struggle against hired labour. Here, however, they are confronted with the *impossibility* of further spreading their influence among the workers of their own trade and of combating more successfully the ruthless exploitation, because they do not dispose of the power and means of the organized workers of their trade on a national basis, i. e. because thay have not been transformed into *trade unions*.

Under these new conditions the trade union movement needs a new organization. To preserve the status quo means to check the progress of the workers' movement in general. And this is quite obvious. A strike must be properly organized, must be able to rely on the general solidarity of the workers of a given trade throughout the country and on their moral and material support, in order to be successful, both practically and ideologically. This, however, can be achieved in good time and with success, when the workers of the same trade scattered all over the country constitute an organized whole, pooling their efforts and means and directing them towards the same goal. The preliminary study and appraisal of the conditions for every prospective strike will then be more exact and certain, because the Union with its statistical data on the conditions of production, the number of workers, organized and unorganized, etc., not only locally, but nationally, will best be able to judge whether or not a strike should be started. When there are trade unions, many of the hitherto quite unprepared and often senseless strikes will not be declared, and the necessary organization will more easily be in-

troduced in the strikes. In strikes headed by the trade unions the bosses will not be able to count on hiring workers in the provinces as scabs or on moving their enterprises to other towns, because they will know that they are up against a national workers' union.*

Moreover, a major reason for the failure of almost all unsuccessful strikes has been the low percentage of organized workers and the presence of a large number of unorganized workers, from among whom the bosses have hitherto been able to recruit plenty of scabs. We shall be able to attract these masses of workers to our ranks through a strong and steadily exercised influence. The trade unions will then be much better able to carry out a broad socialist propaganda, both oral and through the press, among the workers of their trade, than at present the different trade union associations and particularly the mixed ones. Their attractive force will be greater: 1) because they will embrace workers from all towns; 2) because the numerous workers who are now members of the educational groups in towns where even mixed trade union associations cannot be formed, as well as those at factories situated far away from the towns, will be able to join the unions and thus increase considerably their financial and moral force. Such workers are to be found in Bourgas, Aitos, Karnobat, Nova Zagora, Harmanli, Chirpan, Kazanluk, Gorna Oryahovitsa, Gabrovo, Radomir, Samokov, Trun, Breznik, Peshtera, Kocherinovo, Panagyurishté, Toutrakan, Belyovo, Banya Kostenets, Sestrimo, Dolna Banya, and other localities. Among them there are over 500 to 600 organized workers – tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, printers, etc., who are not members of any trade union association, and 3) because the unions will be able to undertake more successfully practical campaign in favour of the workers and to reach broader masses of unorganized workers with their propaganda and agitation.

All this will be of great help in enlisting in our ranks the sound elements of the Right-Wing Socialists and in

*In 1898 during the general printing workers' strike in Paris, part of the owners of printing houses moved to the provinces where there were unorganized workers and in this way avoided accepting the demands of the workers.

preserving them now that the Right-Wing Socialist Party is disintegrating under the influence of the Radical Democrats who, after having adopted the theory and practice of that party, are out to inherit its influence among the workers.

On the other hand, by performing all trade union functions (organizing and financing strikes, assisting the unemployed, the ill and travelling workers, propaganda, and agitation, etc.) better than the *individual* trade union associations, the trade unions will be able with much greater success to fight against unemployment – this terrible scourge for the working class. A product of capitalist production, unemployment will not be completely eliminated so long as the present order prevails. But the workers' organization is in a position to mitigate to a large extent the dire consequences of unemployment. This can be achieved by assisting the unemployed and travelling workers, by organizing employment agencies and collecting statistical data on the conditions of employment. The centralized forces and funds of the trade union, however, are needed for the purpose.

Consequently, from the viewpoint of trade union organization and the workers' trade union struggle, the *necessity* of establishing trade union is *imperative*.

But this is not all. As is well known, the improvements which we are trying to introduce in the working conditions by means of the trade union struggle, are not *an end in themselves*, but only a *means* of intensifying and more successfully waging the general class struggle, for the complete abolition of *hired slavery*. From this only correct viewpoint, the trade union movement is of value insofar as it helps to promote the emancipatory class struggle. The interests of the latter, however, dictate with no less exigency a concentration of the trade union associations into trade unions.

At present the working class is living through an important and crucial moment. Its political activity is strongly circumscribed. It is up against a reactionary legislation. The reactionary artisan law pales before the much more reactionary laws against the strikes, against the association of

the state workers and against the press. The ruling and the oppositionary bourgeoisie close their ranks and make common cause against the workers' organization and their struggle. It has learned from us and from our struggles against it to organize itself, but now, supported by the state, it is trying to outdo us in this respect. The bourgeoisie is showing a higher class consciousness than we, workers. While part of the working class is dragging a long behind notorious demagogues and petty bourgeois politicians in blocs and other bourgeois campaigns, the bourgeoisie is unanimously forging laws and chains against our emancipatory movement and forms a *bloc against strikes.*

To restore and safeguard the rights of the working class, to parry the blows of the bourgeoisie, to paralize its influence among the workers and to obtain ever more favourable conditions for the existence and the class struggle of the Bulgarian proletariat, trade union organizations are needed with centralized funds and forces. A united bloc of the working class under the banner of social democracy must be firmly opposed to the bloc of the ruling and oppositionary bourgeoisie against the organized workers' movement. A necessary prerequisite for this is the unification of the trade union groups and workers scattered all over the country in *trade unions.* The trade unions *will penetrate broader masses of workers, will broaden and deepen their influence over them, will help to make their struggle more conscientious and successful and will promote their unification under the banner of social democracy. In this way the general class struggle of the Bulgarian proletariat will be more united and powerful.*

Thus, without going into greater detail, the interests of the trade union struggle, as well as those of the entire emancipatory workers' movement call most insistently for the formation of trade unions as part of the General Workers' Trade Union.

Of course, this new organization will include only those trade union associations which can now or in the near future be transformed into unions, as, for instance, the *printers', metal workers', tailors', shoemakers', carpenters', tobacco workers', textile workers',* etc., trade union associations.

Even after the formation of trade unions, many trade union associations will remain in their present state, owing to the impossibility of being transformed into trade unions. These trade union associations will gradually, with the creation of favourable conditions, be united into trade unions.

What the organization of trade unions in Bulgaria should be like, we shall see next time.

II

The question about the organization of the trade unions depends closely on their purpose, character and tasks.

As is well known, the socialist trade union organizations, unlike the bourgeois ones, having as their special purpose to fight for better working conditions within the framework of capitalist exploitation, at the same time direct all their efforts, under the banner of the general political organization of the working class – social democracy, on the *radical* abolition of exploitation itself. They cannot confine themselves to their professional struggle of the basis of present conditions and transcend the limits of capitalist society, fully aware of the fact that so long as the latter exist: 1) there can be no genuine, lasting and general improvement in all walks of life of the working class, and 2) whatever improvements and reforms are achieved, the workers will remain a subordinate and exploited class with a very insecure existence. The reforms which are possible under the existing capitalist system cannot do away with the basic evils springing from this very system, such as anarchy in production, competition, unemployment etc., which cause so much suffering to the working class and to society as a whole. That is why, in fighting to restrict capitalist exploitation, the socialist trade unions take an active part, with all their forces and funds, in the general struggle of the working class for *the destruction of hired slavery, for the freedom of labour*, and *the triumph of socialism*.

The fighting working class, however, is up against the whole bourgeoisie with its economic and political organizations, with its state and the latter's numerous

organs. All this is *strictly centralized* and pursues one general goal: *to consolidate the economic and political might of the bourgeoisie and to deal continuous blows to the emancipatory workers' movement so as to prevent it from fulfilling its historic tasks.* For the purpose the bourgeoisie, through the centralized political power of the state, encroaches upon the rights of the working class, passes a whole series of laws restricting the workers' movement and subjects the workers' organizations and individual workers to persecution and violence, especially at the crucial moments in the class struggle. At the same time the bourgeoisie strives by means of demagogy and of its bankrupt science, as well as of certain concessions and reforms of minor significance, to corrupt and disorganize the working class, placing certain strata and parts of the latter under its influence, making use of them for its own factious and class aims and pitting them against the class conscious workers' movement.

Under these circumstances, if the workers' movement is to be preserved, become stabilized and successfully fulfil its tasks and achieve its final goal, *centralization* is a necessary condition, i. e. the workers must be organized under a common banner, their efforts must be directed to a common goal, they must lead a unanimous struggle, in other words, must be faced by the *still more centralized forces of the working class, the centralized forces of the bourgeoisie.* That is why the class-conscious proletariat in its general struggle sticks to the principle of centralization.

In all the countries which the trade union movement has developed under the influence of social democracy as a workers' class movement, the trade unions are organized on the *principle of centralization.* The centralized union consists of workers from the whole country. It has a common constitution, a common treasury, a common central administration, etc. In Germany, Austria, Italy, etc., most of the strongest unions are centralized. Even in neighbouring Serbia, where the prevailing conditions are much like those in Bulgaria, a centralized form of organization in the trade unions has been adopted. The predominant trend in the development of trade union movement everywhere is that the more it becomes a class-conscious movement and

the more deeply it is pervaded by a socialist spirit, the more the organization of the trade unions proceeds along centralist lines. The historical experience of the trade union movement in the other countries shows that under a centralized trade union organization the workers' struggle is very *powerful* because it is *unified*. And this is quite obvious. In a centralized union the workers of a given trade who have a common organization, a common principle, a common leadership, are capable of quick and common action, directing their efforts all the time towards a common goal. In the centralized unions every disunity and diversity of action of their separate parts are precluded, things of which the enemies of the working class usually take advantage. Hence, the more the forces of the individual bosses and the bosses' organizations of the entire bourgeoisie and its state are centralized to fight against the workers' movement, the more it becomes necessary for the workers to be organized in centralized unions all their forces to be united into a single *whole*, and together, with the necessary speed, to direct their weapons against their strong and well-organized enemies in the person of the present bourgeois state and the various capitalist organizations, trusts, etc.

Besides centralized unions, there are also in some countries *federative unions*. This form of organization is developed chiefly in France, owing to certain historical and political conditions. The federative union is formed by independent trade union associations, which have their own constitution, leadership and treasures. They unite on certain special terms, outside of which every trade union association preserves complete autonomy in its activity. At any moment the individual trade union association can leave the federation and even declare itself against it. That is why the federative union cannot be a sound and permanent organization like the centralized union. The forces of the federative union are limited and scattered. A common consciousness does not exist in its ranks, nor a strong discipline and one cannot rely on a sure unity of action at the crucial moments in the struggle. The federative form of organization is much to the liking of the bourgeoisie. And not in vain. If we examine the history of this form of

organization in the trade union movement, we shall see that it was always the result of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to keep the workers' organizations in its own hands, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the lack of consciousness and the selfishness of the workers, who are not conscious of their common class interests and refuse to subordinate their personal and group interests to the general interests of the workers' movement. The idea of the *federative organization* of workers has the same origin as the idea of the *neutrality of trade union associations*. The bourgeoisie can most easily attain its anti-workers' goals in the workers' movement when the latter is *neutral* towards social democracy and has a *federative organization*, because then it cannot be effectively mobilized and make use in its struggle of all the forces which are at the disposal of the working class, and because the disunity, the *autonomy* of the individual trade union groups enables the bourgeoisie to mislead the weaker among them and to pit them against the federation itself and the entire emancipatory workers' movement. With the federative form of organization, as well as with the neutrality of the trade union associations, the bourgeoisie aims at transforming the trade union movement from a *factor for the liberation of the working class into a factor for the consolidation of the system of capitalist exploitation and, along with this, the hired slavery of the working class.*

In Bulgaria the trade union associations were not only formed under the influence of social democracy, but were in large measure its own creations. The bourgeoisie is only now beginning to think of organizing the workers into trade unions under its own banner. On the other hand, at their very inception the Bulgarian trade union associations had a socialist character, the character of class organizations following the example of the socialist trade union movement in the other countries. The trade union *neutrality*, preached by the different factions of the bourgeoisie suffered, complete fiasco. Especially now, under the new political conditions in our country, i. e. with the bourgeoisie pursuing a conscious, consistent class and reactionary policy with regard to the workers' movement, the utter inconsistency of neutrality becomes obvious. Our

trade union movement, which has hitherto successfully adopted the most modern and tested forms of organization and methods of struggle, would commit a big and unpardonable error if, under our existing historical and political conditions, it were to adopt a form of organization in its trade unions like the federative one, which would directly hamper the proper development and rapid consolidation of the movement and would expose it to the anti-worker endeavours of the bourgeoisie.

Centralization is the more necessary in our country also because of the weakness of the movement itself, which is in great need of strong central bodies, so as to be able to advance successfully in its individual weak parts. If placed on centralist principles, our trade unions will be able, by having greater financial means, moral forces and efficient bodies at their disposal, to carry on a fruitful propaganda and agitation in order to raise the class consciousness of their members and rid them of many prejudices and political fallacies.

The centralized form is also quite in tune with the state of our production. Viable trade union associations cannot be formed in most of the trades in the provinces, because the number of workers who can be organized is insufficient for the purpose. And the federative organization, even assuming it were not harmful, requires as a prerequisite the existence of such trade union associations.

It is clear, however, that the only and most suitable form of organization of trade unions in our country, bearing in mind our historical and political conditions and the experience of the West European trade union movement, is the *centralized* form. Only as centralized organizations will our trade unions develop properly and thus become powerful and militant trade union associations.

How the organization of the unions will work out in practice can be clearly seen from the *draft constitution* drawn up by the Trade Union Committee and sent to all trade union associations for a thorough study. According to it, the trade union is simply an association which unites the workers of a given trade not only in one town, but on a nation-wide basis. *Local groups* will be formed in all towns

which have at least seven members. In towns where there are at least four members, *proxies* will be appointed, through whom the members will get into contact with the central management. Where there are less than four members, they will enrol directly at the central management. The draft constitution solves more or less successfully all difficulties which are encountered with regard to the management and control of union affairs, the treasury, grants, strikes, etc.

But we shall dwell on this problem, as well as on the more substantial obstacles to the formation of trade unions in our country, in the next issue.

III

Some consider the *small number* of organized workers of the different trades as the foremost obstacle to the formation of viable trade unions in Bulgaria. It is enough, however, to know the real state of affairs in order to understand that this consideration is groundless. Although the number of organized workers in the General Trade Union is still not very large, in some trades it is enough to set the foundations of trade unions. Thus, for instance, today there are about *290 metal workers, 300 textile workers, 150 tobacco workers, 400 tailors, 120 carpenters, 390 shoemakers and 140 printers* organized in different trade union and mixed associations, as well as in educational workers' groups. This number can be further increased, for it constitutes only four per cent of all workers engaged in the above trades. Regardless of this, new categories of workers become more active and organized. Such are the stone-cutters, miners, the road-builders and railwaymen, etc. Capitalist production is rapidly expanding in Bulgaria, large masses of workers concentrate in factories and other industrial enterprises and the conditions for a mass trade union movement are already at hand. On the other hand, the General Trade Union, after being exempted from the tasks entrusted to the different trade unions, will be able to devote more time and attention to the organization of the

bulk of factory workers, men, women and children, and thus conditions will be created for the establishment of such trade unions, which are impossible at present not because there are not enough workers in a given industry, but because hitherto no planned agitation and propaganda has been carried out among them.

A real obstacle to the formation of the unions constituted the question of their management. We all know that in the trade union there is more work and the tasks of the *central management* as leader, organizer, agitator and propagandist are more numerous and difficult than those of an ordinary management. For the successful implementation of these tasks wider knowledge and greater experience are needed than those which most of our trade union comrades have at present. Moreover, suitable comrades are needed for the *local managements* throughout the country and more particularly *proxies* wherever *groups* will not be formed. All this is indeed a serious obstacle, but this will in large measure be removed at the start and later will be completely eliminated. In the first place, there are already sufficient numbers of trade union members who are rapidly being educated and who within a short time will be able to get satisfactorily prepared to take part in the management of the unions as secretaries, treasurers, etc. The trade union committee, on its part, will also lend its full support and give the necessary instructions to the central managements. In the provinces the groups and proxies will rely on the cooperation of the local workers' councils and the managements of the educational workers' groups. The present sections of the mixed trade unions, when they become groups under the trade unions, will have the experience acquired before, which will stand them in good stead in their new work.

Another obstacle is the question of the financial support of the unions. Their broader activity will call for paid officials, secretaries, etc., who, only if they devote themselves exclusively to union work, will be able to make use of all their forces and capacities for the development and consolidation of the union. Moreover, agencies for the jobless should be organized, trade union organs published

and sums should be set aside for annual meetings, for a stepped up agitation and propaganda, etc. All this would require substantial financial funds which, very naturally, the newly-formed trade unions will not have at first. It is wrong, however, to suppose that the unions will by all means have to start working from the very onset on such a wide scale. On the contrary, temporarily there will be no paid secretaries or other officials. The work will be done without any remuneration, as it is now the case in the trade union associations. The secretaries and treasurers will be given a sufficient number of assistants, their work will be organized more simply and in this way until the unions do not get stabilized financially they will fulfil their duties comparatively successfully only during their free hours. As a transitional measure a sort of *secretariat* could later be organized in Sofia, maintained by the Party organization and the formed unions and trade union associations. As a matter of fact, there should be one paid secretary and treasurer at the Sofia Party organization who could help in the office, administrative and organizational work of the unions and trade union associations. Once the unions develop and become stabilized, they will find the necessary means to maintain their own offices, secretaries, etc. Likewise not all unions will from the very onset start publishing their own organs. At first they might use the general trade union organ *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, leaflets and special circular letters, and later, once they become stabilized, they might have papers of their own.

The question of membership fees also constitutes a serious obstacle. The formation of the unions will lead to a certain increase in the membership fees of provincial workers who now pay very low membership fees in the mixed trade union associations, as well as in most other trade union associations. This increase will be difficult in most trades due to the low workers' wages. But here again the difficulties are surmountable. An *average* weekly membership fee will be determined which, without being too small, will not be too great burden on the provincial workers whose wages are low. Since at present in certain places there is a big difference in the wages of workers

belonging to the same trade in the various towns. Two kinds of membership fees can be introduced – *whole* and *half*. Workers receiving a salary of less than 40 leva a month shall pay, say, a *half fee*, and those receiving a higher monthly salary – *whole fee*. Moreover, the increased number of union members will also swell the revenues of the unions, which will enable them to meet their financial obligations even when they have not very high but *medium* membership fees. On the other hand, the development of capitalist production, its influence on the crafts, as well as the struggle of the unions, will lead to ironing out the differences in working and living conditions throughout the country and will gradually enable all members to pay an equal membership fee with equal ease.

We could point out also certain other minor obstacles with which we shall positively have to grapple when setting up trade unions, but these will be eliminated still more easily and that is why we shall not dwell on them here. The difficulties outlined above are indeed serious but, as we saw, they are *all surmountable*. They do not give anyone sufficient ground to conclude that the setting up of trade unions in Bulgaria is impossible at present or that it would be *rash* to proceed with their formation. Neither the one nor the other is true. These obstacles only go to show that the foundation of unions will be a tough job, the successful implementation of which calls for great efforts, attention and perseverence.

This year's trade union congress is faced, therefore, with the task, after examining thoroughly the question of the formation of trade unions and the character of their organization, of instructing the trade union associations along the following line: 1) to proceed to the formation of trade unions beginning with those trades in which conditions for this are the ripest, and 2) the unions thus formed to be *centralized* according to the basic stipulations contained in the *draft constitution* drawn up by the trade union committee. The question of trade unions is a question of paramount importance for the organization of the trade union movement in our country and its proper development. That is why, in concluding our notes on it, we are far from

assuming that it has been exhausted. This important organizational question will indeed be further elucidated at the congress and will more particularly be examined at the *trade union conferences* which, however, will still be insufficient. To explain it to all trade union members, its discussion will have to be continued after the congress, at meetings and in the press. According to us, it is particularly necessary that some of our more experienced comrades, who are acquainted with the history, organization and struggles of the trade unions in the other countries more closely and more in detail, give a fuller explanation.

Once the question of trade unions in our country is thus elucidated and properly resolved, we shall be able boldly to proceed, side by side with the already formed *printers'* union, to the foundation of *successive unions of metal workers, textile workers, tobacco workers, tailors, shoemakers,* etc., profoundly convinced that this modest beginning will contribute greatly to the building up of the magnificent edifice of the socialist trade union movement in Bulgaria.

G. Dimitrov. Works. Vol. 1, pp. 109–130
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After the liberation from Turkish political oppression,[9] the doors of our country were flung wide open to the influence of the advanced European capitalist states. The strong impact of this influence produced a profound change in the life of the entire country.

The old primitive methods of production, the crafts which had formerly flourished in Turkish times and were now outdated, proved impotent and helpless in the face of the competition of modern, mechanized, large-scale capitalist production in the European countries. Our home market was flooded with their goods, which displaced the local products with amazing rapidity and weakened or ruined a series of craft productions. This process was accelerated by the fact that after Bulgaria's liberation, many of the crafts had to forego the free market of Asia Minor and the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which had been at their disposal prior to liberation.

The intensified spread and development of capitalism in Bulgaria began in these economic conditions. A number of modernly equipped factories and other capitalist enterprises were built, at first with foreign and later also with local capital. European and Bulgarian banks and other credit institutions were founded, so were big commercial firms with branches in the country's major towns. Railway lines and ports were built. Parallel with the perfected machines and steam engines, electric power was introduced into industry. In general, the way was cleared for the development of local, national capital, and this acquired particular momentum after the economic crisis came to an end towards 1901, and during the upswing that set in in 1903 and 1904 which, but for some minor fluctuations, has been continuing to this day.

The state itself, organized on the model of the stat organization, in capitalist countries with a numerous anc highly-paid bureaucracy, an extremely expensive monarchy and military establishment, fell entirely under the strong influence of emergent capitalism. At first there were vacillations between the old forms of production and modern capitalist production, but later the state sided even more consistently and resolutely with capitalism, making every effort to promote the latter's rapid and untrammeled development.

Together with the illegal and piratic accumulation of huge capital in the hands of a minority of local capitalists, many of whom had started on a shoestring, an accumulation obtained from the state treasury and state loans through the government and by means of wholesale spoliation of the population, the state also created numerous facilities and privileges for the capitalists. Besides everything else, the special Act on Fostering Local Industry, passed in 1895, was extended and the privileges and benefits it granted affected many new branches of industry. The system of direct taxation was replaced by that of indirect taxation, and the state thus acquired revenues which, together with the floating of loans, enabled it to start the construction of a number of new railway lines, ports, bridges and roads and, in general, extensively to protect capitalism.

According to the census carried out by the State Board of Statistics on December 31, 1904, and the data provided by the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture on July 2, 1907 the state-protected factories numbered:

1895–1900	99
1901–1904	166
1905–1907	207

Thus, in less than 12 years, the number of factories enjoying protection* increased by 108.

* The Act on Fostering Local Industry protects only those industrial enterprises which have a minimum capital of 25,000 leva, or exploit at least 20 workers and work with machines and other modern means

Most of the protected industries are big factory enterprises. Of these 56 have a capital of from 100,000 to 500,000 leva, and 94 a capital of 500,000 to one million or more leva.

Of course, today the number of enterprises protected by the Act is far larger. After 1907 many new factories were built: in Varna a textile mill, in Roussé a factory for iron articles, in Elliseina a copper ore-dressing factory, in Gabrovo leather footwear, textile, wood-processing and other factories, which do not enter int the figure of 207.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, besides the protected productions, there are many other industrial enterprises, which do not enjoy the benefits of the Act on Fostering Local Industry, because they are subject to special laws. Among these are: the tobacco factories, the factories for cartridge cases, the printing and bookbinding enterprises, the trams, arsenals (military and railway), the two state mines, as well as the private collieries, which are now developing very rapidly. At the moment there are no precise industrial statistics, but it may be boldly asserted that there are today more than 800 industrial enterprises in our country and that this number is quickly growing with the present industrial upswing in Bulgaria.

At the same time, the railway network has been developing greatly as can be seen from the following data:

1888	536,905
1895	761,089
1900	1,465,520

When the newly-built railway lines of Turnovo-Tsareva Livada-Plachkovitsa, Kyustendil-Gyuéshevo, and Chirpan-Plovdiv are added, the total railway network exceeds 2,000 kilometres. Moreover, many more kilometres of railway lines are under construction, such as: Mezdra-Vidin, Tsareva Livada-Gabrovo, Boroushtitsa–Stara Zagora, and Devnya-Dobrich.* The railway network is being rapidly extended and will soon, after the projected lines are built,

*Today Tolbukhin

connect all the parts of the country of importance for industry, trade and agriculture, with railway lines.

The railway lines in operation have yielded the following revenues ;

1893–3,612,538 leva
1894–3,818,070 leva
1895–4,120,454 leva
1896–4,587,830 leva
1897–4,592,615 leva
1898–5,110,555 leva
1899–5,118,021 leva
1900–6,163,454 leva
1901–7,285,097 leva
1902– 7,498,178 leva
1903– 8,226,841 leva
1904–10,960,288 leva
1905–11,170,969 leva
1906–11,772,387 leva
1907–14,082,009 leva
1908–15,423,993 leva
1909–17,552,451 leva

Since 1903 the state has had a clear profit of from two to six million leva a year from the railways.

In 1903 there were 7,570 kilometres of state and municipal roads, periodically maintained and repaired 5,935 km state and 1,635 km municipal roads). That same year there were 11,729 bridges (8,809 built by the state and 2,920 by the municipalities). There were 208 lodges for the maintenance men in charge of roads and bridges. That same year 3,148 km of roads were under construction or had been projected, which were completed in 1909. Roads, bridges and maintenance men's lodges are in far greater numbers today.

Post and telegraph offices, of which there were only 100 in 1886, numbered 295 in 1908. There were only eight postal agencies and mobile bureaus in 1886 while in 1908 their number had risen to 1,757. In 1886 there were all in all 3,834 km of postal rounds, while by 1908 they had risen to 23,509 km.

The entire telegraph network in 1886 was 3,548 km, while in 1908 it was 5,900.

In 1903, when telephone exchanges were first installed, there were just four of them with 565 telephones. In 1908 these had increased to 21 with 2,039 telephones. In 1903 there were 135 km of telephones lines, and in 1908–263 km.

In the last four years state revenues from the posts, telegraphs and telephones have been as follows:

1906	4,300,494 leva
1907	4,745,075 leva
1908	5,140,336 leva
1909	5,510,000 leva

There were seven Bulgarian ports in operation on the Black Sea in 1895. In 1908 there were eight, two of which (those of Varna and Bourgas) were organized as modern ports. These were visited in 1895 by 2,733 ships (1,583 sailing boats and 1,150 steamships), while in 1908 the number was 5,933 (3,489 sailing boats and 2,444 steamships).

There were eight ports in operation on the Danube in 1895, and nine in 1908. The number of incoming ships was 4,608 (589 sailing boats and 8,203 steamships) in 1908.

The two main Black Sea ports (Bourgas and Varna) supplied the following revenue from 1903 to 1907 (in leva):

Years	Bourgas	Varna	Total
1903	149,571.06	11,974.75	161,545.81
1904	379,679.30	34,431.15	414,110.45
1905	363,703.20	83,075.35	446,778.55
1906	282,515.36	271,842.30	554,357.66
1907	283,903.30	435,815.15	719,718.45

Of course, revenues after 1907 have been far greater.

The capitalist development of Bulgaria is also reflected in its foreign trade which, in the various years following the liberation until the present, progressed as follows (in leva):

Years	Imports	Exports
1879	32,137,800	20,092,854
1885	44,040,214	44,874,751
1890	84,530,497	71,051,123
1895	69,020,295	77,685,546
1900	46,342,100	53,982,629
1905	122,249,938	147,960,688
1909	160,429,624	111,433,683

Imports consist primarily of ironware, machinery and various other similar materials necessary for industry, construction and agriculture.

Capitalism, albeit more slowly, is now penetrating agriculture. The concentration of land in the hands of ever fewer persons and the proletarization of the peasant masses is a continuous process. According to official 1897 statistics, 799,588 farmers owned 3,977,577.73 hectares. If we consider a farm of between 0.1 to 10 ha as a small farmstead, one of 10 to 100 ha as medium-sized and one of 100 to 500 and over as a large farmstead, we obtain the following picture:

698,030 peasants own	1,946,722.04 ha
100,610 peasants own	1,771,025.28 ha
948 peasants own	259,760.41 ha
799,588 peasants own	3,977,507.73 ha

This little table shows that a mere 948 persons own more than 250,000 ha. If we divide the total number of hectares by the number of owners, we shall get the following *average* per peasant owner: only 2.8 ha for the first category, 17.6 ha for the second, and 274 ha for the third.

This trend towards land concentration is still more clearly apparent in the following table:

Hectares	Owners	Total ha	Lots
from 100 to 200	606	82,600.26	19,001
from 200 to 300	155	37,779.31	5,900
from 300 to 500	100	42,736.12	3,575
from 500 upwards	87	96,641.42	2,413

Consequently, 87 owners own more land than the 255 owners of the second and third category, and more than the 606 owners of the first category. Moreover, the fewer the owners and the larger the property, the less the number of *lots*, which goes to show that the small lots are concentrated in the big farms.

This becomes even clearer from the following table, according to which the ownership of the farms existing in 1897 was distributed as follows:

166,765 farmsteads possess up to 0.5 ha

90,508	from 0.5 ha to 1 ha
106,373	from 1.0 ha to 2 ha
75,100	from 2.0 ha to 3 ha
60,061	from 3.0 ha to 4 ha
50,222	from 4.0 ha to 5 ha
92,515	from 5.0 ha to 7.5 ha
56,486	from 7.5 ha to 10.0 ha
55,503	from 10.0 ha to 15.0 ha
22,095	from 15.0 ha to 20.0 ha
14,911	from 20.0 ha to 30.0 ha
4,338	from 30.0 ha to 40.0 ha
1,770	from 40.0 ha to 50.0 ha
1,993	from 50.0 ha to 100.0 ha
606	from 100.0 ha to 200.0 ha
155	from 200.0 ha to 300.0 ha
100	from 300.0 ha to 500.0 ha
87	over 500.0 ha

Total 799,588 farmsteads

Today the situation has changed still further in this direction, particularly in the Varna, Bourgas, Lom and other districts. A large mass of farms are doomed to ruin. According to more recent statistics, the number of farms which possess less than 5 ha has risen to 792,618! As is known, a minimum of 5 ha are necessary for the existence of an average farm.

Of course, it should also be borne in mind, that most of the *independent* farms listed in the official statistics are only *fictitiously* independent as *actually* they are in the hands of usurers or of the Agricultural Bank.

Land concentration and the proletarization of the peasant population goes hand in hand with a comparatively rapid industrialization of agriculture.

From 1890 to 1908 the following farm machinery has been imported:

Year	Amount(kg)	Value
1890	310,404	201,999
1895	309,132	323,551
1900	429,058	428,313
1905	936,548	834,019
1906	1,771,777	1,448,054
1907	2,541,802	2,199,336
1908	1,678,722	1,366,800

In recent years farm machines have been introduced into the cultivation of land still more rapidly.

Thus, the capitalist mode of production and trade have been consistently invading the entire country, penetrating into all the pores of its economic, social and political life, and creating new conditions, new class groups and relations, and new social movements and struggles.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 1, pp. 285–293
Published by the BCP

The International Trade Union Conference in Budapest will remain memorable for the workers in Bulgaria, because, as is known, it finally cleared the deck for a *genuine* representation of the Bulgarian proletariat in the Trade Unions International, and for its *complete merger* with the life and struggles of the workers in other countries.

For seven whole years it was not the fighting Bulgarian proletariat that was represented in the International, but the centre management of semi-existent *rival* trade unions which, owing to their anti-worker activity, were always outside the pale of the international workers' movement. During this long period the right-wing socialist politicians and careerists most unscrupulously misused the prestige and funds of the Trade Unions International in interests and for aims that were *utterly alien* to the proletariat and which *exposed* the International. For a few strikes, which happened to be headed by them, they wrested from the international proletariat some 33,000 leva, half of which sum vanished without a trace in the pockets of various political loafers.

Moreover, these right-wing socialist politicians and careerists exploited these strikes for which international aid was sent, to further their petty politics and gross careerism, which was particularly true of the general railwaymen's strike in 1906[10] and of the strike of the Eastern railwaymen in 1908.[11]

The former strike, as is known, was turned into a lever in the hands of the then 'patriotic' bloc,[12] to overthrow the Stambolovist Government. The Democratic Party, which took over the government, made use of this, of course; many right-wing socialist careerists also won, as they

managed to get well-paid jobs, and 'special missions' under the beneficial wing of 'democracy'; the bureaucratic elements in the railways got big raises, while the mass of the railwaymen, who shouldered the vast burdens and adversities of the prolonged strike, was basely *tricked*.

The heroic strike of the Eastern railwaymen was *sold out* by these right-wing socialist politicians to the democratic government, thanks to which the latter had no trouble in seizing the Eastern railway lines and in preparing the *formal* grounds necessaty for proclaiming 'independence'.[13] At the very moment when the entire bourgeoisie, headed by its monarch, now adorned with a royal title, exulted at what had been accomplished, when the corrupt were writing boring articles and making grandiloquent speeches, to prove that the seizure of the Eastern Railways by the government was the realization of a 'socialist principle' – 400 Eastern railwaymen, together with their families, were fired and thrown into the throes of starvation and misery!

In the face of these and a whole series of other irrefutable established shameful facts, made public by our delegation at the Budapest Conference of the International, there was nothing more natural and imperative for the latter than to *throw* the right-wing socialist trade union centre out of the Trade Unions International. Nor could the Conference have acted otherwise. It was bound to do this. The honour of the International had to be saved, an end had to be put to the vulgar misuse of its prestige and funds by a political clique under the guise of some kind of a 'trade union centre'; the doors of the International had to be flung open to the *genuine* trade union centre of the Bulgarian proletariat, to thrust its liberating movement forward and to deal a mortal blow to the *separatist* endeavours to form and support *rival* trade unions, which could *solely* serve the interests of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

And the Budapest International Conference, to the honour of the International and the good fortune of the Bulgarian Workers, did this – it should be stressed – *unanimously* and without *any hestation*.

This is the true and profound meaning of the resolution

on the 'Bulgarian question' voted in Budapest. Although this resolution is imbued with great tact and international courtesy, and although it has a most seemly form, *its core* nevertheless remains the indisputable fact that the right-wing socialist trade union centre was *kicked out* of the International as *unworthy* of being in its midst, and that the deck was cleared for the final entry of our trade union, which *undoubtedly* all delegates to the Conference, familiar with matters in Bulgaria, considered as the *sole representative of the Bulgarian proletariat.*

The exertions of the politicians around the *Workers' Struggle* and the supermen of *Napred* to give another interpretation to the said Budapest resolution, clinging only to its flexible form, and to fragmentary foreign press comments on it, will remain fruitless. Their reasoning today that the right-wing socialist centre was not *thrown out* of the International but merely *temporarily suspended*, so as to facilitate the *merger* of the *two* trade union centres in Bulgaria, can serve as a consolation to the few incorrigible naive persons of the rival trade unions. However, they will not mislead a single serious worker, because actually the matter is perfectly clear.

It does not require much intelligence to grasp that if the Conference looked at the situation in Bulgaria the way our politicians and supermen do, if it desired a 'merger' such as they keep whining about, there would be *no need* whatever to have the right-wing socialist trade union centre 'suspended' from the International. On the contrary, such a 'merger' would have stood much better chances if the right-wing socialist centre had remained in the International and the Conference had told us: you want to enter the General Trade Unions International – very well! We do not object. Merge with the trade union centre from Bulgaria, which joined us seven years ago, and by virtue of this fact you, too, will be in the International. If you do not wish to do this, then you will remain outside the international family of the proletariat.

We know that this is precisely what the Conference did in the case of America. The new American trade union centre was frankly and categorically told that, *if it wanted to*

be in the International, it should join the old American centre[14] (known as Gompers' American Federation of Labour), which has belonged to the International Trade Union Secretariat since the Paris Conference (1909).[13] Why did not the Budapest Conference 'temporarily suspend' the old American centre, too, so as thereby to facilitate and accelerate the 'merger' of the two federations in America?

Can one believe that the tried and experienced trade union and social-democratic militants, who were in session in Budapest, did not know what they were doing? Though they are thousands of times more modest than the braggarts around the *Workers' Struggle* and *Napred*, they had enough sense and brains to realize that there was *absolutely no contradiction and no inconsistency* in their two *different* decisions concerning the dispute on Bulgaria and that on America.

That is why when Jouhaux[16] the Secretary of the French Confederation of Labour,[17] who had certain sympathies for the *new* America centre, stated his regret, after the resolution on the 'Bulgarian question' had been voted that the Conference had not taken the same decision on the American case, he was quietly told that the two cases differed greatly, and hence two quite different decisions had been taken.

And indeed, whereas in the *old* American Federation of Labour the Conference saw a *real* centre of the American proletariat, which *had to be* in the International, on the contrary, it had good grounds to look upon the right-wing socialist trade union centre as a fictitious trade union centre, which only *shamed* the International, *misusing* its prestige, *despoiling* its funds and *obstructing* the real merger of the Bulgarian proletariat by its international relations.

To facilitate the *unity* of the trade union movement in America, the Budapest International Conference *rejected* the new American centre and *left* the old federation in the International. To achieve the same unity in Bulgaria, it *threw* the right-wing socialist trade union centre *out* of the International and *opened* its doors to our trade union.

So today we are gratified to note that the Budapest resolution on the 'Bulgarian question' has already given beneficent result for the unity of the proletariat in our country and for the complete disintegration of the *rival* trade unions rejected by the International.

But more about this in the following issue.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik,
No. 60, October 3rd, 1911
Signed: G. D.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 1, pp. 481–486
Published by the BCP, 1952

TOWARDS UNITY!

The visit to Sofia during the Easter holidays of Comrade K. Legien,[18] President of the International Trade Union, was for the Sofia workers and for the whole Bulgarian proletariat fighting against capitalist exploitation a rare proletarian festival which left behind profound and indelible memories.

No one else has yet been given such a grand and cordial welcome in Bulgaria's capital as the president of the Trade Unions International. The organized workers of Sofia and the entire class-conscious Bulgarian proletariat gave a vivid expression of their boundless sympathies for the organized international proletariat when welcoming Comrade K. Legien and at the impressive workers' meeting in *New America*, as well as through hundreds of messages of greetings sent from the provinces; they manifested their sentiments of international proletarian solidarity in a most eloquent manner and showed that in spirit and struggle they were *part and parcel* of the eight-million strong workers' army, rallied under the banner of the International.

This was also a brilliant manifestation of the idea of proletarian *unity*, of the *complete unity* of its organization and struggle, as well as a condemnation of the attempts made so far by the corrupt mock-socialist intelligentsia to split the workers' forces. We value this manifestation all the more, because a proletariat devoid of class-consciousness and a feeling of *cohesion and unity* in its organization and struggle against capitalism is *doomed*.

K. Legien's visit to our country is of great importance for the unity and further development of the Bulgarian trade union movement. True, as we are bidding farewell

today to our dear guest and his most congenial companion Comrade Bukscheck, we cannot yet say unfortunately that the trade union split in a number of trades has been completely overcome. It should be stressed, however, that his mission in this respect *was not in vain*. What has been done at the recent conferences of trade union representatives is a decisive step towards doing away with the existing split in trade unions, something which may be considered as impending.

First of all, at the conferences presided over by Comrade K. Legien, a survey was made of the state of the trade union movement in our country and, in particular, of the trade unions affiliated to the two trade union centres. What became strikingly clear here was the vast numerical, financial and all-round superiority of the Social-democratic trade unions over the rival trade unions affiliated to the centre of Right-wing Socialists. Before a representative of the International it was positively ascertained, *with all the necessary factual data*, that our General Workers' trade Union, comprising 13 central trade unions, numbered 6,563 *regular* members on March 20, 1914, that from January 1 to March 20 of the same year 47,200 weekly membership dues totalling 15,534.45 leva were received in the central treasury of these unions, and that the total revenue for the same period was 20,283.45 leva, with ready cash on March 20 reaching 40,410.79 leva. Whereas the rival 'right-wing' unions, according to the *two* sole tables submitted by their centre containing *uncertain* data, and *unconfirmed resources*, have 3,163 members, with a revenue from membership dues 3,920.80 leva, a total revenue of 7,153.41 leva and ready cash 4,678.99 leva in March!

It was also ascertained that the Right-wing Socialist centre has a few organizations only in the trades of printers, tailors, shoemakers, sales clerks and carpenters, and that mainly in Sofia, as the listed *handful* of members from the other trades cannot be considered as forming organizations. Moreover, it became abundantly clear that while in the Social-democratic trade unions there is complete cohesion and centralization, as is the case in all

modern trade unions, the rival unions continue to be completely decentralized and disorganized.

All these important findings, ascertained officially by the President of the International Trade Union in person, go to show once again that the *de facto* representative and leader of the trade union movement in Bulgaria is our trade union centre, the only one that deserves serious attention on the part of the International.

Nevertheless, Comrade Karl Legien was fully aware of the necessity of creating a single unified trade union centre, so as to secure the regular development of the trade union movement and to guarantee the success of the workers' future struggles. Proceeding from the *assumption* that there are *two* Social-democratic parties in Bulgaria, with which *the two* trade union centres are connected, and that the latter's existence apart from one another is determined by the existing *Party* split, considering the Right-wing Party a Social-democratic one, insofar as it is affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau, without considering its true character, Comrade Legien found that the best way out of the present situation would be for the two centres to merge on the basis of neutrality, naturally not neutrality with regard to socialism, but to the existing *two socialist parties.* Formally, he was quite right. The trouble is that the Right-wing Socialist Party *is not in any sense of the word a Social-democratic Party,* that a wide and unbridgeable gap separates it from the Workers' Social-democratic Party and that, this being so, if a trade union merger were to be effected on a basis of neutrality, the thus unified trade union movement would become the arena of Party struggles and be exposed to the demoralization which is now undermining the ranks of Right-wing Socialists. This is a terrific risk which our trade union centre and the Social-democratic trade unions, conscious of their responsibility for the present and future of the Bulgarian workers' movement, could not take at the moment.

We therefore proposed at the conference that the settlement of all the problems concerning the character, tactics, etc., of the trade union movement be left to *the workers themselves,* who form part of the organizations attached to

the two trade union centres and have a *direct* stake in the attainment of trade union unity. We submitted to the conference the following declaration:

We agree that it be decided now, in the preservation of Comrade Karl Legien, that the two trade union centres should convene a general congress, at which the representation should be determined on the basis of the data, ascertained by this conference, on the numerical strength of trade unions belonging to the two centres, with one delegate from the midst of the trade unions themselves per 100 members. This congress should decide sovereignly, on the basis of an ordinary majority, all questions concerning the character, tactics form of organization and relationship to political parties of the future General Trade Union, its decisions being compulsory for the member unions. The congress should be convened at the end of April at the latest.'

This proposal, which leaves to *the workers themselves* from the two parties concerned to decide upon the outstanding issues and to achieve the complete unity of their organizations, *was flatly rejected* by the right-wing leaders. Those who loudly proclaimed at every street corner their readiness to achieve trade union unity *at all cost*, now that an acceptable practical basis leading to real trade union unity was proposed, considered it advisable to back out.

We remain convinced, however, that all the workers who hold dear the unity of the trade union movement will accept this modus and will help to overcome the now existing split in the trade unions. All the more so, as it is now no longer possible to keep up the myth, which the rival organizations have been spreading for years among the workers, that the International will impose unity on the basis of neutrality.

The demagogical flirting with the idea of unification has now come to an end. The complete unity of the trade union movement in Bulgaria is about to be re-established.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik, no. 279
April 9, 1914
Signed by: G. Dimitrov
Works, Vol. 3, pp. 10–15
Published by the BCP, 1952

AGAINST MILITARY CREDITS

Gentlemen! During previous votes on military credits, our parliamentary group has had occasion to state its reasons for voting against such credits. I do not intend now to go into these basic reasons again, as they are already known to the members of Parliament. But it is my duty, on behalf of our group, to draw your attention to a major and special reason which prompts us firmly to oppose the new military credit of 6,050,000 leva.

We look upon all the funds now being voted for military purposes as a means of pursuing a policy tending to carve up and seize the Balkans. This policy was most clearly defined here in the reply to the speech from the throne by the majority, as well as by all the parliamentary groups of the opposition except ours. At that time it boiled down to the following: Bulgaria should under no circumstances enter into an agreement with the other Balkan states, as this was considered impossible and utopian under the present conditions; and Bulgaria should start negotiations with both groups of great powers in order to secure its independence and integrity and eventually to attain its national ideals. Well, gentlemen national representatives, we consider this policy which, but for differences in shade, is shared by the majority of the house and the bourgeois opposition parties in parliament, as fatal to our nation; hence any means instrumental to this policy cannot be approved here, in parliament, by the representatives of the people's masses and of the working class. We are against this military credit and we think that the parliament, if it really represented the interests of the Bulgarian people, and not those of a handful of privileged gentlemen who rule and dominate the country, if in its views it

expressed the interests of that people, should not approve the spending of a single penny for military purposes until the present government, or a future government that might take its place, adopts the only salutary policy of an understanding among the Balkan states, of forming a Balkan federation. We still consider the realization of such a policy, as we have stressed here time and again as possible...

Dr. K. Provadaliev: Are you serious?

G. Dimitrov:... as we have always done, so today we quite seriously recommend to the Bulgarian Parliament and to the present government this only salutary policy. This is why it is my duty to affirm here that we cannot cast our vote in favour that parliament, if it does not want to betray the interests of the Bulgarian people, should not vote any credits for military purposes until the time when an independent and free Balkan policy, that would at the same be a Bulgarian policy, is adopted.

In the second place, gentlemen national representatives, you will allow us to differ as to the necessity at this juncture of an extraordinary military credit, much of which would go to maintain reserve troops. For, in spite of the present situation in Bulgaria and the Balkans, we are convinced – on the basis of sufficient data which are probably not unknown to many of the gentlemen national representatives and to the present government – that the calling up of the reserves, of those three series of six levies, is not dictated by any present necessity of preserving the national independence of our country, but that it is, if I may say so, a rehearsal, a partial mobilization. After the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, after the wounds which they inflicted, after the readiness of the masses to fight has been completely exhausted, it is now deemed necessary to sound out public opinion, to test inhowfar the readiness of the masses has been re-awakened. The military authorities themselves do not conceal the fact that the main reason for calling up these levies is precisely the sounding out and testing of public opinion and, on the other hand, the forming of a martial spirit among the masses which may tomorrow have to be called to arms in case of a general mobilization. Well, we feel that the reserves ought not to

have been called up, that this is not dictated by considerations of national defence but by quite different motifs and, consequently, that the expenditure it entails might have been avoided. We are not prepared to sacrifice a single penny, or a single drop of blood for a policy that leads not to safeguarding Bulgaria's freedom and independence, but to its ruin. This is our main idea and our guiding principle.

This credit, which you will probably vote, met with approval on this side, too (Pointing to the left). The objections raised there are purely formal in character, and concern only the system of credits outside the budget, they are nor objections of principle, for you may rightly tell those on the left that they, too, have spent considerable sums for military purposes in the same way, that this was not invented by the Liberal Government, but is an old system which is likely to continue in existence for years to come, in spite of everything that might be said to the contrary, if not as long as the bourgeois system prevails. Because the Bulgarian bourgeoisie ruling the country will never have the courage to come out openly before the masses, and say: 'We need so many millions for our war policy, for military purposes,' and to provide for the exact sum in the budget, but it will always try to hide it and throw dust in the eyes of the destitute masses who, if they are interested in the budget, will discover an outlay of only 50 million leva, whereas a correct estimate would show the sum to be not 50, but 150 to 200 million a year. Well, gentlemen, since none of the wings reject the credit in principle, obviously it will be voted. But allow me to ask what the present government, which hastens with credits outside the budget, especially for military purposes, has done, what you, gentlemen of the majority, who sanction with your vote the various measures of the government, propose to do, so as to guarantee the existence of the thousands of families the heads of which have been called up for a three-week training. Surely you are not unaware of the fact that a great calamity has befallen the country, due to the calling up of the reserves of several levies. Ninety per cent of these people are workers, poor peasants and farmers; they have

most of them left their families without a single penny, and that while there is a social crisis; they have no stocks, no savings, they had no way of saving and, consequently, their families are now starving, suffering from the harsh winter.

Prime Minister Dr. V. Radoslavov: Who is starving?

G. Dimitrov: The state has not done anything for them.

Minister P. Peshev: The state is doing all that's necessary. Don't talk like a demagogue!

G. Dimitrov: Sir! We are not demagogues, we are just speaking the plain truth which you can check yourself anywhere.

Minister P. Peshev: Our state has not let its people go hungry.

G. Dimitrov: All right, then, if you do not want those workers' families in our country to be destitute, this is what you should have done: before introducing this bill for credits outside the budget, you should have introduced a bill to guarantee the relief of families living in distress. This you didn't do, and yet you insist that the state has done everything necessary. The state has done nothing in this respect... .

Minister P. Peshev: It won't forsake them.

G. Dimitrov:... And you are still trying to say that people aren't starving. Let's face it, gentlemen, they are!

From the right wing and right centre: Come, come! This is not true.

G. Dimitrov: You have enough to eat with plenty to spare, and that's why you won't believe those that are hungry (Protests from the right). Well then, gentlemen, if the Government does not introduce such a bill, why didn't the committee of the house come to an agreement with the Government to put on the agenda the bill introduced for the purpose by our parliamentary group as early as the last session and which we re-introduced at the beginning of the present session – a bill that concerns the relief of poor families during mobilization, which could be extended to include relief of workers' families living in poverty due to their men being called up for a three-week training, which incidentally is a partial mobilization in itself? This had not been done either. You know, moreover, that the crisis now

existing in this country affects most those who have no property – this at least none of you will try to deny – because there is no social crisis, no economic crisis for the gentlemen who dispose of much capital, for those who keep on pocketing interests no matter what happens. It's the have-nots who bear the brunt of the crisis. Now, gentlemen, so many industrial enterprises have closed down, there is a general economic stagnation and mass unemployment – the Minister of Industry and Labour here could tell you this, as he has a special report on unemployment from the workers' organizations: today over 30,000 men cannot find work anywhere in the country – and they have families – this means that more than 100,000 people have no means of subsistence, no bread, so sustenance. A bill has been drafted to provide for them, but this bill is not being put on the agenda. The government is doing nothing about it. People are starving while you are going to vote with both hands for new extraordinary credits for military purposes (Protests from the right wing and right centre). Gentlemen! I want to draw your attention to this glaring contradiction, this inconsistency and cruelty shown by the present state, represented by you, by the Government and the majority of the house.

S. Kalenderov: Cruelty, indeed.

G. Dimitrov: Yes, unprecedented cruelty! Gentlemen! A few minutes ago Mr. Koznichki, in order to persuade us that we too should vote for the credits outside the budget, cited the example of other nations: he said that that was what had been done in Germany, Austria and in all the other belligerent nations. The analogy he drew was, however, not exact, since they are fighting there, while we here are not.

V. Koznichki: I was speaking about the non-belligerent countries too, about the neutral ones.

G. Dimitrov: But for his analogy to have been correct, Mr. Koznichki ought to have told us what they are doing about the destitute workers' masses in countries where bills for credits outside the budget have really been passed due the war.

Minister D. Petkov: Where they are fighting!

G. Dimitrov: You,gentlemen, are not prepared to grant a single penny to the working class, to the destitute masses, whom tomorrow you will be calling to arms, to fight not for themselves, but for you again.

From the right wing and right centre: Hear, hear!

G. Dimitrov:... for your policy and your national ideals, under the guise of your own selfish, capitalist interests.

Minister P. Peshev: This is outrageous!

G. Dimitrov: I should like to tell Mr. Peshev that this is not outrageous, but the plain truth.

Minister P. Peshev: This is the limit! It's a scandal! The chairman ought not to let you speak like that! This is instigation, demagogy! How dare you instige?

V. Kolarov: Hunger and poverty are a fact.

Minister P. Peshev: Don't talk like demagogue, about a national problem. This is a wicked shame!

P. Genadiev (to the extreme left): You are rousing the people to rebellion.

D. Blagoev: You are rousing it.

Minister P. Peshev: (to Mr. Dimitrov): Hold your tongue!

G. Dimitrov: I should beg the Minister of Education to keep calm.

Minister P. Peshev: Hold your tongue!

G. Dimitrov: Sir! We know what we are talking about.

Minister P. Peshev: No, you don't.

G. Dimitrov: What we have said we can prove with documents.

Minister P. Peshev: You don't seem to realize what the consequences of your words can be.

G. Dimitrov: Don't let us rake up old accounts now.

From the right wing: A-ha!

S. Kalenderov: You don't know what you are talking about.

Chairman: Mr. Dimitrov! Stick to the point or I shall ask you to leave the floor.

D. Blagoev: Mr. Chairman, you have no right to tell him what he ought to say.

We protest against this outrage.

P. Genadiev: Mr. Blagoev! You forget that the calling up

of reserves is for the good of your country. You forget it at your age.

D. Blagoev: You there, keep quite!

The Chairman: I call on Mr. Dimitrov to keep to the subject. Our patience is exhausted. Else, according to the rules, I shall have to withdraw his permission to speak.

G. Dimitrov: Gentlemen! If you wished and if you had the patience to hear me out instead of losing your tempers...

S. Kalenderov: How can we stand this?

G. Dimitrov: ... I could point out to you here a dozen of patriots, who have robbed Bulgaria and for whose sake the Balkan Wars were waged. They are both here (Pointing to the right) and there (Pointing to the left). (Loud protests and thumping of feet from the right).

M.Nichov: Point them out, tell us who they are!

G. Dimitrov: As you know, a parliamentary inquiry was instituted which has found out many and is going to find out more...

M. Nichov: Go on, tell us who they are!

G. Dimitrov:... scores and hundreds of self-styled Bulgarian patriots, both there (Pointing to the right) and here (Pointing to the left).

Someone from the right: There are none here.

T. Loukanov: Look at Mr. Gendovich, he is a great patriot, the good man! Why do you say there are none?

The Chairman: Mr. Dimitrov! If you don't keep to the subject and continue to irritate the national representatives, I shall withdraw your permission to speak.

G. Dimitrov: You have no right to do it, Mr. Chairman. Let me finish.

The Chairman: We have no time for nonsense and ill-founded attacks here.

G. Dimitrov: I protest: The chairman has no right to say who is talking sense and who is talking nonsense.

The Chairman: I shall demand that you leave the floor.

D. Blagoev: How can you do this? It would be quite arbitrary!

The Chairman: He should keep to his subject. He should not make light with the National Assembly.

D. Blagoev: You don't like it, because you won't hear the bitter truth.

The Chairman: Mr. Dimitrov! Keep to your subject. Don't compel me to make you leave the floor!

G. Dimitrov: Mr. Chairman would not have been offended and he would not have reprimanded me if, say, like Mr. Grigor Vassilev, I had sung the praise of our Bulgarian army and asked for an increase of military credits. But because I come out as a representative of a party which cannot share this view and is openly against it, in order to speak against the credits, all of you start arguing and want me to leave the floor. This is not consistent with the principles of parliamentarism, it is most unprincipled of you who like to boast of your parliamentary principles.

Let me finish now. I wanted, gentlemen, to draw your attention to the fact that, while the voting of extraordinary credits for military purposes is being rushed, absolutely nothing is being done – and this is the truth – to guarantee the lives of Bulgarian families in distress. This was my whole point.

S. Kalenderov: Do you suggest that these sums be included in the credit now discussed?

G. Dimitrov: You find the means for introducing so many credits outside the budget, and when it comes to social reforms, you find only words.

T. Loukanov: That's how it will be, of course, when a budget of 60 million is submitted and, at the same time, military credits, are asked for 200 million leva.

G. Dimitrov: Millions upon millions are voted for military credits, while for social legislation and labour protection there remains only what was said in the speech from the throne and the promises of the cabinet. Well then, gentlemen, we are here to tell you that the working class, the broad masses, part of whom have elected some of you, cannot be solidary with such a policy. And when our government declares that the people approve of this policy, that they give their tacit consent to this policy, the Government should know, and you, gentlemen, should know that the people, who are suffering in poverty and distress, and with whose money you are building up a military organiza-

tion, in order to use it as an instrument, not in defence of the nation... .

S. Kalenderov: In defence of what then?

G. Dimitrov:... but, consciously or unconsciously, for the ruin of our national freedom and independence, that the people will not support you, that they are against it and, on their behalf, we resolutely oppose the policy pursued here, which is directed against the nation's freedom and independence (Applause on the extreme left).

Shorthand notes, 17th National Assembly
November 19, 1914, pp. 483–486

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 3, pp. 297–307
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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECOND BALKAN CONFERENCE

Speech at a public meeting in Sofia
July 9, 1915

The Second Balkan Social Democratic Conference in Bucharest marked a further step along the road towards the triumph of the Balkan Federative Republic which was started in 1909 at the First Balkan Social Democratic Conference in Belgrade. The latter had only drawn up and formulated the fundamental principles on the unity and common struggle of the Social Democratic Parties in the Balkan states and entrusted the practical organization of this common struggle to a second conference.

Unfortunately, however, the work successfully begun at Belgrade had to be suspended for a certain time owing to the political developments and the Balkan Wars.

Today we have to thank primarily the fraternal Romanian Party for the organization of the Second Balkan Social-Democratic Conference in Bucharest, because it not only assumed the initiative in convening this Conference, but also took great pains to guarantee its full success.

The Bucharest Conference elucidated, developed, reaffirmed and expended the fundamental principles laid down at the Belgrade Conference. Its main task, however, was to establish the necessary organizational forms, ways and means in the fight of the Balkan Social Democrats for the establishment of a Balkan Federative Republic.[18]

The Second Balkan Social-Democratic Conference decided with the *absolute unanimity* all the participating delegates that the workers' Social-democratic Parties and the trade union associations of the Balkan states should form a *Balkan Workers' Social Democratic Federation* with one Inter-Balkan Bureau composed of two delegates per country, one from the Party, and the other from the Trade Union association, with an executive committee elected by

the Workers' Social Democratic Party and the general Trade Union in Romania. Instead of individual Social-democratic Parties, hitherto acting separately and without coordination, a *united Balkan Social Democracy* was formed.

The first major practical step for the unification of the Balkan nations has been made by *unifying the socialist proletariat* in Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece into one *Balkan Social Democratic Federation.*

And this federation of the Balkan Social Democratic Parties and trade union associations is being formed not only because it is quite obvious that only artificial boundaries divide the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and that they are bound by the same fate, but because without this organization it is impossible to carry out an effective struggle for the realization of *a Balkan Federative Republic,* in which all the Balkan peoples can find their only true salvation.

Guided by the principle that a *single Social-Democratic Party* and *a single trade union* association per country should join it, the Balkan Social-democratic Federation will endeavour to attract the social-democratic parties which subsequently are to be formed in Turkey, Albania and Montenegro into its ranks, provided they adopt the principles of international revolutionary socialism.

The Balkan Social-Democratic Federation will be represented at the International Socialist Bureau[20] and the international congresses by a *single Balkan delegation* in which the Federative Social-democratic Parties and trade unions will be equally represented.

The Conference entrusts the executive committee with the task of starting the publication of a *Balkan Socialist Bulletin* in French and German to keep the international proletariat informed on the situation in the Balkans and the struggle for a Balkan Federative Republic; the federated parties and trade unions assume the obligation to render each other assistance by exchanging delegates to their congresses, orators at their meetings, newspapers and various publications, etc. May Day is set as a day of a common demonstration in all countries in favour of the Balkan Federative Republic.

The Inter-Balkan Bureau will edit special pamphlets on the Balkan question and the struggle for a Balkan Federative Republic, *to be published in all the Balkan languages.*

Without listing other points of detail in the decisions of the Conference (those who are interested may read them in the *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*), you can see the great usefulness of the newly-established Balkan Social-Democratic Federation for the Balkan proletariat.

But the Bucharest Conference had to take a stand also on the present war and the tasks of the International. *Unanimously* it proclaimed the necessity of an immediate restoration of the International which is possible today only on the basis of *revolutionary socialist and proletarian internationalism.*

For this purpose the Conference expressed its great desire that the Social-democratic Parties of the belligerent countries might immediately break with the so-called *civil peace*[21] and return again to implacable class struggle.

In sending most cordial greetings to Rosa Luxemburg,[22] Libknecht[23] and to all who remained loyal to the principles of international revolutionary socialism, the Conference pointed out that it was absolutely necessary to start a ruthless struggle against *opportunism, social imperialism* and *trends of deviation* within the International.

The Bucharest Conference concluded its work by voting a resolution against military provocations of *peace* and *neutrality* at any cost.

(Here the speaker describes the impressive meeting which preceded the Bucharest Conference and the indignation of the Bucharest proletarians at the Government's decision preventing delegates from addressing the meeting).

There is no need to point out in detail the tremendous *historic, political* and – as Comrade Sideris rightly put it – *moral* significance of the work which the Second Balkan Social-Democratic Conference did. It opens up a *new* and *bright epoch* for the Balkan proletariat and the peoples on the Balkan Peninsula.

Our task today after this epoch-making conference will

be to popularize the idea of a Balkan Federative Republic among the widest circles of the Bulgarian proletariat and working people and to rally the workers in the ranks and under the banner of the *Balkan Social Democratic Federation!*

It is only thus that we shall represent a worthy section of the Balkan International. Marching shoulder to shoulder with our brothers from Romania, Serbia and Greece, we shall bring closer the day of triumph of the Balkan Federative Republic which will mark a sure stage towards the great proletarian social revolution!

Rabotnicheski Vestnik, No. 77, July 12, 1915

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 4, pp. 107–111
Published by the BCP, 1952

The imperialists of the Entente[24] have been dinning it into the ears of the whole world that they were fighting for the rights and liberties of the small nations. In one of his speeches Lloyd George, comparing the big and small nations, said:'Great are indeed the centuries-old pines and oaks, but it is from the small nations that we pick the most valuable fruit', and that the small nations, too, if left to develop freely and independently, were as necessary and valuable for the progress of mankind as the big ones, while Asquith,[25] in speaking about the conditions which peace would bring to the peoples, said: 'Both big and small, powerful and weak, will have equal rights of freedom and independence.'

In quoting the above and other statements, a Sofia daily concludes: 'If this principle of equality of nations does indeed prevail, and is applied after the conclusion of peace, its consequences for the Bulgarian people will be most favourable.'

Is it possible that the bourgeoisie of the Entente should have abandoned its age-old traditions of keeping hundreds of millions of nations, big and small, under subjection? In actual fact we see nothing of the kind. On the contrary. The Entente mobilized the whole fit male generation of the coloured peoples under its domination, using it as cannon fodder, to defend and expand the domination of the same bourgeoisie over the smaller and backward nations, while the outrages against the Irish people[26] who are fighting for freedom and independence are still fresh in our memory.

This loquaciousness of the ruling Entante bourgeoisie is probably due to the successes which it scored during the present war in enlisting a substantial part of the small European nations as well in its imperialist orbit.

Since the beginning of the war now raging we have been observing a new trend in the imperialist policy of the warring bourgeoisie. The one as well as the other strive by all means to conceal the imperialist goals which they pursue in the present war from their own peoples and still more from those they aspire to, and to facilitate their task they have cast yet another bait: alliance with the latter.

Let us recall here the well-known fact of how the Entente, in order to drag nations which stood outside, but which were and continue to be an object of its imperialist policy, into its colonial whirlpool, too, threw wide open its safes for all traitors who were and are ready to sell out their nations for gold. Serbia, Romania, Portugal, Greece, and if you wish Bulgaria, too, irrefutably prove this, always in the form of an alliance.

But what does an alliance of the small and underdeveloped nations with the great and developed capitalist powers mean in the present world capitalist duel? The answer is well known. Belgium, Serbia, Romania, Russia, etc., were nations which gave their last man in the fight, and on whose territories the most devastating military operations have been and are taking place, where everything has been reduced to ashes and ruins, while, at the same time, America, Britain, etc. stand at a respectful distance from the consequences of the world crime.

But this is only the one side of the medal. We know that in the present war armaments assumed colossal, unprecedented proportions. Most of the industries in the capitalist countries are engaged in the production of equipment for the battling armies. Hundreds of millions of leva are wasted every day for this purpose by the belligerent nations, which vie in contracting loan after loan for billions of leva.

The small and still underdeveloped capitalist nations are compelled to contract their state loans and armaments with their powerful allies. These nations have thus been burdened with unbearable debts towards the latter, while the bourgeoisie heading the belligerent blocs secured for itself a sure income for many a year from the interest on

these loans as well as lush profits from the deliveries of arms, clothing, food etc., which it makes to these countries.

What is more, the capitals of these powerful allies penetrate into these countries in yet another way: new banks, bank branches, increasing the capital of already existing banks etc. are the first steps along this line.

All this leads us to conclude with certainty that this is the beginning of the end of the independence of the small nations, to whom such compliments are paid from London. And Lloyd George is not wrong when he says that the people whom he represents pick valuable fruit from these nations. He is also right when he declares that these nations will in future be left to develop freely, as freely indeed as the small trees develop in the shade of the age-old oaks.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik,
No. 139, October 25, 1917
Signed G. D.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 4 pp. 435–438
Published by the BCP, 1952

It has long been known and beyond dispute that the proletariat has a *very great striking power* owing to its *crucial and irreplaceable* role in modern production as the creator of all social wealth, as well as to its *numerical strength* which is increasing with every passing day.

Destroying the old forms and methods of production and dispossessing the mass of independent petty owners and producers, the continuous concentration of production, the progress of modern technology and the merciless capitalist competition, on the one hand, place the whole production process in the hands of the proletariat and, on the other, increasingly multiply and tighten its ranks. By dint of this objective development, the proletariat gradually emerges as the only productive, most numerous and powerful social class.

Inspite of this historical fact, however, for many decades and up to this day, the proletariat has been harnessed to the yoke of the capitalist industrial and social system, exploited and divested of its rights by the ruling classes, which possess the capital.

The very existence of the tremendous spontaneous force of the proletariat derived from its great numbers and its economic role, therefore, *by itself is quite insufficient* to set it free, to make it complete master of its destinies and worthy of its great historic mission.

On this *objective basis*, it is necessary to build up the real social and political force of the proletariat, to transform it into a *class of itself*, as Marx said in 1848, through *a decisive struggle for the reconstruction of capitalist society*.

In their remarkable *Communist Manifesto*[27] Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism, as early as seventy years ago showed and scientifically elucidated this only correct road towards proletarian liberation – the road

of the class struggle of the proletariat. Mercilessly castigating the misleaders of the workers at that time – various bourgeois, socialists and parlour pinks, Marx and Engels, unlike them, called themselves *communists* and gave to their historic appeal to the international proletariat the name of *Communist Manifesto*.

Today, when May Day, the labour holiday, coincides with the *70th anniversary* of the writing of the Communist Manifesto (1848–1918) and the *100th anniversary* of Marx's birth (1818–1918), we feel how the closing words of the Communist Manifesto *Proletarians of all countries, unite!* are raised and spread throughout the world.

We are most gratified to note that the *socialist* proletariat in Bulgaria has not deviated from the right road. It has not betrayed the emancipatory cause and the ideas of the international proletariat.

It refused to sacrifice its general and lasting vital interests, its principles, its programme and its future for petty momentary gains and for a mess of pottage.

The Social-democratic Party and the workers' trade unions have gained strength. Their means of carrying on the fight have increased. Their printed organ today, in spite of everything, has a three times wider circulation.

Social democracy in Parliament and in the municipalities has honourably acquitted itself of its duty, endeavouring to relieve the condition of the workers' masses as much as possible and, through labour laws and various other measures, to protect them from physical and moral degradation.

Precisely this road remains to be followed in future, still more firmly and more resolutely.

The early prospects of a new and still more powerful rallying of the proletariat all over the world for the class struggle against capitalism are clearly outlined on the May Day horizon.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik,
No. 273, May 1, 1918
Signed G. D.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 5 pp. 120–122
Published by the BCP, 1952

NO PARDON, BUT AMNESTY

Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, Social Democratic deputy, wired the following protest from the Central Prison to the Minister of Justice, with a copy to us:

In accordance with a meeting held by the special commission at the Central Prison for drawing up a list of prisoners deserving of pardon, among 200 persons I, too, was presented for pardon. I am deeply indignant at this attempt, through partial pardons to dodge or at least delay a general political and military amnesty, which the working masses throughout the country at rallies and meetings have so resolutely demanded, which they are ready at any price to impose, and which at the present moment is a pressing economic and political necessity. What is needed is not arbitrary royal pardon, constituting a sphere of exceedingly profitable vulgar trade in which the greatest injustices are committed with regard to the persons selected for pardon, and whereby the human and political dignity of the prisoners released in this manner is abased; but for Parliament to assume its proper role and annul the acts issued by the military courts, by examining and passing as soon as possible the bill submitted by the Social Democratic Party for an amnesty of military and political crimes, for a revision of the sentences issued by the military courts for other crimes, and for reducing by one half the punishments of prisoners unaffected by the amnesty, the bulk of whom have quite accidentally landed in prison as unfortunate victims of modern conditions, and who in every respect are incomparably more decent people than thousands of others who are at liberty.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik,
No. 143, December 3, 1918

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 5, pp. 155–156
Published by the BCP, 1952

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET
(Two open letters by Lenin to the American and European workers)

The name of the most authoritative leader of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Lenin, has become world famous. Today it is pronounced with fear and trepidation by the supporters of the old and shaken bourgeois system in all countries, and with admiration and even religious awe by the proletariat and all enslaved mankind. Side by side with Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism and authors of the Communist Manifesto, Lenin immortalized himself in the history of the workers' emancipatory movement by the titanic accomplishments of the Russian Socialist Revolution, the practical application of the principles of the Communist Manifesto and the establishment of the proletarian Soviet State. His name has become the symbol of the international workers' revolution which, after having triumphed in Russia, swept over Hungary, shook Germany and is steadily spreading in order to engulf the whole capitalist world.

It is for this very reason that everything written and said by Lenin today assumes tremendous significance for the fighting proletariat in all countries.

Engrossed day and night in the task of building up the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, of crushing the counter-revolution from within and without, and clearing the road of the workers' revolution in other countries, Lenin has still found time to address two letters – one to the *American workers*, of August 20, 1918, and the other to the *European and American workers*, of January 21, 1919.

We borrow Lenin's first letter from the Social Democratic paper *Workers' Education* in America, where it was printed after undergoing certain excisions by the American censorship. As can be seen, the deleted passages

deal with the situation in America and the present-day revolutionary tasks of the American proletariat.

The second letter is a verbatim translation from the Russian original.

In his first letter, Lenin brilliantly champions the cause of the Russian Socialist Revolution, of the Soviet Republic and its peaceful policy, as well as of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his second letter, noting the substantial successes of the revolutionary proletariat in various countries in its struggle for political power, he proclaims the actual foundation of the Communist International, outlining with his customary clarity and sharpness the ways and means of the universal workers' revolution.

We Bulgarian Communists (Left-wing Socialists) are gratified to note that we are in complete agreement with Lenin, that the principles and tactics of the Communist International are also our principles and tactics.

Lenin's views on bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism are those most firmly upheld by our Party, which has never been the victim of any parliamentary illusions and has always kept aloof from the fallacies and prejudices of bourgeois democracy. Rejecting bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, the Bulgarian Communist Party is preparing the proletariat and the working people's masses for a revolution aimed at the conquest of political power. It makes use of electoral campaigns and the parliamentary tribune along with its other means solely for this praparation, until the moment about which Lenin is speaking in his second letter sets in in our country, when it will forsake its parliamentary position and go over to an all-round offensive in order to overthrow the capitalist state and to replace it by a Soviet proletarian state, by the workers' dictatorship.

The three main trends among the proletariat in all countries, which Lenin has so well described in his second letter, exist also in Bulgaria. The two trends, the social-patriotic and the moderate one ('Kautsky's followers') are represented by the Right-wing Socialists' party, which with its extreme social-patriots (Sakuzov, Djidrov, Pastouhov,

Sakarov, Assen Tsankov, etc.) and its moderates, the Kautskians (Romanov, Rashenov, etc.), is entirely in the camp of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The representative of the revolutionary trend is the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-wing Socialists), which by its nature, its programme and communist slogans, its activity and mass revolutionary struggle is the *only Communist Party* in our country and rightly represents the Bulgarian section of the Communist International.

This being the actual situation, everyone realizes not only how senseless, but also how harmful and treacherous it is to set up various 'communist groups', 'organizations' and 'small parties' outside the Bulgarian Communist Party. These are today ardently desired by some men of unbridled ambition, various supermen, incorrigible individualists, and even parasites of the workers' revolution.

All workers, all working people, all militant and revolutionary elements in our country, who actually adhere to the principles and tactics of the Communist International, and who are – for one reason or another – still outside the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade unions, outside the workers' revolutionary movement, are today bound to heed Lenin's powerful call, to become deeply imbued with his ideas as expounded in these two letters, and to rally without hesitation to the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade unions under the banner of communism.

The 'right' and 'left' counter-revolutionaries are today rapidly organizing and mustering their forces – the latter rallied around the 'leftist' Government of Teodorov-Pastouhov-Stamboliiski, and the former around the Democratic and Liberal bourgeois Parties with their 'military leagues', pseudo-Macedonian and jingoist gangs.

Against the counter-revolutionists who are thus getting organized, we must set up the mighty revolutionary bloc of the Bulgarian proletariat and the remaining working masses, through the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade union organizations.

History is posing point-blank the question: either with the counter-revolution – for the preservation of capitalism,

or with the workers' revolution – for the abolition of capitalism and through a workers' dictatorship, for the establishment of socialism and the complete triumph of communism. *There is no middle road!*

Everyone ought to find his proper place! Everyone must do his duty!

No splitting of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat! No setting up of separatist groups and organizations! No banking on communism and the communist revolution.

All workers and working people who are ready for a decisive struggle must be in full revolutionary unity through their Communist Party and their trade unions!

This is the supreme demand of the present historic moment.

This is actually the great practical meaning of the two open letters of the great leader of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic and the world workers' revolution, which we most ardently recommend to the Bulgarian workers and all working people in town and countryside.

G. Dimitrov

Sofia, May 1919

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 5, pp. 228–232
Published by the BCP. 1952

1. THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE PAST

The trade unions sprang up during the early stage of capitalism as an organization aimed at improving the economic conditions of the workers within the *framework* of the existing capitalist system. At first they considered it as their task to fight only the individual capitalists in defence of the immediate professional workers' interests, without affecting the foundations of capitalist exploitation and without going beyond the pale of the capitalist industrial social organization.

The abolition of competition among workers of a given trade, the restricted access of new workers to it and the resorting in extreme cases to strikes – those were the usual methods used by the old trade unions in order to obtain higher wages, shorter working hours and better working conditions.

Failing to see the direct tie-up which exists between the condition of the workers in production and the political and state organization of capitalist society, those trade unions, a classical example of which we find in the former British trade unions, shut themselves up in their narrow professional shell, assiduously avoiding all participation in political battles and in the nation's politics in general, and confining themselves to questions pertaining to their trade. This, of course, subsequently did not prevent them from being quite frequently used, directly or indirectly, for the political ends of the bourgeoisie.

In spite of this innocuous character of the first trade unions the bourgeoisie and its state opposed them vehemently and tried by violence, repression and legalized bans to destroy them, sensing instinctively that they might develop into dangerous class organizations, into organs of the class

struggle of the proletariat for the abolition of the capitalist system.

The rabid acts of violence, repressions and bans against the trade unions, however, far from failed to produce the result expected by the bourgeoisie. A product of the very development of capitalism, having emerged in the struggle between capital and labour and having become a vital necessity for the workers in their defence against capitalist exploitation, the trade unions could not possibly be eradicated. The persecutions against them only intensified the existing class contradictions in capitalist society and revealed them more clearly to the masses of workers. Without the intervention of the trade unions, the strikes were more frequent, spontaneous and turbulent, inflicting immeasurable damage on production, threatening often even the personal safety and property of individual capitalists.

It was precisely this that finally compelled the bourgeoisie to get *reconciled* to the existence of trade unions, while attempting to *tame* them and to turn them into organizations which would regulate relations between workers and capitalists and maintain a lasting peace in industry.

The British bourgeoisie, which for long was complete master on the international market and owned the largest and richest colonies in the world, had ample possibilities, for the attainment of this goal, to mete out certain material benefits to the trade unions which comprised mainly skilled workers, the so-called *labour aristocracy.*

This marked the beginning of the era of collective contracts, concluded between the trade unions and the capitalist organizations and by fixing by mutual consent the conditions and rates of wages and working time, thereby removing for a long time the *danger of strikes* at the enterprises and in the branches of industry affected by these collective contracts. The well-known *wage scales* were established, according to which wage rates were determined in accordance with the average price of prime necessities over a given period, the calculation, however, being usually so made as to keep wages at the lowest possi-

ble level. And in order to involve the workers and their trade unions more deeply in capitalist production, to harness them to it and make them eager collaborators of the capitalists in expending and stabilizing it so as to increase capitalist profit to the utmost, many enterprises resorted to profit-sharing schemes in the form of certain percentages and bonuses granted to the workers. Thus, the capitalists secured a maximum labour efficiency on the part of the workers, safeguarded themselves against their strikes, pocketed fat profits, while all that the workers got was the *illusion* of participating in the profits of the enterprises and, if what they got was inadequate, of attributing it not to capitalist expoitation, not to the greed of the capitalists, not to the capitalist system of production itself and the way the goods produced were distributed, but to their own inadequacy in work, to their failure to put in the necessary efforts for the success of production.

Adopting this industrial policy towards the workers, the capitalists strove to make them believe that an improvement of their condition could be achieved not through strikes, not through a struggle against capitalist exploitation, but *solely* through an increase of capital, through an expansion of production, through constantly growing capitalist profits.

And the majority of trade unions in Great Britain and in several other countries, from bodies for the defence of the workers' interests and for fighting capitalism, were turned into vehicles for the establishment of equilibrium and peace in capitalist production and into an instrument of the nation's capitalists whereby to keep the workers' masses in a state of subordination and bondage, to divert them from the road of the class proletarian struggle and ever to oppose them to the emancipatory workers' revolution.

And when in the middle of the last century, after the founding of the First Socialist International[28] and the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, the proletariat began rapidly to organize itself as a *class of its own* and the trade union movement increasingly adopted Marx's view to the effect that trade unions should

not confine themselves to a partisan war against individual capitalists and to the Sisyphean task of lopping off the *branches* without touching the *trunk* of capitalist exploitation, but should become *schools of socialism* and strive to abolish capitalism itself by playing a *prime role* in the civil *war* for its downfall, the bourgeoisie adopted a long-term and systematic policy of bribing and corrupting the trade union leaders and the numerous trade union bureaucracy, in order to keep the trade union movement under its influence.

In its press it flattered the trade union leaders as being intelligent and talented workers' representatives, enticed them to come to its sumptuous banquets, courted them in various ways, granted them all sorts of benefits, helped them to enter parliament and kept them firmly in its hands.

It must be admitted that in this way the bourgeoisie quite often succeeded in attaining its goal and in keeping many of the trade unions under its direct or indirect control, of which circumstance it made the widest possible use, in particular during the World War.

2. THE TRADE UNIONS DURING THE WAR

Standing on the positions of their nation's capitalists, the majority of British trade unions, the oldest and strongest trade union organizations, saw in the war the *only* means whereby industry in Great Britain would be able to preserve it dominant position on the world market now threatened by rising and aggressive German capitalism, and to maintain its sway over India and the other rich colonies, which supplied it with raw materials and vast markets for its products.

And the British trade unions placed themselves at the complete service of the imperialist and bellicose policy of their own bourgeoisie. They attempted to stop all strikes, prolonged the expiring terms of all collective contracts and strove to ensure the widest possible development of the war industry. They gave a great number of volunteers from

among their midst and opened special offices for the recruitment of volunteers for the British Army and, when compulsory military service was introduced in Great Britain where it had never existed in the past, they not only did not oppose it, but even enthusiastically applauded this initiative of Lloyd George's as a 'fine' means of forever crushing 'Prussian militarism.'

The German trade unions, on their part, headed by the notorious social-traitor Legien and by the numerous staff of the corrupt workers' bureaucracy, announced that the war of German imperialism against 'perfidious Albion' (England) was at the same time a war for the existence of the working class in Germany, that if the latter were defeated in this war, even the *few* colonies which she possessed compared with Great Britain would be taken away from her, that German industry would be deprived of the raw materials which it needed, its roads to the international markets would be blocked and it would be brought to complete disaster and, together with it, the working class would be reduced to utter misery and unprecedented pauperism and Germany – as Lenin liked to put it – 'instead of exporting *goods*, would be exporting *live men*, its manpower.'

The General Trade Union Committee[29] addressed an ardent appeal to the workers in industry and in the Army, urging them to give their all-round support to 'the sacred defensive war' of Kaiser Wilhelm[30] and the German imperialists, and demanding of the trade unions to make the workers refrain from all strikes, especially in the field of mining and the war industries.

That is how 'civil peace' between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie was solemnly proclaimed. At the very moment when the German capitalists and their joint-stock companies were pocketing billions of profits, when the gold rain of the war was pouring into their safes, the German proletarians were shedding their blood on the battlefields or working day and night in industry for the 'defence of the fatherland,' while their trade unions *invested* their millions in cash (collected over decades in workers' pennies for fighting capitalist exploitation) *in state loans to finance the perfidious war.*

Accompanying the singing of the rabid hymn of the German imperialists and militarists 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,'* the big trade union leaders published a special book, containing articles by the secretaries of the various unions who, with figures relating to their production branches, endeavoured to prove the necessity of Germany's holding out to the end in the war and of her emerging as complete victor, proudly declaring that this would inevitably be achieved, because the war on the part of Germany was *a war which the working class was waging for its existence and its future happiness.* They enthusiastically painted the bright prospects of a military victory for the German workers who would be able freely to travel around the whole world, receiving high wages and enjoying the greatest prosperity! ...

At the same time Gompers's AFL[31] was carrying on a very intensive propaganda for America's intervention in the war and, when this intervention became a fact, mobilized all its forces in the service of the American millionaires and corporations.

Even the French trade unions which, under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism,[32] were considered extreme and irreconcilable enemies of capitalism, in their bulk committed themselves, for similar reasons, to the service of French financial capital in the war, furled their banners and wholeheartedly embraced the policy of 'civil peace.'

Without dwelling on the betrayal of the trade unions in the other belligerent nations, except for those in Russia, Italy, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania which remained completely loyal to the working class and to international proletarian solidarity, we can boldly assert today that if the capitalists in the two warring blocs were able to kindle the holocaust of the world war and drive their peoples into it, if they succeeded in manifesting such titanic forces during its four-year duration, this was due primarily to the fact that they managed in good time to win over the trade unions which had a membership of many millions to their

* Germany, Germany above all!

imperialist cause, and place them at the service of their military policy of conquest.

The old opportunism and auto-syndicalism in the trade union movement; the policy of confining their activity to reforms within the capitalist system; the professional narrow-mindedness, short-sightedness and corruption of the trade union bureaucracy; the education of the workers' masses in the trade unions in a spirit of petty, momentary gains along the road of mutual understanding with the capitalists – all this developed and was brilliantly manifested during the war in the form of a *labour imperialism*, which rent asunder the international solidarity of the proletariat and turned the workers in the different countries into deadly enemies who killed each other for the cause of their common enemy – *world capital*.

This, however, proves the complete bankruptcy of the dominant opportunist policy in the trade union movement in most countries, laying bare before the world proletariat and its workers' organizations with absolute clarity the only salutary road – *the road of intransigent class struggle*, along which, we are glad to say, our own trade unions have been undeviatingly marching from the day of their foundation until today.

3. RESULTS OF THE TRADE UNIONS STRUGGLE

With the trade methods of struggle, the unions in the different countries did, indeed, achieve quite a few results. The despotic arbitrariness of the boss towards the workers at the enterprises was *restricted*. The workers won the right to intervene, through their trade unions, in the settlement of relations between labour and capital. A rise in the *average* wage level was also obtained as compared with the worker's former exceedingly miserable conditions, as well as shorter working hours, which in the past the capitalists could freely prolong to the physically utmost possible limits.

Moreover, the sums spent by the trade unions during periods of unemployment not only alleviate the heavy lot

of the unemployed, but also help to avoid intense competition between unemployed and employed, thus preventing a lowering of wages and the former unrestricted deterioration of general working conditions.

Of course, the benefits derived from the struggle of the trade unions usually go to the skilled and semi-skilled workers, who are those precisely in a position to establish strong trade unions, while the mass of unskilled, general workers enjoy these benefits but little.

How insignificant, in general however, are the results obtained by trade unions over many years of effort and struggle can be clearly seen from the fact that even in the most highly developed capitalist countries, such as Great Britain, Germany and America, the wage rates prior to the war always ranged about the *minimum* necessary for the workers' elementary sustenance, while the working day in most branches of industry was ten, and only here and there eight hours.

The gains of the trade union struggle are, moreover, not only *insufficient* from the viewpoint of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of the working class; they are also *precarious*.

The capitalists have at their disposal various means of *counteracting* the efforts of the trade unions, aimed at improving labour conditions, as well as at *divesting* them of the fruits of their struggle. The general policy of the state, as well as of the conditions in which capitalist production is developing, facilitates their task in this respect.

Thus, they take advantage, above all, of the possibilities offered them by technical progress, introducing and extending the use of women and children in production. These, owing to their smaller power of resistance and lower susceptibility to organization, usually compete with the adult workers and tend to depress working conditions.

For the same purpose the capitalists use the workers from the backward regions and countries whose culture is lower, as well as the helpless and ruined urban and rural petty bourgeois who, owing to their restricted means, are ready to work on terms inferior to those which the trade unions have won.

Compelled to reduce the working day, the capitalists now manage to draw from the workers, even during the shorter working hours, as much of their vital force as before, through piece work and the different special systems of utilizing *every movement* of the worker's body while he is at work. A case in point is the well-known American system, known as the Taylor system, which, however, inevitably leads to the rapid physical degeneration of workers and to a shortening of their capacity for work.

Finally, what the trade unions manage to gain through their professional struggle in the way of higher wages, is by and large taken away from them the next moment as a consequence of the general capitalist policy and, in particular, the introduction and increase of indirect taxes, of import duties and a number of similar means which tend to raise the cost of living.

All these special conditions of trade union struggle have long ago suggested to the more advanced and far-sighted elements among the working class that this struggle should not be waged in an *isolated* way, that it should be *co-ordinated* with the general political struggle of the proletariat, that a *strike* in production should be combined with the *ballot* and the struggle in parliament, as well as with all forms of mass workers' action, that in a word, the *trade union struggle become a component of the entire class struggle of the proletariat.*

And indeed, wherever this has been applied in practice, the trade union struggle has been more successful and surer. But, to be true to historical truth, it must be admitted that, even when the struggle of the trade unions is thus combined, *its limits* and *chances of success* do not change substantially. Even then, its results, though substantially greater and surer, still remain *insufficient* and *precarious.* They do not create for the working class in capitalist society the possibility of living well and like cultured men, nor do they even substantially decrease the material and social misery in which it lives.

All improvements obtained through *strikes,* on the one hand, and through *labour protection laws,* on the other, as

long as political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, cannot exceed the limits of a given amount of capitalist profit, as otherwise the very existence of capitalist industry would be impossible.

Surveying today the whole history of the struggle of the trade unions, we can see that its only *essential and lasting* result consists in that the workers have *succeeded in resisting the utter exhaustion of their vital forces and in safeguarding themselves against utter physical and moral degeneration to which capitalism is irresistibly pushing them.* The trade unions, however, are not in a position to impose *sufficient and lasting* improvement which would enable the workers' masses to lead a more cultural and happier life *for a long period.*

4. THE NEW CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION STRUGGLE

The World War created conditions which further impede the struggle of the trade unions and substantially lower even the chances of obtaining practical results which it had prior to the war.

First of all, it nullified most of the previous gains in the working conditions of all the belligerent, and even of neutral nations. Everywhere wages far from correspond to the colossal rise in the cost of living. There is a precipice between the *nominal* and the *real* wage, i. e. its actual purchasing power. There is an unprecedented rise in the price of the necessities of life and a shortage of them, an acute housing crisis and unprecedented misery for the working masses in the defeated as well as in the victorious countries.

Moreover, the war radically upset all economic life. For four years, almost 45 million people, instead of producing goods, were engaged in a terrible holocaust of destruction. More than 20 million producers of goods left their lives on the battlefields or were disabled, i. e. deprived of their former capacity for work. Flourishing regions in the world were devastated. All reserves of raw materials and foods were swallowed up by the greedy war monster. Vast spaces of land remained uncultivated. Three-quarters of the farm animals were killed. The workers who returned from the

battlefields are physically exhausted and morally upset. Trade has been completely disorganized. The former relations between the different economic and industrial regions for the exchange of raw materials and finished goods have been discontinued. The means of communication (railroad, shipping and other communications) have been worn out, etc.

As a result of this disorganization of economic life, many branches of industry today are at a standstill, and others have altogether ceased to function. Mass unemployment is assuming unprecedented proportions in all countries of the world.

Today, in the period of liquidation of the World War, which in effect is no liquidation at all but merely a passing over of the war into *another stage* – into the stage of an imperialist war against the rising international proletarian revolution, capitalism has proved *incapable* of securing peace among nations, of restoring production and securing the elementary survival of the masses. Crushed by the weight of its insoluble internal contradictions, its only *concern* now is to save itself from the revolution, resorting for this purpose to civil war and thereby fanning still further the chaos in production and economic life and infinitely increasing the sufferings of its own people.

On the other hand, the World War irretrievably ushered in the epoch of the international proletarian revolution. We see its beginning now in Soviet Russia. The revolutionary movements which have already started in Germany, Austria and Hungary, as well as the intensified undercurrents in Italy, France and Great Britain, whose echo reaches our ears from time to time, testify to its early spread to other countries as well.

Anarchy in economic life, disorganization in production accompanied by mass unemployment and misery are still further heightened by the civil war, whereby the bourgeoisie is trying in vain to retain its shaken supremacy.

There are no longer any prospects for a return to prewar conditions. The war itself accelerated and revealed the *complete bankruptcy* of the capitalist system of production and trade, of social organization and state government.

History now confronts working mankind with the dilemma: *either to pass over to new forms of production and social organization or to perish under the regime of imperialist barbarity.* The restoration of economic life today is possible only *along socialist lines*, i. e. without the capitalists and *against* them.

But precisely under these new conditions the efforts of the trade unions to improve the conditions of the workers even back to the prewar level have become quite *hopeless* and *helpless.* Within the *framework* of the capitalist system this is *excluded.* For its attainment, the first condition is to *break* and *go beyond* this framework.

And indeed, how will the trade unions be able to obtain the improvements needed by the workers when economic life today is so upset, when there is such mass unemployment and when the strong and extremely obdurate financial capitalists, whom the war even in our small backward country raised to the position of absolute rulers and lords in economic life, are inclined to see in every movement for higher wages and shorter working hours a *revolutionary action,* aimed *directly* at the overthrow of capitalist rule? What labour laws of a nature to expand and consolidate the gains of the trade union struggle could be enacted by the present-day bourgeois state, which is writhing under billions of war debts and is financially bankrupt?

It is, precisely these peculiar conditions in the trade union struggle at the present-day imperialist stage of capitalism which confront the proletariat and, in particular, its trade unions with the immediate task of *doing away with the capitalist system and the ensuing exploitation of labour.*

The moment is setting in when instead of endeavouring through the trade union struggle *slowly and gradually* to improve the workers' condition within the *limits* of capitalist production, production *itself* has to pass into the hands of the proletariat so as to be organized not for capitalist profit and in favour of a minority, as it is today, but to meet the needs of the working majority and for the general prosperity of those who work.

But it is precisely for this reason that at the present historical moment the struggle for political power by the proletariat *comes to the fore* and all other efforts and tasks of the workers' organizations, including the trade unions, must be co-ordinated with this struggle and be completely subordinated to it. For the replacement of one social and production system by another is possible only by means of political power. The abolition of capitalist exploitation, which is today the immediate task of the trade unions, can be achieved only if the proletariat wrests power from the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie and establishes a proletarian dictatorship exercised by the workers' councils.

But if the *strike* is the strongest weapon of the trade unions for gaining improvements in production, now, when it is a question of seizing political power and proceeding to a radical reconstruction of production and society, not the *strike*, even in the form of a mass political strike, will settle the issue, but the *proletarian revolution*.

Instead of a struggle with *hands crossed* by different groups and the masses of workers, we have to have a struggle waged by the whole proletariat, which it will terminate with *arms in hand!*

To rally the masses, to educate and prepare them for this struggle, while they themselves take a most active part in it under the leadership of the Communist Party, *is today the foremost task* of the trade unions, if they wish to remain true to the interests of the proletariat and to their own role of class proletarian organizations.

6. TRADE UNION NEUTRALITY

In this factual and historical state of affairs, is it necessary to prove in detail that there is no room today for any so-called political neutrality – the neutrality of the trade unions with regard to political parties and political struggles?

Trade union neutrality has always been a purely

bourgeois idea. Under the guise of political neutrality, the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers' movement (the right-wing socialists and the various 'workers' friends' and social-reformers) have attempted to detach the trade unions from the class struggle of the proletariat and turn them into tools for the maintenance of capitalist rule.

In fact, *never* and in *no country* have the trade unions been neutral. The whole history of the workers' movement bears this out. The trade unions have always either remained true to the proletarian cause and have resolutely fought against capitalism, taking part in some way or other in the political struggles in favour of the proletariat, or have directly or indirectly, in one form or another, been at the service of the bourgeoisie, letting the bourgeois parties use them in their internecine struggles for the plums derived from power, and often even in their fight against the emancipatory movement of the proletariat itself.

What in fact the neutrality of the trade unions amounts to was best seen during the World War, when the 'neutral' and 'free' trade unions in Germany, France, Great Britain and America committed their treason towards the cause of proletarian liberation, by taking part with might and main in the bellicose imperialist policy of their own capitalist classes.

And indeed, can the trade unions be *neutral* in the struggle between labour and capital in which by their very nature they are directly involved?

Still less is it possible today, when class contradictions have reached their peak, when the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are pitted against each other as *class* against *class*, when the period of the international proletarian revolution has been ushered in, to speak about trade union neutrality.

For the trade unions to be *neutral* today towards the political class party of the proletariat means for them to be *dependent* on the bourgeoisie and to be serving some of the bourgeois parties.

For the trade unions to be *neutral* to the workers' revolution which is being implemented means that they will be *helping* the bourgeois counter-revolution.

Either with labour – *against* capital; or with *capital* – against *labour!* Either on the side of the *revolution*, or in the camp of the *counter-revolution!*

There is no middle road!

And in this connexion the *form* in which this takes place is of absolutely no significance; what counts is the essence of the matter. The fact that certain trade unions are *formally* considered as *neutral* and *independent* means absolutely nothing: in fact they cannot be such, and will inevitably go either to the *one* or to the *other* side, to the *one* or to the *other* of the two fighting camps.

The historical development of the proletarian class struggle has not only refuted all bourgeois fallacies about trade union neutrality and independence towards the political organization and struggle of the proletariat, but also imposes today a *still closer unity* between the trade unions and the Communist Party, a *complete organic unity* between the professional and political struggles of the proletariat for *the overthrow of capitalism, the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship and the achievement of communism.*

7. THE NEW TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The example set to us by Soviet Russia where the proletariat has now been exercising its dictatorship for a year and a half and is implementing the country's socialist reconstruction, has shown clearly that the trade unions do not end their historical role and do not cease to exist even when the proletariat has succeeded, through its revolution, in seizing political power. On the contrary, precisely during this *transitional* period of proletarian dictatorship – from the overthrow of the bourgeoisie to the achievement of communism – the trade unions are called upon to play a no less important role. Of course, their role now is profoundly different from what they were doing in the period of capitalist production and under bourgeois rule. Here they cease to be organizations of the proletariat against capitalist exploitation, because the capitalists have been removed

from production or have been rendered absolutely harmless under the regime of proletarian dictatorship.

True, during this transitional period the trade unions will again continue to defend the workers, but no longer through *strikes* but through the organized influence of *Soviet power*. Together with the proletariat, the *trade unions* themselves, as it were, *have come to power*, i. e. become *part* of the government, organs of *Soviet Government*.

The trade unions will further have to organize the control and distribution of the work force in the different branches of production, under the general plan worked out by the Soviet Government for the whole nation's economy.

In agreement with the Soviet economic bodies, the trade unions will be settling questions referring to the wages and conditions of workers in the different enterprises, will maintain labour discipline in them and work for a maximum increase in labour productivity.

The elaboration of the laws, the fixing of working hours, wages, hygienic working conditions, insurance against employment accidents, sickness, old age, etc., as well as the application of these laws will be another important function of the trade unions.

Theirs will also be the task of taking care of general and professional education, necessary for the training of a numerous workers' technical intelligentsia, without which neither the complete regulation of production, nor its nationalization and subsequent organization along socialist lines is conceivable.

And, most important of all, the trade unions will be charged with the task of organizing the *workers' control* over production which will exist until complete socialization is achieved, and of taking into their own hands, as organs of Soviet rule, in conjunction with the other economic bodies, the organization and management of production and the country's entire economic life.

After the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the trade unions will transfer the centre of their activity to the sphere of the organization of ecomonic life. They will have to prepare the proletariat for the role of organizer of production in the transition from *private capitalist monopoly*

to state monopoly, and from the latter to the socialist organization of economic life and to complete communism.

It will be no exaggeration if we say that without the accomplishment of these exceedingly important tasks on the part of trade unions, *neither a complete nor lasting triumph of the workers' revolution is possible, nor the achievement of communism.*

8. CONCLUSION

The functions of the trade unions prior to the revolution, during the revolution, as well as afterwards during the period of proletarian dictatorship – so important and so complex – imperatively demand that the Bulgarian trade unions become genuine *mass* organizations in composition and in their ties with the broad workers' masses, restoring the *complete* trade union *unity*, and that these masses being firmly welded together, deeply imbued with the ideas and spirit of communism, be fully prepared for the communist revolution and the organized construction of life in the new society.

Our road is indeed not a smooth one. We are still faced with many hard tests.

The great cause to the service of which we have voluntarily dedicated ourselves, however, deserves the utmost efforts and sacrifices on our part.

Let us, therefore, make them without any hesitation, profoundly convinced of the inevitable triumph of the international proletarian revolution and of the fact that all mankind will one day be basking in the sun of communism, which is already shining in the *East*, quite close to us, over vast Russia peopled with many millions of men, with its wonderful purple rays calling to a new life!

Communist Trade Union Library, No. 3
Sofia, February, 1920
G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 5, pp. 348–370
Published by the BCP, 1952

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

On November 7, 1917 (October 25 old style) the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the bourgeois coalition government established after the February Revolution and transferred all power over vast and multi-million Russia to the Soviets of Workers and Peasants.

This was the *first* victory of the international revolutionary proletariat over capitalism and imperialism, the *beginning* of the world-wide revolution.

This great exploit of the Russian proletariat was received by the enemies of the Revolution both inside Russia and in all the other countries with loud prophecies to the effect that the power of the Soviets would not be able to last more than a few weeks, that it was bound to collapse, mainly because the simple workers and peasants would not be able to cope with the *extremely complex* economic and administrative problems in so vast a country as Russia.

Soon, however, the world imperialists and their tools – from the extreme conservatives to the most leftist socialist traitors – had a big disappointment in store for them. Despite the tremendous internal and external obstacles, the Soviet regime, far from heading for a fall, was growing stronger day after day, boldly introducing radical changes and proceeding with the construction of a Communist system in the country.

Thereupon the imperialists of the Entente resorted to military intervention against the free and self-governing Russian people by financing the counter-revolutionary armies of Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin and organizing an economic blockade of Soviet Russia.

The imperialists were exultant, expecting the early destruction of this nest of the world proletarian revolution which was so dangerous for them. Their agents and their lavishly subsidized press were proclaiming to the whole world the forthcoming erasing of Bolshevik Russia from the face of the earth.

Difficult and critical months set in for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, months of privations, bloodshed and death. But the Russian workers and peasants created their glorious revolutionary Red Army, an army such as the world had never seen before, which realized that it was fighting not only to defend its own socialist homeland from the imperialist beasts of prey, but also to clear the way for the complete liberation of all working people in the world. This Red Army swept away and annihilated the counter-revolutionary hordes of Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin.

Yet precisely at the moment when, after this brilliant victory, Soviet Russia was transforming its Red Army into and *army of labour* and was preparing to devote itself wholeheartedly to the process of internal reorganization and to the building of the new system, the imperialists stabbed the Russian people in the back, sending against it the Polish landlords' army, organized and well equipped by the Entente.[33]

But even this long-planned and painstakingly prepared heinous attack was repelled by the heroic Red Army and terminated not in the collapse of the Soviet regime, as the imperialists had hoped, but in peace between Poland and Soviet Russia.

The peace treaty signed with Poland now enables Soviet Russia to cope, once and for all, with the last counter-revolutionary army on Russian soil – Baron Wrangel's army, which gravely threatened Southern Russia and is now suffering the blows of the valiant Russian workers and peasants.

Three whole years have passed in incessant and bloody struggles with the imperialist counter-revolution.

It should be stressed again and again that the Russian trade unions have played an important role in this respect.

After the 1917 October Revolution when all the power passed into the hands of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, the trade unions ceased to be organizations fighting against capitalist exploitation, which was dealt a mortal blow by the proletarian revolution. They turned into active collaborators of the Soviet regime, into a staunch support of the proletarian dictatorship.

Not only did the Russian trade unions devote all their efforts to the struggle against economic ruin, helping to carry out the socialization of industry, to restore the disorganized transport system and to increase labour productivity to the maximum, but they also took – and continue to take – a most active part in the defeat of the counter-revolution and in the struggle to repel the offensives of the imperialist counter-revolutionary armies. They suffered thousands of casualties on the battlefields, but they spared no effort to supply the Red Army with everything that was needed for victory.

Now that we are celebrating the third anniversary of the Great Russian Revolution, we can venture to say that its cause would have been a lost cause were it not for the admirable contribution of the trade unions.

Devoting all their forces to the proletarian revolution, the Russian trade unions did not, however, shut themselves into their national frontiers. Deeply imbued with the ideas of communism, they felt it their duty to take the lead in the international revolutionary rallying of the trade union movement in all countries under the banner of the Third Communist International and in the name of the Communist revolution and of the world-wide proletarian dictatorship.

It was on the initiative of the Russian trade unions that an International Trade Union Council was set up as the basis for a Red Trade Union International, opposed to the treacherous yellow Amsterdam Trade Union Federation; day after day the International Trade Union Council is rallying greater masses of organized workers in all countries. It was recently joined by the minority of the Confederation of Labour in France, and in the near future this minority will grow into an overwhelming majority.

The revolutionary working class movements in Italy and Great Britain are rapidly drawing the trade unions in their countries closer to the Red Trade Union International. The general revolutionary situation throughout Europe helps to extricate the mass trade unions from the influence of the old treacherous leaders and of the Amsterdam Federation and to enlist them into the ranks of the international revolutionary proletarian front. The trade unions in the Balkan and Danubian countries have already joined the International Trade Union Council without any reservations and they are uniting their efforts in a Balkan-Danubian Trade Union Federation as part of the Red Trade Union International.

Within a few months (July-October) the Moscow International Trade Union Council succeeded in rallying nearly *eight* million organized workers from various countries.

To sum up, the third anniversary of the Russian Proletarian Revolution coincides with the process of the rapid revolutionary rallying of the working class masses in all countries and foreshadows the forthcoming unfolding of the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world.

With the blood they abundantly shed, the Russian proletarians cleared the path for the liberation of all working mankind. Celebrating their great historic achievements, the Bulgarian proletarians will prepare ever more persistently to worthily fulfil their duty – to secure the triumph of the Communist revolution in their own country.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik
No. 100, November 3, 1920
Signed: G. Dimitrov

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Prior to the imperialist war, which broke out in August 1914, the general trade unions in the different countries were united on an international basis in the International Trade Union, with headquarters in Berlin. It was headed by the social partiot Legien, President of the German Trade Unions, who is well-known to our workers as he came to Sofia in 1914 to unite us with the Right-wing 'Socialists'.

The individual trade unions for their part had their own international trade union secretariats or federations, forming part of the International Trade Union. But as in the Second Socialist International, so also in the leadership of the International Trade Union, opportunism held complete sway. International solidarity, which was so noisily proclaimed at the different international conferences and congresses, was in fact only an empty phrase. The actual policy of the trade unions in most countries, in Germany and Austria, as well as in England, Italy, France and America, was pervaded by trade union selfishness and social-chauvinism and completely subordinated to the aggressive policy of the imperialists in those countries.

The Great Imperialist War most vividly revealed this character of the International Trade Union and the mass of trade union organizations affiliated to it.

Instead of expressing the international solidarity of the workers throughout the world, organized in the trade unions against the imperialist war, immediately after its outbreak the International Trade Union broke up into two belligerent camps – the one siding with the Entente and the other with the Central Powers.

The trade unions in Germany and Austria, as well as those in the countries of the Entente, placed themselves en-

tirely at the service of the imperialists of their states for war purposes. They proclaimed 'civil peace', stepped up the production of war materials and invested the millions they had on hand, and which in the course of many years had been collected from the workers to fight imperialism, in internal state loans, for the reciprocal annihilation of the proletariat of the battlefields.

The treacherous leaders of the trade union movement Legien (Germany), Hüber (Austria), Jouhaux (France), Appleton (England) and Gompers (USA) were the most zealous advocates of a continuation of the bloody holocaust, the most loyal agents and collaborators of the imperialist plunderers in their own countries.

It can safely be said that the war would never have assumed such gigantic proportions and continued for so long a time if the imperialists had not succeeded, thanks to the treacherous trade union leaders, in hitching the trade unions to their chariot.

But the international imperialist war ushered in the epoch of the world proletarian revolution, the first triumph of which was the Great October Revolution and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in vast and multi-million Russia.

The imperialists of the Entente sensed at once that their victory in the war been a Pyrrhic victory and that the beginning proletarian revolution was a serious threat to capitalist rule, and was slowly but surely digging its grave.

And just as in waging the war for four long years the imperialists had greatly relied on the treacherous workers' leaders and the mass trade union organizations headed by them, seeing in them a solid buttress for their class, so now faced with the spectre of the revolution, it is on them that they pinned their greatest hopes of diverting the proletariat from the road of the proletarian revolution and of destroying its nest – Soviet Russia.

They set up a special Labour Organization[34] at the League of Nations and their social-patriotic agents tried to revive the International Union, which had gone bankrupt during the war, by moving its seat to Amsterdam, calling it the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation.

This very federation is today the last buttress of imperialism in its fight against the proletarian revolution. It is attempting to keep the workers' masses under the influence of bourgeois democracy, i. e. of the imperialists, and to divert them from the struggle for proletarian dictatorship. This 'international' federation spares no efforts to get the trade union movement back into the old rut of the fight for petty reforms and turn it into a bulwark of the imperialist counter-revolution.

In vain, however! The trade unions in all countries are rapidly becoming revolutionized, not only taking a firm stand with their active support of Soviet Russia and against imperialism, but increasingly realizing that the only way out of the present unbearable situation in their own countries is the forceful overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship.

Against the yellow, treacherous and counter-revolutionary Amsterdam, red and revolutionary Moscow, with its Communist International and the International Trade Union Council set up there, is rising as a powerful centre rallying the militant proletariat in the whole world.

And while every day the mass trade unions are detaching themselves from the influence of Amsterdam one after the other, the Moscow International Council – only five months after its foundation – unites today some 10 million workers organized in trade unions, rallying every day ever newer masses of workers and trade union organizations under its revolutionary banner.

The proletariat of all countries organized into trade unions is today faced with the dilemma: with Moscow or with Amsterdam, which in other words means: with labour or with capital; with the revolution or with the counter-revolution; with criminal imperialism or with liberating communism!

Can there be any doubt that the proletariat of all countries will side with Moscow and against Amsterdam? Only he who does not know the inexorable historical course of events and who has no faith in the future of the proletariat can doubt this.

Moscow will inevitably conquer Amsterdam. And it is

this victory that will secure the final triumph of the Soviet proletarian revolution over capitalism and imperialism. The Bulgarian proletariat, united in the General Trade Union and under the banner of the Communist Party, is fighting for its early realization. We have the co-operation along this line also of the trade union councils in the other Balkan and Danubian countries, which, together with the Bulgarian Trade Union Council, have already set up in Sofia a Trade Union Secretariat of their own, an organ of the International Trade Union Council under the supreme leadership of the Third Communist International – the general revolutionary headquarters of the world proletarian revolution.

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Signed: G. Dimitrov

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The economic, social and political consequences of the imperialist war, on the one hand, and the beginning social revolution, on the other, have confronted the proletariat throughout the world with the supreme immediate task of fighting for the elimination of capitalism and exploitation of hired labour by the revolutionary establishment of an international proletarian dictatorship.

Directed against world capital which is well-organized and still has many forces at its disposal, this struggle cannot be confined to the narrow national limits of individual states. Its success wil be secured only when it is organized and waged on an international scale.

The international solidarity of the proletariat, which was destroyed by the imperialists with the aid of their loyal tools – the social traitors in various countries – had to be restored, therefore, and now on new and more solid principles.

Whereas prior to the imperialist war international proletarian solidarity, supported by the Second International and the International Trade Union Council of Legien, Gompers, Appleton and Jouhaux, was usually displayed at showy congresses and conferences, which took flexible, rubber-stamp resolutions, optional even for those who voted them, and was very rarely manifested in action, chiefly in petty material aid during big strikes, today it is imperative to achieve an international rallying of the proletariat for the immediate waging of the revolutionary class struggle, of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

The Third Communist International was born in the flames of the civil war and continues to develop

magnificently before our eyes precisely as an international organization of the proletariat for *revolutionary* action, as a leading body of the world proletarian revolution.

But the Communist International would not be able to fulfil its great historic mission and the social revolution itself would be impossible on an international scale, without the revolutionary rallying of the trade unions in all countries, without wresting the tremendous organized workers' masses from the influence of the yellow Amsterdam Federation, behind whose back the imperialists stand and through which they act.

Fortunately, the trade unions'own struggle under the new conditions, when capitalist production and the entire political, social and industrial system of capitalism have gone completely bankrupt, is inevitably pushing them along the road of the proletarian revolution and towards Moscow. They are no longer faced with the once limited task of fighting for petty gains and reforms within the framework of the capitalist system – that epoch is past and gone. Proceeding from the vital interests of the workers' masses organized in their ranks, they are now faced with the imperative necessity of taking part in the revolutionary class struggle for the abolition of the very capitalist system, which is incompatible with the treacherous and counter-revolutionary policy of the Amsterdam Federation.

That is why the initiative taken by the Russian trade unions in setting up an international centre of the trade union movement at the Communist International, in the person of the International Council of Trade Unions in Moscow, was so soon crowned with brilliant success. More than ten million workers organized in trade unions have already rallied under its banners. A fierce ideological struggle is today raging in the trade unions of all countries, which have joined the Amsterdam Federation, around the question: for *Moscow* or for *Amsterdam*. Every new day brings us the news of the detachment of some trade union organizations from the Amsterdam Federation and of their affiliation with the Moscow International Council and the Communist International. This progressive communist orientation of the trade unions is proceeding everywhere

with much greater momentum and speed than could have been imagined at the founding of the International Council in Moscow last July.

Along with this international revolutionary rallying of the proletariat, however, the *peculiar* situation in countries representing in many respects *integral* regions and called upon to play a *special* role in the international proletarian revolution, as is the case with the Balkan and Danubian states, makes imperative the establishment of closest contacts and complete unity in the organization and struggle of the proletariat.

The first important step was made along this line with the establishment of the Balkan-Danubian Communist Federation as component part of the Communist International.

A new step along this line is also the *Balkan-Danubian Trade Union Conference*, which was convened early in November in Sofia on the initiative of the Bulgarian Trade Union and in accordance with its congress held last September.

A representative of the International Trade Union Council in Moscow took part in this *first* conference of the trade unions of the Balkan and Danubian countries.

With the participation of delegates from Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria, and with the expressly declared consent of the Confederation of Labour in Greece whose delegates were prevented from coming to Sofia owing to the legislative elections which were held at that time in Greece, the First Balkan-Danubian Trade Union Conference in a two-day session examined thoroughly the present situation of the International Trade Union Movement, and more in particular in the Balkan and Danubian countries. It noted with gratification that social-patriotism in the trade unions has been crushed in the Balkans and that the Amsterdam Federation enjoyed no support here among the proletariat and unanimously, in the spirit of the International Council and the theses of the Communist International on the trade union movement, mapped out the principled lines of the general struggle for the proletarian dictatorship to be pursued by the trade unions

in the Balkan and Danubian countries in the present historical period.*

The Conference also established the necessary organizational contact by setting up a temporary Balkan-Danubian Trade Union Secretariat in Sofia at the Balkan-Danubian Communist Federation as an organ of the International Trade Union Council. The temporary Balkan-Danubian Trade Union Secretariat, the immediate guidance of which was entrusted to the Bulgarian Trade Union, took over the tasks of the International Council with regard to the Balkan and Danubian countries and will be working for the revolutionary rallying of the trade unions in those countries in the name of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

The noiseless work of the Conference is of tremendous significance for the forthcoming revolutionary class struggles of the proletariat in the Balkans. It has been placed on solid foundations and what remains is only to further build it up and consolidate it.

In opposition to the unification of the bourgeous classes in the Balkan and Danubian countries which is being affected under the aegis of Entente imperialism, through the so-called Little Entente, the *united* revolutionary proletarian front is being welded and consolidated.

The workers' masses from *below* are fraternally joining hands and are bridging the deep gap between the Balkan and Danubian peoples, dug out by the nationalist and aggressive wars of their bourgeois classes and the imperialism of the European capitalist countries.

A new and decisive stride forward towards the final victory of the international proletarian revolution has thus been made.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik, No. 126
December 6, 1920
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 5, pp. 531–535
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* The resolutions of the conference will be published in the forthcoming issues of our paper.

THE UNIONS AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

Trade unions came into being and developed in the heyday of capitalism as organizations for the defence of the workers' interests in production within the framework of the capitalist system.

Embracing at first only skilled workers in their ranks, subsequently the trade unions gained such a strong influence among the workers' masses in the advanced capitalist nations that they became a powerful factor in capitalist production in their own countries.

Rejected and rabidly persecuted at their inception, they were later recognized by the bourgeoisie and its ideologists as organizations *indispensable* for the proper development of production, for the maintenance of the *peace and stability* necessary there and for regulating relations between labour and capital, while preserving and consolidating the capitalist system.

Through the influential, narrow-minded and often venal trade union bureaucracy and through petty concessions and lures for the workers, the capitalists succeeded in putting the big and powerful trade unions under the indirect influence of their exploiter policy, by concluding long-term collective contracts with them, in *taming* them, thus securing for many years *normal* work at their enterprises and protecting themselves against frequent and sudden strikes so harmful to their interests.

Matters had gone so far along these lines that long before the imperialist war most of the trade unions, especially in Great Britain and Germany, had lost every aspect and semblance of class proletarian organizations and had turned into an instrument for maintaining the capitalists' *peace of mind* in production, and for *securing* the sources of their fabulous profits.

During the war itself, as a logical consequence of this state of affairs in the most advanced capitalist nations, those under the influence of the bourgeois social-reformists (Germany and Austria), as well as the anarchosyndical trade unions (France), sided completely with their own imperialists, lent most active support to their imperialist and aggressive policy, provided the world with the shameful spectacle of a four-year mutual massacre of the very proletarian masses, whose representatives at international congresses and conferences had been declaiming an nauseam on 'the international solidarity of the proletariat of the entire globe.'

It was in vain that Marx as early as 1848, when writing the Communist Manifesto, and later at the foundation of the First International in 1864, had pointed out the revolutionary road of the trade unions stressing their task as schools of socialism and comparing their role as regards the proletariat with that of the former municipalities with respect to the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

It was also in vain that prior to and during the war the socialists, who had remained true to Marx's revolutionary socialism, were incessantly sounding the alarm against the trade unions' *degeneration* and *going middle class*, etc. Most of these unions had so deeply sunk into the mire of opportunism, and were so far from understanding their historic mission, that they remained deaf to all this and saw nothing in front of them except the petty benefits which they might acquire from the victory of the aggressive policy of the bourgeois classes in their own countries, be it even at the price of the mass massacre of the working classes and of the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat in the other countries and especially in the colonies.

But the imperialist war brought about a radical change in the situation. Capitalist production was completely upset. Devaluation and inflation spread. The cost of living skyrocketed. Real wages sank abysmally. The improvements and reforms gained by the trade unions as a result of long efforts and struggles collapsed irretrievably. All attempts to restore at least the prewar situation proved illusory. The impotence and helplessness of the old trade

unions, which in the past, had been major factors in production was felt most keenly.

On the other hand, the victorious revolution of the Russian workers and peasants ushered in the epoch of the world proletarian revolution. The proletariat in all countries was faced with the inevitable dilemma: either to perish together with moribund capitalism or, by way of revolution and proletarian dictatorship, to organize its life along communist lines, to create a new industry without capitalists, without capitalist profit and without exploitation of the workers.

The old trade union doctrine and practice, according to which a good life had to be guaranteed to the workers within the framework of the capitalist system by *gradually* reforming it, went *completely bankrupt*. They had become *obsolete*. Life imposed *new* roads, i. e. the roads mapped out already by Marx and so persistently maintained for a long time, first and foremost by the Russian Bolsheviks and the Bulgarian left-wing socialists.

Vain are today the efforts of the defenders of capitalism and their social-patriotic agents to keep the trade unions in their old role of beggars and divert them from the road of the proletarian revolution through the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation and through the so-called International Labour Office at the League of Nations.

The Amsterdam Federation, much like the imperialist League of Nations itself, is rent by the existing insurmountable inner contradictions among the imperialists of different countries and represents a modern version of the legend about the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues.

The workers' masses and the trade unions are increasingly marching along the road of struggle, for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, as demonstrated in practice by the victorious Russian proletariat. They are rapidly rallying around the Communist International and the International Trade Union Council in Moscow and are mobilizing their forces for a decisive offensive against capitalism.

While not forsaking the possible defence of the workers

against ruthless capitalist exploitation, the trade unions which have become or are now becoming affiliated with Moscow are *focussing* their efforts and their activity on the revolutionary class struggle and on its feverish preparation so as to carry out their important historic role in the proletarian revolution of their own countries.

It goes without saying that along this line the transport workers' unions, owing to the *nature* of the work performed by their masses, will have to do an all the more important and hard job.

An American communist recently said with a good deal of justification: 'As soon as the transport and mining workers' unions opt for the revolution, we in the United States will see the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship!'

We have no reason whatever to fear that the Bulgarian transport proletariat will *refuse* to fulfil its role, so fateful for the proletarian revolution in our own country. On the contrary. The bitter experience which it gained during the events of last January and February, and the valuable lessons, which it drew from them, are a further guarantee that it will be in the front ranks of the revolutionary class struggle for the proletarian dictatorship in our country.

The unification of the transport proletariat within the ranks of the Transport Workers' Union and under the banner of communism goes to show better than anything else that it is fully conscious of its great duties and responsibilities at the present historic moment.

'Transport,' No. 1, December 20
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov Works, Vol. 5, pp. 554–559
Published by the BCP, 1952

ADDRESS TO THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF RED TRADE UNIONS

May 17, 1921

I very much regret that I cannot speak Russian, but I hope that you will understand the gist of what I am going to say in Bulgarian. I am happy that in addressing you on behalf of the International Trade Union Council I can, at the same time, greet you on behalf of the professionally organized revolutionary proletariat of Bulgaria and of the proletariat of the other Balkan countries.

I can assure you, representatives of the heroic Russian proletariat, that the Balkan workers, just as the revolutionary workers of Europe and America, are following the road mapped out by the Russian proletariat, the road of a relentless and intransigent struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale. Despite the bourgeoisie's terrible terror and the other brutal persecutions of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries, the latter is rapidly gathering its forces and getting ready to do to its bourgeoisie what the Russian proletariat did in October 1917.

The trade unions in Bulgaria and in the other Balkan countries are organs of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. They consider that the peaceful period of trade union struggle is now definitely over and that in the present profound and unsurmountable crisis in the capitalist world the immediate task of the trade unions is the struggle to seize political power and all the means of production. The duel between Amsterdam and Moscow, now taking place in the entire trade union movement the world over, has ended in Bulgaria and the Balkan countries with the complete triumph of Moscow. The same thing is bound to happen soon in Europe and in America.

We know from the Russian experience that our first

task is completely to neutralize the influence of the Mensheviks and the socialist traitors of all kinds and their bastion, the Amsterdam Federation, because the fact that in Great Britain and Germany, in France and Italy, and in the industrially most advanced America the proletariat is still under capitalist domination is only to be explained by the treacherous policy of the yellow leaders and the opportunism of the trade union bureaucracy. The bourgeoisie and the Mensheviks all over the world always claim that Russia is a barbarous country, uncivilized and incapable of anything. Yet, actually it is from you, from the Russian proletariat, that the civilized European proletariat must learn how to rid itself of the domination of capital; it must begin to act in the Russian way. We, too, constantly learn from your great experience. This experience teaches us, first and foremost, that without trade unions which are thoroughly imbued with the communist spirit and go hand in hand with the Communist Party, the complete victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible, there cannot be a genuine and real proletarian dictatorship, and the socialist organization of production and the creation of a communist society are inconceivable. We are well acquainted with the trade unions as organizations which do not struggle against capitalist exploitation – we know this both from the teaching of our great teachers Marx and Engels and from our own experience. But what we do not find either in the Communist Manifesto, or in the remaining works of our teachers who in their theoretical research were unable to define the precise role and tasks of trade unions in the transition period of the proletarian dictatorship, we are now learning from your experience, the concrete forms of which you are working out in the practical activity of the trade unions in this transition period. The Russian proletariat has experienced and is still experiencing unheard of sufferings, it has made countless sacrifices not only for its own self, but also for the cause of the proletarian revolution the world over. Your sufferings and sacrifices will not have been in vain. Their beneficent results are already being felt in the titanic struggle, which is shaking the entire capitalist world, one of the greatest

manifestations of which is the present colossal struggle of the British miners.

Moscow is the lodestar of the proletarian struggle all over the world. Moscow is the sun which dispels the darkness of impenetrable night in the capitalist world. Moscow has proudly and quite deservedly assumed the lead in rallying the trade unions on an international scale, which is a necessary and inevitable condition for the complete triumph of the international proletarian revolution. Bowing before the precious memory of the countless fallen fighters of the Russian proletariat, we exclaim: Long live the Russian trade union movement, long live its worthy representatives at the Fourth Trade Union Congress, long live the Russian Communist Party, the soul of the trade union movement in Russia, long live the Communist International and its right hand, the Red International of Trade Unions!

The Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions

Workers' Publishing House of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, 1922
G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6 pp. 3–6
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THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE BALKANS

I

Owing to their particular location as a connecting link between Europe and Asia, the Balkans have long been a battle ground in the struggle between the two European imperialist blocs, one of which is headed by Great Britain and the other by Germany.

In the course of decades these two blocs have done their utmost to utilize the Balkan Peninsula for the purposes of their imperialist policy: for investing their capital, marketing their commodities, obtaining raw materials, and, above all, for laying hands on this convenient corridor between East and West.

In the course of this struggle and under its direct influence, the different Balkan states emerged – Greece, Romania, Serbia (now Yugoslavia) and Bulgaria. One after the other they detached themselves from the old feudal Ottoman Empire but, despite their ethnographic and political differences, they continue to represent an economic region.

Although formally considering themselves independent, the Balkan states have in actual fact, from their very inception been, completely dependent on European capitalism, which has decisively affected their further economic development.

Originally agricultural countries with petty farms, they were soon dragged along by the course of capitalist production and its laws. Galvanized by European capital which in 1914 formed about 60 p. c. of the entire industrial capital in the Balkans, the Balkan states underwent a fairly rapid process of industrialization. It goes without saying that European capital permitted here only the creation of branches of industry, which could in no way threaten it, such as, for instance, the sugar industry, the tobacco in-

dustry, ore and coal mining, the oil industry and a number of other industries, directly linked with agriculture, and serving to produce raw materials and semi-processed goods necessary for European industries. The years from 1900 to 1910 are a particularly characteristic period in the development of industry in the Balkans, when the number of industrial enterprises increased as follows: in Bulgaria, by 115 p. c.; in Romania, by 100 p. c.; in Serbia, by 90 p. c.; and in Greece, by 75 p. c. The Balkan Wars in 1912–13 delayed this process of the rapid capitalist development of the Balkans, and the imperialist war of 1914–18 completely stopped it, dealing a severe and irreparable blow to the emergent Balkan industry.

The present world economic crisis is felt with still greater intensity in the Balkans. Industrially only slightly developed, with completely disrupted economies, the Balkan states are now afflicted with the severe ailment, with which capitalism is afflicted in general. The great territorial expansion of Serbia and Romania, which obtained considerable industrial regions from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, far from mitigating the plight, common to all the Balkan countries, further complicates their own situation, making it even harder and more critical.

Unbearable debts, totalling thousands of millions of leva, burdened the Balkan states in the wake of the war, and their production has been totally disrupted. The rise in the cost of living and inflation are still more pronounced there than in the European capitalist countries. Real wages have dropped by 60 to 70 per cent as compared to prewar days. Unemployment is steadily increasing and exploitation of labour is growing more shameless every day. The capital accumulated during the war in banks, joint-stock companies and also by individual capitalists is chiefly used to speculate in prime necessities, for this activity brings big and quick profits at the expense of the starving working masses. But this only tends to increase the economic ruin and intensify the current economic crisis. There can be no hope of rehabilitating the war-torn economy of the Balkan states within the framework of the old capitalist order.

II

Owing to the late development of capitalism in the Balkans, the trade union movement there is very young. As a mass movement it has barely existed for two decades.

The trade unions in the Balkan states were founded at the height of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie under the direct influence and leadership of the socialist parties, and have always looked upon themselves as organs of the proletariat's class struggle for liberation. From their very inception the trade unions had the opportunity of utilizing the century of experience of the European proletariat and to avoid numerous errors and fallacies, such as existed in the trade union movement of the European countries.

On the other hand, precisely owing to the late development of capitalism and to the existence of trade unions under the influence of the socialist parties in the Balkans, it was not possible for a labour aristocracy to be formed on the model, say, of the British and the American workers; it was also impossible to create a conservative and reactionary trade union bureaucracy, such as we see in the old trade unions of Europe and America, and which does incalculable harm to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

This also explains why all attempts to create yellow unions in the Balkan states were unsuccessful, why the trade union movement there is entirely a factor in the class struggle of the proletariat, and also, I repeat, why the Balkan trade unions have ideological and organizational links with the proletarian parties and accept their political leadership. It can also serve as an explanation of the fact that anarchism and syndicalism found no soil for growth amid the Balkan working masses.

Owing to the prolonged and irreconcilable struggle with opportunism and similar trends in the workers' movement – a struggle begun very early and waged with great consistency first in Bulgaria and later in the other Balkan countries too, the trade union movement in the Balkans now embraces the broad proletarian masses in the

name of the destruction of capitalism, and in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has eliminated the last remnants of the yellow and neutral organizations, and has become a united movement under the political leadership of the communist parties.

No trade unions under foreign influence exist any longer in Bulgaria. The entire proletariat organized in trade unions is united and advances under the tried and staunch leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In Yugoslavia, the socialist patriots, who had established themselves in the trade union organizations in Croatia and Slovenia, are now suffering defeat after defeat, and the process of unification of the trade union movement in a trade union federation under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is approaching its end.

In Romania, the trade unions, which in their revolutionary aspirations have gone far beyond the old wavering Socialist Party, will now, after the creation of the Communist Party, resolutely take their stand on its side.

In Greece, the sole serious professional organization of the proletariat, the General Union of Trade Unions, is marching under the banner of the Communist Party, while the yellow trade unions, which the Greek bourgeoisie utilizes for its own political ends, have completely disintegrated, and all sound proletarian elements are rapidly passing over to the ranks of the General Union of Trade Unions.

An army of workers organized in trade unions and numbering some 150,000 now exists in the Balkans; this army grows day by day and it can safely be said that, far from being an obstacle to the cause of the international proletarian revolution, it is fighting in the front ranks, realizing that in our day the trade unions have one task only: to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its establishment and consolidation and through it for the advent of communism.

III

At the very beginning of the war, in 1914, the trade unions of the Balkan states broke with the International Association of Trade Unions now called the Amsterdam Federation. Firmly opposing war in their own countries, profoundly imbued with the spirit of international proletarian solidarity, they felt no sympathy for the unprecedented betrayal of the international trade union movement by its leaders Legien, Jouhaux, Appleton, Gompers et tutti quanti and, what is more, considered it their duty to begin an all-out struggle against those flunkeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie. And when the initiative of creating a new international centre of the trade union organizations under the banner of the Communist International was taken up in Moscow, the trade unions in the Balkan states saw in this the expression of their own will and aspirations and were the first to adhere to the International Trade Union Council formed there. Moreover, in order to facilitate the tasks of the International Council, at their conference in Sofia in November 1920, the Balkan trade unions assigned their Balkan Secretariat – set up at the Balkan Communist Federation – the task of being the organ of the International Council in the Balkans.

Propaganda *against Amsterdam* and *for Moscow* in the Balkan countries is so strong, its influence among the working masses is so great that membership of the Amsterdam Federation is considered as a *shameful crime* by the workers. Not long ago insignificant trade union groups which were under the influence of the Right-Wing Socialists (Mensheviks) in Bulgaria and were in touch with Amsterdam, broke with the Federation, condemning its treacherous policy, and passed over to the trade unions at the Communist Party. The few trade unions in Yugoslavia and Romania, which still maintained a certain relationship with the international trade union secretariats belonging to the Amsterdam Federation, also broke with it, although in most cases their relationship was only formal.

The unionized proletariat in the Balkans is entirely and

resolutely *for Moscow* and *against Amsterdam*. It wages its struggle under the banner of the Communist International and considers that in the present period of the beginning international proletarian revolution a new international unification of trade unions under the slogan for Moscow and against Amsterdam can be achieved by an all-out struggle against treachery, as well as against the harmful fallacies of anarchism and syndicalism in the international trade union movement.

The trade unions in the Balkan states will take an active part in the forthcoming International Trade Union Congress in Moscow, fully convinced that this congress will create a united, truly revolutionary international centre of trade unions, fulfilling its *special tasks, but on the basis of a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the political leadership of the Communist International, and that this centre will become the real headquarters of the international proletarian revolution.*

Note: In Bulgaria, with a population of 4.1 million, the trade unions number 40,000 members; in Greece, with a population of 5.5 million, there are 35,000 union members; in Yugoslavia, with a population of 13 million, there are 180,000 union members, and in Romania, with a population of 14 million, there are 175,000 union members.

Mezhdunarodnoe rabochee dvizhenie.
Moscow, Nos 4–6, April-June, 1921
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6. pp. 20–27
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ON THE EVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED TRADE UNION WEEK

Speech Delivered at a Meeting in the Renaissance Theatre, Sofia, on November 27, 1921

The appearance of the beloved leader of the workers' movement was welcomed with a burst of enthusiasm. The workers bore him shoulder-high to the stage. The crowd of thousands rose to their feet and applauded him long and loud. The thrilled audience began to sing the Red Army march and the theatre rang to the song sung by thousands.

Comrades!

The trade unions in the big capitalist states, which were born and developed as organizations for the defence of the workers' immediate professional interests, became, by the actions of the socialist patriots and trade union bureaucrats, instruments for the prolongation of the fratricidal war during the period of the imperialist war. A 'civil peace' was proclaimed, and the proletariat was deluded into thinking that the victory of 'its mother country' would create brilliant prospects for its prosperity, too.

The imperialist war came to an end, but in all countries the proletariat was faced with *unprecedented economic ruin* and its consequences: a skyrocketing cost of living, disastrous inflation and mass unemployment. The panic which gripped the capitalist world in 1917 and 1918, after the triumph of the Russian worker-peasant revolution, is quite explicable. All Europe trembled under the weight of the consequences of the war and at the threatening might and influence of Soviet Russia. At that moment the victory of the proletarian class would have been possible with slight efforts and sacrifices. In Germany and Austria power was actually in the hands of the proletariat. But the bourgeoisie was saved by the socialist traitors and the trade union bureaucrats, who turned the powerful trade unions

with their many millions of members into an instrument to restore bankrupt capitalism.

The bourgeoisie pulled itself together and began to prepare for resistance against the attacks of the revolutionary proletariat, and later for an offensive *against the workers revolutionary movement and against Soviet Russia,* the bearer of the international revolution. Today capital is on the go everywhere. It is on the offensive to reduce wages, to lengthen the working day, to take away all the workers' gains of the past, and to destroy the workers' organizations by attacking and massacring the workers' leaders and militants and by dissolving the workers' organizations. Yet, even today the socialist patriots and the trade union bureaucrats, gathered in the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, continue more faithfully than ever to collaborate with the bourgeoisie.

In this situation, the enthusiasm with which the workers of all countries welcomed *the initiative of the Russian trade unions to form a red Trade Union International* is comprehensible, and it is also easy to understand why after only one year the latter succeeded in drawing into its ranks nearly 20 million unionized workers of all races and from all parts of the world, wherever capitalism has set foot.

The struggle between Amsterdam and Moscow is the most significant fact in the workers' movement the world over in 1921. Amsterdam is losing every day because of its betrayal and ineffaceable shame, while Moscow is winning ever more adherents, because it is the centre of the international proletarian revolution.

The First Congress of the Red Trade Union International mapped out a programme of action for the revolutionary trade union workers in all countries. It resolutely came out for remaining in the old trade unions and for working to revolutionize them, as well as against national separatism in the trade union movement, against class collaboration and reconciliation with the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, it put forward the slogan of internationalizing the struggle of the trade unions, so as not to let the proletariat be beaten bit by bit; it raised the slogan of

a united front of the proletariat in all countries for the defence of the workers' interests and against capitalism. Now that the bourgeoisie is rallying all its forces in the face of the danger threatening it, once again the traitors of the Amsterdam Federation and the Second International are breaking the front of the proletariat by expelling entire sections and union solely because they have come out in favour of Moscow. *The establishment of a united front of the proletariat* in all countries and in the whole world is the supreme imperative of the moment. In 1918 the Russian revolution failed to grow into a European revolution, but even today we may safely assert that the revolution was kindled in Europe, that it is the sole way out of the world-wide plight produced by capitalism. Today the capitalist world is a chaos. Owing to the devaluation of the German mark, cheap labour and the great exploitation of the German worker, Germany has today become a public market at which everything that represents the future of the German economy is sold for a mere song. The crisis has grown acute in the victorious nations as well. Cheap German goods increase unemployment in Great Britain, America and elsewhere. Countries with depreciated currencies are unable to supply themselves with raw materials for their industry and to purchase what they need from other countries; on the other hand, those whose currency rate is high suffocate for lack of markets capable of absorbing their expensive products. The growing need of markets impels the imperialist states *to new conflicts*. Wherever you may look in the world today, you will see only causes of new wars. The great imperialist bandits are ready even today to go for one another, and the world is faced by the danger of an even worse holocaust at any moment.

However, no matter how much its interests may be divided, the bourgeoisie is united against the revolutionary proletariat in its countries, and against Soviet Russia, the focus and mainstay of the international revolution. Today we observe the fact that those who were formerly gripped with panic in the face of the rising revolutionary tide, now speak in one voice of the bankruptcy of bolshevism and its economic policy. Soviet Russia has, indeed, been compelled

to alter the course of its economic policy under the pressure of the isolation in which the Russian people have been since the revolution as a result of the delay of the revolution in the advanced capitalist nations, for which the socialist patriots bear the blame. But in Russia today it is not the bourgeoisie, but the workers and the peasants who rule under the leadership of the powerful, intelligent and far-sighted Communist Party.

There you have a proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet government of workers and poor peasants has in its hand transport, foreign trade, heavy industry and, last but not least, the powerful armed forces of the Russian people, the victorious Red Army. And the upshot is, oddly enough from a historical point of view, that the proletariat, which has taken power in its own hands and is exercising its dictatorship, is now, during a transition period, compelled to harness the bourgeoisie in its service, as a pay-off for the past when for centuries the proletariat had to work for the bourgeoisie!

It is true that the Russian people are suffering today, and suffering greatly. The Russian proletariat has won its freedom, but it is forced, in the present transition period, not to eat its fill and to sacrifice everything for the future of communism. You ought to see the *Russian trade union workers* who do not indeed eat their fill, but are proud masters of their country and of their labour, and firmly await the triumph of the proletariat in the other countries; you ought to see the *Russian Communist Party*, in which all, to the last worker, stand steadfastly at their difficult posts; you ought, at last, to see the Russian Red Army, which has no peer in history, to realize that the Russian Soviet Republic stands firmly on its feet, but also to realize at the same time that a terrible responsibility for the great sufferings of the Russian proletariat weighs on the proletariat of the other countries, particularly of the advanced nations.

The supreme task of forging a united revolutionary front confronts the proletariat today, so that it may not only fend off the attacks of capital, but also pass over to a victorious offensive against it.

This is precisely *the task of the Red International Trade Union Week.*

Unless the big trade unions in the capitalist countries are drawn under the banner of the revolution, the triumph of the social revolution and the creation of a socialist economy in these countries are not conceivable. In this respect we are more fortunate. The most conscious part of the Bulgarian proletariat is marching under the banner of the revolution and of communism. But *our trade unions have still not embraced the big masses of the Bulgarian working class,* so that they may represent the mighty force necessary for the triumph of the revolution in Bulgaria. Let us carry the living appeal for the rallying of all workers in the ranks of the revolutionary trade unions wherever a worker's heart beats, for the defence of the workers' interests, for the salvation of mankind from perishing under the weight of capitalism, and for the triumph of communism and the happiness of all working mankind – *that is our supreme duty at the present moment.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 124
November 28, 1921
(An abridged version of this
speech was published in the paper)

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6, pp. 101–106
Published by the BCP, 1953

IN DEFENCE OF SOVIET RUSSIA AGAINST THE PROTECTION OF WRANGEL'S TROOPS IN BULGARIA

Speech Delivered at a Meeting of the Sofia Proletariat Called by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on March, 31, 1922

Comrades, in the course of four years, Kolchak, Dénikin and all the other mercenaries of allied capital, felt the iron fist of the Red Worker-Peasant Army upon them. Wrangel, shamefully beaten, fled on allied ships to Constantinople.

But Soviet Russia has not yet been left in peace. The capitalists, bankers, and multi-millionaires of Europe and America are preparing a new campaign against Russia. They are not able to send their own peoples who have clearly declared: We do not want to fight against the Russian people! But they want to make use of the blood of the small nations, the Balkan and especially the Bulgarian people.

Comrades, Sofia is becoming the headquarters of the commander-in-chief of their army. Their law courts try people and condemn them to death. This army has occupied all the strategic points in Bulgaria. Disarmed Bulgaria is occupied, the captive of an armed foreign army of 20,000 men. Our government spends millions on that army. While in the Volga region 20 million Russian peasants are starving, Wrangel's staff buys up Bulgarian food to wage war against the starving people in Russia. When the *Osvobozhdenié** Co-operative was buying food to save the starving people, our bourgeois parties raised a disgusting howl about it. Where are they now to protest against the buying up of food by Wrangel? They help him. The *narodnyak* bankers and *chorbadjis* embrace the black generals and hatch plots with them against the Russian and the Bulgarian peoples. They want to utilize Wrangel's army

* Osvobozhdenié – liberation

against Bulgarian bolshevism, too. They are preparing to organize a *coup d'état*, to proclaim a military dictatorship and to involve the Bulgarian people in a war against their Russian brothers. Comrades, you may be quite certain that this time, too, the Red Army will trounce Wrangel according to his deserts! But in that case Bulgaria may also become a battlefield. All the worse for those who bring about such a war. There is no Bulgarian worker or peasant who would shoot at a Russian worker or peasant! They would know at whom to aim their guns! The Bulgarian Communist Party and the entire working people demand of the government: To have Wrangel taken by the ear at once and thrown out like a rag! To have his troops disarmed! To have the Russian soldiers and cossacks sent back to their own country, which has forgiven them and awaits them for peaceful and beneficent labour!

The Bulgarian government is bound to fulfil this order of the working people: The Bulgarian government lies when it says that Wrangel's troops are not armed. And Wrangel may be hiding in Sofia at this moment. Down with the criminal adventures against the fraternal Russian people! Down with the Bulgarian and the Russian reaction! Long live the fraternal alliance between the Bulgarian and the Russian working people! Long live the Great Russian Revolution and its heroic Red Army!

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 227,
April 1, 1922

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6, pp. 179–181
Published by the BCP, 1953

Owing mainly to the treason of the Socialist Parties in the big capitalist states, the international bourgeoisie has succeeded in preserving its class rule against the relentless pressure of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Europe, which broke out in the wake of the victory of the Russian Revolution and the aftermath of the general war.

Having avoided the immediate danger of revolution in 1918 and 1919, the international bourgeoisie quickly recovered, rallied and collected its forces, so that in 1920 it passed over from the *defensive* to the *offensive* against the proletariat. It not only proceeded to deprive the proletariat of the concessions it had been obliged to make in the period so critical for it, but also attempted – and this continues along all lines to this day – to transfer the burden of the war heritage onto the shoulders of the toiling masses.

This general capitalist offensive is expressed, first and foremost, in an encroachment on *the wages*. While in the countries with a high currency rate and with paper money that has not or has only slightly been devalued, such as America, Great Britain, France and so one, the bourgeoisie is working for a reduction of wages, in the countries with a depreciated currency, such as Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and so on, it firmly opposes an *increase* in the existing wages so as to adjust them to currency devaluation and the rising cost of living. In the one case as in the other, the aim is to reduce *real wages* to the lowest possible minimum.

In the second place, the capitalist offensive is directed at *lengthening the working day*. The eight-hour day, which was solemnly sanctioned by a special international convention, at a time when the bourgeoisie was in danger of being

toppled from power, is now the subject of constant, systematic and most flagrant encroachments on the part of the capitalists.

The offensive of capitalism is also manifested in the endeavours of the bourgeoisie to transfer *the burden of taxation* in various forms, and particularly by a fabulous increase in indirect taxation, onto the proletariat and the remaining toiling masses.

In a word, capitalism is trying to extricate itself from the *blind alley* in which it landed particularly after the general war and the ensuing world economic crisis, *by intensifying the workers' labour to an unprecedented and fabulous extent, by a maximum exhaustion of the strength and health of the working masses, and by the physical and cultural degeneration of the proletariat and reducing it to a state of barbarity.*

And it should be stated that in its capitalist offensive against the proletariat the international bourgeoisie acts *quite unanimously.* Its *united front* in this case is manifested at every step, *despite the national, economic and other contradictions* which exist in its midst. The recent lock-outs against the workers of the metal industry in Great Britain, Germany, Denmark and elsewhere are a new proof of the existing united front of the capitalists, regardless of whether they are in the victorious or in the defeated countries, or, finally, in the countries which remained neutral during the war.

There is nothing more obvious than the necessity of the proletariat's *appearing fully unanimous and forging its own united front against the united front of the capitalist bourgeoisie* for its self-preservation above all.

That is precisely why the slogan of a united proletarian front against the offensive of capitalism, put forward by the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International is accepted ever more widely by the working masses in all countries, as the only way out of the present plight for the proletariat.

The socialist patriots, particularly in Germany and Great Britain, are doing their level best to frustrate the establishment of a united front of the proletariat, because this would mean the end of their common cause with the

bourgeoisie. They most zealously spread wide amid the toiling masses under their influence the slander that the united front policy is dictated by the present situation of the Russian Soviet Republic, when even the last of the workers exposed to the severe blows of the capitalist offensive on his own back cannot fail to realize *that the united front is imposed by the vital interests of the proletariat of the entire world.*

In Bulgaria, where besides the Communist Party no other *workers' party* exists and where the question of a united front against the capitalist offensive is reduced therefore to *common action* between the communist trade unions and a few neutral organizations, chiefly of civil servants, and *mainly to the rallying of the unorganized toiling masses,* the socialist patriots are also trying by hook or by crook to obstruct the establishment of a united proletarian front.

However, life is stronger than the coterie reckonings of the socialist patriotic cliques in the various countries. Under one form or another, in one way or another the united front of the proletariat *will be created without fail.* And once this is achieved, *the offensive of capitalism will be stopped in its tracks.* It will then be the turn of the offensive of the proletariat, the final *reckoning with capitalism and the complete triumph of the international proletarian revolution.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik,
May 1, 1922
Signed: G. D.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6, pp. 184–187
Published by the BCP, 1954

STATEMENT AT THE TENTH SESSION OF THE SECOND PROFINTERN CONGRESS[35]

November 29, 1922

We entirely agree with the main principles of the theses. Certain changes are, indeed, necessary, but it is better that they should be made in committee.

However, the Bulgarian delegation considers it necessary to have it stressed still more in these theses that it is not only premature, but extremely harmful at the present stage of the trade union movement to turn the production unions into sections of the United General Union; intense struggle still faces them for the partial demands of the workers and to fend off the blows of the capitalist offensive in every branch of production, frequently under quite different conditions; and the chief and immediate task now is to rally the masses by production branches so as to organize resistance and to extricate them from the influence and leadership of the reformists.

Secondly, it is necessary to condemn federalism still more resolutely as an outdated organizational form of the trade union movement, which no longer corresponds in any way to the present conditions of the class struggle and the tasks of the trade unions.

It is self-evident that it will be impossible in France, Italy and Spain to transform traditional federalism into centralism at one sweep, just by a decision of the congress. No one entertains such illusions, but painstaking and methodical work is necessary to centralize, that is as quickly as possible to adapt the organizational forms of the trade union movement in all countries to the present conditions and needs of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

All the adherents of the Profintern ought long ago already to have understood that the proletariat can

successfully fight centralized capital in the present period only if it has at its disposal centralized mass production unions.

The objections raised against centralism by the Italian Comrade Vecchi are actually of a certain importance only as regards mechanical and bureaucratic centralism. But no communist supports a mechanical and bureaucratic centralism of this sort. The objections raised by Comrade Vecchi do not refer to proletarian centralism, which is an inevitable historical necessity at the given stage of the class struggle waged by the proletariat of all countries, and also a prerequisite for its victory.

Thirdly, the Bulgarian delegation insists on a more detailed elaboration of the item on information and *liaison*, specifying the necessary organs and funds by means of which the Executive Bureau of the Profintern should be in constant and lively touch with its organizations and adherents, so that it may really guide the activity of the revolutionary trade unions and their struggle on an international scale.

Furthermore, the Bulgarian delegation proposes that the theses be supplemented with a special paragraph on the Balkans, to read as follows:

In the Balkans, with the exception of Bulgaria where the trade union movement is united and has joined the Profintern, the renewal of work for the restoration of unity in the trade union movement is imminent. In Yugoslavia and Romania, more particularly, the restoration of the revolutionary trade unions, defeated in 1920 and 1921, will have to be achieved under most trying conditions: white terror, rabid reaction and fierce resistance of the reformists. These difficulties will be the more rapidly and successfully overcome, the more the restored trade unions rally the working masses more closely on the basis of an energetic struggle for their daily interests.

In Greece, where the Confederation of Labour has virtually adopted the Profintern platform, the task of the adherents of the latter is to wage an intensified struggle against the treacherous policy of a handful of yellow nationalistic leaders, who still maintain their influence in

several unions, which continue to follow them. It is, first of all, necessary to wrest the organization of the dockers and sailors from their hands and draw it into the common Confederation of Labour.

In Turkey, where the workers are chiefly organized in national trade unions (Turkish, Greek and Armenian), the main task of the adherents of the Profintern is to work strenuously to unite these unions in general trade unions by production branches, regardless of nationality and on the basis of the class struggle.

In the existing close economic and political interdependence among the Balkan states, success in the struggle of the proletariat in the Balkans depends chiefly on the joint action of the trade unions of all the Balkan countries. It is therefore a task of prime importance for the adherents of the Profintern in the Balkans to secure the possibility of such joint action, which must later also be given the organization form of a Balkan federation of trade unions, representing part of the Profintern.

Bulletin of the Second Congress of the
Red International of Trade Unions
Moscow, 1922

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 6, pp. 409–412
Published by the BCP. 1953

Even on the eve of the European War the unity of the proletariat in the key countries of the world was not complete. With their reformist policy, their tactics of class collaboration and their nationalist ideology, the Second Socialist International and the Trade Union International were incapable of creating a united workers' front against capitalism either in the individual countries or on an international plane.

However, the disgraceful and treacherous betrayal committed by the staffs and the chief leaders of these two international proletarian organizations and of their affiliated trade unions and parties, at the declaration and during the whole course of the imperialist war, in proclaiming and maintaining a so-called *civil peace*, i. e. siding with the bourgeoisie of their own countries and placing the organizations they led at the service of the defence of the *capitalist homeland*, ultimately destroyed what feeble unity of the workers' masses had been attained up to that time.

But even after the end of the war and the glorious triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia, instead of quickly re-establishing a united front of the long-suffering and seething workers' masses, in order to secure the triumph of the revolution throughout Europe, the treacherous socialist leaders and trade union bureaucrats once again sided with their national bourgeoisie, helped it to preserve its class domination and to start along the road of restoring capitalism which was shaken by the war and tottering in its foundations, at the expense of an even fiercer exploitation and enslavement of the proletariat, exhausted and bleeding to death.

For five years now the reformists and Amsterdam

bureaucrats have been in alliance, in one way or another, with the bourgeoisie in their countries and at a time when it has recovered, rallied its forces, and started a rabid drive to lengthen working hours, reduce real wages and deprive the workers of all their prewar gains, when it is planning new military and imperialist adventures. These heroes of high-sounding phrases against capitalism and war are backing the offensive of capital by all possible means, paving the way for fascism, justifying the aggressive actions of their national imperialism and preventing the establishment of a united workers' front against capitalism and imperialism, against fascism and war.

While voting loud protests and long resolutions at their international congresses in Rome and the Hague, against the intention of the French imperialists to invade the most important German industrial area (the Ruhr), and for the preservation of peace, while threatening to organize an international general strike in case of such an invasion and danger of war, the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation not only failed to contribute to the creation of the first prerequisite for the success of such a serious action, a *united workers' front* but,on the contrary, they brought about a split in the General Confederation of Labour in France and in the General Trade Union in Czechoslovakia and, by persecuting and expelling from trade unions the oppositional elements and sections, they are methodically preparing a split in the German Trade Union.

At the same time, they have stubbornly rejected every proposal of the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International for a general international conference or an international workers' congress, with all workers' parties and trade unions represented, in order to successfully organize an action against the Ruhr invasion, against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the new imperialist war threatening the world.

All along the line and in every country, the reformists and Amsterdam leaders are working with a diligence worthy of a better fate against the unity of the proletariat, against the building of a united workers' front, all the time with a view to keeping intact their alliance and their community of purpose with the bourgeoisie.

The heroes of the Second Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation are ready to form a united front with Mussolini and his fascist bands in Italy, with Poincaré in France, with the government of Cunow and Stinnes in Germany, with the bourgeois reaction in Czechoslovakia, with the Serbian hegemonist bourgeoisie and its police in Yugoslavia, with the bloc of factory-owners, bankers and profiteers in Bulgaria (in joint electoral tickets with the leaders of the Populist and the Democratic parties, as it happened yesterday), but they refuse to adopt a united front with the communist and revolutionary proletariat, to fight capitalism, to fight against war and for peace.

And when the French imperialist armies invaded the Ruhr and Europe was threatened with a new war, when therefore the time had come to proceed with the implementation of the loud resolutions for an international general strike, the Amsterdam men of the Entente countries virtually sided with the French invaders and oppressors, while the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, Edo Fimen, declared in a tearful voice that the Federation *was incapable of carrying out its resolutions and with unprecedented cynicism blamed the workers' masses themselves for it who, he said, were indifferent, intent on their own selfish daily interests and reluctant to fight for major issues.*

At the same time, *the most immediate interests* of the proletariat of all countries, the interests of its self-preservation and self-defence, of repulsing the rabid offensive of capital, of securing its bread, shelter and freedom, as well as its *major class interest* – its final liberation from the chains of capitalist exploitation, both *demand imperatively the immediate formation of a united front in the trade union and political struggle, on a national and international scale.*

History now places the proletariat of all countries and of the whole world before the dilemma – either, in spite of everything, to restore its united front in the fight against the offensive of capital or, if it is not equal to this, to abandon itself to the mercy of an insane and savage gang of capitalists and imperialists and be turned into cattle for decades to come.

And the latter would inevitably happen, were it not for the sound class instinct of the proletariat itself, were the latter unable to draw the lesson from its past bitter experience, were it not for the Communist and the Red Trade Union International, and the Communist parties, the revolutionary trade unions, and the opposition wings in the reformist trade unions, who are all working with perseverence and devotion for the formation of a united workers' front.

We must state now that new and considerable successes are scored every day in this respect.

Already powerful workers' opposition trends are being formed within the Social Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions themselves, resolutely standing for a united front. The masses down below are already joining hands, regardless of differences in political opinion and organizational affiliation, for a common struggle through the factory councils in Germany and France, in Italy and Czechoslovakia and many other countries.

The International Workers' Conference in Frankfurt (Germany) in March this year, the purpose of which was to organize a united international action of the proletariat against the Ruhr invasion, against fascism and against the new imperialist war now being planned, testified most convincingly to the growing popularity of the idea of a united workers' front. Although the conference was boycotted again by the staffs of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, representatives of the factory councils in Germany, France, England, etc., *among whom there were many Social Democrats and Amsterdam men,* did take part in it, together with the representatives of the Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, of the communist parties and the revolutionary trade unions of various countries.

The break-up of the coalition of the Social Democratic Party with the bourgeoisie in Saxony and the forming of a socialist government[36] with the support of the communists and with a workers' programme, drawn up by the Saxon factory councils, also showed that the united workers' front, from a slogan rallying the proletariat, is becoming

more and more of an *actual fact*, and assuming the important role of a key factor in the political development of Germany which is now heading for a final rupture of the alliance between Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie and the setting up of a *workers' government. Only* such a government could cope with the terrible crisis which has befallen the German people after the occupation of the Ruhr by the French imperialist armies, and the responsibility for which lies precisely with the bourgeoisie and the reformist staffs.

Today we can safely say that amidst the international proletariat no idea is more popular than that of the united workers' front, for the worker's masses are realizing every day more clearly that the *key* to the solution of all problems concerning the bread, peace, freedom and future of toiling mankind, *lies exactly in a realization of the united front of the proletariat in each country, in Europe and the whole world.*

Neither the repulsion of the offensive of capital, nor the elimination of savage fascism, nor the staving off of the new imperialist war, not, lastly, the triumph of the liberating proletarian revolution, *would be possible* without a *united workers' front* and the joint action of all proletarians and working people in town and village. This is why the *united workers' front* is to be the first great and historical slogan of this year's May Day demonstrations in all countries.

The Bulgarian proletariat, on its part, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the General Trade Union, is following boldly and persistently the tactics of the united workers' front in all aspects of its struggles and is daily building its indestructible union with the rest of the toiling masses in town and village. On May Day it will once more scornfully reject the divisive attempts of the ideologically and politically bankrupt bourgeoisie, of the raging demagogues and oppressors of the Agrarian Union, of the Right-Wing Socialist careerists who have sold out to the bourgeoisie, and of the handful of confused anarchists, and it will manifest powerfully its firm and unshakable will to be *united*, and in a *sound and lasting alliance* with the masses of small owners in town and village, *in the*

struggle against the urban and rural bourgeoisie, for its own self-preservation and self-defence and for setting up a workers' and peasants' government – the real government of the working people in Bulgaria.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik, No. 259
May 1, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7 pp. 95–101
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The time was when most artists, painters, actors, musicians, etc., owing to the peculiar character of their work and their prospects of a good career, could consider themselves as it were aristocrats of intellectual work, and keep quite aloof from the proletariat, from its struggle for existence and its emancipatory movement.

They were then prone to consider themselves even as part of the ruling class, its spoilt children and lucky favourites of fortune, who had nothing in common with the exploited and oppressed of present-day society, and required no organization or struggle to defend their rights and interests, since they wholly relied on their own talent and the protection of the powers that be and of various patrons of the arts.

Imbued to the marrow of their bones with bourgeois individualism and superman psychology, overestimating the significance of their own spiritual superiority, feeling firmly entrenched on the heights of Parnassus, they would often look down with scornful condescension on men doing ordinary manual and intellectual work and would thank God (like the scribes and Pharisees of yore) that he had not created them after the image of those 'poor in spirit' slaves of capital.

It was so once.

But is there anyone today who does not realize that these days are gone forever, in other countries as well as at home?

Capitalism, after becoming complete master in the sphere of material production, laid a heavy hand on the theatre, music, painting and the whole of art. The capitalist principle – the maximum possible profit – became

predominant in the sphere of the so-called production of spiritual values.

The men of art were turned into exploited proletarians, into objects of capitalist exploitation, into profit-makers for capital and, they tumbling from the lofty heights of Parnassus landed in the squalor and mud of today's hard reality.

The fate of stage actors became linked not only with that of the prompter, unseen by the audiences, but also with the fate of the members of chorus and orchestra,of stagehands behind the scenes, and of all the other workers in a capitalist theatrical establishment. The fates of orchestra members at a place of entertainment became linked with that of the waiters serving the customers.The fate of the painters working at a studio or a lithographer's or zincographer's shop, at one enterprise or another – with that of the rank-and-file members of its staff, etc.

The fate of the one-time 'aristocrats of labour' in the sphere of art in general is becoming more and more closely linked with the fate of the entire nation's proletariat.

And it must be said that the havoc, caused by the great war, as well as the dire consequences of the profound economic crisis occasioned by the war, have not only obliterated, by and large, the once existing difference between the material and social status of the men of arts and that of other intellectuals, but they have plunged them into a material and social misery and an uncertainty of the future worse than what numerous categories of skilled manual workers have to bear.

And when one takes into consideration the fact that those working in the arts, due to the character of their work, which is not purely mechanical, have to put their feelings, their hearts and souls into what they are doing, have to express their inner life in it, then it becomes readily apparent that, apart from material privations, they have to suffer moral torments unknown to either the manual worker or the ordinary intellectual.

Thus the status of the so-called aristocracy of labour in the arts has undergone a profound change. This change naturally makes necessary the subordination of their in-

dividualism to the vital need of collective action for common self-defence.

The new situation, the new times call for *new ways and means*. They imperatively point to the road of organization and struggle for the 'favourites of fortune' as well, for those who once considered themselves above organization and struggle.

It is an old truth that *the way of life* determines *the way of thinking*. However, experience shows that the change in *thinking* always occurs after a corresponding change has taken place in *the way of life*.

The way of life of actors, musicians, painters, etc., has changed considerably, while their way of thinking, of most of them at least, continues *unaltered*. They still feel linked to the parasitic bourgeoisie as if by a navel cord and alien to the masses. They are slow to rid themselves of bourgeois ideas and by force of habit still follow the suggestions of individualism and the psychology of the superman, continuing to seek individual means of securing their existence and warding off the severe blows of life.

The force of the *old* pulls them *backward*, while *life* impels them to go *forward*. Bourgeois prejudices and superstitions prevent them from embracing the *new outlook* that their altered way of life demands.

Thus they are now at a *crossroads*, whence two roads are open to them – *the old road* of resigned service to capital in expectation of its charity, and *the new road* of organized struggle against capitalist exploitation, of unification of all the men in the arts and their siding with the proletariat fighting for freedom and happiness.

While standing at this crossroads, most of the men in the sphere of art are also in the unenviable position of *cross-eyed* persons. Their *right* eye looks with hope and expectation at their old god – capital, while their *left* casts uncertain and hesitant glances at the working people advancing confidently along the road of proletarian emancipation.

Which way? – This is the crucial question that now stares in the face every actor, musician and painter, the whole of the proletariat engaged in the arts.

And the major task of the *Artist* newspaper at the present moment is precisely this – to help the mass of workers in the arts *to become conscious of themselves* as *proletarians;* to accelerate the process of *attuning* their way of thinking to their *altered way of life;* to cultivate in them the feeling of *solidarity* and the idea of *common action,* in place of their *notorious individualism of intellectuals;* to help them all start as soon as possible *along the road of organization and struggle, through a general trade union of the men of art, the road of unity between the workers of the hammer, the sickle and the pen, between the workers of material production and those of production of spiritual values, the road of emancipation of working mankind and of art itself from the regime of decaying capitalism.*

A task both difficult and complicated, it is true. *But a task worthy of the efforts of the greatest talents and the noblest ambitions.*

And it must be executed – *for the sake of the salvation of the thousands of suffering artists, the salvation of art itself and the triumph of the great emancipatory cause of the working people in our country.*

Artist No 2, June 4, 1913
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 136–140
Published by the BCP, 1953

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE OFFENSIVE OF CAPITAL

The idea of a united front of the working masses is now emerging from the sphere of theoretical explanations and ordinary political propaganda and entering the phase of its impending practical realization.

To begin with, the intensified offensive of capital lends great urgency to the immediate establishment of a united front. No matter how it may be appraised, the political change which occurred on June 9[37] let loose the forces of this offensive quite obviously and beyond any doubt. The capitalists felt their hands completely untied in the different sectors of their exploitative activity – in industry and trade, in banking and joint-stock companies, in speculation with prime necessities, in real estate and landownership. They are working feverishly to remove all legal barriers from their road and are intensively preparing to shift the burden of taxation and reparations onto the shoulders of the toiling masses from town and countryside.

The first results of the growing offensive of capital, of its complete freedom of action, are already apparent. Real wages are falling, while the cost of living is rising. Bulgarian workers are left without work and bread, while alien elements, and especially people from the defeated White Russian army of Wrangel, increasingly man the factories. Working days are being arbitrarily increased and existing labour legislation is trampled upon. The liberty of small tradesmen and pedlars is being encroached upon and assistance to small artisans is pigeonholed, while the slightest restrictions on big business and stock exchange speculation are removed. The peasants are being deprived of the land which had been given to them, while the big landowners are given the possibility, despite the existing

Land Act,[38] of gathering sheaves from the fields of the peasants who have cultivated these lands with much toil and sweat. Instead of improving and extending the Law on Housing in defence of the working people and the poor house-owners, everything is being done to prepare its abrogation. The capitalist monopoly on food, clothing and shoes, and fuel, exercised by the banks, joint-stock companies and private businessmen, is spreading its tentacles over the whole country in order to further raise the prices of these necessities, so vital for the subsistence of the masses during the winter. The export of foods and the customs policy are prompted not by considerations for the nation's economic rehabilitation and for securing available stocks for home consumption, but solely by the insatiable thirst of export firms and interested speculators for quick and big profits.

The selfish interests and greed of a capitalist minority more than ever threaten the elementary subsistence, the existence and future of the Bulgarian working people, the whole working intelligentsia and all non-capitalist elements of the country.

In these conditions can the majority of the people, living in privation, afford to fold their arms and remain indifferent and impassive to their plight? Should they let themselves fall prey to the capitalists and become victims of their furious onslaught, because of differences in programme, policy and tactics which now exist between them? What genuinely popular leader could be so frivolous as to recommend that?

Actually the working people and their intelligentsia are not organized and united in a political party of their own. A large part of them are in the ranks of the Communist Party or follow its banner, another considerable part is in the Agrarian Union, a third – in the Social-Democratic Party, a fourth, though quite small, part, no doubt constitutes the majority of the Radical Party.

These parties differ from one another and particularly from the Communist Party in their final programme goals and demands, in their general conceptions and political tactics, which lie at the root of their mutual struggle. The

irreconcilable differences between them, as parties of the working people, concern their final aims however, and the ways and means of their realization, while between all these parties and the party of capital lies an impassable abyss – the abyss of the deeply opposed interests of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and of the capitalist bourgeoisie, on the other; the abyss between the exploited and his exploiter, between the slave and his master.

That is why the parties of the working people, insofar as they intend to remain true to the interests of these masses, are implacably opposed to the capitalist parties and seek to establish contact among themselves in their common work and struggle.

Could anyone seriously deny that today, when the masses and the whole people's intelligentsia are in such a sad plight and are exposed to such severe trials and terrible dangers, their parties should join in a common struggle and together face the offensive of capital in the name of a concrete, common programme on the vital problems of wages, working hours, subsistence, land, housing, taxes, reparations, and so on.

Differences in the final programme goals and demands of parties of the masses are not and cannot be such as to prevent their common work and struggle, their united front in defence of the masses, as long as the other parties are really guided, like the Communist Party, by the interests of these masses and are ready to sacrifice their anti-popular coalition with the capitalist parties – the Democratic Union and the National Liberals.

Without abandoning any major programme goal of the struggle, without impairing its independence as a party and without asking the Social-Democratic, Agrarian and Radical Parties to forsake their programme goals, the Communist Party proposes a united front, firmly convinced that at present this is the surest means of warding off the onslaught of capital, of saving the working people from the threatening privations and dangers and of leading the country out of the blind alley in which the capitalist bourgeoisie has landed it.

In practice the united front does not mean a retreat from general party principles, nor a party effacement, but merely the acceptance of a general, concrete, anti-capitalist platform in defence of the working people and a joint struggle to implement this plarform.

Prior to June 9, when the Agrarian Union was entirely in the hands of the ruling peasant bourgeoisie, which bitterly opposed the working people from town and countryside, it was obviously out of the question to set up a united labour front. Today, however, this obstacle, as well as many other obstacles, no longer exist. After what has taken place, the Agrarian Union can no longer remain a tool of the peasant bourgeoisie and is bound to march together with the working people. Otherwise, it is doomed.

The deck is cleared for a united front. And this united front of labour against capital will come into existence, because the needs of life and the will of the working people will impose it with an iron necessity.

Woe unto those parties and party leaders who want to be representatives of the Bulgarian working people, but who, prompted by party and personal interests and considerations of safeguarding their coalition with the capitalists, should be so thoughtless as to oppose the united front of labour.

They will thereby sign their own political death sentence.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 67
August 22, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 200–207
Published by the BCP, Sofia, 1954

In Bulgaria, as is generally known, the capitalists are but an insignificant minority. Even if we added to them the ideologists of capital and all the other individuals and groups who have a direct stake in pursuing a purely capitalist policy and in the existence of capitalism, they would in no case exceed a *fourth* of the country's total population.

Yet it is precisely this capitalist minority which wants to rule, to guide the fortunes of the people and country and to consolidate its class domination over the great majority of the working people.

And since, after the wars and disasters, after the telling blows dealt to the bourgeois parties and their complete bankruptcy in the past, the capitalist minority has no chance of winning over the masses in the name of a national programme, it sees the only prop of its power in violence and terror inside the country and in blind servility to imperialism and the foreign conquerors outside it.

The ludicrous merger of some of the old bourgeois parties in the so-called *Democratic Union* did not, of course, change matters one iota. It just made the reactionary intentions of the capitalist minority all the more palpable to the people.

In these conditions the parliamentary regime becomes highly inconvenient for the capitalists, an obstacle to the offensive of capital and the policy of exploitation, robbery and repression of the popular majority. Legality stifles and kills them. They are against the democratic principles of government, proclaimed long ago by the great French Bourgeois Revolution. They are against parliamentarism and constitutional liberties. They are against legality. They

are for the bourgeois dictatorship of capital. The clerical newspaper *Pravda*, frank to the point of cynicism, openly advocates that the 'intelligent' capitalist minority, not the 'ignorant popular majority', not the 'mob', should govern the country.

Following the example of other countries, the Bulgarian capitalists and their parties are now resorting to the *last means* of preserving their class rule and of keeping the state power in their hands – *fascism*, which is the complete negation of democracy and of all political rights and freedoms of the masses.

Well aware that genuinely free elections would undoubtedly return a great majority of working people's representatives to Parliament, the 'new government' of the Bulgarian capitalists hastens to organize fascist cadres and begins to commit outrages against the working people in the country. The unqualifiable atrocities in Turnovo, Berkovitsa, Bratsigovo, Peroushtitsa and elsewhere, the inhuman treatment of and the harsh sentences passed on defendants in connexion with the events around June 9 are, no doubt, merely the *beginning* of the fascist onslaught of the Bulgarian capitalists. Those who think that fascism is directed only against the so-called 'communist peril' bitterly delude themselves. They will have to pay dearly for their error and political short-sightedness.

Fascism is far from being only *anti-communist*, it is at the same time *anti-popular* in essence. Its function is to secure politically the success of the offensive of capital, of the exploitation and plunder of the masses by the capitalist minority and to consolidate the rule of this minority over the popular majority.

If fascism were to establish itself firmly in Bulgaria and to cope with the 'communist peril', its beastly blows would be felt also most painfully by the other political parties and economic organizations which are ready to defend the interests and rights of the working people in any way or form. Neither Social-Democrats, nor Radicals would be able to avoid these blows, unless they consented to become the blind tools of the Bulgarian capitalists.

The example of Italy (the classical country of fascism) is

the best proof of this. Today Italian fascism deals Socialists and other radical elements no less heavy blows than Communists.

Today, however, the masses and the working intelligentsia, as well as their political parties and economic organizations, have one vital common interest: with joint efforts to preserve their freedoms, rights, honour and life by curbing the rising bourgeois reaction and its most typical manifestation – fascism, at its very inception.

Can the existing programme and other differences between the popular parties in Bulgaria be an obstacle to the implementation of this urgent task? Can and should these parties let the working people be crushed by the fascism of the capitalist minority and be subjected to complete physical and moral degradation, can and should they let the country be plunged into anarchy and turned into a prey of foreign conquerors, for the sake of profit-hungry capitalists and of their ideologists and supporters, just because of differences and wranglings, say, on the question of socialization and public ownership, or on the future forms of popular self-government?

Which Agrarian, Social-Democratic or Radical leader, who has not severed his ties with the people, would have the temerity to maintain such a groundless and senseless thesis?

Will the other parties of the working people, in particular the Social-Democrats and Radicals, who today are allies of the capitalist parties and help to strengthen bourgeois reaction and to form and organize fascism, grasp the significance of the united labour front, advocated by the Communist Party?

Will they understand that the vital interests of the working people dictate to them to discontinue their anti-popular coalition with the parties of the capitalists – the Democratic Union and the National Liberals, to cease to play the role of fig-leaves covering up the impudent nudity of bourgeois reaction and fascism, and to accept the salutary united front, proposed by the Communist Party?

The answer to these questions will be given to us in the near future.

But even today anyone who is well acquainted with and follows our political life can see clearly that all the working people – from workers, peasants, artisans, small tradesmen and clerks to physicians, lawyers, engineers, professors, retired officers and even generals, who make a living by their own labour – instinctively sense the peril threatening them and the country and seek salvation in a joint struggle for self-defence against the common foe.

Not only the offensive of capital but this important reason as well render the united labour front an inevitable necessity. Whoever opposes it now is against the interests, rights and security of life of the working people, against the freedom and independence of Bulgaria and is a pitiful tool of reaction and fascism, of the capitalist minority against the immense popular majority.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 68
August 23, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 208–212
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The coup d'état of June 9 ushered in a profound political crisis, the beginning of which dates back to the September 1918 disaster but which, like glowing embers under ashes, was temporarily suppressed during the Agrarian regime, to flare up again now.

The big question put now on the agenda for immediate solution by the ever sharpening political crisis is the *question of power*. To whom should power belong in Bulgaria: to the *capitalist minority* or to *the vast, working people's majority?* Or, in other words, who should preside over the fortunes of the people and of the country, who should direct political developments: *the capitalist class* or *the working people?*

Of course, this crucial question cannot be solved the way some generals are accustomed to settle their questions in the barracks, nor the way some professors organize their university seminars. The solution of political questions and social problems depends, in the final analysis, on the real needs of life and the real balance of power of the political forces clashing at a given moment.

There are two ways of settling the present political crisis: the *capitalist* solution of the crisis and the *popular* one, i. e., a solution indicated by the masses. There is no and there cannot be any middle road today.

But how does the capitalist class propose to solve the political crisis? The actions of the present government speak for themselves. The capitalist solution of the crisis is prompted solely by the desire of the capitalists to retain power at any cost, without paying any attention to the needs of the working people and the nation. All the capitalists are interested in their profits and wealth, the consolidation of their class domination and the possibility of freely exploiting and plundering the working people.

They want a government run entirely by the banks and joint-stock companies, the stock exchange and the offices of the industrial Union, the Balkan Insurance Company, the Association of Tobacco Exporters and various other business firms. Using state power, they strive to subordinate the nation's whole economic, cultural and political life to the interests of capital.

And inasmuch as the great majority of the people is obviously against such a solution of the political crisis, the Bulgarian capitalists and their parties, who seized power by non-parliamentary means, do not rely now on parliamentary means to retain it.

Almost three months have passed since the coup d'état, but the 'saviours' of the people from the Agrarian tyranny are still not ready to set a date for parliamentary elections and continue to hold the usurped power in their hands. They are doing their level best to eliminate the Agrarian Union from the future elections and, if they can manage it, also the Communist Party – the two biggest political parties in Bulgaria. They intend to hold elections not on the basis of the proportional system, but of its crude Agrarian counterfeit. They are feverishly putting the electoral machine into shape and have already launched a pre-election campaign of terror, in order to deprive the people of the possibility of freely manifesting their will, and to secure, by hook or by crook, a parliamentary majority for the capitalist minority which is now running the country.

The capitalist solution of the political crisis, however, is bound to lead to a *military* or *fascist dictatorship*, with all its incalculable internal evils for the people and the country, as well as external perils for their liberty and independence, and for peace.

The other, the *popular* solution of the political crisis means handing over power to the working people, to the great popular majority, which alone has the right to govern itself, and the country and to dispose of its fortunes. This solution means also to direct the economic, cultural and political life of the country, as well as the social development, in such a way as to satisfy the needs and secure the rights, liberties, life, well-being and peace of the working

people, subordinating the selfish interests of capital and the capitalistic minority to this great goal.

This is the only correct solution of the present political crisis from the viewpoint of the interests and future of the working masses, the whole working intelligentsia and all non-capitalist elements, as well as from the viewpoint of Bulgaria's national independence, the liberation of the enslaved Balkan peoples and the lasting and secure peaceful relations with the neighbouring peoples and countries.

This solution of the political crisis, salutary for the people and the country, is possible in present conditions, however, only through a united labour front as proposed by the Communist Party – the united front of the working people and their political parties and economic organizations, from the Communists to the genuine Radicals who have not surrendered to the Democratic Union.

The Social-Democratic and Radical Parties, which still continue to participate in the government of the capitalist parties, must make up their minds now and choose one of the two possible solutions of the political crisis – the one which inevitably leads, through their coalition with the Democratic Union and the National Liberals, to military or fascist dictatorship, or the other which, through the united labour front, will provide the country with a truly popular rule, with a government of workers and peasants.

The choice of the Social-Democrats and Radicals will soon become clear.

But even today there is no doubt that the entire working people, including the mass of those who follow the Social-Democratic and Radical Parties, will join unanimously the united labour front and, despite all counteractions, no matter where they come from and what their nature may be, this front will finally be realized for the good of the people and the country.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 69
August 24, 1923
G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7. pp. 213–216
Published by the BCP, 1954

Our proposal to the Social-Democratic Party to form a united labour front has aroused great alarm in the headquarters of the bourgeois parties and in their editorial offices.

The aims which the Communist Party is supposed to pursue with this proposal are now being subjected, as we can see, to various interpretations, some of which are down-right ludicrous. The old political fortune-tellers and the young prophets from the bourgeois editorial offices are still racking their brains, which are not too sound anyway, in order to discover these objects.

Some have proclaimed the Communist proposal as insincere, as a 'clever manoeuvre' of 'good tacticians' aimed at sowing confusion within the Social-Democratic Party and at disorganizing its ranks.

Others have sought in this proposal a proof of the Communist Party's retreat from its basic principles, maximum programme and 'Bolshevik' methods, a retreat carried out by the Communists in order to preserve their party from, 'disintegration' and to save their 'heads and skins!'

A third group, as for instance the bankrupt Democratic financial expert Lyapchev,[39] has even gone so far as to discover in the proposal of the Communist Party a 'moral degradation' of Bulgarian Communism.

It all seems rather strange and funny. The enemies of the Communist Party, who tirelessly hatch plots for its destruction, are now expressing their deep regret at the 'moral degradation' of Communism and its representatives, just because of the advocated united front tactics.

At the same time, the ideologists and heralds of Bulgarian capitalism in the editorial offices of the twelve

bourgeois newspapers are doing their level best to 'save' the Social-Democratic Party lest, to their great distress, it 'swallow the communist bait' and perish, i. e., lest it cease to play the role of an abettor and accomplice in the crimes and outrages of the capitalist class against the Bulgarian working people.

Examining the past role of this party in our political life and stressing the valuable services it has rendered to the bourgeoisie before and during the June 9 events, the *Pryaporets*, organ of the self-dissolved Democratic Party, stated not without foundation and with great profundity a fortnight ago that, had there been no Social-Democratic Party in Bulgaria, *the bourgeoisie would, in its own interests, have had to take measures for its creation.*

The present alarm in bourgeois circles is, of course, quite comperehensible. The united labour front is a deadly weapon against the reactionary capitalist encroachments and class domination of the bourgeoisie, a weapon the latter feels levelled directly at its heart. It is a real threat to capitalist bankers and profiteers, big real estate owners and big landowners, to all those who want to fatten like parasites on the labour of the great majority of the people.

The guesses of the old political fortune-tellers and the young prophets of capitalism as to the intentions of the Communist Party in applying the united front tactics are, however, quite superfluous, because these intentions are not and cannot be a secret.

The matter, ye wise scholars and professors, is quite simple and clear, simpler than the simplest thing in the world.

The united labour front is indispensable in order to secure the bread, life, rights, liberties and future of the working people. It is indispensable in order to protect the working masses, the entire working intelligentsia and all non-capitalist elements from the exploitation, plunder and oppression of the capitalist minority, to foil its planned military or fascist dictatorship and to establish a genuinely popular power of their own. The united front is indispensable in order to forestall any new military adventures and perils and to guarantee the political freedom, national in-

dependence and peace of the country, as well as its fraternal relations with the neighbouring nations. And last but not least, the united front of the working people is indispensable in order to give an impetus to the development of society towards the complete emancipation of the people and the country from the yoke of capitalism.

The Communist Party, which today is the largest and a truly popular party in Bulgaria, the vanguard of the Bulgarian working people, merely performs its duty towards itself, towards the people and the country and fulfils its historical mission by first taking the initiative and working tirelessly and devotedly for the realization of a united labour front, for aligning all political parties and economic organizations of the working people in our country in a phalanx against capital and reaction.

As a party of the masses, the Communist Party feels no need to act behind the scenes, in dark and hidden corners, behind the back of the people, like the bankrupt staffs of the old bourgeois parties, loathed by the working people, which have now donned a new garb – the Democratic Union.

The Communist Party advocates and works for a united labour front quite openly, before the eyes of the whole world, because it does not engage in dark, anti-popular actions, unlike the 'Unionists' and their allies of the National Liberal Party, who have perforce gathered under one roof and are prompted by fear of the people to indulge in such actions.

How can one speak in this instance of lack of sincerity on the part of the Communist Party, when the latter always acts in accordance with what it propounds?

The needs of the working people and the interests of their liberation movement are the supreme law for the Communist Party. These very needs and interests have found a theoretical expression and political embodiment in its basic principles, in its minimum and maximum programme; they always and invariably underline its tactics and give them their real content. Only the forms of the Communist tactics vary, depending on the changed political situation and on the new conditions of struggle.

The general hue and cry of the capitalist bourgeoisie against the united labour front and its frantic fear of its practical implementation are the best proof of the correctness of the Communist Party's tactics and the timeliness of its proposal for a united front.

Bebel, the unforgettable leader of the German proletariat, once said that he could best orient himself as to whether he was on the right road by what the class enemies of the proletariat had to say about him and his line of conduct.

Likewise today the Communist Party is gratified to state that it is on the right road with its united labour front tactics, all the more so as the capitalists, as well as their parties, ideologists, professors and lawyers, have adopted towards it a negative attitude of extreme alarm.

In spite of its numerous foes, the united labour front will become a reality, because life itself makes it a virtual necessity.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 71
August 27, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 217–221
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After the setbacks and bitter disappointments experienced in the past, the well-known ideologists and advocates of class collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in our country are triumphant today and, with a feeling of rare self-satisfaction, want to show the world that the Communist proposal for a united front of labour confirms the rightness precisely of the tactics of class collaboration and may even cover up all the harm they have done to the interests of the masses through their partnership with the bourgeois parties.

A vain and rather rash triumph of superficial politicians who have evidently learned nothing new from life and have not forgotten their old favourite associations!

It is clear that the conclusions drawn by these gentlemen in this case are based on an inadmissible confusion and identification of the united front of labour proposed by the Communist Party with the tactics of class collaboration.

There can be no greater delusion than this, and no grosser distortion of the united front idea, because it should be stressed immediately – *the united front and class collaboration*, far from being identical, are, on the contrary, two tactics *profoundly opposed, quite incompatible* and *mutually exclusive*.

And indeed, the united front of labour means the joint work and struggle of the working masses and their political parties and economic organizations for definite concrete demands and aims, the realization of which is possible only *by combating* the bourgeoisie, capitalism and their parties, and not by *collaborating* with them.

On the other hand, class collaboration, even in its best

form, is nothing else but the subordination of the needs and interests of the masses to the class interests and aims as well as to the class policy of the bourgeoisie, in return for temporary and minor compensations for certain parties, groups or even individuals.

The united front of labour aims at pooling the efforts of the proletariat and of all the working people, groups and elements in present-day capitalist society in defence of their vital interests and rights, which happen to coincide at a given moment, against the capitalist bourgeoisie and its reaction, while class collaboration disorganizes the working people, undermines their parties and organizations, facilitates the bourgeoisie in its plans for exploitation and oppression, and buttresses its class rule over the great majority of the working people.

The united front of labour is created in the name of a concrete platform for guaranteeing bread, life, rights, liberties and the future of the working people, while class collaboration leads to using the masses as a bargaining counter for the achievement of interests and aims which are alien to them.

The united front of labour frees the broad masses from the political influence of and dependence upon the capitalist bourgeoisie, leads to the complete isolation of capital and its parties, thus paving the way for the final liberation of labour from the yoke of capitalism.

Class collaboration, on the other hand, subjects the masses to the capitalist bourgeoisie, consolidates its class positions, saves it from critical situations in which it may find itself at a given moment owing to the dissatisfaction of the majority of the people, so that it can then proceed with its policy of exploitations, spoliation and oppression with renewed vigour and greater brutality.

Class collaboration means under all circumstances the actual sell-out of the vital interests and the independence of the proletariat and of the poor urban and rural masses against a 'mess of pottage' for the aims of the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

Just as in other countries, class collaboration in Bulgaria incontestably proves that the coalition

governments of the bourgeois parties with the Social-Democratic Party or other petty bourgeois parties are *always* temporary governments *for the defence and salvation of the bourgeoisie* from popular movements threatening it at a given moment.

That is precisely how the bourgeoisie itself has always considered the Social-Democratic tactics of class collaboration, and it resorts to it only when and insofar as it finds itself in a tight spot and feels the need to divert and paralyze the popular movements directed against its policy of exploitation and oppression and against its class rule.

Once it succeeds in overcoming the difficulties and dangers and in getting back firmly on its feet, the bourgeoisie immediately dispenses with the collaboration of the Social-Democratic Party and, after having attained its ends, kicks it out of office without much ado.

Examples of this, both in our country and abroad, are so numerous and generally known that we need not cite them here.

The united front of labour, as proposed by the Communist Party, is the very reverse of the tactics of class collaboration, so assiduously pursued by the Social-Democratic Party, and has nothing in common either with electoral compromises or with government coalitions of the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democratic Party. What is more, the first conditions for the realization of the united front between the Communist Party and the other workers' or petty peasant parties and organizations is that the latter sever their ties with the bourgeoisie and its parties and reject all collaboration with them.

The united front of labour is based not on the idea of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie but on the *intransigence* of the working people towards the capitalist bourgeoisie and capitalism, which they show in their everyday life with regard to all big questions concerning bread, clothes and housing, taxes and reparations, political rights and freedoms, peace and war.

That is why the united front of labour, far from running counter to an uncompromising class struggle between

labour and capital, is actually one of the forms in which this struggle is conducted under the given circumstances.

The united front of labour against capital and its parties and not class collaboration with the bourgeoisie – that is today the supreme behest of the moment and of the vital interests of the working people. And precisely for the realization of the united front the first and inevitable condition is – *to reject resolutely the tactics of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and break up the government coalition with the Democratic Union and National-Liberal Party.*

Those who do not want to or cannot understand that, or do not find it in their interest to realize it, will undoubtedly remain opponents of the united front, will sabotage it and try to prevent its practical implementation.

It is precisely for that reason that the Social-Democratic Party finds itself today at a crossroads and goes through internal convulsions, because it has to make its choice between its former bourgeois tactics of class collaboration and the tactics of the united front of labour.

Some of the Social-Democratic Party leaders may find it very convenient to follow the tactics of collaboration with the bourgeois parties, of backstage bargaining for portfolios and deputy mandates and for exploiting the electoral dowry 'proportionately' in the forthcoming elections, as the Populist organ *Mir* cynically advises them. But for the Party members, who more than once have experienced the evils and shame of these tactics, it will not be too difficult to grasp the profound difference between the united front and class collaboration and to adopt the only salutary tactics of the united front of labour based on an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie.

When solving these questions, which are fateful to the working people, there is something stronger that the personal wishes, concepts and calculations of the leaders – *the needs and behest of the masses.*

Putting forward its proposal for a united front of labour and doing its best for its realization, the Communist Party

relies, above all, precisely on its great ally in this case – *dynamic, inexorable and incorruptible life.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 72
August 29, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 222–227
Published by the BCP, 1954

In its proposal to the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, explaining the necessity of a united front of the working masses, asks it, in case it too recognizes that necessity and is ready to accept in principle the proposal made, *to appoint its representatives for a meeting with the representatives of the Communist Party with a view to drawing up a detailed programme of joint action* (See the proposal published in *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, No 62, and *Narod*,[40] No. 186).

That was on August 16. Since then two weeks have already elapsed. The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party is still examining the communist proposal within the four walls of its office at sessions deliberately interrupted by intervals of several days, without having taken so far any decision and without having appointed its representatives for a meeting with the representatives of the Communist Party at which to draw up the already mentioned detailed programme of joint action.

At the same time, however, the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party is assiduously carrying on negotiations with the government on the distribution of portfolios, in case of a cabinet reshuffle, and of deputy mandates for the future Chamber, availing itself at these negotiations of the communist proposal for a united front and of its own protracted 'discussion' at the Central Committee.

The articles written by the Social-Democratic leaders Pastouhov, Sakuzov and Djidrov in the newspapers *Narod* and *Epoha*,[41] full of hazy riddles and vague hints, without

touching upon the question of a united front in its essence, evidently aim at exerting influence upon the backstage bargaining with the government by suggesting that if it does not take into consideration their claims, the Social-democratic Party may finally decide to accept the communist proposal for a united front.

The entire conduct of the Social-Democratic leaders in this case, expressed in clear and understandable language, means just this: 'either you give us one portfolio more by dropping the National Liberals from the cabinet and guaranteeing us the corresponding number of seats and other concessions and advantages as well, or else – *we shall side with the Communists.*'

The working masses, which are impatiently looking forward to the creation of a united front, are faced today with *an unworthy political speculation with the Communist Party proposal for a united front.*

Not the united front of the working masses in defence of their vital interests and rights, but quite different concerns now preoccupy the responsible Social-Democratic leaders who still pretend to have nothing against a united front and to care little about participating in the government together with the bourgeois parties.

The official organ of the Social-Democratic Party, *Narod,* which is making strenuous efforts to prepare its rank-and-file psychologically for a rejection of the communist proposal by means of an unscrupulous campaign of slanders, intrigues and instigations against the Communist Party, in connexion with the negotiations between the Social-Democratic represenatives and the government explicitly states in its issue of August 27:

'Here again we are touching upon the *cardinal issue.* The present government should make up its mind whether to go with the Social-Democrats or with the National Liberals. It should know that unless it gets rid of the National Liberals it cannot count on the support of the Social-Democrats. And we think, quite apart from all other considerations, that this is of importance also for the forthcoming congress of the Radicals and for the future participation both in the government and the Democratic Union.'

Let us leave aside the fact that you cannot find a single sober-minded member of the Social-Democratic Party

capable of understanding why the Social-Democrats should actually refuse to participate any longer in the government side by side with the National Liberals, when they are ready to go hand in hand, for instance, with the Populist bankers, speculators and tycoons, or the Democratic industrialists and merchants who, as is known, are neither less reactionary nor more conciliatory towards the interests and rights of the workers and working people, not with 'cleaner hands' than the National Liberals.

What matters in this case is that at the present moment when the working masses have to bear the intolerable burdens of the high cost of living and speculation, of poor housing conditions and oppressive taxes, when they smart under a regime which deprives them of political rights, a regime of violence and cruelty, inhuman verdicts and political murders, when their very existence, their rights and liberties, their life and future are at stake, and when in self-defence they strive for the creation of their own united front against capital, reaction and fascism – at this precise moment the *cardinal* issue for the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who are negotiating with the government, is to eliminate the National Liberals from the cabinet in order to get one more portfolio and facilitate their electoral combinations with the Democratic Union.

If the government were to decide to part with the National Liberals and if the cardinal issue of the Social-Democratic leaders were thus favourably solved, the Social-Democratic Party would then remain in the cabinet and would continue to 'collaborate' with the bourgeois-capitalist regrouping which is taking shape in the Democratic Union, finding itself in a *united front with capital, reaction and fascism, against the united front of the working masses.*

And when Pastouhov, in connexion with our articles on the united front, cries out hypocritically in *Epoha* of August 29: '... more to the point,' the Social-Democratic leaders, by their own behaviour, raise the big question before the workers, artisans and peasants, before the working people's majority within the Social-Democratic Party: not with whom the government will side (with the

Social-Democrats or the National Liberals), but which road their own party should embark upon – the road of backstage bargaining with the government and the representatives of bourgeois-capitalist coalition so as to obtain portfoils and deputy mandates, or the road of establishing a united front of labour through frank public discussion of the question concerned, adopting in principle the communist proposal, and through serious negotiations between the representatives of the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party with a view to working out the necessary concrete and detailed programme of joint action in defence of the working masses.

The present government has definitely decided *what course to take*. Only the politically naive people may not see it as yet.

It is now up to the workers, artisans and peasants, the working people inside the Social-Democratic Party who obviously feel the necessity of a united front, to decide.

It is their duty to save their party, to put an end to the shameful political speculation with the communist proposal, and to impose on their party an orientation along the road of the rapid realization of a united front of the working masses against the bourgeois-capitalist coalition.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 73
August 30, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 228–232
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Experiencing an irresistible feeling of indisposition and fear of the independent struggle of the working people, the Social-Democratic leaders are trying to replace the necessity of the united labour front by some *middle* front of theirs between *reaction on the right*, in the face of the National Liberals, and *reaction on the left*, as supposedly incarnated by the Communists.

Narod, in its issue of August 29, describes this front as follows:

> We shall not be won over as allies by *reaction, neither by that on the right, nor by that on the left.* At this moment we do not seek the happiness of our country in some offensive, whether of capital against labour, or of labour against capital... On the contrary, today we seek a *compromise between labour and capital, advantageous to both parties*, which will enable us to get out of the vortex of civil war and will make it possible for the productive forces of the economy to prosper by means of peaceful labour. In this way, new public wealth will be created and the general well being will be raised, providing a more favourable soil for socialism. *On this front we are ready to collaborate with all moderate currents of democracy which do not destroy, even in the name of lofty illusions, but build, though slowly.*

We leave aside the question of the inextricable confusion, to put it mildly, which this position represents in theory and its utter absurdity in the light of historical facts.

Much more important is the fact that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who pretend to represent an exploited and oppressed class in present-day society, come out against the united front of the working people in defence of their immediate and vital interests and rights

just so as to preserve for the future too their coalition with the Democratic Union – the new political bloc of the capitalist bourgeoisie in Bulgaria.

A united front with the *200,000 workers*, peasants and other working people, who march under the banner of the Communist Party, is *impossible*, because they represent 'reaction on the left', but it is, of course, quite possible with the capitalists, bankers and profiteers, with the usurpers of the rights, liberties and power of the working people, with the oppressors of the masses and the hangmen from the Democratic Union.

There *cannot be* and *must not be* an alliance with the biggest party of the working people majority, but there *can be* and *must be* with the party of the capitalist minority in order – as the *Narod* puts it – to get out 'of the vortex of civil war, to create new public wealth, to raise the general well-being and provide a more favourable soil for socialism.'

Not with the working people, who actually create all public wealth and are objectively the real bearers of socialism, but with the capitalists, bankers and profiteers who, in one form or another, appropriate the wealth created by the people – this is *their front*, the front of 'compromise between labour and capital, advantageous to both parties.'

Of course this front of the Social-Democratic leaders, which they, what irony, have the temerity to recommend *in the name of socialism* is nothing new. This is the well-known old front of coalition with bourgeois parties, always practised to the detriment of the interests and rights of the working people.

Is it necessary to delve into the past in order to recall 1908, for instance, when on the basis of this very front, the right-wing socialists paved the way for 'democracy' i. e., helped the Democratic Party to assume power, or 1919, when the bankrupt bourgeois parties had to be saved from being tried by a people's court for their countless crimes and for the wars and disasters the nation had suffered through their fault?

What the said front of 'compromise' between labour

and capital means in practice is revealed still more eloquently by the most recent facts.

In the light of these facts this is how the front of the Social-Democratic leaders actually looks:

– When the export of grain, cheese, eggs, tobacco and other products is organized and the working masses are subjected to still greater starvation for the sake of the fat profits of a few banks and two or three dozens of big exporters, the Social-Democratic Ministers remain unperturbed in their armchairs in the Council of Ministers, in the interests of... 'increasing public wealth, raising the general well-being and providing a more favourable soil for socialism.'

– When the 8-hour working day is abolished and labour legislation is trampled upon, the Social-Democratic Ministers keep wisely silent so that 'the productive forces of the national economy may prosper.'

– When indirect taxes are increased and the people are still more tax-ridden, the Social-Democratic Ministers postpone their party tax programme 'until a more propitious time' in order not to break up 'the compromise' between labour and capital.

– When the law on housing is circumvented or definitely suspended and the hands of the big real estate owners are united to exploit and terrorize the tenants, the Social-Democratic Ministers consider this as 'an inevitable evil' for the sake of preserving 'the advantageous compromise' between labour and capital.

– When the lands, given to the poor peasants, are again taken away from them and the Land Act is abrogated, the Social-Democratic Ministers *recognize* the right of inviolability of the private property of big landowners.

– When elections are held, not according to the proportional system but in virtue of the reactionary Agrarian law on elections, the Social-Democratic Ministers do not consider this *sufficiently important* to make the Social-Democratic Party abandon the great cause of 'compromise' between labour and capital.

– When, finally, violence, atrocities and political assassinations are committed against the working people

and their leaders, when inhuman, barbarous and completely unlawful sentences are passed on workers and peasants, on Communists and Agrarians, when meetings are banned and the newspapers of the working people's parties are confiscated, while conspirative, armed bourgeois organizations and fascist gangs are set up, etc., the Social-Democratic Ministers approve of this, present it as 'Communist exaggerations, fabrications and lies,' because 'the supreme interests of the nation' demand that 'reaction on the left' be crushed by all means of violence and arbitrariness.

At the same time the Government and its screen – the Social-Democratic Party, accompany and camouflage all this by blatant demagogic promises and gestures to the working people.

Indeed, it must be admitted, *a compromise between labour and capital, wonderfully advantageous to both sides* (that is, to the working masses, too!), where in the best of cases *capital gets the egg, and labour – the egg-shell.*

But is not this precisely 'the advantageous compromise' the country has been 'enjoying' for the past three months?

Can someone be found, even within the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party, naïve enough to believe that if the Social-Democrats were to have *two* or even *three* Ministers, in the cabinet of the bourgeois capitalist bloc, instead of one, their role would be different, when along with them there would be three times as many representatives of capital and the government would inevitably pursue a capitalist policy?

The front, which the Social-Democratic leaders recommend to their party for the future too, is nothing but *their present front, signifying* nothing else *but collaboration with, abetment and support of capital and reaction and an unqualifiable betrayal of the interests of the working people and socialism itself.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 75
September 1, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

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The Social-Democratic leaders want to pass off their participation in the government of the bourgeois coalition before their own Party and the masses as merely a matter of political and practical experience. This is how they formulate it: *Is it not better* for the working people, *is it not more in consonance with* their interests, to retain and strengthen the positions already won (their present participation in the cabinet with one minister) than to retreat and possibly to aggravate the conditions of the struggle?

'This point deserves today', says the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, 'the undivided attention of the workers' masses and their leaders. *The political and economic strengthening of the working people in their aspiration towards freedom and prosperity depend on a correct understanding of this point*' (our italics).

It goes without saying that what the Social-Democratic leaders mean by a correct understanding of this point is that their Party should continue its participation in the bourgeois coalition government, even at the risk of frustrating the united labour front, provided that the National Liberals drop out of the government.

Let us for the moment disregard the fact that the participation of workers' parties in a government headed by the bourgeoisie, far from being purely a matter of political and practical experience, is, on the contrary, one of the basic and crucial problems of class struggle and of the emancipatory proletarian movement, which has long been resolved – and in the negative – by Marxist theory, and has been sufficiently illustrated by the practice of the Social-Democratic parties themselves.

Let us assume for a moment that the point is really one of expedience only, a matter of *what is better* for the working masses at the present moment.

We are ready to admit at once that the participation of the Social–Democratic Party in the present government does secure certain privileges for it, for its leaders, for part of its intelligentsia, for individual persons and groups. More than this – the Social Democratic Minister of Communications could do a number of favours to railwaymen and postal workers close to him and his Party pertaining to their official status, he could also obtain some minor concessions concerning labour in general, which in the eyes of the ruling bourgeoisie would have to play the role of a *lightning rod*, deflecting from it the blows of the people's dissatisfaction, or they would have to serve as a guise of the capitalist policy of exploitation, plunder and bourgeois dictatorship.

It is, however, obvious that we are not concerned with privileges of this sort here. They might be of the utmost interests to K.Pastouhov and his colleagues who strive for a successful political career precisely in this field, but for the masses, even for those in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party, they are worth no more than, say, counterfeit revenue stamps.

'We are concerned in this case with real gains as regards the political and economic strengthening of the working people and their aspiration towards freedom and prosperity,' as the Social-Democratic Central Committee has chosen to put it.

Well then, it is precisely here that the following preliminary and elucidating questions arise: who does not know that the Social-Democratic Party was asked to participate in the present government not because it represents a major political force, whether numerically or in its influence on the masses, not because it has a considerable staff of intellectuals, but only because, on June 9 and thereafter, it has been necessary to the bourgeoisie as a window-dressing for its forcefully imposed government to deceive the masses as to its essentially capitalist policy, to prevent a rallying of the masses (to the very last of their

organized forces), to split and weaken them still further, so as to be able the easier to harness them to the yoke of its policy of exploitation and oppression?

Don't the workers, peasants, craftsmen and honest intellectuals of the Social-Democratic Party realize that this is precisely what the bourgeoisie expects of the Social-Democrats' participation in the present coalition government?

Is this not what they read every day in and between the lines of the influential bourgeois newspapers such as *Slovo, Mir* and *Pryaporets?*

Do they not ask themselves why the government has been postponing the parliamentary elections for three full months now, and why it does not dare to fix a date for them before it has finally secured *the all-out support* of the Social-Democrats and Radicals in the election campaign against the masses?

On the other hand, the major problems that vitally concern the existence and the future of the masses, the problems of subsistence, cost of living and speculation, housing shortage and tax burden, of political rights and liberties, of peace and relations with other countries, these problems have never been and cannot be solved for the good of the masses through bargainings in Ministerial offices and parliament lobbies.

Is it possible that the Social-Democratic leaders should be unaware of the old political and historic truth that the solution of these big problems has always been and still is the result primarily of the real balance of the main social forces locked in conflict – the proletariat and the other working people, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other, that the extent of the *pressure* which the masses are in a position to exert determines the magnitude of the concessions that the bourgeoisie is forced to make in this respect?

But precisely by participating in the bourgeois coalition government, by sharing the responsibility for its anti-popular policy and by deceiving the masses as to its real nature, the Social-Democratic Party puts up a *great obstacle* to the rallying of all working people and to the political

manifestation of their united force, tends to introduce disorganization, dissensions and discord in their midst, to weaken and paralyze their struggle, to reduce their pressure on the capitalists, bankers, merchants and speculators – and thereby directly and indirectly, to increase the forces, strengthen the positions and prolong the domination of the capitalist minority in the country.

The upshot of it all is, instead of a 'political and economic strengthening of the working people in their aspiration towards freedom and prosperity,' *a political and economic strengthening of the bourgeoisie*, with the aid of the Social-Democratic Party, for an intensified exploitation of and greater tyranny over the working people.

But there is even more to it. The question is not put point-blank: who should be in power – the *capitalist minority* which appropriates the public wealth, or the *working people's majority* which creates the public wealth.

And now, when this *most important of problems for the people and the country* is to be solved, the participation of the Social-Democratic Party in the bourgeois coalition government, its commitment to the bourgeoisie, to its policy and its regime, *blocks* the way of the masses, to the establishment of their own power as a majority of the people, to the *winning of their foremost and strongest position – a workers' and peasants' government* – and *assists* the consolidation of the *usurpers' power* of the capitalist minority, as well as its parliamentary legalization through the coercive and bogus legislative elections that are now being prepared.

Is it not therefore obvious to every unbiased worker, craftsman and peasant, to every honest Socialist, that in this case there are only two roads open –either with the working people's majority and hence a united labour front, as proposed by the Communist Party, or with the capitalist minority, and hence preserving the Social-Democratic Party's participation in the bourgeois coalition and its government?

In the former case the Social-Democratic Party would be doing its duty as a political organization of a part of the working people, in the latter – it would have to play the unenviable role of the 'wise' animal, which has been in-

vited to the wedding feast to carry firewood and water to the bourgeois guests, thus betraying not only the working people, but also its own working rank and file, as well as socialism itself, in the name of which it claims to exist as a separate political party.

What is more expedient, *what is better for the masses* – here is indeed the crux of the matter which the Social-Democratic leaders on their part raise as a *central* question in their discussions of the united front.

Can there be, however, any other right answer to this question but this – *a break with the bourgeois coalition, with kowtowing to the bourgeoisie and, by means of the united labour front, to move towards a workers' and peasants' government, towards a real 'political and economic strengthening of the working people in its aspiration towards freedom and prosperity'?*

And this answer suggests itself precisely because it is not the personal convenience and the political career of the Social-Democratic leaders that are at stake, but the interests, the rights and the future of the three quarters of the whole Bulgarian people.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 78
September 5, 1923
Signed by: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 243–248
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This is the meaning of the campaign the reactionary bourgeois press has lately launched, in order to outlaw the Communist Party and to bar it from participation in the future parliament.

One of the most zealous apostles of this obscurantist cause is the 'Sower' from the populist newspaper *Mir* who, for all his bold challenge of 'declining Communism' and his matchless cheek and impudence has been afraid – like his worthy colleague the 'Ploughman' from the priests' paper *Pravda* – to come out openly with his name before the people whom he is out to save from the terrible Communist peril. The sly hypocrite knows well that 'life is a wheel' and has not the courage to sign his name and thus publicly to assume the responsibility for the *storms* which he is so zealously *sowing*.

This valiant and patriotic 'Sower' is the one who voices the great impatience that has gripped the bankers' and speculators' circles. On their behalf and on his own, he demands that the Communist Party be outlawed *at once, right now*, so that it might not be able to take part in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, because supposedly, unless this is done now, it will *never* be accomplished.

'Communism in Bulgaria has to be stamped out precisely at the present moment...' says the 'Sower' (*Mir* of September 7, this year). *'If the present opportunity is missed, this will be an unforgivable mistake that may cost us dear' (our italics).*

And he concludes:

'Bulgarian democracy must defend itself so as not to perish ... but for this, it is necessary to proclaim that ... Communists are not worthy and have no right to be in parliament' (our italics).

Faithful to his Byzantine hypocrisy, the 'Sower' begins his instigating article with the following statement:

When we insist that Communists should not be admitted to parliament, we are prompted, not by a feeling of hate, to which we are quite alien, but by supreme state and public interests (our italics).

Thus, in order to preserve 'the supreme state and public interests' and to save itself from perishing, 'Bulgarian democracy' must *instantly* proclaim that Communists (as well as Agrarians, of whom the 'Sower' obviously thinks that this is already done) 'are not worthy and have no right to be in Parliament.'

'The supreme state and public interests' and the interests of 'Bulgarian democracy' therefore demand that three quarters of the Bulgarian people should be deprived of their political and electoral rights, that *more than 700,000* voters – workers, petty peasants and craftsmen, civil servants and other working people – should be barred from participation in the elections and from parliament.

But is there today a person politically so naïve as to fail to realize that the 'supreme state and public interests' referred to are nothing else but the utterly selfish interests of plunderers and oppressors – of the capitalists and bankers, the merchants and speculators, the contractors and real estate owners and landowners, and that this 'Bulgarian democracy', with the destiny of which the 'Sower' is concerned, is in fact the bourgeois-fascist reaction now raising its ugly head in Bulgaria?

It is precisely the interests of this capitalist minority, which usurped the popular power through the coup d'état of June 9, and which is well aware that, *in case of regular parliamentary elections, it would be cast off by the genuine popular will like a rag,* that today demand the forming of a 'parliament' without the participation of the working people's majority in it – against the latter's will, against the people's freedom and independence and against the social development of the country.

But do the bankrupt bourgeois politicians, who have lost their heads for fear of the masses, fully *realize* what the consequences of this might be?

For what does it mean actually for the two largest political organizations of the people – the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union – not to be admitted to parliament?

If you close the doors of parliament to three-quarters of the Bulgarian electorate, you get, not a parliament in the sense of bourgeois democracy, but a gathering of representatives of capitalists, bankers, merchants, speculators, contractors, big landowners and real estate owners, or merely a political assembly of the leaders of the Democratic Union and the National-Liberal Party.

What will then remain of the *validity*, the authority and the binding force of the decisions of such a 'parliament'?

If the bourgeois parliament today still enables the bourgeoisie, although it is a minority, to govern and rule, it is precisely because the *fiction of the popular* character of parliament still exists and, on the other hand, because the parliamentary system of government creates a *minimum* of conditions for carrying on the class struggle.

Do away with this *fiction*, eliminate this *minimum* of conditions for a more or less free class struggle by not admitting the popular parties to parliament, deprive the working people of the opportunity to elect the representatives whom they want and whom alone they trust – and your ill-starred 'parliament' will remain suspended in the air together with the entire bourgeois government. Doing this, you will cut the *branch* onto which you are holding and plunge headlong into the abyss you are digging for your opponents.

The ancient Greeks said, 'Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first deprive of his reason.'

There is every reason to believe that the demented leaders of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie are now in a similar position. History, which has doomed their class to perish, strikes at their reason first.

Trying to save the usurping power of the bourgeoisie with remedies prescribed during the dark Middle Ages, the bourgeois reactionaries remind one of the insane man who tried to stop with his hands the torrent rushing down the

mountain side with elemental force and who was finally carried off by it himself.

And indeed, at the present 'most opportune moment' for turning the Communists out of parliament and for the stamping out of Communism, no one is in a position to *accelerate* so much and make so disastrous the downfall of the usurping bourgeois power, as are the bourgeois reactionaries themselves, the sundry 'Sowers' and 'Ploughmen' from the Populist *Mir*, the priests *Pravda* and the other bourgeois editorial offices, who in their insanity and despair advise the bourgeoisie to *finally* abandon the ground of its constitution, of its own parliamentarism and legality.

Were it not for our concern to spare the people and the country the terrors of a civil war, the brand of which the bourgeois reactionaries are so recklessly flourishing, we might quite calmly have wished them good luck!

Peoples have never perished, not even under the regimes of greatest tyranny. The Bulgarian working people will also find a way of defending themselves against the usurpers and oppressors and of finally becoming the complete masters of their own destiny.

Woe be, however, to the bourgeoisie for whom the great book of history is sealed with nine seals.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 82
September 10, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov Works, Vol. 7, pp. 259–263
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OPEN LETTER TO THE BULGARIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Dear comrades, after the great revolutionary struggle which, for the time being, failed to bring liberty to the masses, we were compelled, like many other fighters, to leave you in order to continue the struggle for the great cause of our people. Although temporarily separated from you by distance, we feel that, in view of the role which we were called upon to play in this struggle, we ought to address this open letter to you.

Our first words to you are:

Heads up! The bloody vengeance taken by the White-guard mob in its fear of being deprived of power will not succeed in crushing the fighting spirit of toiling Bulgaria. Defeat will teach us how to win. In spite of all, Bulgaria will yet have a government of workers and peasants.

The very parties of the capitalists and landlords, ever clamouring for 'law and order,' staged an *armed coup d'état* on June 9, thus *starting a civil war*. The events of September represent only an *important episode* in this civil war and can have no other outcome than the *final victory of the toiling masses* over their bloody oppressors, exploiters and plunderers.

The toiling peasants and workers in Bulgaria were united in two large political organizations for the defence of their vital interests: the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The White-guard government made use of its relatively easy victory of June 9 to deal a heavy blow to the Agrarian Union. Its notables in towns and villages were all arrested, a large number of them were treacherously and fiendishly murdered, thousands of workers and peasants, treated as insurgents, were subjected to cruel beating, thrown into

prison, and delivered to the courts of class-revenge. The very Agrarian Union, the numerically largest political party in Bulgaria, was dissolved, its journals were banned and it was legally barred from engaging in any political activities.

Considering the menace of the Agrarian Union as no longer extant, the government of generals and bankers turned its attention to the other mass organization of the working people – *the Bulgarian Communist Party*. On the very morrow of June 9 it arrested a large number of Communists for their active opposition to the coup d'état and subjected them to even greater torments than those endured by the Agrarians. The government used its officer leagues and conspiratorial gangs to hold these Communists in a continuous state of terror. It is a well-known fact that, on a certain evening in Turnovo, all Communists were seized by the police and carried off to the military barracks, to be beaten to death by disguised officers. Another equally well-known fact is the assault of the fascist gang in Berkovitsa and the acts of terror which it perpetrated upon the Communist population of the town and county during a whole week and under the patronage of the government. A large number of similar assaults are known to have taken place in other towns and villages. The entire toiling population, unwilling to recognize the new self-established government, lived in a continuous state of terror, intimidation and coercion. No village could be sure of peace, no worker or peasant was certain of his life.

At the same time the agents of the greedy and plunderous bourgeoisie, who had misused the state power to suit their rapacious purposes, also exerted themselves to the full. *The large landowners engaged in a campaign to regain the land which had been expropriated. The large real estate owners raised a hue* and cry, reclaiming the liberty to skin the poor lodgers to the bone. The big profiteers and exporters laid hands on the available bank deposits, so as better to rob the workers and the poor peasants. The exploitation of hired labour also became more ruthless than ever. In short, the urban capitalists and the large peasant-landowners became the undisputed masters of the

country. All this tended to intensify the opposition of the working people against the new regime. On the other hand, the broad masses were especially dissatisfied with the foreign policy of the government, formed by the *same old nationalist parties and war-like elements which had thrust the people into two military catastrophes.* The incessant conflicts with Soviet Russia and the neighbouring states kept the people in a state of constant alarm lest *Bulgaria be involved at any moment in a new and even more disastrous war.*

In these conditions the bourgeoisie, rallied around the new regime, had to 'legalize' its status through a general election. But it could entertain *no hopes* of winning over the confidence of the people, so long as the Communist Party stood firmly on guard, bravely defending the rights and interests of entire toiling Bulgaria. The menace of the Communist Party was now even greater since, after proclaiming a united front of the working people from town and village alike, it extended a brotherly hand to the Agrarians and helped them to restore their shattered organizations, thus giving concrete expression to the alliance between the urban proletariat and the toiling peasants. Indeed, the common interests and the general distress of the urban and rural masses *actually cemented the nation-wide alliance between the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party.* The government of bankers, generals and professors then decided to provoke the Communist Party and to settle accounts with it, as it had already done with the Agrarian Union. To this end the government trumped up the charge that the Communist Party intended to carry out a coup d'état on September 16, and, on the pretext of forestalling it, *mass arrests* of Communists were made on September 12

We, who occupy responsible and leading posts in the Bulgarian Communist Party at the present historic moment declare *that the Communist Party had not organized any general or partial armed action against the government on September 16 or 17, or any other later date.* On the contrary, the Communist Party was assiduously getting ready for the electoral campaign, because it was a well-known fact that in free elections the majority of the working people in the country headed by the Agrarian Union and the Com-

munist Party, would surely defeat the usurper government and establish a worker-peasant rule of their own. The government which seized all Party archives could find no proof of such a decision and will never find such proofs unless it trumps them up, because they do not exist. But it needed the pretext to square its accounts with the Communist Party and it found it in a concocted accusation, without considering the horrible consequences which its provocation could have for the whole nation.

This aggression against the Communist Party, involving the arrest of thousands of its members in town and countryside, the closing down of the workers' clubs, trade unions and co-operative societies, the confiscation of their archives, the banning of the whole Communist and workers' press, and the prohibition of all Communist agitation and of all movements of Communists and workers in the countryside, exhausted all patience. *It was clear that the government would not permit any legal struggle. Not only the Communists, but the broad masses, too, felt their rights encroached upon and jeopardized.* Many Communists in the countryside, threatened with arrest and torture, fled to the mountains, followed by a mass of sympathizers. The Whiteguard government unceremoniously proclaimed them bandits and sent troops to pursue and exterminate them.

The Communist Party retaliated by declaring *a 24-hour mass strike of protest in the towns and by organizing mass meetings of protest throughout the country.* The government however, mobilized all its forces to stifle this protest. Its brutal actions provoked bloody incidents in Sofia and certain other localities. The widespread and unprecedented terror which reigned in Bulgaria led to the further intensification of the general discontent and to the repeated occurence of bloody collisions, until the latter gradually assumed the character of a people's uprising against the raging government which had declared war upon the entire working population...

At this critical juncture, when the government smothered all possibility for legal struggle and *the masses rose spontaneously in many places,* the Communist Party faced a test: *to let the masses rise alone and be beaten separately, or to*

side with them and try to generalize the movement, to unify it and to give it political and organizational leadership. The Communist Party, fully conscious of what hardships such a struggle and what difficulties such organization would involve, *as a party of the toiling masses,* could have no other choice but to embrace the cause of the people and, notwithstanding the extremely unfavourable conditions, to give the signal for common nation-wide action with the Agrarian Union on September 23.

What was the watchword of the uprising? Everybody knows that it stood for the overthrow of the present self-imposed, coercive government of usurpers and its replacement by a government of workers and peasants.

The aim of the struggle was not to set up a dictatorship or to establish a Soviet regime in Bulgaria, as the present government maintains with wile, but to abolish the raging military dictatorship and to form a broad democratic government from the midst of the great majority of the Bulgarian people, the toiling masses. And nowhere in the course of the struggle did the insurgents establish a Soviet regime in the districts where they had taken over local power, as the government consistently misleads. Only general revolutionary committees of the worker-peasant government were set up.

The watchword issued by the Communist Party was taken up by the masses, which followed its lead, as well as by the peasants, adhering to the Agrarian Union, and by the entire toiling population. The masses rose as one man to secure their political liberties, to safeguard their vital interests and to establish a government of their own.

The revolutionary struggle of September represented, in the real sense of the term, a *general movement of the people* with all its characteristic features. The people, striving for the realization of a lofty ideal, *never resorted to pillage, vandalism or acts of personal revenge.* The banks were strictly guarded, property was duly protected, the few enemies of the people here and there were rendered harmless, being held in arrest – but nowhere were they maltreated or killed, not a single hair fell from anybody's head. *It is a calumny that extraordinary committees had been put up and that death sentences had been pronounced.* The prisoners were kept

safe, the wounded of both sides were conscientiously tended, even the lives of the captured members of the Wrangel gangs hurled by the government against the people in revolt, were magnanimously spared.

After an epic struggle which lasted nearly a fortnight, the people's uprising was crushed by the government, which was amply provided with artillery and machine-guns and had managed to mobilize numerous bands of reserve or non-commissioned officers and thousands of Wrangelite counter-revolutionaries, while the armament at the disposal of the insurgents was woefully inadequate.

Having mastered the situation, the panic-stricken bourgeoisie gave vent to its terrible wrath and enmity against the working people who had ventured to shake the foundations of its domination.

Before our own eyes the infuriated gangs of the bourgeoisie commenced an orgy of wholesale extermination of the insurgents. They did not even pity the wounded or non-combatants, the women and the children. They did not even spare the villages and the property of the working people in the districts in revolt.

However, it is not our intention to dwell on the bloody reprisals of the now triumphant mob of White-guards – you, who groan under it, are more familiar with its outrages. These reprisals will be cruel, barbarous, fiendish, and will surpass in horror the atrocities committed by the White-guards in all other countries. They will thereby dig still deeper a *bloody furrow* between the class of oppressors and exploiters, on the one hand, and the working people, on the other.

And never, never again will there be peace between them.

Only the overthrow of the bloody monarchist government of bankers and generals and the establishment of a government of workers and peasants will give atonement and bring appeasement to the people and the country.

Dear comrades, we all fought together in the great cause of the people. We are now defeated, but the struggle continues and the final victory is nearer than the enemy suspects. The Bulgarian working people will never come to terms with the White-guard regime of an insignificant, rapacious and coercive minority – whatever high-sounding

phrases it may adorn itself with and whatever 'democratic' reforms it may pretend to introduce. We will benefit from the lesson of our defeat and tomorrow we shall be stronger than yesterday, while our enemies will continue to lose ground.

Imbued with unwavering faith in our cause, which is *a sacred cause of the people*, we, all the working people, will heroically stand the pains and sufferings of defeat and with redoubled energy and greater enthusiasm, will rededicate ourselves, to the service of the people's cause, never resting till victory is achieved.

We will again gather together and dress our thinned and shattered ranks. We will quickly heal the wounds inflicted by the enemy.

With common efforts and sacrifices we will help the widows and orphans as well as the families, now fallen in distress, of the comrades who were compelled to seek refuge abroad.

We will not waste our forces in isolated acts of terrorism, being convinced that victory can be attained only through the organized struggle of the working people, and that the overthrow of the White-guard government and the final victory of the worker-peasant government will constitute the most cruel revenge on the gaolers of the people.

We will particularly cherish and strengthen the *alliance of all the working people in towns and villages* – an alliance sealed during the events of September by the blood shed in common by the many thousand combatants who gave their lives for the cause of the people.

Let us not fall into dejection, despair and pessimism.
Heads up, brave combatants!
Long live the worker-peasant government!
Long live toiling Bulgaria!

October, 1923

Vassil Kolarov
Georgi Dimitrov

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 1
October 27, 1923

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The September Uprising of the toiling masses in Bulgaria was suppressed with fire and sword and drowned in blood. The people who had risen in fight against the bourgeois-fascist rule of usurpers and intruders, for a workers' and peasants' government, were temporarily defeated, mainly because they were not quick enough to concentrate their forces and because they were compelled to wage their armed struggle practically bare-handed, while Tsankov's government, which had gathered around itself all dark anti-popular elements from inside and outside the country – from the bankers and profiteers to counter-revolutionary generals and professors, from Wrangelists and venal members of the Macedonian organization to the base careerists of the Right-Wing Socialist Party – had the entire armament of the country at its disposal.

Five thousand Communists, Agrarians and valiant sons of the people – savagely killed, 15,000 workers, peasants, teachers, priests and other intelligent servants of the people – arrested, inhumanly maltreated and maimed; thousands of families – ruined and plunged in distress, masses of women and girls – subjected to dreadful outrages; many towns and villages – devastated: the whole country – from Bourgas and Stara Zagora to Ferdinand and Berkovitsa – bathed in blood and tears: indescribable outrages and atrocities the like of which the Bulgarian people had not experienced even during the five centuries of Ottoman bondage – this is the short but terrible and disgraceful balance of the barbarous revenge of the raging ruling clique of bankers and profiteers, military and monarchists in Bulgaria!

The suppression of the uprising, however, as well as the atrocities perpetrated and the mass slaughtering of the most advanced and active part of the Bulgarian people,

have failed to strengthen the position of the usurpers' and oppressors' government, nor have they helped to *either solve or eliminate* the political crisis in the country.

On the contrary. As a result of the September bloodshed, the position of Tsankov's government has been all the more shaken under the immense weight of the moral defeat his terrorist and anti-popular policy has suffered. The cart of his 'democratic union', undermined by internal dissensions and factious rivalries, is now more than ever creaking. The Social-Democratic Party, which serves to conceal this government's shameful nakedness, is rent by a sharp and painful crisis. The electoral diversion resorted to by the government, which keeps the country under a regime of martial law and ruthless terror, only testifies to the complete elimination of the very last semblances of bourgeois parliamentarism and to the final establishment of an undisguised military-fascist dictatorship, *incapable of coping with its internal contradictions and with the most vital problems of the existence, freedom, peace and independence of the people and the country.*

At the same time, the internal situation of the country, which followed the uprising, is insupportable and cannot go on for long. Bulgaria has been turned into a fief of a handful of bankers, profiteers and exporters, and a *barbarous dungeon* where the best part of the people has been imprisoned and the doors of which are gaping wide to swallow up new hundreds and thousands of the nation's most faithful sons.

Entire regions of the country have been turned into cemeteries and burnt to ashes by the raging fascist authorities. There is absolutely no security not only for the freedom, but also for the honour, property and life of all who oppose the ruling military and monarchic clique of bankers and speculators. Political assassination is methodically practised all over the country. Its victims now are not only Communists and Agrarians, but also bourgeois opponents of the arrogant rulers, as was the case with the recent political assassination of Dr. Genadiev.[42] *The heavy bloody paw of raging reaction has gripped the whole economic, social and political life of the nation.*

The postwar economic crisis weighing on Bulgaria has naturally become sharper and more painful for the working majority of the people and for the country under this regime of personal, civil and political insecurity. No one can seriously contemplate a picking up of production and a growth of the productive forces, while the living factor of economic life – the workers and peasants and all the working people – is exposed to ruthless extermination and ruin; while, owing to the outrages and killings perpetrated upon the masses and to the savage terror they are still subjected to, their will for intensive and productive labour has been poisoned; when thousands upon thousands of working forces, instead of being in the factories, workshops and fields, have been thrust into prisons and driven away to mountains or abroad; while the national economy has been deprived of large masses of until recently able-bodied men, owing to the mass murders, maltreatments and maimings; and while hundreds of villages have been devastated, pillaged, and left without food, seeds, working animals and implements.

Only speculation in prime necessities, the bankers' and exploiters' monopoly, and the barefaced spoliation of the workers' masses and of the small producers in town and village can prosper in the dark villainous times that have descended upon the country.

And the results of all this are at hand. At the very moment when the grain is bought from the peasants at extortionist low prices, the price of bread for the urban and rural consumer is constantly going up. The cost of living is soaring. The exploitation of labour is being intensified by cutting down wages and arbitrarily lengthening the working day. The tax burden is to be again increased. *Profiteers, capitalists and landlords are raging! The life of the workers, peasants, craftsmen, civil servants and of the working intelligentsia is becoming unbearable, worse than it has ever been in Bulgaria.*

As for Bulgaria's international status, it is also most uncertain and may become the source of dangerous surprises for the Bulgarian people. After the masses and their two parties (the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union)

have been barred from *overt participation* in the nation's political life, the latter has not only become the prey of the ruling bankers and profiteers and military-monarchic adventurers, but it is also turning into a *helpless tool* of the Western imperialists and of the well-known conquerors of the Balkans. Tsankov's government, which opposed the masses with cannons and machine-guns, and by means of the September bloodshed dug a deep and impassable gulf between itself and the people, and which has only a handful of bourgeois fascists and the Wrangel and Macedonian bands to rely on within the country, is turning into a pitiful pawn of those very imperialists and conquerors and, in order to be able to keep the power against the people's will, will have to kowtow to them, satisfying all their wishes and whims.

It is no accident that precisely at the moment when the bloodshed by the people has not yet dried, when the governmental grave-diggers have not yet managed to bury the dead bodies of those massacred by White-guard bands, and when the foreign minister is returning from his long tour of European capitals, triumphantly declaring that all Europe now has complete confidence in Bulgaria as a country that has successfully coped with 'bolshevism' at home – *at this very moment the chief reparation committee has decided that Bulgaria should pay an immense sum, amounting to more than 1,000 million leva, to meet the expense of occupation, which has not been provided for either in the peace treaty or in the agreement on reparation payments and in order to impose the paying of these expenses, the committee has confiscated the last Bulgarian instalment against the reparation debt.*

In vain does the government press complain that this is a punishment the Bulgarian government has not deserved. Not so, gentlemen! The measure taken by the reparation committee *is a natural consequence of the bloody crushing of the people's movement.* It is a clear indication of what the Bulgarian people have yet to expect at the hands of the Western imperialists, while they are under the bloody regime of the present usurpers' government. The foreign conquerors know well that, after the temporary triumph of fascist reaction in Bulgaria, they can freely impose

anything upon the country and the people, through their *obedient servants* ironically bearing the name of *Bulgarian government!*

This is to say that the military and monarchic clique of bankers and profiteers, avid for wealth and power, has landed the country in a *blind alley* and has brought the Bulgarian people to the brink of the *abyss* of internal ruin and external economic and political enslavement.

The way out of this *blind alley* and the salvation from the *gaping abyss* lie in the immediate liberation of the country and people from the reactionary and bloody gang of plunderers of the people and adventurers now in power, and in *the establishment of a government of the working masses.*

Thus the problem of power – *who is to be the master of the country, the working majority of the people or the capitalist minority of exploiters* – remains as *pressing* now as it was on June 9, and at the time of the September Uprising, and it calls today for a rapid solution.

In spite of the numerous precious victims from its midst, in spite of the rivers of blood, the Bulgarian working people, using to best advantage the valuable lessons from their temporary defeat in September, united in a strong and indissoluble fraternal alliance of workers, peasants and all the working people, will find the strength to resolve the great task that life and history have set them – *they will finally establish a workers' and peasants' government in Bulgaria!*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 2
November 7, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 277–282
Published by the BCP, 1954

TWO APPEALS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The following two appeals were sent to the respective international organizations and have already been published in the Communist, Socialist, Agrarian and other European and Balkan workers' press, sympathizing with the popular uprising in Bulgaria.

To the Secretariat of the International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam

To the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow

Dear Comrades,

The usurping government which was set up in Bulgaria through the coup d'état of June 9, to consolidate its power, has launched a monstrous reactionary campaign against all the working people and particularly against the workers' movement in our country.

This campaign reached its climax when, on September 12, on the false pretext that the Communists planned to stage a coup d'état on September 17, the government arrested more than 2,000 labour militants, workers and peasants, and tried to arrest as many others, who managed to hide as soon as the arrests started; when it closed down the workers' clubs, disbanded the workers' organizations, and supressed the workers' press.

The 24-hour strike of protest called on this occasion was drowned in blood by the authorities. No less brutally did they treat the meetings of protest.

All avenues for legal struggle and self-defence of the workers' masses were blocked and brutal violence was rife throughout the country, in town and village.

This is what precipitated and made inevitable the

September Uprising of the working people against the usurping and oppressive government, and for the establishment of a genuinely popular government of workers and peasants in Bulgaria.

In spite of the insurgents' rare unity of purpose and unusual enthusiasm, in spite of their unparalleled readiness to fight for their freedom to the last, they were routed by the government gangs, mainly because of a shortage of arms, while the government had plenty of artillery and machine-guns at its disposal and made use of the ten thousand Russian Wrangelite officers and soldiers on Bulgarian soil, and of part of the Macedonian armed organization.

After smashing the people's uprising in this manner, the government is now wreaking barbarous vengeance on the unarmed population. The prisons are packed with nearly 15,000 workers and peasants. The people arrested are subjected to the most savage maltreatment. Some of them are being shot without trial or sentence. The families of many of the insurgents are being murdered. Even old men, women and children are not spared. Whole villages are bombarded and set on fire. The population which has fled to the mountains to save itself from the raging governmental gangs is being shelled and machine-gunned. All railwaymen and other workers and civil servants, members of our trade unions, are being dismissed and interned in the interior of the country, where they are doomed to starve together with their families.

The monstrous atrocities and crimes perpetrated by the government of bankers and generals defy description. And in order to justify in some way these atrocities and crimes, the government is now spreading the most fantastic tales about outrages, pillages and killings having been committed by the rebelling people, while the truth is that the revolutionary authorities nowhere committed any atrocities, pillages or killings, nor did they take personal vengeance on their enemies. Not a hair was touched of the few arrested enemies of the uprising and government representatives; the banks and state properties, as well as all other properties, were scrupulously guarded and even the life of the captive Wrangelite officers was

magnanimously spared, as the people fighting for their freedom did not want their sacred cause to be stained in any way.

On behalf of the entire Bulgarian proletariat and of the thousands of victims of the ruling butchers, we address to the International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union International in Moscow, and to all the affiliated trade union organizations in Great Britain and France, Germany and Austria, in Belgium, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, in the Scandinavian countries and Russia, in Yugoslavia, Greece and Romania, as well as in all other countries, an earnest and insistent appeal to raise their voice of protest against the unheard-of vandalism of the Bulgarian White-guard and fascist government and to lend all possible aid to the Bulgarian proletariat in these trying times, as well as to the thousands of rebelling workers and peasants, who have taken refuge in Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece and Turkey.

We are confident that all trade unions, irrespective of their political tendencies, will not be slow to show their international proletarian solidarity to their Bulgarian brothers, who are now living through the horrors of a most savage white terror, by immediately rendering them their material and moral aid.

Relying on this valuable support, the Bulgarian proletariat will be able the easier to bear the heavy blows of the raging bourgeoisie, the sooner to heal the wounds of its defeat, to stand up again firmly on its feet and to shorten the difficult road to its final triumph over reaction and capitalism.

October 5,1923

Secretary of the General Trade Union in Bulgaria

G. Dimitrov

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 3
November 11, 1923

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TO THE WORKING MASSES THE WORLD OVER, TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN THE BALKAN STATES

After the temporary crushing of the people's uprising in Bulgaria against the military-monarchist and banking clique which holds the reins of power, a large number of revolutionaries, workers and peasants, persecuted by the bloody vengeance of the brutal gangs of White-guards, has been forced to seek asylum in the neighbouring countries.

In Yugoslavia there are about 1,000 refugees already and their number is constantly growing. Even larger numbers have passed into Turkish and Greek territory, some have probably managed to penetrate into Romania and other more distant lands.

The escaped revolutionaries, who do not feel defeated since the cause of the working people in whose defense they rose in arms can never be defeated, and who are planning to go on serving the same cause from abroad, are exposed to two great dangers, well-known to every fighter for liberty, for the elimination of which dangers they rely on their brethren in fate and ideals – the workers and peasants of other countries, and primarily of the neighbouring Balkan states.

The first and gravest danger arises from the international solidarity of the ruling classes. When the bourgeoisie is faced by rising masses of workers, it spits on the principles of international law, forgets its centuries-old liberal traditions and becomes an accomplice of the bloodthirsty butchers of the people. Aren't the Bulgarian emigrants, too, threatened by the terrible danger of being handed over to their hangmen?

For the time being the Yugoslav Government is showing hospitality and tolerance to the Bulgarian revolutionaries who have fled to Serbia. But is there any

guarantee that this attitude will be maintained and not altered in exchange for certain concessions on the part of Tsankov's government?

We have no information as yet as to how the Bulgarian refugees are received in Turkey and Greece, but as far as the Romanian Government is concerned we know that it has closed its frontiers to the Bulgarian revolutionaries. But if some of them have managed to enter Romanian territory in spite of the ban, do they not stand in daily peril of their lives?

The right to asylum abroad (le droit d'asile), consecrated not only by the laws but also by the traditions of all civilized nations, can only be safeguarded for the Bulgarian revolutionaries if the working masses of other countries take them under their protection. In addressing a heartfelt appeal to them for their fraternal aid and protection, the Bulgarian emigrants rely on being backed, in this heavy hour of trial, by the public conscience in the person of the workers' and democratic organizations all over the world.

But their appeal goes further than that. The civilized world ought to know that power in Bulgaria is in the hands of a government of White-guards and fascists, who have stained their hands with the blood of countless victims and whose lust for revenge will not leave their enemies alone even beyond the confines of the country. After June the Ninth they basely assassinated Stamboliiski and a number of other Agrarian leaders who were in prison; they murdered Halachev, the Communist leader in Pleven, most brutally and then cynically condemned his corpse to death; they sent hired assassins abroad to kill the escaped Agrarian leaders; this is how the former Minister Daskalov[43] perished in Prague and the deputy Matov in Istanbul. After this government had organized unprecedented massacres of thousands of prisoners and wounded and had perpetrated indescribable atrocities and cruelties on thousands of arrested people after the crushing of the September Uprising, it is now again sending hired assassins to pursue abroad the few leaders of the revolutionary movement, both Communists and Agrarians,

who have managed to escape. According to verified information, such emissaries have already left Sofia. At this moment, when certain governments, prompted by their own selfish and imperialist aims, are backing Tsankov's government closing their eyes to its cruel outrages against all workers in Bulgaria, her sons rely on it that the masses of workers and peasants the world over will raise their voice in strong indignation against the bloody regime that wields the power in Bulgaria and will impose the moral and political isolation of its brutal and base backers.

But the Bulgarian emigrants are also threatened by poverty. The escaped fighters, the predominant majority of whom are poor workers and peasants, are already suffering great want. Until they manage to get jobs, which are difficult to find in view of the present economic crisis and with unemployment rife in all Balkan countries, they will also need the material assistance of their foreign brothers. Such assistance is also needed by their families, their wives and children, who have remained in Bulgaria without any means of subsistence, surrounded by the class hatred and the insatiable lust for vengeance of the fascist gangs. They appeal for such immediate aid and are firmly convinced that they will get it.

In this way, by taking under their political protection the Bulgarian revolutionaries who have escaped abroad and by lending them and their families material assistance, the working masses of all the world will give their answer to the Sofia Jesuits and butchers who, by sowing death, horror and destruction in out unhappy country, are trying, first, through innumerable base slanders and trumped up accusations, to blacken the brave and selfless fighters for its liberty and welfare, and secondly, to do away, physically, with their leaders by means of hired tools.

Vassil Kolarov, Georgi Dimitrov

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 3
November 11, 1923

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 287–290
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Since the coup d'état Bulgaria has actually *two governments*. The official government of Professor Tsankov represents *a cloak* which conceals from the eyes of the people and from the outside world the other, the *real* government.

This government is the so-called 'convention of ten' which consists of persons loyal to the Koubrat Military League[44] and is in cahoots with the autonomist right wing of Todor Alexandrov. This 'convention' is something like *the mailed fist* of big business in Bulgaria against the working masses and their political parties and organizations and is firmly linked with the same big banks and export firms which *financed* the preparation and execution of the coup d'état of June 9, particularly with the association of tobacco exporters, which is the most powerful capitalist organization in Bulgaria.

The 'convention of ten' holds directly in the hands the *Ministry of the Interior* through General Roussev, the *Ministry of War* through General Vulkov and the *Foreign Ministry* through Colonel Kalfov, these being the *three key* ministries in any government. It also can count completely on Prime Minister Tsankov, himself, who has long been a man of the banking circles.

On all major issues the Government is faced with a *fait accompli* and pays the role of a mere *rubber stamp* of the 'convention's' decisions.

Whenever any of the Ministers attempts on his initiative to carry out certain measures in his ministry, which are not to the liking of the banks and the export firms, he is forced to desist from his initiative. A typical case in point are the orders concerning *export and stock-exchange*

speculations issued shortly after the coup d'état by the Minister of Finance P. Todorov, a member of the Radical Party. On the very next day these orders were either completely *revoked* or *corrected* in favour of the big businessmen and profiteers on the pretext of having been 'misprinted' in the *State Gazette*.

It is precisely this 'convention of ten', inspired and well paid by big business, both Bulgarian and foreign, and kept carefully concealed behind the scenes, which *is in command* of the policies and actions of the government and which *disposes of the liberty, honour and life of the citizens and of the fate of the country*.

The well-known rather odd and forcible merger of the parties of Populists, Democrats and Radicals in the Democratic Union was *its work*. Those of the old party leaders who attempted, as is common knowledge, to resist this forcible merger, rapidly folded their banners when threatened with assassination.

The wranglings concerning the distribution of seats in parliament between the parties of the coalition and its functionaries were also settled through the intervention of the 'convention'. The Right-Wing Socialist Central Committee, *subjected to its pressure* the very next day, *resumed* the broken off negotiations with the Democratic Union on the sharing of government parliamentary seats, *giving up its excessive claims*.

The blow dealt to the Communist Party on September 12 of the current year was decided upon and organized by the 'convention of ten' through its Minister of the Interior General Roussev and only then sanctioned by the Government.

The great number of political assassinations since June 9, and more particularly during the September events, as well as the murder of Genadiev, were also engineered by this 'convention'. In the case of Genadiev's murder, as we learn from reliable sources, the 'convention' made use of an old 'sentence' issued by Todor Alexandrov's general staff, which could not be executed in 1920–21 and which was later left in abeyance owing to the change in the political situation without being quashed... .

In order to ensure its position as a *de facto* government for the future, too, the 'convention of ten' is now trying to impose on the governmental candidates in the elections *special declarations of allegiance* to the Democratic Union, by virtue of which declarations those government deputies who might differ with the Democratic Union in the future parliament *are liable to lose their seats.*

This then is the *actual* government of Bulgaria which, hidden in the dark and wielding its power behind the scenes of the official administration, whose colourful stage sets are the 'leftist' parties of the Right-Wing Socialists and the Radicals, *conducts the present regime of bourgeois fascist reactionaries.*

Naturally, the existence of such a *backstage government* which, we must say, is becoming increasingly inconvenient even to certain bourgeois circles who are already feeling the pressure of this clique of bankers and profiteers on their own backs, *does not in any way relieve the official government of its general responsibility, nor does it diminish the constitutional and factual responsibility of the government as a whole and of all its individual members for all the crimes perpetrated against the working people so far and for the black reaction now raging in the country.*

Quite on the contrary, the responsibility of Tsankov's government, of all its members and the parties that support it, is *all the greater* for agreeing to be *tools* of and serve as a *window-dressing* for such a terrorist and conspiratorial government, so unbearable and dangerous for the people and the country.

The existence of the 'convention of ten' only goes to show that Bulgaria, instead of having a normal government backed by broad social strata, is being ruled by a clique of bankers and profiteers through a power concealed in the dark, not responsible to anybody for its actions and hence *capable of all conceivable crimes and adventures.*

All working people in town and village, in the whole country, who have the right to vote, will bear this in mind now that the government coalition, eliminating all possibilities for free electoral campaigning, is trying through the forthcoming elections to *legalize* the rule of this

'convention' of bankers and profiteers created by the coup d'état of June 9; with ever greater energy, endurance and perseverance they will continue their struggle for their own and the country's liberation from a situation so unbearable and so fraught with interior and exterior dangers, and for the creation of a genuine popular rule in Bulgaria – *a government of workers and peasants.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 3
November 11, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 7, pp. 291–295
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The lessons which the September Uprising taught the working masses and more particularly their political organizations, viz. the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, are many and of great importance.

All these exceedingly valuable lessons may be summed up in a few main points.

First – the September Uprising showed that, in order to overthrow the usurpers' rule of bankers and profiteers and to establish a government of workers and peasants, what is needed is, first and foremost, *unity of purpose and common action* of the working people and complete realization of a *united front* between the urban proletariat and the rural toiling masses, as well as between their political organizations and more particularly between the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union.

Second – the September Uprising also proved that a government which is in complete control of the state apparatus and the nation's armed forces cannot be toppled by the working people merely by *numbers, unity of purpose and a readiness of the risen masses to make sacrifices.* What is further necessary is the possibility of speedy and mass armament and the *isolation* of the government to such an extent that it cannot employ against the people *the main body* of the army and other armed forces such as the Wrangel units and the Macedonian gangs which it used during the September events.

Third – the September Uprising demonstrated that, given the first two conditions, the armed struggle of the masses can count on success if there is *united political leadership* in the struggle throughout the country, if there is firm cohesion, complete understanding and mutual con-

fidence among the political parties at the head of the uprising

Fourth – the September Uprising proved lastly that *the moment* for starting decisive mass actions, as well as *the methods* of struggle for the elimination of the usurping and tyrannical power, is usually determined not by *the will* of the people's parties, however powerful and numerous they may be, but by the ruling clique which holds the power in its hands, by the conditions which this clique creates; therefore the parties which stand at the head of the people's movement must *always* be ready to take up the decisive struggle whenever it becomes *inevitable*, they must be in a position *quickly* to switch from one type of methods to another in accordance with the changing needs and conditions of the struggle and with the actions of the usurpers' government.

It is these basic and extremely valuable lessons of the September Uprising, gained unfortunately at the cost of so many victims and so much bloodshed, that now have to be utilized *to the full* by the working masses themselves, by their two mass political parties and more particularly by the Communist Party – *in order to pave the way for the final victory of the people.*

For no one can now delude himself that the Bulgarian people will succeed in freeing themselves from the present usurping, barbarous regime by means of *elections* and *other well-known parliamentary methods*, much less by such 'elections' as are to be held on November 18. This is quite out of the question in the present period of complete liquidation of parliamentarism to which the bourgeoisie in all countries is resorting. Even in such a democratic country as republican Austria, Prime Minister Seipel made no bones about having it understood on the eve of the last legislative elections that, if his bourgeois government of bankers failed to gain the necessary parliamentary majority, he would not hand the power over to another government but would be compelled to govern the country through a dictatorship.

After everything that the now ruling usurpers have done in our country since June 9 and especially during the September events, in order to keep the power in their

hands at all cost, can there be anyone so naive as to believe that, even if the working masses should by some miracle gain a parliamentary majority in the forthcoming elections, Tsankov's government and the backstair 'convention of ten' are going to bow *voluntarily* before *the will of the people* and allow the formation of a genuine *popular government?*

The present usurping and despotic government, which ruthlessly tramples on the Constitution and the laws, which does not care a hoot about the principles and the most elementary requirements of parliamentarism, which consciously bars all ways and avenues to legal parliamentary struggle, which rules the country with fire and sword and turns cannons and machine-guns against the people, which resorts to the most cruel coercion and to mass political murders – such a government can only be overthrown by *the total forces of the masses*, the expression of which through *the ballot* is, as matters now stand, impossible or at least wholly inadequate. Never has the popular saw that one nail drives out another had a truer practical application and a better justification.

The utilization of the valuable lessons of the September Uprising for the liberation of the people and the country from the unbearable rule of usurpers and tyrants will depend, however, primarily on the Communist Party. How soon this will be achieved will depend on how quickly the party organization is restored and its disrupted ranks are brought to order, on how strong will be *the unity* within the party itself, in its leadership, in its actions and struggle.

We realize quite well that party unity is bound to be somewhat upset after all we passed through during the September events. The re-appraisal of all existing party values after such events is not only fully comprehensible but also quite indispensable. Differences of opinion and arguments on party tactics are matters of course in such cases.

However, the supreme interests of the working people's movement and the future of communism in Bulgaria demand that all this should be speedily overcome within the ranks of the Party and under strict observance of Party discipline. Through comradely communist self-criticism, dis-

regarding all side issues and personal factors, with a view only to the great interests in the struggle for liberating people and country from the usurpers' power and the rampant reaction, as well as for the formation of a government of workers and peasants *the Party must of one accord synchronize its tactics and all its activity with the historic lessons of the September Uprising.*

This is the *key* to the solution of the present problem of Bulgaria.

For the rest – our enemies themselves are doing more than enough by their *monstrous crimes* and *boundless follies* against the Bulgarian working people and against the country.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 4
November 18, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol 7, pp. 301–305
Published by the BCP, 1954

One of the foremost achievements of the Bulgarian working people during the past few months is undoubtedly the establishment of a *united front* between the urban proletariat and the peasant masses, and particularly between the two mass political organizations – the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party.

The vital necessity and the great significance of a united front of labour became particularly clear and indisputable both during the coup d'état of June 9, 1923 and the September 1923 Uprising.

It should be emphasized quite openly that the coup d'état of June 9 could be engineered successfully *only* because the Government of Stamboliiski and the leadership of the Agrarian Union had *themselves* unwittingly and in every possible way sabotaged the establishment of a united front between the town and the village, between the urban proletariat and the working peasants, thus involuntarily paving the way for and facilitating the task of the clique of bankers and profiteers engaged in the coup and its military and Macedonian agents.

It should also be noted that the important *political* reason for the failure of the September Uprising lies in the fact that it was provoked and imposed *before* the process of building the united front of labour and fraternal alliance between the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, which had started after June 9, was *completed*.

At the price of thousands of casualties, at the price of the people's bloodshed in abundance, the September Uprising *consecrated* and *cemented forever* the united front between the proletariat and the peasant masses, as well as the joint action of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union in the struggle against the bourgeois–fascist reaction, and for a worker-peasant government.

The elections of November 18, on their part, proved in a striking way the *force* of the united front of the working people and the *great progress* made by it within a relatively short space of time.

The road of the united front is already clearly outlined. The building up of a united front by enlisting all the other organizations of workers, employees and artisans as well is rapidly reaching completion, and will inevitably lead to the final victory of the people over the raging bourgeois-fascist reaction, to the formation of a worker-peasant government.

This is precisely the reason why the people's enemies, the hangmen and killers from among the ruling coalition are *frightened to death*, particularly after the elections, by the united front of the working masses. And today they are making superhuman efforts to *destroy* it, to *divide* the workers and peasants who are waging a common struggle, and especially to *separate* the Agrarian Union and *oppose* it to the Communist Party, knowing well that in order to *rule* over the people they have first to *divide* and then *strike* their blows separately.

With this aim in view the bourgeois-socialist coalition and the numerous 'well-wishers' and 'saviours' of the people, which applied such inhuman methods of terror and mass murder during the September and October days, are today resorting to methods of violence and black reaction, to methods of political corruption and vulgar demagogy on a large scale.

In order to carry out their dark schemes, their main efforts are now focussed on making use of the same right-wing elements in the Agrarian Union which before June 9 had supported, within the Union and the Government, the policy of the peasant bourgeoisie, the policy of sabotaging the united front of labour, which policy brought the Agrarian government and the leadership of the Union into a constant conflict with the working masses in towns and villages, and hence also with the Communist Party.

Can one find today a single sincere and sober-minded Agrarian militant ready to deny that it was *precisely* the Agrarian government which handed over the cities to the

organizers of the coup by dissolving the *communes* (communist municipal councils) and strengthening the position of the bourgeoisie, facilitating both the coup of June 9 and the failure of the September Uprising, by disorganizing the Transport Workers' and Miners' Union and persecuting the proletariat?

Will the Agrarian Union now revert to this wrong policy which was so disastrous for the working people, a policy whose main champions paid for it with their own heads?

Are they ready to forget so quickly the bloody lessons of the June and September events for which they paid so dearly?

Is it not clear to every worker and peasant in Bulgaria, that after all that has happened in the country during the past six months, *it would be sheer madness and an unqualifiable crime towards the vital and supreme interests of the Bulgarian nation to repeat the old fatal errors and help in any way the enemies of the people in their efforts to disrupt the united front of the working masses and the fraternal alliance between the Communists and the Agrarians?*

No, the not so numerous apostles of the peasant bourgeoisie and the secret friends and collaborators of the bourgeois-socialist coalition within the Agrarian Union are mistaken if they think that they will again be able to push the Union and the peasant masses on to the dangerous and disastrous old road.

The working people of towns and villages and their vanguard in the ranks of the *Communist Party* and the Agrarian Union will guard, for all that, *as the apple of their eye*, their united front because they are fully aware *that only in this way will they be able to free themselves from the barbarous regime of the people's hangmen and killers, and become their own masters of their labour, life and future.*

Rabotnicheski Vestnik No. 7
December 12, 1923
Signed: G. Dimitrov

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LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE BALKANS

From its very inception the workers' movement in the Balkan states, particularly in Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania, was under the influence of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The first organizers and leaders of the working class in these countries were direct pupils of the Russian Marxists. The best cadres of the workers' intelligentsia were educated under the influence of Russian Marxist literature, on the one hand, and the heroic struggle of the Russian revolutionaries against tsarism, bourgeoisie and opportunism, on the other.

But it is, above all, to Lenin and his pupils that the workers' movement in the Balkan states owes its clear-cut, pronounced revolutionary character. The struggle of the Balkan proletariat during the last few years is directly bound up with the name and great work of Lenin.

As early as the beginning of the imperialist war Lenin captured the hearts of the militant Balkan workers by his uncompromising fight against imperialism and its social-patriotic abettors. His bold and prophetic appeal to save toiling mankind by means of a proletarian dictatorship found a profound echo among the broad working masses of the Balkan states.

When in May 1917 Lenin raised the historical slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' the Balkan proletariat saw in him its leader, as well.

After the October Revolution, of which Lenin himself was the brilliant personification, his name became a banner of the liberation struggle of the Balkan workers and peasants.

His classic books: 'State and Revolution' and 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' became a vademecum of the militant workers in the Balkans.

Lenin's great idea of an alliance between the workers and peasants, which was completely embodied in the Russian Revolution and secured the victory of the first revolution of the workers and peasants in the world, was and continues to be a happy revelation for the Balkan working masses. It lit like a beacon the road to be followed by the proletariat of the Balkan countries in order to achieve victory in its struggle for emancipation.

When in September 1923 the Bulgarian working people staged an armed uprising against the ruling bourgeois and fascist reaction and fought for the establishment of a government of workers and peasants, they were inspired precisely by this idea. The uprising failed owing to the enemy's superiority in armed forces, but the alliance between the workers and the peasants was consolidated for ever, sealed with the blood of thousands of fighters who perished, and is now a pledge of the near and final victory of the Bulgarian working people.

Nowhere else is the national question so confused and entangled as in the Balkans, where different nationalities have become so mixed and intermingled within the confines of a territory that they represent a veritable mosaic. The national question is a basic question of Balkan policy. The bourgeois classes and dynasties in the Balkan countries, as well as in the imperialist great powers, have always exploited and continue to exploit the existing national conflicts for their aggressive ends, fomenting hate in one nationality against another and setting them one against the other.

Lenin gave a crystal clear and correct solution to the national question, which found its expression in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin's idea of the self-determination of peoples, including the right of secession and the setting up of the larger nationalities as separate states, shed a bright light upon the entangled national question in the Balkans, as well. The working people in the Balkans clearly saw that this question can fully be settled and that its solution is possible not on the basis of dividing the Balkans among them, as practiced by the Balkan bourgeoisie and dynasties, but only by the free joining of all

nationalities inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula in a federal union, securing them complete freedom and the right of self-determination.

Thanks also to the teaching of Lenin, the militant workers of the Balkan states now realize more clearly the necessity of unity in their political and economic struggle. Thanks to this teaching, the trade union movement in the Balkans has not become a tool of the various bourgeois parties, but has a revolutionary class character, in which all group, individual and temporary interests are subordinated to the general interests, tasks and aims of the working class.

If opportunism plays so insignificant a role in the workers' movement of the Balkan states and exerts so weak an influence upon the working masses as nowhere else except in Russia, this is explained by the fact that it follows the road indicated by our great teacher and leader, Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

Today, when every worker and peasant in the Balkan states mourns the loss of Lenin, Lenin's ideas are spreading across the whole Balkan Peninsula. These ideas are a lodestar in the dark night of the bourgeois and fascist reaction, which now rules and rages everywhere, and portend an early victory of the Balkan Union of Republics of workers and peasants.

Krasnii International Profsoyuzov No. 1–4, 1924
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Collected Works, Vol. 7, pp. 341–344
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At its session of February 17 this year inLuxembourg, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' International decided to call a conference of the Socialist Parties of the Balkan states. This conference was held on March 12 and 13 in Bucharest. Besides the representatives of the Bulgarian, Yugoslav and Romanian Socialist Parties, the conference was attended by Friedrich Adler[45] and Tseretelli[46] as representatives of the Socialist Workers' International. The Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* of March 18 published an official communiqué on this Balkan socialist conference. This communiqué reveals that the conference was called to discuss the grave accusations levelled at the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party for its participation in the bourgeois-fascist coup d'état of June 9, 1923 and in the bloody suppression of the popular uprising in September and the brutal murder of several thousand Communists and members of the Agrarian Union. Alongside with this inquiry, the conference was to review and discuss the situation in the Balkans.

This peculiar conference passed no decisions either on the one or on the other question. In connexion with the accusations against the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, which were the subject of discussion for two days, the Bulgarian delegation offered not only oral explanations but submitted a written declaration, too. In this unprecedentedly hypocritical and cynical declaration the delegates of the BSP justified its participation in the June coup d'état and the bourgeois-fascist government as being 'in the interests of democracy.' They defended Tsankov's government against the accusation that it was a fascist government and declared that it was not responsible for the atrocities and mass murders committed in September

and that these atrocities were perpetrated by irresponsible factors, for whose deeds neither Tsankov's government, nor the Social-Democratic Party which was a member of it at the time, could be held to account. In the end the Bulgarian delegation declared that the BSP was fighting and would continue to fight for the victory of democracy.

It is quite unnecessary to point out that these declarations from beginning to end run completely counter to well-established and indisputable facts.

1. Today it is no secret even to the representatives of the Socialist Workers' International that the coup d'état of June 9 was not staged to set up a democratic regime, but *to hand over power to the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and, more particularly, to banking and finance capital, and that this was done against the will of the masses.*

2. The bourgeois-socialist government that came to power after the coup d'état, far from establishing a democracy, subjected the nation to a regime of most rabid political and social reaction, gave banking and speculating capital a free hand to rob the masses, and launched ruthless mass persecutions the like of which had never been seen in Bulgaria. *This government deliberately provoked the masses to armed self-protection in order to drown in blood the two largest popular parties, viz. the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union.*

3. The vile murder of thousands of Communists and Agrarians was committed under the leadership of the *bourgeois-socialist government through the state organs, through reserve officers and state employees mobilized by the government, through the Wrangel White-guard units and the gangs of the Macedonian autonomist organization, with whose support the coup d'état itself was carried out and on whom the government of conspirators still relies.* Nine-tenths of the murdered Communists and members of the Agrarian Union were liquidated not during the Uprising, but after it – *after they had been arrested by the official organs of the government* – on the decision of the so-called 'civil committees'. These civic committees were formed of supporters of the government.

4. Even after June 9 the Socialist Party engaged in a furious persecution of the Communist Party and the

Agrarians, it endorsed the provocations of the governmen and the mass arrest of Communist militants on Septembe 12th. In those days, when thousands of the sons of the peo ple were being killed and another 15,000 Communists anc Agrarians were pining in prison, the Social-Democratic Party *raised no protest against the 'irresponsible factors' whc were perpetrating these atrocities, nor did it leave the governmen but cynically continued its campaign and declared both in its press and through its Ministers in the government that Communists and members of the Agrarian Union had 'got what they deserved'.* While those under arrest were being basely killed, the Social-democrat Sakyzov said that *he himself as well as the Socialist Party fully approved and supported the measures taken by the government in order to re-establish peace and order in the country.*

5. When, after the victorious bloody campaign against the working people, the ruling parties were dividing the seats for the parliamentary elections, the Socialist Party, *in order to get a greater number of seats, referred to its valuable services in crushing the September Uprising and in annihilating 'the dangerous internal enemies', viz. the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union.*

6. Even now, when the Socialist Party is no longer necessary to the bourgeoisie and has been compelled to leave the government coalition, it continues to endorse the persecution of Communists and Agrarians. *It completely approved the government in its attempt, on the basis of the draconian State Protection Law, to incite the Supreme Court of Appeal to take a decision, by virtue of which not only the Communist Party, but also other organizations of the working class, such as the General Trade Union, the Osvobozhdenié*[47] *workers' cooperative and the newly-founded Party of Labour*[48] *were to be dissolved.*

And in the face of all this, the Socialist Balkan Conference, which discussed the conduct of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, *refused to take any decision whatever.* It contented itself with stating that the representatives of the Socialist Workers' International.

The fact that the Balkan Socialists and the representative of the Socialist Workers' International refrained

from denouncing the treacherous and shameful policy of the Socialist Party is tantamount to *tacit approval of the fascist role of the Bulgarian Socialists*. At the same time, it is a proof that the Socialist Workers' International itself, now headed by Friedrich Adler, *remains an organization of traitors to the working class and to socialism*.

On the extremely serious situation in the Balkans and on the Macedonian question, the most complex, most important and most burning issue for the Balkan nations, the Socialist Conference contented itself with a mere exchange of views'. The representatives of the three socialist parties which participate directly in the nationalistic policy of the bourgeoisie in their own countries, accused each other of nationalism and chauvinism, without reaching a common stand on the tasks of the socialist parties in the Balkans at the present moment and on the solution of the national question.

The general trend of this 'exchange of views' on these problems boils down to a support of the status quo in the Balkans, a support of the situation created by the imperialist peace treaties. A peaceful solution of the existing national problems is aimed at from this basis. Not a word in defence of the national-liberation movements of the oppressed peoples in the Balkans; not a word in defence of national self-determination; not a word against the aggressive policy of the Balkan bourgeoisie towards Macedonia, Albania, Thrace and the Dobroudja; not a word against the policy of assimilation and violence which the Serbian bourgeoisie is pursuing in Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia, the Romanian bourgeoisie – in the Dobroudja, Transylvania, Boukovina and Bessarabia, and so on and so forth; and lastly, not a word concerning the free unification of the Balkan nations into a federative Balkan republic, which alone could pave the way to the solution of the entangled national problems in the Balkans and secure the national freedom and independence of the Balkan nations. Not a single word about this!

The Socialist Balkan Conference in Bucharest, which actually was no Balkan conference at all, has proved once again that the Socialist Parties of the Balkan states are far

removed from the struggles of the masses, that they are linked with the nationalist aggressive policy of their bourgeois classes and *are unable to show a way out of the present unbearable plight in the Balkans and to solve the national question.*

The Communist Parties in the Balkans, united in their Balkan federation, which always act in full agreement with the Communist International, remain the only loyal defenders and leaders of the social and national liberation struggles of the working people in the Balkans.

Inprekor No. 43
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Signed: G. Dimitrov

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I

The Bulgarian Communist Party (formerly called the Social-Democratic Party of the Left-Wing Socialists) grew up and developed in a long and relentless struggle against Menshevism and other trends alien to the workers' movement in Bulgaria. Steadfastly following the path of revolutionary Marxism, in 1903 it went through the painful split with the Right-Wing Socialists (the Bulgarian Mensheviks) who raised the banner of class collaboration and wanted to turn the party of the proletariat into an ordinary petty-bourgeois reformist party. It also underwent two serious internal crises, in 1905 and 1907, as a result of which the so-called 'liberals' and 'progressives' were expelled from its ranks, because they opposed the Party's centralism and iron proletarian discipline.

After purging the reformist elements from its ranks, the Left-Wing Socialist Party won the sympathies and support of the working people in Bulgaria through its intransigent struggle against the aggressive nationalistic policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie during the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and greatly increased its prestige among the masses as a result of its intrepid struggle against the imperialist war.

Owing to its model organization, its systematic agitation and propaganda activity among the urban workers and rural toilers, owing to its skilful combination of the struggle for immediate interests with the general anti-capitalist struggle of the proletariat after the European War, the Bulgarian Communist Party extended and deepened its influence and became a party of the masses in the true sense of the term. In a country with no more than 5 million inhabitants in 1922–23, the Party had nearly 40,000 members, comparatively strictly selected. Its ties

with the peasant masses were so broad that *two thirds of its membership consisted of toiling peasants.*

In spite of merciless persecution, it managed to rally over *200,000 electors* out of a total 900,000 around its nominees under the banner of its revolutionary programme. The entire trade union movement and strike struggle in the country were under its exclusive influence and leadership. It set up a workers' co-operative which within three years gained 70,000 members. Its press and Marxist literature by far surpassed those of all the other communist parties both in quality and quantity, with the exception of Russia's, of course.

Unflinchingly defending the working people's interests and linking their everyday struggle with the struggle for Soviet power, in 1922 the Bulgarian Communist Party began to penetrate still more extensively the rural masses and to unite them with the urban proletariat. This growth of the Party and its steadily growing influence among the toiling peasants caused terrific embarrassment amid Stamboliiski's agrarian government, which actually was becoming increasingly estranged from the peasant masses. The government intensified its persecution of the Communist Party and the workers' movement, persecutions which reached their climax during the parliamentary elections in the first half of 1923. The victory of Stamboliiski's government was an unprecedented one. The defeat of the bourgeois parties was truly disastrous. The Communist Party retained all its forces and significance. Stamboliiski thought that he had already succeeded in coping with the bourgeoisie and that the only enemy of his rule which had to be destroyed was the Bulgarian Communist Party. The government worked out a bill on the 'agricultural communes', according to which the property of all communist peasants who refused to break with the Communist Party was to be confiscated. It launched a frantic campaign against the trade unions and simultaneously set up trade unions of its own. The question of dissolving the workers' co-operative Osvobozhdenié was also contemplated. The prisons were crammed with persecuted communists. The government collected even the arms, formely distributed

among the adherents of the Agrarian Union. Meanwhile, Stamboliiski's government left the army and the gendarmerie, as well as the entire government machine, in the hands of officers loyal to the bourgeoisie.

This paved the road both psychologically and materially for the military-bourgeois coup d'état of June 9, 1923.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, which resisted the anti-workers' policy of the Agrarian government and its brutal persecutions, while not quite obvious of the danger that came from the bourgeois bankers and profiteers, *imperceptibly weakened the front against the bourgeoisie.* After the parliamentary elections in the spring of 1923, in which the bourgeois parties obtained only 20 mandates, the leaders of the Communist Party were so impressed by Stamboliiski's victory that they considered the danger of a bourgeois coup d'état as being eliminated for a long time to come and concentrated all their efforts against Stamboliiski's government, which they believed to have become altogether a government of the rural bourgeoisie.

In spite of the fact that, thanks to its vigilance, the Bulgarian Communist Party succeeded twice in rallying the masses on time and since 1922 succeeded twice in frustrating military-bourgeois attempts at a coup d'état, its leaders were completely taken unawares when the coup d'état actually took place.

In 1922 the Bulgarian Communist Party adopted a correct stand on the planned coup. In spite of the hostility shown by the Agrarian government towards the working class, it was ready to join the Agrarian Union and even Stamboliiski's Agrarian government in an armed struggle against a possible bourgeois coup. The Party acted properly. And in 1922, when the bourgeois military alliance, assisted the Wrangel units, had even fixed the date on which it would strike, it was forced to desist from its planned coup. But after Stamboliiski's great parliamentary victory in the spring of 1923, the Communist Party *actually failed to appreciate* the significance and force of the Agrarian Union and ascribed this victory primarily to the machinations of the government's administrative apparatus. It also *underestimated* the ties of Stamboliiski's government with the

peasant masses. It failed to do all that was necessary to form a unified front with the masses of the Agrarian Union and completely ignored the Social-Democratic Party, which all the same had a certain influence among the employees, working intellectuals and part of the petty bourgeoisie. Nor did it take a definite stand on the Macedonian question at the proper time, whereby it allowed the autonomous Macedonian organization to fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie and become its tool in carrying out the coup.

Instead of mobilizing all its forces jointly with the Agrarian Union and even with its government to fight against the bourgeoisie, *the Party leadership intensified the struggle against Stamboliiski's government and the Agrarian Union.*

With these erroneous tactics, we leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party *greatly facilitated the successful outcome of the coup.*

Thus the coup d'état of June 9 came like a bolt out of the blue for the Party's *leaders, at the very moment when they expected it least.*

Instead of rallying the Party masses under its influence and the masses of the Agrarian Union for an armed uprising to paralyze the coup, *the Party leadership adopted a passive stand and left the revolting peasants to the mercy of fate.*

Under the influence of Stamboliiski's anti-workers policy the Party leadership *failed to notice the forest beyond the trees.* It failed to understand and appreciate the major historical fact, *the decisive struggle for power between the working people, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other,* behind the fact that the existing Agrarian government was already discredited in the eyes of the working class.

A revolutionary party like the Bulgarian Communist Party, which had not yet managed to overcome the heritage of its Social-Democratic past and lacked the necessary revolutionary experience, did not fulfil its supreme revolutionary duty at the crucial moment: *always and everywhere to stand at the head of the working masses in their struggle against the bourgeoisie.*

The passive behaviour of the Bulgarian Communist Party on June 9 was a *fatal error* which bore dire consequences both for the Party itself and for all Bulgarian working people.

This error *was paid for during the events of June and especially of September by thousands of victims precious to mankind and streams of* workers' and peasants' blood.

II

As soon as it received the first report on the fatal error made by the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Comintern intervened and firmly condemned it. At that time the leading circles in the Party and the majority of its members considered this condemnation as unfair, as a result of insufficient information on the part of the Comintern on the actual state of affairs in Bulgaria.

This severe condemnation, however, helped the Party to correct its unified front tactics towards the Agrarian Union and to direct its efforts towards preparing a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the regime of June 9. Decisive steps were taken to set up a united front with the Agrarian Union and with that section of the petty bourgeoisie and working intelligentsia which was under the influence of the Social-Democratic Party. Utmost efforts were made to clarify the Party's position on the national question (especially the Macedonian question), to extricate the thousands of Macedonian emigrants, from bourgeois influence and to wrest Todor Alexandrov's Macedonian autonomous armed organization from Tsankov's government. The masses made feverish preparations along all lines for the inevitable and impending armed struggle. *The eyes of all the working people were turned towards the Communist Party.*

However, the bourgeoisie, having laid hands on the state apparatus, quickly mobilized its forces and launched an all-out offensive against the Communist Party and the working masses. The counter-revolutionary attack took place on September 12 and a general blow was dealt to the

Party. Its central and local leaders were unexpectedly arrested, its clubs were closed down, its press was banned and, finally, its adherents in town and village were subjected to brutal persecution *The September Uprising* was the inevitable reaction of the masses, led by the Communist Party. But the attack of the government on the masses precipitated their revolt before the minimum preparations had been completed. In contrast to June 9, the Communist Party boldly and firmly took the lead of the uprising, lending it a positive political purpose: *the overthrow of the government of the June coup, the government of the bankers and exploiters, and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government in Bulgaria.* But in spite of the boundless heroism of the insurgents and their readiness for self-sacrifice, *the September Uprising was suppressed and drowned in blood.*

The events thus elucidated like Bengal light the historical error made by the Party on June 9 *confirmed irrefutably the validity of the Comintern criticism.*

Last January the Executive Committee of the Comintern again subjected the June and September events to a thorough review in connexion with the new situation in Bulgaria and the tasks of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It confirmed its former position on the June 9 events, approved the Party's tactics in the September Uprising and noted that the Party had overcome its Social-Democratic heritage and had managed to pass from agitation and propaganda to bold revolutionary action.

The Party itself passed through a long period of internal regeneration in the wake of the June and September events. The errors were clearly understood, all lessons of the June and September events were drawn and the tactics with regard to the peasant question, the united front and the national question were completely corrected. In short, the entire Communist Party *unanimously* adopted a correct revolutionary orientation. *All* the members of the Central Party Committee in the period which preceded the June and September events *agreed without exception* that the Comintern had been right. The Party purged the liquidators and renegades from its ranks and, despite the

unbelievable difficulties of the underground work carried on in extraordinary conditions, it mobilized and prepared the masses, together with the revolutionary elements of the Agrarian Union, for the inevitable armed overthrow of the bourgeois-fascist government in Bulgaria.

At its last conference, the Bulgarian Communist Party[49] unanimously adopted a resolution on the June and September events, in which it is stated:

'The Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, having considered the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Bulgarian question, in particular on the June coup d'état, the September Uprising, the differences within the Party the united front and the worker-peasant government, made the following decision: it shares completely and quite consciously the assessment of the Comintern on the events and the Party's tactics in the period reviewed by the above-mentioned resolution.

'The Conference declares that today the Party as a whole, including all the members of the Central Committee at home and abroad, admits: 1) that up to June 9 the Party made serious errors in applying the united front tactics, and 2) that on June 9 it made a fatal historical error through the fault of its Central Committee by adopting wait-and-see attitude during the civil war, instead of decisively joining the revolting peasants under the slogan of a worker-peasant government, thereby helping the bourgeoisie to seize power. Even if it was clear that its participation in the armed labour front would merely lead to the restoration of Stamboliiski's government, the Party should not have stood aloof, but should have intervened. This would have secured far more advantageous positions for the proletariat and all the working people.

'The Conference finds that the Party's orientation towards an armed uprising, adopted early in August, was altogether correct, but strongly condemns the June 9 tactics maintained by the majority in the Central Committee and the Party Council, in spite of the Comintern's contrary opinion on this question: by justifying its erroneous position, the Central Committee impeded greatly the Party's conscious orientation towards an armed uprising.

'The Conference fully approves and is proud of the fact that at the time of the armed uprising, launched from below by the masses, in opposition to the crushing blow which the fascist government was preparing to deal to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Party assumed the lead of the uprising and determined its goal – a worker-peasant government; that it attempted, despite the exceedingly difficult conditions, to organize the uprising, to rally its forces and to broaden it. The Party not only proved that it is able to switch from revolutionary propaganda and agitation over to revolutionary activity, but also that it is a real communist party which has fulfilled the tasks set before it with

honour: to prepare and lead the working people in a new armed uprising, so as to set up a worker-peasant government and a class dictatorship of the proletariat.

'The Conference notes that the Party has already proved by all its activity that it has drawn lessons from the past and firmly maintains the line it adopted in September.

'The Conference declares that the united front tactics adopted by the whole Communist International are perfectly correct. This has also been borne out by its adoption in our country. A united front primarily with masses, as well as with the peasant organizations, aimed at setting up a worker-peasant government, is in our petty-bourgeois conditions the only correct tactics which the Bulgarian Communist Party should always apply consistently and skilfully, so as to lead the working people on to the final victory.

'In retrospect, the Conference finds that it is absolutely necessary for the Party to be in close contact and complete agreement with the Communist International. It makes it therefore incumbent on the Central Committee strictly to see to it that the decisions of the Communist International and its Executive Committee are faithfully observed and to maintain constant and regular contact with them through the Foreign Agency, the Presidium of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its representative in the Comintern.'

It should be noted that the Bulgarian Communist Party is now following the only correct revolutionary road, not only in word, but *in deed*, without fearing the incredible difficulties and immense sacrifices which its struggle involves.

It may therefore be considered that with the valuable assistance of the Communist International, the *Bulgarian question* of the communist movement in Bulgaria *has been settled in practice.*

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern[50] has exhausted it by confirming the correctness of the decisions made by the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the Bulgarian question, by approving and supporting the present orientation of the Bulgarian Communist Party and advising all the fraternal parties affiliated to the Comintern to make extensive use of the *Bulgarian lesson*, which cost the Bulgarian workers and peasants so dearly.

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Signed: G. Dimitrov
G. *Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 1–11*
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THE BLOODY DRIVE AGAINST THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The trade union movement in Bulgaria came into existence in the middle of the '90s, but its organized activity began in 1904, when the professional organizations scattered in various parts of the country began to unite in national trade unions, forming the General Trade Union.

The conditions in which the Bulgarian trade union movement sprang up and had to develop are characterized by several important features, which had their repercussions on its organization, ideology and fighting methods.

The first feature consists in the fact that Bulgaria is a land of small peasants in the main. These constitute about 80 per cent of its five million inhabitants.

Bulgaria produces and exports primarily farm produce, in the first place cereals and tobacco. Its factory industry has alway been weak and the industrial proletariat, including handicraft workers, constitute barely 15 per cent of the entire population. Furthermore, the factory workers who are connected with the villages in thousands of ways represent a backward and poorly educated element on the whole. Even before the war the process of proletarianization of the rural and handicraft masses greatly outstripped the development of urban industry, so that the labour market was always overcrowded with a surplus of manpower. The ceaseless influx of refugees from Thrace, Macedonia and the Dobroudja, whose number is already well over 500,000, further increases the number of the unemployed. The bourgeoisie makes wide use of this hungry army of jobless for its reactionary purposes and for the struggle against the labour movement.

The second feature consists in the fact that the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, which constitutes only 5 per cent of

the population, shows an unusual greed for profits and is extremely reactionary. Related by origin to the old moneylenders and merchants of the days of Ottoman rule, it was brought up in the traditions of the old barbarous regime of the Ottoman Empire and has always been notable for its ruthlessness and greed. Contrary to the bourgeois classes in other countries the Bulgarian bourgeoisie managed to take the upper hand in our country without any struggle. It had a negative attitude to the national-revolutionary movement against the Ottoman regime, headed by the intelligentsia and backed by the peasants and craftsmen. It obtained its power and privileges as a gift from the hands of tsarist Russia as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Alien to the struggle and revolutionary traditions, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie always treated the masses with mistrust, contempt and hostility. It looked upon the people as a mere object of exploitation and spoliation and as small change in its deals with the imperialist nations after the formation of an independent Bulgarian state. Leading a purely parasitic life, with the entire state apparatus at its disposal, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie amassed riches by levying unbearable taxes on the masses, speculating in prime necessities and extensively misappropriating large state loans from abroad, obtained by handing over its country to the imperialist states. In its fight against foreign competition, it introduced no technical improvements in the nation's industry, but resorted to unlimited exploitation of the workers.

The third feature consists in the fact that the political organization of the Bulgarian proletariat preceded the professional one. Trade unions were set up on the initiative and under the influence and leadership of the old Social Democratic Party (which later became the Communist Party). Hence the ideological and organizational tie-up between the General Trade Union and the Party, and the well-defined revolutionary and class ideology of the trade union movement. Hence also in contrast, say, to the old British trade unions, the Bulgarian trade unions considered themselves not as organizations designed to regulate relations between labour and capital within the framework

of capitalism, but as organs of the class struggle for the destruction of the capitalist system and, as Marx tought, as a school of communism.

These three features gave rise to a fourth one, which consists in the fact that for fear of the revolutionary and class trade union movement, the bourgeoisie strove to establish close contact with the Right-Wing Socialists (the Bulgarian Mensheviks), to support them in various ways and thus to cause a split in the ranks of the organized workers. The Right-Wing Socialists formed their own free trade unions' in 1904 to counterbalance the General Trade Union, and waged a perfidious campaign against the revolutionary movement in the course of two decades. At the time of the big strikes of the miners, tobacco, textile and other workers, they systematically backed the government and the capitalists against the workers on strike. Pretending to be the friends of the latter, they sowed mistrust among them, encouraged strike-breaking and formed parallel trade unions in conjunction with the real agents of capital for the purpose of negotiating with the capitalists and thus putting an end to the strikes and disorganizing the class struggle. With the aid of the other petty-bourgeois parties (Radicals and Democrats), the Bulgarian Mensheviks managed to score certain temporary successes, but only among school-teachers, civil servants, higher employees, among the railway, postal and telegraph services and part of the printing workers – precisely in those circles which usually are not inclined to wage a decisive struggle but seek easy ways of collaborating with the bourgeois government, being content with minor concessions.

Under these exceptionally difficult conditions, every step forward cost the trade union movement in Bulgaria tremendous efforts and sacrifices.

But, owing to its class and revolutionary sturdiness, its unity with the political organization of the proletariat and its consistent and stauch defence of the workers' interests, especially in the postwar period, the revolutionary trade union movement actually extended its influence to the entire industrial, transport and handicraft proletariat and became its sole leader in the economic struggle. The whole

strike movement, and it was fairly sizeable in Bulgaria, was exclusively conducted by the revolutionary trade unions. The trade unions of the Right-Wing Socialists were looked down upon by the mass of workers as hideous scabs and bourgeois agents.

At the end of 1922, the General Trade Union already embraced some 40,000 organized workers in the following 19 trade unions:[1]

Union of tabacco workers	7,000
Union of transport workers	6,000
Union of miners	3,600
Union of schoolteachers	3,000
Union of factory workers	2,500
Union of building workers	2,500
Union of medical workers	2,500
Union of tanners	2,000
Union of metal workers	2,000
Union of municipal employees	2,000
Union of textile workers	1,500
Union of carpenters	1,500
Union of tailors	1,500
Union of commercial and bank employees	1,500
Union of food industry workers	1,200
Union of farm workers	1,200
Union of printing workers	500
Union of barbers	300
Union of actors and musicians	300

The organized vanguard of the revolutionary trade unions in the mining, tobacco, textile, sugar, metallurgical, tanning and woodworking industries was backed by the entire mass of workers, and all men and women workers unanimously fought to the end in the strikes it organized. The number of scabs was quite insignificant, and quite frequently, as in the miners' and tobacco workers' strike, there were practically none.

The miners' union gained such a preponderant influence in the biggest state-owned mines, those of Pernik (7,000 workers), that the administration was compelled to negotiate with it and conclude collective contracts, despite the malicious provocations of the government and Right-Wing Socialist press.

[1] In round figures

The tobacco workers' trade union also managed to obtain a nationwide collective contract. Collective contracts were also concluded in the textile and sugar industries and in many woodworking, metal-working and other factories.

In 1921 and 1922, the trade unions obtained a 25–30 per cent increase in real wages on the average. They won an eight-hour working day in most factories and practically eliminated the arbitrary dismissal of workers in enterprices. They waged an energetic struggle against the high cost of living and actively interfered in the fixing of the prices of prime necessities and in the regulation of housing conditions.

The growing influence and activity of the revolutionary trade unions enraged the bourgeoisie and the Right-Wing Socialists. The latter launched a campaign against the trade unions in press and parliament, fearing that the factories might soon pass into the hands of the workers. To avoid this danger, in 1919 the coalition bourgeois-Socialist government entrusted the Ministry of Police and the Ministry of Industry and Labour to two Social Democrats (K. Pastouhov and Dr. Djidrov respectively). Holding the police and the Ministry which supervises the Pernik state mines in their hands, the Right-Wing Socialists first tried to dissolve the miners' trade union. The union leaders were brought to court-martial for having instigated the workers to overthrow the state order by force, and 150 militant members of the union were transferred to another small stateowned mine in the Tryavna Mountains, where they were kept under military and policy control for three months. In the meantime the agents of the Right-Wing Socialists announced that they were organizing a 'free' miners' union, which would settle matters in the Pernik mines through negotiations with the government. However, the bourgeoisie was soon bitterly disappointed in its expectations. The bulk of the workers remained true to their miners' union and by means of a new mass strike managed to obtain the release of their detained leaders, bring back the interned members and renew the collective contract.

Parallel with the ceaseless economic struggle, the

revolutionary trade unions participated actively in the general political fight, side by side with the Communist Party, and did a great deal of cultural and educational work through their press (almost all trade unions had their own newspapers) and by organizing meetings, lectures, evenings and so on.

Late in 1922 and early in 1923, the influence of the revolutionary trade unions considerably increased among the civil servants as well.

The initiative of the revolutionary trade union of civil servants, which proposed the formation of joint action committees to fight for higher wages and better working conditions met with a wide response among the masses. The success of this joint campaign made it clear that it was possible to achieve unity in the whole trade union movement and that a unified general Labour Federation of the trade unions of industrial, transport and handicraft workers and civil servants should be formed for the purpose. In spite of the desperate resistance of the Right-Wing Socialists and the bourgeoisie, the campaign launched by the General Trade Union to unify the entire trade union movement gained ever greater popularity among the broad masses of workers and employees and promised to end in complete success in the near future.

THE JUNE COUP D'ETAT

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, whose greed knew no bounds, did not wish to confine itself to the exploitation of its own workers and peasants. For many years past it had cast avid looks at the rich neighbouring areas of Macedonia and Thrace, which up to 1912 were under Turkish rule, and was out to achieve hegemony in the Balkans.

Under the banner of this predatory policy, passed off as a policy of 'national unification of the Bulgarian people' and liberation of the 'enslaved Bulgarian brothers in Macedonia and Thrace', the Bulgarian bourgeoisie disseminated militarism throughout the country and made feverish preparations for war against Turkey under the leadership of Tsar Ferdinand.

As a matter of fact, in 1912 Bulgaria, in alliance with Serbia and Greece and under the protection of Tsarist Russia, declared the Balkan War on Turkey. The Turkish army was rapidly routed. Macedonia and Thrace were cleared of Turkish troops. The Bulgarian army reached Chataldja (at the very doorstep of Constantinople). Intoxicated by their victory, Tsar Ferdinand and the Bulgarian bourgeoisie believed that the time had come for the Bulgarians to establish their hegemony in the Balkans. The question of how to divide the spoils among the allies (Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece) was entrusted to the benevolence of the Russian Emperor Nikolai as an arbitrator. And since they did not expect any great results for Bulgaria, Ferdinand and his government attempted, by means of a sudden attack on the Serbian troops on June 16, 1913, to drive them out of Macedonia and to seize the latter with its capital, Salonica.* This adventure cost the Bulgarian people tens of thousands of additional casualties and ended in the complete defeat of the Bulgarian army and in a terrible disaster for the whole nation.

Two years later, in September 1915, Bulgaria was plunged into the European War on the side of the Central Powers.

While the Bulgarian peasants and workers shed their blood on the battlefields for three years on end, the predatory bourgeoisie indulged in unbridled profiteering and spoliation within the country.

The discontent in Bulgaria came to a head and rapidly spread to the army. On September 10, 1918, the Bulgarian troops revolted at Dobro Polé, abandoning the trenches and marching on Sofia arms in hand to square accounts with those responsible for the war. Thanks to the German artillery, stationed in Bulgaria, the insurgent Bulgarian troops were defeated on their way to Sofia. The bourgeoisie succeeded then in retaining power in its hands. However, it

* As it became known subsequently, a secret anti-Bulgarian treaty had previously been concluded between Serbia and Greece – the editors.

was compelled to sacrifice its king Ferdinand, who abdicated in favour of his son, Boris.

The reckless aggressive policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had suffered a second fiasco. According to the Neuilly Peace Treaty, its territory was reduced, its permanent army prohibited and the number of its armed forces limited. In addition, it was compelled to pay immense reparations.

The bourgeoisie, which considered the people and their mass parties – the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party – responsible for the bankruptcy of its reckless policy, was obsessed with spite and malice towards the Bulgarian workers and peasants. But at the moment when the Russian Revolution was celebrating its victory and a general revolutionary wave was spreading over Europe and the Balkans, when the Bulgarian people wanted retribution for all the misfortunes, the bourgeoisie had to conceal its malice and even agreed to certain concessions.

Grinding its teeth, it had to become reconciled with the Stamboliiski government's assumption of power late in 1919, hoping that, like the Social-Democrats in Germany and the other countries it would save it from the revolutionary peril and relying on coming back to power at an opportune moment and on squaring accounts with the peasants and workers for the insults it had suffered.

In the meantime, the working people rallied rapidly. The workers and part of the poor peasants joined the Agrarian Union. The bourgeois parties found themselves completely isolated.

Stamboliiski's Agrarian Government, in spite of its half-hearted and inconsistent policy, substantially infringed on the vital interests of the bourgeoisie. Though not without wavering, it transferred the serious consequences of the war, the economic disaster and the crisis above all on to the bourgeoisie itself. It levied a tax on war profits, on the profits of the joint-stock companies and on the revenue from capital. It introduced a monopoly on cereals and deprived the profiteers of their huge former gains. It restricted the profiteers' opportunities to misappropriate state loans; it passed an act on the expropriation of real es-

tate for public use, which threatened the house-owners; it introduced a land reform and planned to curtail the big land estates.

At the same time, the Agrarian government passed a law on trying the bourgeois governments from the time of the Balkan and European Wars as responsible for the national disasters. The members of these governments, who were also the leaders of all the bourgeois parties, were arrested and brought to court. A nationwide referendum was held on the basis of this law, on the question of bringing to trial the ministers of the two bourgeois governments, 700,000 voting in favour of a trial (from the Agrarian and Communist Parties) and only 200,000 against it (from all bourgeois parties together with the Social-Democrats).

In the parliamentary elections of March 28,1920, all the bourgeois parties together with the Social-Democrats obtained 300,000 votes out of a total of 1,000,000, and on April 22, 1923–272,000 votes, while the Agrarian Union increased its votes from 347,000 to 557,000, and the Communist Party – from 182,000 to 220,000. While the number of votes cast for the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democrats fell from 38 per cent to 26 per cent, the votes cast for the Agrarians and Communists increased from 62 per cent to 74 per cent.

The animosity of the bourgeoisie reached its climax. Having lost all hope of capturing power by legal means, through elections, it concentrated all its attention and forces on paving the way for the overthrow of the Agrarian government and the organized movement of the workers and peasant masses by violent, non-parliamentary means.

For this purpose, with the help of the palace, it mobilized the old officers of the acting army and the non-coms' Russian who had been dismissed on account of the reduced composition of the army. It utilized the 10,000 Russian Wrangelists who were in Bulgaria, won over the armed Macedonian organization and secured the support of Great Britain and Italy which strongly resented Stamboliiski's policy of seeking a rapprochement with Yugoslavia, the agent of France in the Balkans. Great Bri-

tain, which needed the Balkans so as to reinforce its influence in Asia Minor and secure a solid base for its fight against the USSR, saw a serious obstacle in Stamboliiski's government and the strong Communist Party in Bulgaria and readily backed the conspiratorial schemes of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

Having thus strengthened its position both at home and abroad, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had but to choose an opportune moment for decisive action. The weakening of the revolutionary tide in Europe also played into its hands in attaining this goal. The immediate danger of a proletarian revolution had gone. The plans of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie were also facilitated by the anti-proletarian policy of Stamboliiski's government which led to growing disunion between the working class and the peasantry. Stamboliiski, who believed that the elections in 1923 had completely weakened the bourgeois parties, began to act ever more energetically against the Communist Party, because he feared the movement which favoured the establishment of Soviet rule. In this way he unwittingly undermined the positions of peasant rule and facilitated the task of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, having no confidence in the working class and the poor peasant masses, Stamboliiski's government left the army and the nation's armed forces in the hands of the old officers who were faithful to the bourgeoisie.

On June 9, 1923, a gang of greedy bankers and profiteers, of bankrupt generals and professors out to make an easy political career, supported by the conspiratorial military league, the Wrangelists in Bulgaria and the Macedonian organization, overthrew Stamboliiski's legally elected Agrarian government by means of a military coup. They seized the power in a single night like gangsters, murdering part of the Agrarian ministers, deputies and other outstanding politicians, filling the prisons with thousands of peasants and workers who had opposed the coup and subjecting the Bulgarian people to their military dictatorship. The Agrarian government was replaced by that of Tsankov, formed of all bourgeois parties, including the Social-Democrats, who were represented in parliament

by only 30 deputies out of a total of 245. The great majority of the Bulgarian people was firmly opposed to the coup d'état and met the government imposed on them with apparent hostility. The Communist Party indirectly facilitated the success of the bourgeois coup by remaining passive – a fatal error.

THE SEPTEMBER PROVOCATION

But if the bourgeoisie managed to recapture power so easily, in a gangster-like manner, it did not find it so easy to hold it in the conditions created in our country and with the existing balance of social forces. It was not possible to induce the masses by lawful means to get reconciled with the bourgeois dictatorship. Hence Tsankov's bourgeois-Socialist government had no other choice but to resort to white terror and military dictatorship in order to subordinate the masses.

In the meantime, the influence of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions became still stronger after the June coup. The peasant masses, bitterly disappointed by Stamboliiski's shortsighted policy which had paved the way for the coup of June 9, turned their eyes to the Communist Party, hoping that it would save them from the ruling capitalist gang and military clique. The workers, on their part, who were well aware of the fact that the bourgeoisie had established its military dictatorship thanks to the split between them was the only way to salvation, began to work energetically to strengthen this alliance.

Tsankov's government realized that it could not proceed with parliamentary elections which would sanction the coup d'état and that it could not remain in power at all, so long as the Communist Party, the trade unions and the other workers organizations continued their revolutionary work in our country. The capitalists also felt that their hands were tied, so long as the revolutionary trade unions, this 'state within our state', existed and had a free hand.

Hence the military council of capitalists, bankers and

profiteers organized the well-known September provocation to decapitate the workers' movement, i. e. to rout the Communist Party, which had 40,000 members and had obtained 220,000 votes in the parliamentary elections, the workers trade unions which rallied 40,000 members, the *Osvobozhdenié* (Liberation) co-operative union with its 70,000 members, the women's and the youth organizations, and to ban the popular workers' press, the circulation of which was twice as large as that of all bourgeois and Right-Wing Socialist newspapers put together.

Three months after the June coup, i. e. on September 12, 1923, Tsankov's government arrested over 2,000 militants of the workers' movement (deputies, district and county councillors, mayors, journalists, Party and trade union secretaries, editors and so on) under the false pretext that the workers and peasants were getting set for an armed uprising with the aim of establishing Soviet rule in Bulgaria. It also closed down the workers' clubs and converted them into police stations, confiscated the property, printing shops, funds and archives of the Party and trade unions, suppressed their newspapers and all their further activity and, parallel with this, launched a nationwide drive of mass persecutions of the working people.

The masses revolted in defence of their violated rights and liberties. But with the help of the Wrangelists, the Macedonian organization and its own armed forces, concentrated in the towns, Tsankov's government prevented the urban workers from rising in unison with the peasantry and joining hands with it. The instigated uprising was thus put down. But it was widely exploited by the ruling clique of bankers and generals. Practically all those who were arrested on September 12, before the uprising, and thousands of other militant workers and peasants who fell into the hands of the infuriated hangmen were put to death. The prisons were crammed to capacity. Over 15,000 detained workers and peasants were tortured and a large number of them were later brought to trial. Another 2,000 active workers and peasants saved their lives by escaping abroad.

But in spite of all this, the government did not manage to pacify the country. On the contrary, after the September massacre, the discontent and bitterness grew even stronger. The masses of workers and peasants learned from their bitter experience that lack of unity had brought about their defeat and continued to strengthen their unified front in order to fight against their hangmen.

The blood-stained parliamentary elections, held in November 1923, in which despite the terrible abuses and outrages the single tickets of the worker and peasant nominees showed to Tsankov's government that the revolutionary movement was far from having been destroyed, that it had gained new strength and was steadfastly striving to put an end to the fascist and military dictatorship hoisted on the masses.

Tsankov's government then issued the monstrous State Protection Law. Later it modified and increased the penalties stipulated by this act. All workers' organizations, including the Osvobozhdenié co-operative union, were officially dissolved on the basis of this act. The Workers' Trade Union was outlawed by a special decision of the Court of Cassation and all its members were incriminated. Although the decision did not pertain formally to the individual trade unions, the government interpreted it broadly and prohibited all trade unions, with the exception of the Right-Wing Socialist ones, which enjoyed its special benevolence.

Naturally, neither the Communist Party nor the revolutionary trade unions were willing to consider themselves as self-dissolved and ready to stop their activity so as to gratify the bankers and generals. The Communist Party passed underground and continued to lead the fight of the masses most actively. The revolutionary trade unions, on their part, continued to defend their legal existence in every possible way. Their meetings, however, were broken up by force. The initiators and participants were arrested and tortured. The secretaries and militants of the trade unions and the editors of their newspapers were thrown into prison or interned in remote parts of the country. The workers' deputies were systematically murdered

from an ambush. All strikes and all open protest were suppressed by armed force.

Additional measures were taken against the miners' trade union. Besides the arrests and internment of its leaders, over 2,000 men at the Pernik mines were dismissed. These skilled and competent miners were replaced by Wrangelists whose number was gradually increased to 4,000 out of a total of 7,000. Production, naturally, dropped by 40 to 50 per cent. But the ruling gang would rather destroy the miners' trade union than maintain, the former level of the mines' productivity. The Miners' House, which formerly served as a centre of cultural and educational work among the colliers, was turned into a police station a year and a half ago. Here the members and adherents of the miners' trade union who are still at work in the mines are subjected to cruel tortures.

Two thousand members of the union of transport workers were also dismissed from the railways, post and telegraph. The same fate befell 2,000 schoolteachers, members of the teachers' organization, and 1,000 members of the civil servants' union.

The Bulgarian Mensheviks always took a most active part in this cruel and repulsive campaign for the destruction of the revolutionary trade unions. They incited the government to resort to various outrages, did their utmost to facilitate the task of routing the workers' movement, slandered and provided lists of 'Bolsheviks' still undetected by the government, so as to have them kicked out of the enterprises. At the same time, they turned to the workers and employees, who according to them had been deceived by the Communists, with an appeal to switch to the Right-Wing Socialist trade unions and avoid the cruel persecutions.

The fierce terror of Tsankov's government gave birth to a new category of citizens in our country, known as the 'undergrounds'. Thousands of workers, peasants and working intellectuals were forced to live like outlaws, to avoid the atrocities of the government. All methods were permitted against the 'undergrounds'. The government outlawed them as 'bandits' whom the police had the right

not only to arrest, but to kill wherever it found them. Those who gave asylum to 'undergrounds' had the same destiny. Tsankov's gangs went as far as burning the houses where the 'undergrounds' took refuge.

The detained were subjected to such inhuman torment that most of them committed suicide. Many of them resorted to poison the noose, or jumped from the upper floors of the former Popular House in Sofia, now turned into a police station.

The militant workers and peasants who were brought to court could not rely on any defence, because the lawyers were also threatened with death, should they venture to defend the 'Bolshevik agents' before the court. Bombs were thrown into the houses of several upright bourgeois lawyers who had the courage to defend the accused workers and peasants (in Bourgas, Varna, Pleven and other towns).

Thus the terror against the masses of workers and peasants assumed proportions unprecedented in modern history.

UNDER THE WHITE-GUARD REGIME

Depriving the working people of all their rights and liberties, smashing and beheading their movement by exterminating their vanguard, the bourgeoisie also annihilated all the postwar economic gains. First it nullified the agrarian reform and returned the land which had been expropriated from the big land-owners and distributed among the peasants. After this it cancelled the act on expropriating houses for public purposes. The housing act was modified in favour of the owners, the taxes affecting primarily the working people were increased.

Instead of the former monopoly on cereals, exercised with the aid of a co-operative consortium, complete freedom was granted to trade and speculation in goods of prime necessity. The government profiteers exported the best varieties of flour and made a good profit on it, then they imported bitter American flour to feed the population with and doubled profits. The cost of living went up as never before, the index rising from 3,000 to 5,000. The

trade balance, which had shown a profit of over 292 million leva in 1922, marked a deficit of 1,600 million leva in 1923. In June 1923 the dollar was worth 92 leva, but by the middle of 1925 it fetched as much as 140 leva. Banknotes in circulation increased from 3,800 million leva in June 1923 to 4,500 million leva late in 1924.

The state budget, which amounted to roughly 5,000 million leva in 1922–23, rose to 6,200 million leva in 1924 and 7,000 million leva in 1924–25. As much as 1,500 million leva were earmarked for the army, police, Black Hundred detachments and prisons.

Indirect taxes rose from 2,000 to 3,000 million leva. The tobacco tax was increased to 365 million leva; the small farmers' land tax was also raised to 340 million leva. At the same time, the joint-stock companies paid only 3 million leva in taxes instead of the previous 30 million.

The economic crisis and ruin assumed terrific proportions. The bloody anarchy and uncertainty which reigned in our country paralyzed trade and industry. A number of industrial enterprises reduced their production, because they had lost their best and most competent workers. Small industry was rapidly ruined. Agriculture, which was deprived of thousands of workers – killed, arrested, driven away , having emigrated or escaped from the government's persecutions in the woods – greatly declined. Whereas the land cultivated in 1922 amounted to 13 million hectares, in 1923 it amounted to 11 million, and 1924 to 9 million.

Foreign trade also suffered a major setback because of the country's unstable position. This is how the Bulgarian government's trade representative in Vienna described the condition of our foreign trade:

'Credit operations were discontinued, even with the most respectable and honest Bulgarian dealers; the shipment of goods to Bulgaria was stopped altogether. The deals with Bulgarian businessmen, a large part of which were concluded in Vienna, are now becoming impossible. This pertains not only to Bulgaria's trade with Austria, but with all other countries as well. Readers acquainted with the statistics of Bulgaria's foreign trade can readily understand that the nations' economy is suffering tremendous losses.'

But it was the status of the working class that the fascist regime affected most severely. Despite the high cost of life, wages fell by 30 per cent as compared with 1922. The eight-hour working day, established by law, was prolonged by two, three and four hours. Labour legislation was nowhere observed. Labour control at the factories was altogether abolished. Unemployment kept on rising. Thousands of workers and employees were thrown out into the streets and replaced by Wrangelists and Macedonians and by refugees from Thrace and the Dobroudja The workers were deprived of the right to associations, meetings, press and strikes and had no possibility of reacting in an organized manner to the frantic offensive of capital.

Under this regime of fierce terror, the bankers, profiteers, big brass and top officials amassed huge fortunes, while the masses of workers lived in unheard-of poverty.

NEW WAVE OF REACTION

Early this year the discontent and disgust of the masses of workers and peasants, driven to despair, began to assume extreme forms.

The fight for the overthrow of Tsankov's regime again gained momentum. The discontent spread to the entire petty bourgeoisie, a large part of the intelligentsia and part of the officers, who before had been quite loyal to Tsankov. The Tsankov government realized that its days were numbered. But the bankers and generals firmly held on to power. They decided to provoke the workers anew, so as to reiterate the September massacre of 1923 and completely to behead the workers' and peasants' movement by killing all its leaders who had survived the former slaughter. A terrific campaign against the underground militants was launched. Political assassinations kept on increasing. The last two of the workers' deputies were shot in the streets of Sofia. The last worker-peasant newspapers were suppressed. The former Communist deputies, even those who

had left the ranks of the Party, were kicked out of parliament. New arrests of workers' and peasants' militants were launched on a mass scale. Lists were drawn up of the persons who were to be disposed of during the planned Bartholomew nights. A 10,000-strong army of cutthroats – Wrangelists, Macedonians, reserve officers and fascists – was set up for the purpose.

Parallel with this, the government trumpeted far and wide about the growing 'Bolshevik peril' and the propaganda work done, as it chimed, with Moscow's support. It published false documents, written on 'Comintern' forms fabricated by the Russian White-guardsman Druzhelovsky, who was later arrested. According to these documents, the Comintern had ordered the Bulgarian United Front (Communists and Agrarians) to proclaim an armed uprising for the establishment of Soviet rule in Bulgaria on April 15. Having thus paved the way for a new butchery of the workers' and peasants' masses and all the other dangerous oppositionists, Tsankov's government assiduously incited them to action, so as to choose the most opportune moment for the execution of its diabolic scheme.

It was precisely in these circumstances that the fatal outrage at the Sofia cathedral took place. This outrage was an act of despair and self-defence of the savagely persecuted undergrounds. Although everyone knew that neither the Communist Party nor the revolutionary trade unions and Agrarian Union, which are opposed to individual terror, were the culprits, Tsankov's government hastened to make use of the outrage for the butchery it had planned long in advance. Over 2,000 previously listed workers' and Agrarian militants, students, pupils, intellectuals and officers opposed to the government were arrested and put to death. Among them were even former Communists who after the outrage had publicly declared that they would no longer take part in the nation's political life. All the leaders, secretaries, editors and activists of the revolutionary trade unions were among the murdered. Nearly 20,000 organized workers, peasants and sympathizers or men suspected of being sympathizers of the popular movement were thrown into prison and subjected

to medieval inquisition. Field court-marshals worked without cease, passing death sentences. After the hanging of those 'guilty' of the attempt on the cathedral, gallows were rised in increasing numbers. Those who had given shelter to underground militants, including many women, were also sentenced to death. Quite a few prisoners are still put to death without trial and examination, usually 'while attempting to escape.'

But Tsankov's infuriated gang did not content itself with these horrors. It wanted to 'eradicate' the 'Bolshevik peril' and the revolutionary trade union movement. All state, district and municipal institutions and enterprises were ordered to dismiss all members of the revolutionary trade unions. The heads of departments and factory managers were held personally responsible for the fulfilment of this order and had to report every such worker or employee, otherwise they would answer before the field court-martial as 'concealers'. Over 10,000 employees, schoolteachers, workers and other civil servants have been kicked out into the streets and doomed to starvation.

Furthermore, the government ordered private factories and offices to do the same. Under the same order, the owners of industrial and other enterprises were expected to do the following: first, morally and materially to guarantee the 'trustworthiness' of their workers and employees; second, to every 20 workers to appoint a reserve officer, member of the officers' organization, who would control the 'trustworthiness' of the workers and receive a salary from the enterprise. This latter measure seemed unnecessary even to the capitalists themselves. Many factories declared that they could not work in these conditions.

The American press in New York received the following cable from Sofia:

'The manager of the Bulgarian branch of Standard Oil Company (financed by Rockfeller) received an invitation from the Bulgarian police and an order to leave the country within 24 hours in case he refused to make a written statement that there were no Communists among the employees in his office.

The manager of Standard Oil Company, naturally, was far from sympathizing with the communists, but he declared that he could not assume responsibility for the behaviour and convictions of his personnel outside his office, still less for their secret thoughts. In response, the police asked him to leave the country within 24 hours.

These facts clearly illustrate the ruthless, wild terror which now reigns in Bulgaria.

THE RIGHT-WING SOCIALISTS AND THE YELLOW TRADE UNIONS

The Right-Wing Socialists, who were chased out of the ranks of the working class and its mass trade union movement even before the war, concentrated their activity among schoolteachers and civil servants. Their postwar attempts to form through their 'Free Trade Unions' (a purely party organization) their own trade unions at private enterprises so as to counterbalance the revolutionary trade unions had no success. Only a few dozens of printing workers of the State Printing House remained in their 'Free Trade Unions', as well as a small number of handicraft workers, who were bound to their masters, members of the Right-Wing Socialist Party.

Instead, the Right-Wing Socialists built their nest together with the Radicals and Democrats in the schoolteachers' trade union and the other neutral organizations of state employees. The 'neutrality' of these organizations consisted in the fact that they pursued no proletarian policy and, in return for minor benefits granted to their managers, made favours to this or that petty-bourgeois or bourgeois party. How firmly the 'neutral' trade unions of the civil servants stand on the positions of the bourgeoisie can be judged by the fact that they even criticized the Amsterdam International, because it preached class struggle (though only in words) ... . They are genuine yellow organizations, government agents, whose aim it is to prevent employees from joining the proletariat and the revolutionary trade union movement, from

becoming imbued with the ideas of the class struggle and from pursuing an independent policy in defence of their interests and rights with respect to the government and the bourgeoisie.

Naturally, as the Right-Wing Socialists, Radicals and Democrats took part in the June coup and the Right-Wing Socialist Dimo Kazassov was the Minister of Post and Communications in the government formed as a result of it, the 'free' trade unions and the 'neutral' unions of civil servants were placed at the service of the government. Part of their leaders were elected members of parliament on the lists of the government coalition.

They ardently hailed the coup d'état and the persecutions of the revolutionary trade union movement by the Tsankov government, as this was the way to check the movement among civil servants, which had started before the coup to join hands with the rest of the proletariat and form a unified, general federation of labour in Bulgaria, based on the class struggle. The leaders of the Right-Wing Socialists and the yellow trade unions saw in the dissolution of the revolutionary trade unions a means of consolidating their shaken positions and hoped to obtain in this way complete monopoly in the sphere of the trade union movement in our country. For this reason they were the most assiduous and perfidious provocateurs against the revolutionary trade unions. They openly insisted that the latter be outlawed as organizations 'dangerous to the state.' Far from raising their voice against the cruel persecution and murders of militant workers, they cynically exulted. When thousands of militant workers and Agrarians as well as members of the revolutionary trade unions were tormented and murdered by the Sofia hangmen, when the prisons were crowded with workers, peasants and working intellectuals, when over 10,000 workers and employees were dismissed as members or sympathizers of the revolutionary trade unions, the Right-Wing Socialist press considered all this as perfectly natural and only reminded and meekly requested the government to be careful not to harm by any chance any member of the 'neutral' unions. The Right-Wing Socialist press abounded in disgusting and

mean insinuations and slanders against the heroically perishing militant workers. The murdered and arrested leaders and militants of the revolutionary trade unions were labeled 'bandits,' 'monsters' and 'gangsters' by the Right-Wing Socialists. Their press presented the false documents, which Tsankov's government fabricated to pave the way for the September provocation and the last bloody massacre, as quite authentic and used them as weapons against the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Right-Wing Socialists declared the disgustingly unfair and biased sentence pronounced in the case of the Sofia outrage as a 'just gratification of shocked public conscience' against the 'assailants' and 'Moscow agents'.

At the moment when the Bulgarian proletariat has been deprived of all political rights and liberties, when its trade union movement has been routed, its press suppressed, its leaders and activists savagely murdered, when the butchery of workers and peasants is still in progress, when workers are doomed to poverty and subjected to unrestricted exploitation, when they are deprived of their right to association, strikes and all legislative defence – precisely at this moment, the secretary of the Right-Wing Socialist 'Free Trade Unions' who, together with the Minister of Trade and Industry, took part in the ILO* Conference in Geneva as the representative of the 'Bulgarian workers', assured the whole world that in the field of social legislation Bulgaria had far surpassed France.

No wonder then, in the light of all this, that the Right-Wing Socialist and yellow trade unions, which enjoyed the broad support of the fascist government, not only failed to gain strength under Tsankov's regime but even lost the significance they had had before. These pitiful tools of the bankers' and generals' clique earned the boundless hatred of the Bulgarian proletariat.

Yanko Sakuzov, the oldest Right-Wing Socialist leader, himself characterized these unions in the following words:

* International Labour Office

'The most regrettable thing about it,' Sakuzov wrote in the Right-Wing Socialist organ *Narod*, 'is the fact that the working people are completely disorganized. The existing trade unions are too weak and insignificant that they can not even be taken into account.'

PROSPECTS OF THE BULGARIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The trade unions and the whole revolutionary workers' movement have been routed, beheaded and bled white.

Their leading cadres have been destroyed. The activists still alive are perishing in prisons and hiding in mountain forests or abroad. The proletariat is squeezed by the raging White-guards in the most merciless clutches. The capitalist plunderers freely subject it to monstrous exploitation, spoliation and unprecedented outrages and humiliation.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie is exultant. It believes that it has already got rid of its class enemy. The 'state within the state' no longer exists. There are no revolutionary trade unions, strikes, collective contracts, there is no workers' press, and no restriction on the exploitation of labour. The capitalists, exploiters and profiteers have been given a free hand. Now that the 'Bolshevik peril' has been eradicated, it is time to think of replacing Tsankov, the hangman, who has been stained with blood from head to toe and is becoming inconvenient in the eyes of the 'civilized' world, provided, however, that the military dictatorship will be preserved by all means. Tsankov will quit office, having completed his bloody job in a brilliant way... .

But the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is exulting prematurely, for it is cutting the branch on which it is sitting and thus approaching its doom. The June 9 coup d'état, the September massacre in 1923, this years' April butchery, the indescribable horrors and cruelties and the medieval barbarity of the fascist regime and the rivers of workers' and peasant blood – all this has created an impenetrable gulf between the working people and the bourgeoisie. Henceforth no truce will ever be possible between them. But, as is known, the bourgeoisie cannot stay in power long without the support of the masses. In Germany, France,

Great Britain and other countries, the Social Democrats of the other petty-bourgeois parties still exert a certain influence on the working people, as a result of which they support the rule of the bourgeoisie. No such thing exists in Bulgaria, where the workers' and peasant masses loathe the Social Democrats and the Radicals as much as they loathe Tsankov.

The revolutionary trade unions have been dissolved. But the proletariat is still alive. It is to be found in production. The peasant masses are also still alive and hold agriculture in their hands. The alliance of workers and peasants is already a living fact, and it is sealed with their blood. It will exist and grow stronger. The proletariat will heal the wounds inflicted upon it. It will restore its trade union movement. New leaders and militants will emerge from the workers' ranks. They will be less qualified than the perished leaders, but will be all the more faithful and will continue the fight with still greater selflessness and dedication. Reaction will be defeated. And the support of the bourgeoisie from abroad will also be shaken. The revolutionary proletariat in Great Britain, France and Italy, fulfilling its liberation task, will lend a helping hand to its Bulgarian brothers. The Bulgarian revolutionary workers' movement will finally get back on its feet, exert all its strength and emerge triumphant.

Krasnii International Profsoyuzov
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Signed: G. Dimitrov

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Small Bulgaria, along with China[51] and Morocco,[52] is still in the centre of world attention. And this is, of course, no accident. The notorious big outrage in the Sofia Cathedral and the ensuing bloody events culminating in a nation-wide savage terror of unprecedented proportions have had a double repercussion abroad. While the reactionary European governments, headed by the British Tories, made the widest use of the outrage in the Sofia Cathedral to intensify their campaign against the USSR and the so-called 'Bolshevik peril', the revolutionary-minded workers and peasants in all countries resolutely protested against the tyrannical regime of the Sofia hangmen and came out in defence of the Bulgarian working people.

The interest in the situation in Bulgaria and in the real causes of the events which occurred there has grown incredibly. There are only a few, however, who have a precise idea of the character and meaning of developments in Bulgaria. These events are highly instructive for the working people and especially for the peasants of other countries. The Bulgarian lesson has an international significance. This lesson should by all means be utilized now, when the peasant masses everywhere are undergoing a comparatively rapid process of awakening, when they are increasingly trying to break away from ideological and political dependence on the bourgeoisie and to find a promising ally in the person of the working class, when they are beginning to emerge, still gropingly, on the right road of emancipation from the exploitation and oppression of the capitalists, landowners and profiteers.

I. CHARACTER OF THE WHITE TERROR IN BULGARIA

For two years now the Bulgarian peasants and workers have been exposed to the terrible blows of the terrorist regime, which for sheer ferocity and barbarity has no equal in any other country. Although the white terror in Bulgaria reflects the general offensive of bourgeois reaction throughout the capitalist world, it nevertheless differs pretty much from the terror in the other Balkan states, from Italian fascism, from Horthy's regime in Hungary, from the rampant reaction in Poland, etc. It can be said without any exaggeration that nowhere else – even after the crushing of the Soviet Republics in Hungary, Bavaria and Finland – has the bourgeoisie dealt with such reckless cruelty and in such a bloody manner with the masses and their emancipatory movement as in Tsankov's Bulgaria.

The most characteristic feature of Bulgarian terror consists, above all, in the planned and organized physical annihilation of the vanguard of the working class and the peasant masses, of their intelligentsia and their most conscious and active elements. It is no longer here a question of depriving the masses of their elementary political rights and liberties; it is not a question of impeding and obstructing the activity and struggle of the workers' and peasant organizations. Here we have *no ordinary* acts of violence and persecutions against the worker and peasant movement: all this would not have been so terrible. No, in Bulgaria the whole state apparatus – police, gendarmerie, the army, the court, the parliament and a special military militia consisting of select cut-throats – have been set in motion to *behead and bleed white* the working class and the peasant masses and thus to render them incapable – if not for ever, at least for a long time to come – of fighting for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of a government of their own. The armed Bulgarian bourgeoisie is waging an organized and methodical war (making use of all state means) against the *unarmed* working people. The holocaust of counter-revolution is raging in the country at a time when there is still no real worker-peasant revolution. In this war of the bourgeoisie against the people, beginning

with the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923 and until now, more than 20,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals – the *flower* of the Bulgarian nation – have been killed. The vast majority of these victims of bloody White-guard terror fell not in open battles of a civil war, but were wickedly and bestially murdered in prisons, in their own homes, in the street or during bogus 'attempts at escape' after they had been arrested by the 'legal' authorities.

The working intelligentsia in the country is systematically being exterminated according to a preliminarily drawn up and elaborated plan – *the best, the finest and the most selfless* men whom the people have managed to rear, educate and bring to the fore during their independent existence of forty years. More than 30,000 workers, peasants and militants of the workers' and peasants movement, as well as men, women and youths sympathizing with this movement, have passed through prisons and have been subjected to the most cruel inquisition, to monstrous physical and moral torments and to the vilest outrages. Up to this moment more than 5,000 prisoners of Tsankov's cruel hangmen are pining away in Bulgarian prisons.

Court martials are feverishly at work sentencing to death and many years of close confinement the workers and peasant militants who are still alive. More and more gallows are being raised in every town for the true and loyal sons of the Bulgarian people. Along with the active people's fighters, a great many sympathizers who were courageous enough to express their sympathy with the struggle against the tyrannical regime, are also being sentenced. Persons from among the bourgeois *intelligentsia* – officers, engineers, journalists, artists, doctors and many women – are being sentenced, too, merely for having given shelter in their homes to fighters persecuted by Tsankov's gangs. Even minors, boys and girls, schoolchildren and young university students are sentenced for membership of the communist or agrarian youth unions, for participation in study circles, or finally for circulating or simple safekeeping of underground literature, leaflets, etc.

All this unprecedented cruelty falls upon the heads of

sympathizing bourgeois intellectual elements and the school youth, as the bourgeois press cynically states, 'to make them and in particular the Bulgarian youth come to their senses and to cease, once and for all, to be carried away by the alluring ideas of those who undermine the state system.'

At the same time, all workers and employees who have 'anti-state ideas' are being dismissed from their jobs, and every aid given to those arrested and their starving families is most cruelly persecuted. Under the guise of this obscurantist and barbarous regime the ruling clique of capitalists, bankers and profiteers, is ruthlessly despoiling the peasants and workers. Many shady deals in the export of grain and tobacco,in prime necessities,in various state deliveries, etc., follow one after the other. Speculation knows no bounds. Good Bulgarian wheat is exported, and later low-quality and bitter flour is imported from America at fabulously high prices to feed the Bulgarian population. After the activity of the agricultural co-operatives was restricted and the *Osvobozhdenié* Workers' Co-operative was banned, the masses fell entirely into the hands of greedy and speculating capitalists. The prices of products are arbitrary dictated by the monopoly capitalists and bankers who, aided by the authorities, purchase prime necessities wholesale and maintain exclusive rights over the import of products from abroad. The cost of living is steadily rising, while wages and the incomes of the rural population and craftsmen are decreasing. Usury in the countryside is assuming monstrous proportions, because cheap state and public credit is at the complete disposal of private banks, capitalists and profiteers. The peasants have to pay 50 to 70 and as much as 100 per cent of interest to the usurers. Indirect taxes, which have been increased from one to three thousand million leva annually, are mainly borne by the masses, while big business has been relieved of the tax burden established under Stamboliiski's regime. Peasants are being deprived of the lands which were formerly given to them following the agrarian reform. The property of persons who escaped abroad because of the cruel persecution of the Government and of condemned peasants has been

confiscated. Farm produce is being purchased at a very low price. Workers are being subjected to unrestricted exploitation. The petty craftsmen and merchants are being ruined to the benefit of the capitalists and profiteers. There is absolutely no personal security, no guarantee for one's life, property and the labour of the masses. *Bulgaria has been turned into a big, sinister prison and a real graveyard for the working people* and is under the oppressive rule of the military conspirators and adventurers who do the bidding of Bulgarian big business and are supported by the European imperialist plunderers and reactionaries.

Yet only two years ago, prior to the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923 *there was peasant rule in Bulgaria.* In the person of the Agrarian Union the Bulgarian peasants had an old, mass organization, founded as early as 1900, the nation's strongest political party both in numbers and in influence. The Communist Party, founded in 1892, numbered in its ranks 40,000 selfless workers and peasant farmers, and 220,000 electors (out of a total of 1,000,000). The revolutionary trade unions also numbered some 40,000 organized workers, men and women, and had indisputable guidance over the Bulgarian trade union movement. The agricultural co-operative and the *Osvobozhdenié* workers co-operative with branches throughout the country, numbering 70,000 members, were wholly predominant in the co-operative movement. The Communist and Agrarian youth unions included in their ranks all the active young workers, peasants and labour intellectuals. In the parliamentary elections of April 22, 1923 (a month and a half before the *coup d'état*) the two mass popular parties got 777,000 votes (the Agrarian Union – 557,000 and the Communist Party – 220,000), while all the bourgeois parties taken together (including the Social Democrats) obtained only 270,000 votes. Compared with the elections of March 1920, the percentage of votes obtained by the bourgeois parties and the Social Democrats dropped from 38 to 26, while the percentage of votes cast for the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party increased from 62 to 74.

How was it possible, with such a balance of forces and in the presence of two mass and strong popular parties for

the bankrupt Bulgarian bourgeoisie, compromised in the eyes of the working people, especially during the disastrous wars, to overthrow the Agrarian government of Stamboliiski, to establish its military dictatorship,to deprive the masses of all political rights and liberties and to subject the vanguard and the active forces of the worker-peasant movement to mass physical annihilation?

The key to a correct understanding of the meaning of developments in Bulgaria lies in the explanation of this important and at first sight strange historical fact; therein lies also the great Bulgarian lesson.

2. HOW WAS PEASANT RULE ESTABLISHED IN BULGARIA?

Unlike the bourgeoisie in most of the European countries and more particularly in Great Britain, France and Italy, where it reached its dominant position through continuous struggle and revolutions against feudalism and absolutism, relying during this period on the broad masses, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie became a ruling class without waging a similar protracted struggle. It had had a hostile and treacherous attitude towards the national-revolutionary movement against the Turkish regime, led by the people's intelligentsia and backed by the broad masses. It had preferred to play the role of a mediator and accomplice of the Turkish sultans and pashas in the exploitation and oppression of the peasant population, which at that time was called contemptuously *rayah*. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie obtained its power and its dominant position simply as a gift from the hands of Tsarist Russia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. It has never waged a revolutionary struggle, has had no revolutionary traditions, has been detached from the masses, which it has always treated with distrust, contempt and hostility. It had looked upon the Bulgarian people only as an object of exploitation and plunder, as a tool for achieving its selfish aims and as a coin of exchange in its relations – formerly with the Turkish authorities, and later, after the establish-

ment of an independent Bulgarian state, with the imperialist states. Besides, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie achieved its material prosperity not through a more or less broad initiative in the field of industry and by contributing to the development of the nations' productive forces, as was the case to a certain extent with the West European and American bourgeoisie, but exclusively through the rapacious plunder of the masses, in particular of the peasants, always with the invariable aid of the state power and by making direct use of the state treasury. The chief sources of its enrichment were the heavy taxes imposed on the masses, trade and speculation in farm produce, state loans and the advantages derived from them in the form of commissions for services done during Bulgaria's subordination to the great powers in the realization of their imperialist aspirations in the Balkans.

Under the 25-year reign of Ferdinand, this crowned agent of Austro-German imperialism, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, thievish to the marrow of its bones and incapable of independent industrial activity, turned its eyes towards the wealthy Balkan regions, Macedonia and Thrace, and towards establishing its hegemony in the Balkans. At the time this corresponded fully both to the personal ambitions of power-hungry Tsar Ferdinand and to the aggressive designs of his patrons in Vienna and Berlin.

To achieve the aims of this aggressive policy, represented always to the Bulgarian people as a policy of 'national unification' and of 'liberating the enslaved Bulgarian brothers in Macedonia and Thrace', the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, led by Ferdinand, created militarism that overtaxed the nation's resources and was getting ready in every way for war against Turkey, in whose hands these regions were at that time.

And indeed, in 1912, in alliance with Serbia and Greece, under the patronage of Tsarist Russia, the well-known Balkan War against Turkey was declared. The Turkish Army, received hostilely by the local population, was rapidly crushed. Macedonia and Thrace were cleared of the Turkish armies. The Bulgarian armies reached Chataldja at the very gates of Constantinople. Intoxicated

with victory, Tsar Ferdinand and the Bulgarian bourgeoisie imagined that the moment had come to establish Bulgarian hegemony in the Balkans. A brilliant Tsar's chariot was even prepared in Adrianople for Ferdinand's triumphant entry into Constantinople. However, the question of dividing the spoils among the allies (Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece) then came to the fore. Under the agreement signed between them, the settlement of controversial issues was entrusted to the Russian Tsar Nikolai, as an *arbitrator*. Realizing that Tsarist Russia would not agree to a big expansion of Ferdinand's (i. e. Austro-German) Bulgaria, Ferdinand and his government attempted (onJune 16, 1913), through a sudden attack against the Serbian armies, to drive the latter out of Macedonia by force and to seize it together with its capital Salonica. This adventure, which cost the Bulgarian people more scores of thousands of casualties, resulted in a major disaster for Bulgaria. The united armed forces of Serbia and Greece, with the help of the Romanian army which was advancing toward Sofia, routed the Bulgarian army and compelled Bulgaria to sign an onerous peace.

Two years later, however, Bulgaria was again dragged (September 1915) into the European War, now on the side of the Central Powers. The rapid rout of Serbia and the occupation of Macedonia up to Salonica againwent to the head of Ferdinand and the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, so avid for booty. The dreams of conquering foreign lands, of 'great' Bulgaria and hegemony in the Balkans were resurrected. Serbia was to be carved up between Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria which, after seizing half of Serbia and the whole of Macedonia, planned to advance claims on Albania, too. The Bulgarian occupational authorities in Serbia and Macedonia indulged in major excesses against the Serbian intelligentsia and the more progressive strata of the Serbian population so as to facilitate thereby the elimination of Serbia as an independent state in the Balkans. Meanwhile, while the Bulgarian peasants and workers were shedding their blood at the front for three whole years, the rapacious bourgeoisie indulged in the most unbridled profiteering and piratical plunder of the

people, depriving the families of the 'brave Bulgarian soldiers' of their crust of bread, as well as in various outrages against the population. Concentration of capital proceeded apace. Many new joint-stock companies were set up. The war was a most profitable venture for the bourgeoisie.

Dissatisfaction with the protracted war reached a high point in Bulgaria, rapidly spreading to the army at the front and growing there even stronger, as a result of the beastly treatment of the soldiers and the frequent executions. On September 10, 1918, the Bulgarian soldiers rose in revolt at Dobro Polé, left the trenches and, arms in hand, set out for Sofia, to deal there with the war culprits. Thanks to the German artillery, which was at the time in Bulgaria, the insurgents were defeated not far from Sofia. Then the bourgeoisie succeeded in retaining power in its hands. It merely sacrificed its Tsar Ferdinand, who was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Boris and to leave the country.

In this way the nationalistic and aggressive policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie suffered a second fiasco. Instead of annexing Macedonia, Thrace and even Albania to Bulgaria and establishing hegemony in the Balkans, it had to sign the onerous Neuilly peace treaty. The districts of Tsaribrod and Bossilegrad and part of Thrace were cut off from its territory, its standing army was destroyed and the number of its armed forces was restricted, it was burdened with huge reparations, while being in a state of complete financial bankruptcy, expressed above all in the fact that the state debt amounted to almost half of the country's national wealth.

All this completely repulsed the workers' and peasant masses, which rapidly rallied around the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party. The masses felt complete distrust and unrestrained hatred for the bourgeois parties, guilty of the two disastrous wars and of the people's misfortunes. The Social Democratic Party, which even prior to the war had had only a slight influence among the worker and peasant masses because of its appeasement policy towards the predatory and parasitic Bulgarian bourgeoisie, was now also loathed by the masses, because it had supported the war.

In the meantime, after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, a revolutionary wave swept the whole of Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. The Bulgarian people were eager to avenge themselves for all the horrors, misfortunes and privations which they had suffered during the war. The bourgeoisie, whose power was seriously shaken, felt that its class domination was threatened. The spectre of a worker-peasant revolution aimed at the establishment of Soviet rule gave it no peace. In spite of its boundless hatred for the masses, it was compelled to agree to temporary concessions in order to preserve its rule in the onsetting storm.

In an analogous situation the bourgeoisie in Germany and Austria availed itself of the services of the Social Democrats so as to preserve its power. And the Social Democrats, with their great influence over the proletariat, brilliantly fulfilled this treacherous role. The Social Democratic Governments in Germany and Austria succeeded in deflecting the proletariat from the road of the proletarian revolution and in saving the rule of the bourgeoisie. Ebert[53] paved the way for Hindenburg[54] in Germany, and Dr. Renner[55] for Seipel[56] in Austria.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, on the contrary, could not rely on the weak Social Democratic Party loathed by the masses and compromised. The only petty bourgeois mass party, capable of holding on to power at that moment in Bulgaria, a predominantly peasant country, without trying to change its state system radically, was the Agrarian Union of Stamboliiski, which enjoyed wide popularity among the peasant masses. And the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, with spitefully clenched fists and gnashing teeth, agreed to divide its power with the Agrarian Union, reconciling itself at the end of 1919 with the forming of Stamboliiski's government, in which two bourgeois ministers took part as 'experienced statesmen and counsellors' of the Agrarian Government, hoping that after the storm was over, it would manage to regain all the power and to square accounts with the peasants' and workers' movement.

However, after taking the power in its hands, the Agrarian Union under the pressure of its peasant followers and

under the influence of the Communist Party, rapidly broke up the government coalition with the bourgeoisie and established its own peasant rule in the country, compelling the bourgeoisie to retreat without a fight.

3. ATTITUDE OF PEASANT GOVERNMENT TOWARDS BOURGEOISIE

The Agrarian Union sprang up and developed in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and its parties. In its ideology and policy it was a purely peasant and anti-capitalist organization. This naturally made the peasant government set up by it carry out an irreconcilable policy towards the bourgeoisie.

Assuming power on the basis of the bourgeois system and without affecting its foundations, Stamboliiski's Agrarian Government revealed an extremely half-way policy in all its measures in the field of home and economic policy. Its fight against the bourgeoisie consisted primarily in weakening the bourgeois parties and in desorganizing them to such an extent as to render them incapable of ever replacing it again by parliamentary means. Despite the high-flown and often extremely radical speeches of Stamboliiski, Daskalov and other leaders of the Agrarian Union, no measures were taken against the economic strongholds of the bourgeoisie: the banks, the joint–stock companies and the big capitalist enterprises. The Agrarian Government introduced a capital and income tax, which sheared something off the bourgeoisie, but it did not resort to the nationalization of banks and of joint-stock companies, nor even to a confiscation of war profits. It passed a law on the expropriation of buildings for public use at low prices, but it utilized this undertaking mainly as a means of political pressure on eminent adherents of the bourgeois parties, and not as a major social and economic reform. It did not resort to the nationalization of land and of big landed estates. It set up a co-operative consortium for the export and

trade in cereals abroad, thereby dealing a serious blow to the big grain exporters, yet left the export and trade in tobacco in private hands, failing to establish a monopoly on all foreign trade. It restricted profiteering capital, which was in the hands of the bourgeois finance groups, and the use of state credit, but it took no measures against profiteering, allowing some of its own adherents who had grown rich, with the unofficial collusion of the old bourgeois profiteers, to use this credit for speculative ends. It passed a law on land reform which affected some of the big landowners, but on the whole it did not touch the land belonging to the peasant bourgeoisie, granting mainly state and municipal lands to part of the peasants, and, of course, did not even dream of resorting to a general nationalization of the land.

Nor did the Agrarian Government reorganize the state, administrative and military apparatus; it did not oppose the monarchism under whose wing later the *coup d'état* was prepared and carried out. In this respect it continued to follow the beaten track of the bourgeois governments. As to the police, gendarmerie and army, all it did was to replace some top officials, while preserving their old bourgeois organization. It did not set up a real people's army with officers genuinely loyal to the people, which would defend the peasant rule against any attacks on the part of the bourgeoisie. It did not even purge the army of the old bourgeois officers and did not dare replace them with sergeants from among the peasants, loyal to the peasant rule. It did not arm the working people so as to use them against any attempts at a bourgeois *coup d'état*. The Orange Guard formed by Raiko Daskalov, consisting of militant members of the Agrarian organizations, was rather a parade guard left without arms, as became evident during the June 9 *coup d'état*, when it proved to be with bare hands against the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. The Stamboliiski government, especially during the last two years of its administration, saw the mainstay of its power in the parliamentary machine and in violence applied by the administrative apparatus, and not in the organization, arming and initiative of the masses. Following the general

desire of the working people expressed in the referendum carried out in 1922 for bringing to trial the bourgeois governments which had been in power during the Balkan and European Wars, when 700,000 votes were cast in favour and only 200,000 against, the Agrarian government passed a law on bringing to trial those responsible for the war and the disasters, but it did not dare set up a real people's court with shortened proceedings and, although it was in power for three whole years, this big political trial never did take place.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Stamboliiski Government remained fully dependent on the Entente and mainly on France. At the suggestion of France, it not only refused to restore relations between Bulgaria and Soviet Russia, but even took certain inimical action against the latter. It gave shelter in the country to part of the White-guard army of General Wrangel (10,000 men), which had its own military organization, military schools and courts on Bulgarian soil, which conspired against Soviet Russia and prepared to participate in the counter-revolutionary intervention, and which subsequently was widely utilized by the bourgeoisie in its *coup d'état* against Stamboliiski's government. Instead of pursuing a sound Balkan policy of understanding with all Balkan nations on the principle of their unification in a common Balkan federation, Stamboliiski tried to reach an agreement with the Serbian imperialists, sacrificing the main interests of the liberation movement of the Macedonian people and raising the old bourgeois nationalist slogan of a Bulgarian outlet on the Aegean Sea, which aggravated relations between Bulgaria and Greece. The foreign policy of the Agrarian government fully coincided with the interests and views of the pro-Entente Bulgarian bourgeoisie and hence enjoyed its support.

During the last period of its rule, the Agrarian government increasingly fell under the influence of the well-to-do peasants and their adherents who, together with the old bourgeois profiteers, made various financial, business and speculative deals. Points of contact and factual relations were established between the top clique of the Agrarian Union and some bourgeois spheres. Part of the Agrarian

leaders, headed by Tourlakov, Tomov and Manolov, who had no faith in the stability of sole agrarian rule, unambiguously favoured a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie and even a government coalition of the Agrarian Union with the bourgeois parties. Stamboliiski's government, continuing its negative attitude towards the bourgeois parties which it considered politically crushed and disorganized, systematically tried, however, to win over the finance and industrial groups of the bourgeoisie by means of economic concessions, through joint work in the banks, joint-stock companies and the capitalist enterprises connected with agriculture. It missed no occasion to prove that it did not propose to be merely a peasant government and that it was capable enough of defending also the interests of the 'productive strata' of the bourgeoisie itself. It thus detached itself more and more from the masses and from the bulk of the poor peasants organized in the Agrarian Union and unwittingly further undermined its own positions of peasant rule and promoted the realization of the bourgeois plans for a *coup d'état*.

4. PEASANT RULE AND THE PROLETARIAT

Combating the bourgeoisie tooth and nail, the proletariat, led by the Communist Party was no doubt instrumental in having the power pass into the hands of the Agrarian Union. After the establishment of the Agrarian government this struggle, coupled with the communist propaganda and criticism, weakening the bourgeoisie and increasingly isolating it from the masses, could have strengthened the positions of the peasant government against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

This very fact showed clearly that, as regards the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the peasant masses had common interests, that they should have marched together and acted with united efforts and that the Agrarian Union could have found in the person of the proletariat and its political organization – the Communist Party – its only loyal ally. The leaders of the Agrarian Union, however,

proceeding solely from the simple fact that the peasants constituted the vast majority of the country's population, were convinced that the peasant government could and should be consolidated quite on its own. They considered it as much threatened by the proletariat as by the bourgeoisie. What is more, parallel with the weakening and disorganization of the bourgeois parties, the Communist Party grew steadily and rapidly extended its influence among the masses. The Stamboliiski government was therefore much more afraid of the proletariat, fighting for the reorganization of society through the establishment of a Soviet system in the country, than of the bourgeoisie, which was trying to regain power. Stamboliiski, Daskalov and other leaders of the Agrarian Union did not draw any lesson from the history of peasant movements in the past, had no wish to profit from the valuable lessons of the October Russian Revolution, which had shown that the bourgeoisie could be completely defeated and rendered harmless only through an alliance between workers and peasants and that the peasant masses could not retain power all by themselves, without the leadership of the proletariat – better organized, more conscientious and active, concentrated in industry mainly in the towns. The peasant government in Bulgaria from the very beginning to the end of its existence pursued a policy which was aimed not at the rapprochement between the proletariat and the peasantry against their common enemy – the bourgeoisie and capitalism, but, quite, on the contrary, tended to produce growing disunity, alienation and opposition.

The first big conflict between the Agrarian government and the proletariat broke out at the time of the general railwaymen's strike.[57] Stamboliiski's government still included three bourgeois Ministers and they consciously involved it in a fierce battle with the railwaymen, who enjoyed the staunch support of the whole proletariat and of all the working people from town and village who marched under the banner of the Communist Party. The Agrarian government refused to enter into negotiations with the railwaymen's organizations as regards their modest demands, whereby the strike itself could have been

avoided. And when the strike was proclaimed, the Government started a mass persecution of the fighting railwaymen. In order to preserve the 'state prestige', it mobilized the strikers and tried to bring them back to their jobs by force, like mobilized soldiers. When, in spite of all, the mobilized railwaymen unanimously refused to submit, the Government strove to maintain railway traffic by using scabs, recruited from among the adherents of the Agrarian Union. In the midst of winter the families of the strikers were thrown out of their lodgings into the street. The unbridled supporters of Stamboliiski behaved indecently with their women and children and there were even cases of rape. The leaders of the strike were arrested, subjected to torture and brought before the military court. The demonstration of the Sofia proletariat during the strike was provoked by the police and by plainclothesmen directed by the chief of the city police, who threw several bombs and later blamed the demonstrants for this act. The Government agents blew railway bridges into the air, so that they could afterwards put the blame on the strikers, accusing them of attempts upon the life of citizens and of destruction of property, and justify their coercive measures against the strikers. The mass political strike proclaimed in aid of the fighting railwaymen was suppressed by means of armed force. When after a 50-day heroic struggle the railwaymen's strike ended in the capitulation of the railwaymen, the Agrarian government considered it as one of its great contributions, while the bourgeoisie as a whole triumphed and gloated.

Once having taken this road, Stamboliiski's government continued to widen the gap between the peasant rule and the working class. It completely neglected the legislative defence of labour. Lest in irritate the industrialists, it did practically nothing to apply even the existing workers' laws and refused to appoint a date for the election of workers' inspectors provided by the law.

It also had a hostile attitude towards the trade unions, especially towards the unions of the civil servants and, most of all, towards the Miners' Union, in which the workers of the big Pernik state mine were organized. Its administra-

tion tried, with the aid of the Government, to establish separative trade union organizations in opposition to the existing trade unions.

To deal a blow to the workers' movement in Bulgaria's capital (Sofia), the agents of Stamboliiski's government, with the direct participation of the police, attacked, destroyed and burnt the old People's Home on May 24, 1921, which housed the trade unions, the *Osvobozhdenié* workers' co-operative, the Communist Party and their printing house, newsprint storerooms and shops.

The Agrarian Government put all kinds of obstacles in the way of the *Osvobozhdenié* workers' co-operative, which was steadily expanding its useful activity throughout the country and was a thorn in the the eyes of the private merchants and profiteers. It did not allow this co-operative to benefit from the concessions and privileges which it had established for the agricultural co-operative organizations. Towards the end of its rule the Government even intended to dissolve it and to confiscate its fine building, the People's Home, erected on the spot where the old structure, burnt down in 1921, had stood.

The hostility of the peasant government towards the proletariat assumed its most senseless form in the struggle to capture the municipal councils. As early as 1919, the urban proletariat, led by the Communist Party, had been waging a persistent struggle against the bourgeoisie in order to capture the municipalities. In the municipal elections the big municipalities passed into the hands of the Communist Party one after the other. By the end of 1921, almost all the municipalities in Bulgaria, with the exception of Sofia, had been wrested from the hands of the bourgeoisie and placed at the service of the proletariat and the urban working people in general. The communist municipal councils carried out radical reforms in the economic, tax and social policy of the municipalities. They transferred the burden of municipal taxes onto the wealthy and propertied citizens. They opened municipal shops and set up municipal enterprises to counteract the speculation of private capital. They improved sanitary conditions: electricity, means of communication and water supplying the

workers' districts. They promoted education and opened free canteens and camps for the schoolchildren of the working people. They took measures for labour protection and opened municipal hospitals and drug stores, improved the status of the municipal clerks, etc.

The communist urban administrations became organizations in defence of the working people's interests and for the improvement of their cultural and living standards and, at the same time, were a mainstay in the fight against the bourgeoisie and capitalist exploitation and speculation. Of course, the bourgeoisie was strongly affected by all this. It was quite dissatisfied and its animosity against the proletariat and the Communist Party knew no bounds.

The Agrarian government, too, was dissatisfied with the existence and consolidation of the proletarian municipal councils, although it was quite obvious that the capture of these municipalities by the proletariat was an exceptionally important gain and a very favourable condition for strengthening the forces and power of the working people. The Stamboliiski government began a systematic campaign against the municipalities which were in the hands of the proletariat. The Ministry of Home Affairs refused to approve the budgets of the communist municipal councils. It trimmed and paralyzed their economic plans and social enterprises. It also repealed the taxes imposed on the bourgeoisie. Its policy constantly bothered and persecuted the communist mayors and their assistants. Finally, the Government by means of the police dissolved and dispersed the communist municipalities one by one and handed their management over to government committees composed of followers of the Agrarian Union and representatives of the bourgeois parties. Very soon, as a result of this self-defeating policy of the Agrarian government, the bourgeoisie became once again complete master of the municipalities, by means of which it was able not only to safeguard its interests at the expense of those of the working people, but also to conspire against the peasant rule itself.

In its blindness and under the influence of the well

to-do peasants as well as of the bourgeois and profiteering elements who had wormed their way into the ranks of the Agrarian Union. Stamboliiski's government, a few months before the *coup d'état* intensified its campaign against the proletariat and the Communist Party. In the electoral campaign in April 1923 it came out with a peculiar plan for the destruction of communism in Bulgaria. It published a special 'bill on the communes', which was to be approved by the newly-elected parliament and by dint of which the lands, implements and all the property of the members of the Communist Party were to be confiscated, while the communists were to be sent away from their place of residence to certain localities where, in the words of the bill, they 'were to organize communes' according to the teaching of communism. On the eve of the elections, by order of the Government, the police and the village mayors drew up lists of the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, who were subject to the bill which the government agents passed off at that time to the peasant masses as a binding law.

Especially characteristic was the fact that all this happened at the very moment when the bourgeoisie, smashed ideologically and politically, and having lost every hope of recapturing power by parliamentary means, was busy plotting a military *coup d'état* for the overthrow of the Agrarian Government. All this was done by the Government at the very time when the Communist Party was sounding the alarm, publicly warning the Government and the masses of the plots hatched by the bourgeoisie, and on two occasions (in the autumn of 1922 and early in 1923), it unmasked the plotters and through its mass actions succeeded in averting a *coup d'état*. This happened precisely at the time when the Communist Party was stressing most insistently that a joint struggle was needed between workers and peasants and joint work between the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party and of the whole workers' movement against the plots of the military-bourgeois cliques. It was as if a fatal madness had obsessed Stamboliiski, the other leaders of the Agrarian Union and the Agrarian rulers. The more their downfall plotted by the

bourgeoisie approached, the more they were carried away by their hatred of the proletariat and the Communist Party.

By this behaviour of their they created among the masses an antagonism towards the peasant rule, which was a major contributing factor in the Communist Party's fatal and irretrievable historical error, when during the June 9, 1923 *coup d'état* (quite contrary to its behaviour in November 1922 and January 1923) it adopted a *position of neutrality*, instead of making use of its great force and its extensive influence among the masses to mobilize them for armed resistance to the bourgeois *coup d'état*.

5. THE AGRARIAN UNION AND THE MACEDONIAN MOVEMENT

One of the key questions in the Balkans, which has had a decisive influence on the entire home and foreign policy of the Balkan states, is the *national question*. In the course of decades, this was the *Macedonian question*, for Bulgaria in particular. From its very beginnings the Macedonian movement was directly linked with Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, first because several hundred thousands of Macedonian emigrants, striving for the freedom and national independence of Macedonia, had settled in Bulgaria, and second, because of the links of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie with the leaders of the Macedonian movement and the use they made of it for their nationalist policy.

While for a long time the Communist Party itself made errors in its attitude towards the Macedonian movement, underestimating it (on account of which it did not take prompt and active participation in it, so as to help it get rid of the noxious influence of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie), the Agrarian Union not only underestimated the importance of the Macedonian movement, but even adopted a hostile attitude towards it. Because of Todor Alexandrov and other bourgeois inspirers of the Macedonian organization, the Macedonian emigrants and the whole Macedonian movement, depicting it as a source of the major disasters which had befallen the Bulgarian people in the past. The leaders

of the Agrarian Union were unable to see the forest behind the trees. They forgot that the masses and a popular government in Bulgaria could not remain alien to the fate of the Macedonian people, fighting against national oppression, could not remain alien to the Macedonian question, on the solution of which the freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people and of the other Balkan peoples depend to a large extent.

The Agrarian government, in the person of its Minister of Home Affairs, Alexander Dimitrov, declared war on the Macedonian organization. It undertook systematic persecutions of the Macedonian militants, restricted the activity of the Macedonian organization and openly threatened to destroy it.

In the meantime, the Stamboliiski government tried to improve relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia precisely at the cost of the interests of the Macedonian movement. It signed an agreement with the Belgrade Government, by virtue of which it undertook to prohibit every activity on the part of the Macedonian organization on Bulgarian soil and even in the Bulgarian part of Macedonia (Petrich district) and to persecute and destroy the Macedonian insurgent detachments crossing over from Serbian into Bulgarian Macedonia, while pursued by Yugoslav troops.

By its policy on the Macedonian question, the Agrarian government incurred the enmity of the great majority of the Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria and helped Todor Alexandrov to incite the whole Macedonian organization against itself. The first victim of this became the Agrarian Minister of Home Affairs,who was murdered by decision of the leaders of the Macedonian organization, while Stamboliiski was still in power.

The bourgeoisie cleverly made use of this conflict between the Agrarian government and the Macedonian Organization. It succeeded in persuading the Macedonian fighters that the overthrow of Stamboliiski's government was an inevitable condition for the free development of the Macedonian movement and for the preparation of an armed uprising aimed at Macedonia's liberation. In this

way, the bourgeoisie attracted the entire Macedonian Organization, winning it over wholly for the cause of the *coup d'état* that was being prepared and making use of its well-armed forces to perpetrate the *coup d'état* as well as to terrorize the masses and to decapitate their movement after the *coup d'état*.

6. THE *COUP D'ETAT* OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

At the end of 1919 the Bulgarian bourgeoisie voluntarily agreed to share power with the Agrarian Union. Later, confronted by the immediate threat of the ruined masses and a worker-peasant revolution, it handed over all power to Stamboliiski without a fight. At the end of 1922 and in January 1923, however, when this threat was over, it could not and would not tolerate the peasant rule any longer. Now it was no longer content with the economic concessions made by Stamboliiski's government. It knew, on the other hand, that the disintegration of peasant rule now beginning and, as a result of its half-way policy, the growing discontent of the masses further increased the power and influence of the Communist Party, as well as the endeavour of the working people for the complete economic and political expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its elimination.

That is why the bourgeoisie, impotent politically and in parliament, focussed its entire attention and all its efforts on the preparation of conditions, under which it could forcefully overthrow the Agrarian government and destroy the organized movement of the workers and peasants in the country. To this end, under the protection of the palace, it mobilized the officers of the regular army, and many of those who had been dismissed because of the reduction of the army. It made use of the Wrangel's Russian Whiteguards (10,000 men), stationed in Bulgaria at that time. It completely won over to its side the armed Macedonian Organization. It also secured the support of Great Britain and Italy, which resented Stamboliiski's policy of rap-

prochement with Yugoslavia, an agent of France in the Balkans. Great Britain, which needed the Balkans to consolidate its influence in Asia Minor against re-emerging Turkey and to establish a solid base in its struggle against the USSR, saw an obstacle in Stamboliiski's government and in the mass Communist Party in Bulgaria and readily supported the conspiratorial schemes of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

Taking thus all preparatory measures at home and internationally, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was biding its time in order to take firm action. On its part, Stamboliiski's anti-proletarian and anti-Macedonian policy rapidly created a favourable psychological atmosphere for dealing blows to the Agrarian Government.The self-deception and smugness of the leaders of the Agrarian Union and of the Agrarian Ministers after their great victory over the bourgeois parties in the April 1923 elections, the conviction that their power was now secure, created the possibility of an unexpected military *coup d'état* against the Agrarian government. Another factor making for this was that Stamboliiski, waging a struggle against the proletariat and the Communist Party, without having armed the worker and peasant masses, committed the boundless stupidity to leave the nation's army and armed forces in the hands of the old officers who were loyal to the bourgeoisie. Thus, on June 9, 1923, a gang of greedy bankers and profiteers, war-discredited generals and professors ambitious for an easy political career, relying on the conspiratorial military league and with the support of Wrangels White-guards and of the Macedonian Organization in Bulgaria, overthrew the democratically elected Agrarian Government of Stamboliiski by means of a military *coup d'état* and seized the reins of power in one night like highwaymen, killing Stamboliiski and a number of Agrarian deputies and militants, filling the prisons with thousands of peasants and workers who resisted the *coup d'état* and subjecting the Bulgarian people to their military dictatorship. The place of the Agrarian government was taken by the government of Tsankov, formed at the time by all bourgeois parties, including the Social Democratic Party, which were

represented in parliament by only 30 deputies out of a total 245. The great majority of the Bulgarian people were squarely against the perpetrated *coup d'état*, but the unarmed, disorganized and leaderless masses which had rised were rapidly crushed.

Realizing all too well that the new Government could count on no support among the people, that its social basis actually consisted of the numerically very small financial, industrial and speculative bourgeoisie, which was completely discredited in the eyes of the masses and abhored on account of the two disastrous wars (the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 and the World War of 1915–18), Tsankov's government proceeded to consolidate its power by *physically annihilating* all the people's organized forces, leaving the country at the mercy of its conspiratorial military organization and the so-called 'small convent' – its central organ for organizing and perpetrating murders of active opponents of the government.

Considering that by decapitating the Agrarian Union during the *coup d'état*, the mass organization of the Bulgarian peasants had already been destroyed, the gang of bankers, generals and professors proceeded to prepare the conditions necessary for the crushing of the workers' movement – the Communist Party, the trade union, the *Osvobozhdenié* workers' co-operative, the Youth Organization, as well as the widely popular workers' press which had *twice as large a circulation* as all the bourgeois and Social Democratic papers taken together.

Only three months after the June *coup d'état*, on September 12, 1923, Tsankov's government, on the false pretext that the Communist Party had planned for that day an armed uprising with the aim of establishing Soviet rule in Bulgaria, arrested over 2,000 militants of the workers' movement (deputies, district and municipal councillors, mayors, journalists, Party and trade union secretaries, etc.), closed the workers' clubs and turned them into police headquarters, confiscated the property, the printing shops, the funds and archives of the Party and trade unions, banned their newspapers, as well as their further activity.

starting at the same time a nation-wide mass persecution of thousands of their members and followers.

Thus, *Tsankov's government provoked the September 1923 Uprising of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, who rose in defence of their openly violated rights and liberties, in defence of their legal existence.*

After crushing the people's uprising with the aid of Wrangel's White-guards and the armed forces of the Macedonian Organization, Tsankov's government massacred several thousand prominent workers, peasants and intellectuals who had been arrested and drove thousands of others abroad.

When later the Macedonian Organization, so extensively exploited by the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the Bulgarian working people during and after the *coup d'état*, began to become aware of its errors and to tend towards an independent national-revolutionary policy, barring in this manner Tsankov's endeavours to secure the support of Yugoslavia, Tsankov's government, feeling that it already had enough armed forces of its own, attacked it without choosing its means. In September 1924 it inspired the murder of Todor Alexandrov, then exploited this murder by ascribing it to the leftist Macedonian fighters in order to wipe out *en masse* the best forces of the Macedonian Organization, to deprive it of its basis in the Petrich district, to destroy it and thus deal a heavy blow to the whole Macedonian movement.

But even after all this the Government was not able to pacify the country and secure peaceful rule. On the contrary, the dissatisfaction and indignation of the people against the terrorist regime further increased. The masses of workers and peasants, which had learned a good lesson from bitter experience, understood that the reason for their defeat lay in their disunion, continued with joint forces the struggle against their butcher and for recapturing the rights and liberties they had been deprived of.

In the course of 20 months Tsankov's government responded with indescribable violence and cruelty to this lawful struggle for self-defence, with incessant political murders and most impudent provocations. The revenge of

the bourgeoisie on the working class and peasantry manifested itself in the form of a wave of terror in the wake of the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral and in a new nation-wide butchery of the workers and peasants, the horrors of which have not ceased to this very day.

That is how the Bulgarian bourgeoisie succeeded in destroying the peasant rule, in imposing its military dictatorship upon the people, and in crushing successively and one by one the peasant, the workers' and the national Macedonian movements, how it succeeded in prolonging its bloody rule for a certain time.

7. CONCLUSION

The lessons of the experience of peasant rule and the sanguinary events in Bulgaria become quite clear from all that has been stated so far. These lessons consist above all in the following:

1. *The peasants, no matter how well organized, are not in a position to hold the state power in their hands for a long time.* The peasant masses, scattered in thousands of villages, cut off from the urban centres, have no direct influence on industry and transport and their isolated peasant rule remains without the necessary solid support and actually finds itself as if in a foreign camp, unable to cope with the complex task of the government and organize its defence against the bourgeoisie. Only in alliance with the proletariat and under its conscious, energetic and firm leadership can the peasant masses get rid of the oppression of the bourgeoisie and become a truly dominant factor in the country, free and full masters of their destiny, as we can see from the example of the Soviet Union.

2. *The bourgeoisie cannot be removed from state power by halfway measures while preserving the foundation of the bourgeois system.* Preserving its economic might, it will find sufficient strength to recapture power, which it has been compelled to yield temporarily under adverse circumstances. *Only by its complete economic and political expropriation can the bourgeoisie be rendered completely harmless to the masses.*

3. *The bourgeoisie* in a given country, even if ideologically and politically completely bankrupt, even if totally isolated from the masses, and quite weak politically and in parliament, *can impose its dictatorship on the working people, if their forces are disunited, if there is mutual distrust and hostility among the peasantry, the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities.* Utterly discredited in the eyes of the working people, shattered ideologically and politically, removed from power for three entire years, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie skilfully exploited the isolation of the peasant rule, its hostility towards the proletariat and the Macedonian movement, the lack of a fraternal alliance between peasants and workers, and managed to recapture power, to defeat successfully the peasantry, the proletariat and the Macedonian movement and steep the nation in blood.

4. *The victory over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a worker-peasant government are possible only through an unshakable alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.*

The Bulgarian workers, peasants and the oppressed Macedonians paid a heavy price for this bloody historical lesson. But they learned a great deal and their united front against the bourgeoisie has been sealed forever by the blood profusely shed in common. The Bulgarian working people see their salvation from the ferocious fascist terror and their final liberation from the oppression of capitalism only in this indissoluble united front.

The trials and tribulations of the Bulgarian working people, the ill-fated attempt at peasant rule in Bulgaria, the fatal mistakes of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Communist Party – *this entire Bulgarian lesson is for the peasants, the workers and the oppressed nationalities in the Balkans and in all other countries a valuable indication of the only right road which they should follow in their own liberation struggle.*

Krestyanski International
No. 6–9, 1925
Signed: G. Dimitrov

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THE TRIAL AGAINST THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Government of Tsankov attached great importance to the trial against the former members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The trial was to show to the whole world that the September 1923 Uprising, provoked by Tsankov's government, was the work of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party which had supposedly been preparing it for a long time and had proclaimed it 'at the behest of Moscow'.

With this trial the Government wanted to prove also that it was fully justified in outlawing the Communist Party, the workers' and peasant youth organizations, the trade unions and the *Osvobozhdenié* workers' co-operative.

Finally, the Government tried to prove with this trial that the civil war and the bloody anarchy was the work not of the bourgeoisie which had staged a military *coup d'état* on June 9, 1923 and terrorized the masses, but of the Bulgarian Communist Party. For, as the indictment reads, 'from the moment it joined the Communist International and adopted its programme and tactics (1919), it (the BCP) decided to organize an armed uprising, started preparing it and set up secret organizations to commit outrages and assassinate the representatives of the bourgeoisie.'

Tsankov tried to represent the Communist Party as a 'group of conspirators,' which organized plots, attempts and murders, and thus to justify the acts of violence, cruelty and murders of workers and peasants on the pretext of 'legal self-defence of the state.'

For a year and a half Tsankov's investigating magistrates rummaged in the confiscated archives of the CC and the organization of the BCP to find the necessary materials and documents, which would confirm the ac-

cusation. As a result of prolonged work, a detailed indictment was drawn up against the Central Committee with many distorted quotations from the programme and decisions of the Party congresses, but without any factual data.

At last the date was set for the trial against the CC of the BCP. The hearing of the case took place at the Sofia civil court, because the acts ascribed to the CC referred to a time when there was no martial law in the country and when the 'State Protection Law' had not yet been issued.

Despite the wish and expectations of Tsankov and his agents, the hearing of the case completely refuted the trumped up accusation against the Bulgarian Communist Party. No trace was left of the 'irrefutable documents,' about which General Roussev had made so much ado at the time, which were to 'prove responsibility of the BCP for the September Uprising,' which supposedly proved the existence of 'an order from Moscow' and in general exposed the 'conspiratorial character of the Party'. There was only one witness who backed up the accusation before the court – this was Tsankov's investigating magistrate, who questioned the arrested members of the CC.

Meanwhile, even the bourgeois witnesses, as, for instance, the National-Liberal Boyan Smilov, a former Minister of Tsankov's government, and Kostourkov, the leader of the Radical Party, had to admit before the court that in September 1923 the masses had been provoked to an uprising by the Government's coercive measures and that the responsibility for the September events fell precisely upon its shoulders.

In his speech for the defence, which by the way was a brilliant defence of the Communist Party, the Comintern and communism, and a crushing accusation against Tsankov's terrorist regime and the blood-stained Bulgarian bourgeoisie Comrade Kabakchiev established with indisputable facts and arguments that Tsankov's government had come to power through a military *coup d'état* against the will of the great majority of the Bulgarian people, had deliberately resorted to the destruction of the mass Communist Party, for which purpose it had started the

September provocation. The September 1923 Uprising, which broke out as a result of this provocation, was by no means a plot (as was June 9 military *coup d'état*), but a *popular mass movement.* It cannot be ascribed either to individual communists or to the Communist Party as a whole, because a popular mass movement is never an arbitrary act of individuals and parties. The Bulgarian Communist Party fulfilled only its duty, siding with the insurgent masses against their tyrants. *It did not want to repeat the fatal error of June 9, when it did not actively oppose the military coup d'état of the people's enemies. The Bulgarian Communist Party acted absolutely correctly when it took part in the September Uprising, trying to lend it an organized character and assuming its leadership.*

The trial against the BCP actually turned into a trial against the regime of Tsankov. This fact so strongly leaped to the eyes that the organs of the so-called legal opposition (*Narod* and *Epoha, Radical, Znamé* and *Nezavissimost*), which have never ceased their heinous campaign against the BCP, found it inconvenient to publish any news on the trial and instead preferred to keep silent, while the Government press restricted itself only to brief, confused and indistinct notes. For the same reason, the Government refused to admit to the court the German, British, French, Swiss and Czechoslovak jurists, who expressed the desire to assume the defence of the accused members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

All this, however, did not prevent the prosecutor from demanding with the typical impudence of the Sofia hangmen a death sentence for the members of the Politbureau (Comrades Kabakchiev, Kolarov, Loukanov and Dimitrov) and long prison terms for the other members of the Central Committee (Comrades Penev, Ivanov and Kirkova). Nor did all this prevent the court from taking it for granted that the 'order' for an uprising had been given by the Politbureau, and from sentencing its members to 12 years of close confinement, and 'magnanimously' discharging of responsibility the remaining three members of the CC,placing them at the mercy of Tsankov's bandits.

who destroy political opponents dangerous to Tsankov without any trial and sentence.

The Sofia court, of course, could not but officially recognize the Bulgarian Communist Party as responsible for the September Uprising. An acquittal in the trial against its Central Committee would have meant officially to recognize at the trial that Tsankov's government had been responsible for the numerous outrages it had committed against the Bulgarian working people. Tsankov could never have allowed this. The court found a way out of the awkward predicament in which it was placed by this grossly tendentious trial and pronounced a 'magnanimous' sentence, although the law entitled it to pass life sentences on the defendants 'for similar crimes.'

The trial against the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the first instance (the accused are entitled to appeal both before the Court of Appeals and the Court of Cassation) exposed once again even more strongly the Government of the Bulgarian oppressors, adventurers and falsifiers.

Pravda No. 153
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Signed: G. Dimitrov

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The present political situation in Bulgaria is characterized by preparations for the break-up of the Tsankov government. This break-up is inavoidable both for domestic reasons and owing to foreign pressure. The frantic terror against the masses and the mass murders of workers' and peasant militants have by no means brought about the country's pacification. This course of bloody revenge has only increased the despair of the workers and peasant masses, as well as the anarchy and uncertainty in our country. In spite of the ruthless war which the army, the gendarmerie and the militia waged against the insurrection movement, in spite of the draconic laws against those who shelter and assist the persecuted revolutionaries, the groups of political insurgents, as the government newspapers report, continue to exist and are active in various parts of the country. New groups of insurgents appear in the place of the shattered ones.

The bourgeois circles are already exhausted and disillusioned. They admit that their bloody victory over the masses has been a sad Pyrrhic victory. The terror has not justified the hopes pinned on it. The bourgeois newspapers are compelled to admit that even the fiercest and most terrible violence was not able to disrupt the unified front of the workers' and peasant masses.

This is precisely why the Democratic Union – the government party – is increasingly disintegrating. It is increasingly breaking up into its component parts which have not succeeded in becoming welded in a single party. The contradictions and mutual enmities in the government camp have also manifested themselves in the parliament. This discord has even effected the officers – the sole real

force of the government. Part of the officers have joined the oppositionist National-Liberal Party, and others, though fewer in number, have gone over to the left bourgeois parties. The National-Liberal Party itself, which is backed by certain sections of the big bourgeoisie, is disintegrating at present. The old adherents of Stambolov and those of the assassinated Dr. Genadiev are leaving its ranks and forming a separate Liberal Party. Naturally, they count on becoming an important factor in the government combinations in the near future. The main strength of the new Liberal Party stems from the fact that it has in its ranks General Lazarov, head of the Sofia Garrison, one of the chief organizers of the coup of June 9 and leader of the officers who are dissatisfied with the Tsankov government and, in particular, with General Roussev (the present Minister of Internal Affairs).

The so-called left-wing parties (the Democrats led by Malinov, the Radicals and the Social-Democrats) are quite weak by themselves, as they have no masses back of them. The latter treat them in a hostile way, because of their participation in the coup of June 9 and the mass massacres in September 1923, and because of their support of Tsankov in his last bloody retaliatory campaign against the communist and peasant movement. Realizing their weakness, the left-wing parties have no courage to seek a solution of the present situation by means of new elections. They understand that such elections would not only lead to the Democratic Union's defeat, but to their own too, and would enable the workers' and peasant parties to test the strength of their united front on political and legal grounds. For the same reasons the left-wing parties cannot venture to form a joint block capable of assuming power.

On the other hand, British diplomacy, which heretofore supported Tsankov and his extremely terroristic regime and which knows the true state of affairs in our country, has also come to realize that the maintenance of this regime only increases the so-called Bolshevik peril in Bulgaria and the Balkans and may lead to dangerous surprises. In the opinion of British diplomacy, only a replacement of the Tsankov government by a more moderate one

could forestall the otherwise inevitable danger of an outburst of the people's wrath. Hence it energetically promotes such a change in government.

The outlines of the forthcoming government change are assuming an ever clearer shape. In the present state of affairs, this change can only be carried out by means of a regrouping of the military forces, in combination with the main parts of the now dominant Democratic Union. The bourgeoisie can under no circumstances venture to entrust its fate to the weak left-wing parties, which neither have enough influence on the masses to be able to rely on them, nor can they count on the nation's military forces. Hence they are turning their eyes towards Lyapchev (the leader of the parliamentary majority) and General Vulkov (the present Minister of War, who is the organizer and brain of the Military League).

The right-wing bourgeois parties will probably concentrate around Lyapchev and Vulkov, and will also attract the newly formed Liberal Party and the right wing of the Agrarian Union. This concentration, which will continue to rely on the military forces, will nevertheless mitigate the present terroristic regime, though only pro forma. This combination is the most probable new government shift in the prevailing conditions. It will permit a consistent continuation of the pro-British line in Bulgaria's foreign policy, followed by the Tsankov government heretofore, to bring to a successful conclusion the rapprochement with Yugoslavia which Great Britain initiated and to facilitate the anti-Bolshevik front of the Balkan states, so eagerly desired by British diplomacy.

Among the preparations for the forthcoming government change which should, first of all, put an end to the state of emergency and the murders of communist and peasant militants in the streets, the completion of the numerous trials of the so-called united front members (communists and agrarians) and the liquidation of the still living workers' and peasants' militants, considered as dangerous, play an important role. For example, six detained communists and agrarians were recently put to death in the Samokov prison. Nikola Gabrovski, the 60-

year-old communist deputy, who was one of the founders of the old Social-Democratic Party in Bulgaria, was also killed at his house. The same fate is in store for other political workers as well. In the meantime, the drum court-martials are working feverishly. Besides the death penalties and life-imprisonments known so far, others have also been passed in Sliven, Haskovo, Berkovitsa, Svishtov and other towns. A big trial of 500 accused communists and agrarians is now in progress in the town of Shoumen. The state prosecutor asked for the death penalty for 130 defendants, life-imprisonment for 100 and 10 to 15 years' penal servitude for all the rest. The so-called military organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party is standing trial in Sofia and the death penalty has been demanded for all the 22 defendants. In the meantime, a similar trial is being prepared against another 20 defendants. The government insists on examining the case of 500 adherents of the Agrarian Union, accused of having prevented the meeting of the bourgeois opposition in Turnovo way back in September 1922 when Stamboliiski was in power. At that time exalted followers of Stamboliiski shaved by force the beards of some opposition leaders to intimidate them. All these 500 agrarians are in line for the death penalty or close confinement for many years.

In this way Tsankov hastens to round off his bloody job, and clear the way for the 'moderate and more civilized course' desired by London.

But only the blind fail to see that, with the awful atrocities committed against the Bulgarian working people, such 'changes' cannot deceive and appease any workers or peasants. Real pacification and normalization will set in in our long-suffering country only when the terror against the masses has ceased completely, no matter in what form this may happen, when the political rights and liberties of the masses have been completely restored, when the convicts and the prosecuted have been granted amnesty, when the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, the trade unions and the co-operatives have been legalized, when the

working masses have been given an opportunity to decide their own fate and when they have been fully indemnified for the numerous dear sacrifices, and indescribable sufferings they endured under Tsankov's sanguinary rule.

International Press Correspondence
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Signed: G. Dimitrov

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THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY IN BULGARIA

I

The fate of the Bulgarian trade union movement is indissolubly linked with that of the Social-Democratic Party. The stubborn struggle which had blazed up in its ranks between the two trends – the revolutionary-socialist (Left-Wing Socialists) and the opportunist (Right-Wing Socialists) – and which finally led to the formation of the two socialist parties, made the split in the trade union movement inevitable. It took place in 1904, one year after the split in the Party.

During the entire period of the split in the Bulgarian trade union movement, the class trade unions, headed by the Communist Party, despite the numerical preponderance they had achieved in recent years (35,000 members as against 1,000 to 1,500 members for the trade unions of the Right-Wing Socialists at the time of the coup d'état in 1923), have never ceased working to restore trade union unity. They considered that, however small the number of Right-Wing Socialist trade union members may be, their separate existence was harmful to the united struggle of the proletariat, and merely played into the hands of the enemies of the workers.

After the Communist Party was crushed by Tsankov's government, with the participation of the Right-Wing Socialist Minister Kazassov, and with the moral and political support of the Party of the Right-Wing Socialists, the latter began a campaign in which it urged the dissolution of the class trade unions. They hoped that the masses, deprived of their trade union organizations, would join the trade unions of the Right-Wing Socialists, under the pressure of the terror, and would take their places under the banner of the Party of Right-Wing Socialists. That is

why they took an active part in the crushing of the communist trade unions. But they reckoned without their host: the masses did not go to the Right-Wing Socialists; on the contrary, their hatred of the counter-revolutionary Party of the Right-Wing Socialists and of the Amsterdam International, which supported them in their treacherous and splitting policy, grew still greater.

The members of the dissolved trade unions availed themselves of the first opportunity which offered itself to found new class trade unions. That is how the independent trade unions sprang up, and several months later already, despite all obstacles and persecutions by the terrorist authorities, the number of their members was almost five times greater than that of the trade union organizations of the Right-Wing Socialists, as well as to the autonomous unions of civil servants for the realization of trade union unity with equal rights for the participating organizations and on the basis of the class struggle. This initiative in favour of trade union unity was welcomed by the masses, because of the extreme deterioration of the economic situation of the working class, and because of the fierce offensive of capital after the dissolution of the communist trade unions. Never before has the idea of trade union been so close to the hearts of the Bulgarian proletariat, never before has it enjoyed such popularity, never before has it been so living in their ranks. Its influence has also penetrated the ranks of the trade unions of the Right-Wing Socialists and the autonomous trade union organizations. However, the leaders of the right-wing trade unions rejected the unity proposed to them. Availing themselves of the favourable situation created for them by the terrorist regime, they declared: whoever wants to unite can join our 'free' trade unions which 'by means of the great Amsterdam International keep in close touch with the many millions of the international proletariat'. The Right-Wing Socialist trade union top crust did, however, feel that their position could not hold out against any serious criticism, or against the workers' masses, sincerely striving to achieve trade union unity, and appealed to the Amsterdam International for help against the growing movement for unity. The Amster-

dam Trade Union Centre responded to their request by calling a Balkan Trade Union Conference, which took place in Sofia in April this year. The aim of this Amsterdam Conference was to persuade the workers of Bulgaria (and of the other Balkan states) to join the right-wing socialist trade unions and to achieve trade union 'unity' within the framework and under the banner of the Amsterdam International. The request of the independent trade unions of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and of the united trade unions of Romania to be allowed to attend this *Balkan* Conference, as the majority of the workers organized in trade unions in these countries are within their ranks, as well as the proposal to place the question of unity on the agenda of the Conference, was rejected by the Amsterdam International, as it was in contradiction to the splitting intentions of the Amsterdam men and threatened to upset their plans.

Despite this, the extensive campaign of the independent Bulgarian trade unions in favour of trade union unity, which found a lively echo among the workers' masses, forced the Amsterdam Conference to concern itself with the question of unity. It was compelled to propose to the right-wing trade unions that negotiations should begin for unification with the independent trade unions, desisting from its former view on the independent trade union's joining the ranks. The splitting plans of the Right-Wing Socialists and the Amsterdam International thus suffered complete fiasco. The idea of trade union unity, so strongly upheld by the broad worker masses, has won an important victory. The joint celebration of May Day with the independent right-wing socialist trade unions, despite the efforts of the Party of Right-Wing Socialists to frustrate it at first and, after it became inevitable, to utilize it so as to rehabilitate themselves before the masses, clearly shows that under the pressure of the workers of both camps the concrete solution of the question of trade union unity became imperative and inevitable. The disintegration of the Social-Democratic Party, which has now set in, and its actual split have considerably weakened its influence among the workers in the right-wing socialist trade unions, and has still more con-

tributed to the realization of trade union unity. The negotiations which have already begun and were continued under the pressure and control of the worker masses have led to the drafting of a common unity platform, accompanied by an explanatory declaration, which were unanimously adopted, to the sounds of the International, by a workers' meeting thousands-strong of the adherents of the two trends in Sofia, on July 21, 1926. The unification of the divided trade unions, which had been fighting each other fiercely for 20 years, was proclaimed by this solemn act.

The principal point of the unity platform and the declaration are the following:

1. The united trade unions are organizationally independent of the political parties. However, they recognize that a political organization of the proletariat is necessary and take their stand on the ground of the class struggle.

2. The united trade unions proclaim as their main task the defence of the interests of the working class through the class struggle, and the abolition of the exploitation of the workers.

3. Until the unity congress, which must take place in the following six months, the leading organs of the united trade unions consist of an equal number of representatives of both parties, regardless of the difference in the numbers of members of their organizations.*

4. The united trade unions will fight for the international solidarity of the workers, and will support any initiative of the Anglo-Russian Committee in the first place, for the realization of the international unity of the trade unions. They will maintain informative relations, which do not bind them, with the Amsterdam International. The question of international affiliation (joining or not joining the Amsterdam International) will be decided by the future Congress.

* This tactical step (consent no parity composition of the temporary organizing committee) was based on the fact that the Bulgarian comrades considered that this consent would impede the wrecking activity of the reformist leaders as it would unmask them, and would facilitate the Party in influencing that part of the workers, organized in trade unions, which had until then still sided with the reformists.

By virtue of this agreement the most disputed questions of international affiliation between the right-wing socialist and the independent trade unions is given a *compromise* solution. The right-wing socialist trade unions bind themselves to leave the Amsterdam International of which they are members and to support the Anglo-Russian Committee. The independent trade unions which do not officially belong to any international organization agree to the united trade unions' maintaining informative relations with the Amsterdam International.

One cannot but admit that this compromise contains a certain moral recognition of the Amsterdam International, a certain appeasement of an organization which steadily pursued a splitting policy and *de facto* rejects the class struggle – the sole basis for genuine unity of the trade union movement. This idea is all the truer when we consider the temporary informative relationship with the Amsterdam International – as certain of the Amsterdam men and certain liquidatory elements of the independent trade union, do – precisely as a stage along the road to organizational affiliation of the united trade unions with Amsterdam, which stage is to come to an end at the general congress.

This compromise runs counter to the fundamental spirit inherent in the unity proclaimed. And the masses realize this, because they realize that the unification is taking place not on the conciliatory Amsterdam basis, but on the ground of the real class struggle against capitalism. Despite this error, which was, however, largely corrected by means of a campaign of unmasking, which is now being waged against the treacherous splitting policy of the Amsterdam International, the unity proclaimed is a great event, a significant step along the road to the realization of trade union unity in Bulgaria, a triumph for the idea of the unity of the working class against the splitting policy of the Party of the Right-Wing Socialists and the Amsterdam International.

II

The historical significance of the unity proclaimed naturally consists, not in the fact that about 1,000 or 1,500 members of the right-wing socialist trade unions have been added to the 5,000 members of the independent trade unions, but in the fact that fine prospects are thus opening up for the mass rallying of the Bulgarian proletariat in the united class trade unions, for the consolidation and intensification of the struggle of the masses against capital and reaction, for the powerful development of the workers' movement in Bulgaria after the major setbacks it suffered in recent years.

The extremely great importance of this step along the road to trade union unity is also confirmed by the conduct of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the Right-Wing Socialist Party towards it. The government press reacted to the agreement between the independent and the right-wing socialist trade unions with hostility and unusual alarm. It interpreted the fact that adherence of the united trade unions to Amsterdam was *not immediately* decided as a victory for the former, as a victory of communism, as a victory of Moscow, and urged the government carefully to watch the activity of the trade unions, and to take precautionary measures so as to prevent the Bulgarian trade unions from passing over to revolutionary lines. The opposition bourgeois press expressed doubts that the Right-Wing Socialists would succeed in taming the communist proletariat with the help of this unity and was rather inclined the opposite, namely that the right-wing socialist workers would finally take their stand under the banner of Moscow. It is clear both to the government and to the bourgeois opposition that we have here the rallying of the scattered forces of the Bulgarian working class on proletarian ground, on the ground of a resolute struggle against capitalism and reaction, against the bourgeois system. In the unity proclaimed, they rightly see the revival of their cruelly persecuted, tortured and ruthlessly bled class enemy. They realize that unity is the road which leads

to the revival and development of the emancipatory movement of the Bulgarian working class.

Of course, the Party of the Right-Wing Socialists is particularly displeased. In its organ *Narod* (The People) it has launched a furious campaign against the unity platform. It openly accuses the leaders of the right-wing socialist trade unions of shameful capitulation before the communists by consenting to leave the Amsterdam International. Any trade union unity outside Amsterdam it considers as a crime. It does not believe that the unity congress will be able to decide to adhere to Amsterdam in the present mood of the right-wing socialist masses against Amsterdam. After this furious press campaign against the unity that was proclaimed, the Party of the Right-Wing Socialists began to undermine this unity by its actions. With the cooperation of the secretary of the right-wing socialist trade union centre, who was not in Bulgaria when the unity platform was adopted, the Party of the Right-Wing Socialists organized a special conference of the 'free' trade unions, in order to take a 'legal' decision on the question of unity. And the majority of delegates to this conference, clerks in the *Napred* (Forwards) Co-operative, run by the right-wing socialists, whose mandates as delegates were not due to any elections, declared the act of unity illegal and proposed revision of the platform, which had been unanimously adopted by the right-wing socialist trade unions, and along the following lines at that: a) immediate adherence of the united trade unions to the Amsterdam International; b) convening a congress of unification not in six but in two months, to which both contracting parties would send an *equal* number of delegates (although the number of members of the right-wing socialist and the independent trade unions is in a ratio of 1:5!); c) the Central Committee of the trade unions, to be elected by the congress, was to consist of representatives of both contracting parties and in equal numbers at that. The workers among the participants in the conference which consisted of regularly elected representatives of the right-wing socialist trade unions, almost in their entirety resolutely protested against this decision of the conference, and declared that such imper-

missible conditions purely and simply would render nil the already proclaimed unification between the independent and the 'free' trade unions. The worker delegates also declared that despite this decision of the 'majority', which actually had nothing in common with the trade union movement, they remained true to the adopted unity platform, and could not calmly accept the torpedoing of trade union unity, so necessary to the Bulgarian proletariat, so as to please the Right-Wing Socialist Party and Amsterdam. 'We can easily do without Amsterdam, but we cannot take one step forward without trade union unity', is their main argument.

The opponents of unity in the reformist camp make extensive use of Sassenbach's letter (secretary of the Amsterdam International) to the right-wing socialist trade union centre, in which, on behalf of Amsterdam, he expressed his 'doubts' and 'apprehensions' on the unity proclaimed, and indirectly advised its rejection as incompatible with the principles of the Amsterdam International. It is apparent, however, that the workers of the right-wing socialist trade unions can no longer be swayed by such arguments. They realize that the Right-Wing Socialist Party and the Amsterdam International are the foremost obstacle to trade union unity, while the roundly cursed communists seriously and sincerely work for its full realization. That is why the right-wing socialist trade union organizations in most towns are against the decision of the 'conference', for the realization of the unity platform, and for the calling of a unity congress. The union of printers, which also disagreed with the decision of the conference, convened a congress of its own, in order to proclaim its support of the unification.

The united front of the Right-Wing Socialist Party, of the terrorist government of the bourgeoisie and of the Amsterdam International against the class unity of the Bulgarian proletariat only helps to strengthen the movement of trade union unity among the Bulgarian proletariat and it cannot be doubted that this unity, though achieved at the cost of a hard and stubborn struggle, will be really achieved in the end.

The events in Bulgaria once more fully confirm the correctness of the attitude of the Comintern on the question of trade union unity and as regards the Amsterdam International, can serve as a warning to the defeatist trends, which have appeared in certain communist parties.

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The October Revolution produced an exceptionally strong impact on the Balkans. Like a searchlight it broke through the mighty darkness of warfare on the Balkan fronts. Like a guiding star, it showed the Balkan peoples and the million-strong masses of workers and peasants the road to peace and freedom. The vicinity of Soviet Russia, the agricultural character of the Balkan countries and the fact that their economic and social structure is similar to the Russian one, made the Russian Revolution particularly dear to the Balkan peoples and heed them to understand it fully. The victory of the Russian proletariat and the creation of the first Soviet worker-peasant state gave rise to boundless enthusiasm.

A powerful movement against war and for immediate peace without annexations and reparations developed both among the peoples of the Balkan countries and the masses of soldiers on the Balkan fronts. The slogans of the Russian Revolution gained every day new supporters from among the workers' and peasants' masses on war fronts, in towns and villages. Women's demonstrations followed one another, factory workers protested ever more boldly against a continuation of the war. Russian, German and Bulgarian soldiers began to fraternize frequently on the Dobroudja front in spite of the stern measures taken by the military authorities. On the Salonica front (the central Balkan front) the Bulgarian soldiers launched a powerful movement for an immediate end to war, developed a big propaganda campaign for peace, distributed revolutionary leaflets and set up secret soldiers' committees and cells. In spite of mass arrests, in spite of the shooting of thousands of soldiers, this movement gained ever more ground and at-

tained its climax in the soldiers' insurrection at *Dobro Polé* and *before the gates of Sofia* in September 1918. These soldiers' uprisings were one of the factors which helped speed up the end of the war on the Balkan front.

The October Revolution encouraged the workers' and peasant masses in the Balkans in their struggle against monarchism, the bourgeoisie and those responsible for that disastrous bloody war.

The workers' and peasant movement in the Balkans assumed unprecedented proportions. The oppressed nationalities (Macedonians, Dobroudjans, Thracians and Albanians) took, under the impact of the October Revolution, the road of the correct national-revolutionary struggle which has already brought full national liberation to the oppressed peoples in former tsarist Russia. The influence exerted by Bolshevism upon the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the oppressed nationalities was enormous.

The organization of the workers in class trade unions, of the peasants in left-wing peasant parties proceeded at a rapid pace. The workers' and peasant co-operative movement developed on a scale which have been impossible before the war. The revolutionary Social-Democratic Parties in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece came out in favour of Bolshevism, turned into communist parties and developed as mass parties. The *Bulgarian* Communist Party won one quarter of all votes and captured the councils in nearly all towns and many villages. The *Yugoslav* Communist Party won 200,000 votes in elections. And all this was won thanks to the revolutionary Bolshevik slogans. The Communist Parties of Romania and Greece too made remarkable progress. A wave of mass strikes and demonstrations swept through the Balkans. The masses of workers and peasants launched a decisive offensive against the bourgeois-monarchist regime.

Owing to the deep economic, social and political changes brought about by the war, and under the impact of the October Revolution, the positions of the monarchy and the bourgeoisie were seriously shaken. In Bulgaria the old King Ferdinand was forced to abdicate. The Greek King Constantine was removed. The dynasties in Belgrade and

Bucharest were insecure and shaky, in spite of the 'victory' in the war. The mounting wave of world revolution greatly weakened the influence and pressure of imperialism in the Balkans. At that moment the Balkan bourgeoisie and monarchies could no longer count on the help of their former outside supporters (tsarist Russia and the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy had disappeared and the imperialist victor states were themselves threatened by revolution).

The impotent and frightened Balkan bourgeoisie made various concessions to the masses so as to safeguard its class rule. Almost everywhere the eight-hour working day was introduced. Labour legislation was solemnly promised. An agrarian reform was started in Romania and Yugoslavia. The upsurge of the peasant masses was so strong that it led in Bulgaria to a three-year peasant government.

That was a revolutionary situation. The Balkans were on the eve of a worker-peasant revolution. And the revolution would certainly have broken out and would have been successful were it not for the second betrayal of international Social-Democracy (the first one was on August 4, 1914[58]); had it not prevented the revolution in Germany and Austria from developing into a true proletarian revolution,[59] had it not abandoned the Italian workers' uprising and the occupation of factories,[60] and had it not facilitated the fall of the Soviet republics in Bavaria[61] and Hungary[62]. A victorious Balkan revolution would not only have produced a Soviet Balkan federation under the then prevailing conditions, but would also have facilitated a proletarian revolution in Central Europe, would have protected a part of Soviet Russia's rear to a considerable extent and encouraged revolutions in the Near East.

The Balkan Social-Democrats, just as their brothers in Western Europe, sided with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, peasantry and oppressed nations, against a worker-peasant revolution in the Balkans.

Owing to this Social-Democratic treachery, the international bourgeoisie was able to gather its forces, to regain its self-confidence, to consolidate its positions to a certain

extent, to find the road towards a relative stabilization of capitalism and, finally, to launch systematic attacks on the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry.

Noske's bloodsheds in Germany, Horthy's victory in Hungary, and the triumph of fascism in Italy marked the beginning of the steady rise of international bourgeois reaction and its constant spread. The victory of counter-revolution in Europe made it possible for the imperialist powers once again firmly to lay their hands on the Balkans.

At the cost of the Balkans' economic and political independence, the Balkan bourgeoisie and monarchies obtained powerful support from British, French and Italian imperialism, and launched a ruthless bloody offensive against the revolutionary movement in the Balkans. The suppression in blood of the general strike in Romania in December 1920 was the beginning. The second big step in this direction was the passing of exceptional laws against the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia in 1921[63] (the so-called 'obznana'). The military-fascist *coup d'état* in Bulgaria in June 1923 was the third historic act of Balkan reaction which since then has been raging and advancing in the Balkans, fully supported by foreign imperialism. The overthrow of *Fan Noli's popular government in Albania* in 1924 by Ahmed Zogu, helped directly by Italy and Yugoslavia and strongly supported by Great Britain, was a further important step of Balkan reaction.

The September 1923 Uprising in Bulgaria against the military-fascist dictatorship and for a worker-peasant government was the last heroic attempt by the proletariat during that period to overcome reaction, to maintain the already won proletarian positions and to pave the way for the triumph of a Balkan revolution. The September uprising of the Bulgarian workers and peasants was inspired by a Bolshevik spirit and was led under the banner of the October Revolution. Despite its failure, the uprising remains, for the Bulgarian proletariat as well as for the entire Balkan proletariat, a bright spot on the road of the revolutionary struggle towards final victory.

For many years on end the most terrible white terror and fascism have been rampant in the Balkan countries.

There are countless victims. The bourgeoisie succeeded in destroying the organizations of the proletariat and the peasantry, in outlawing the Communist Parties in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania, and in persecuting them most severely. It succeeded in shooting or imprisoning the most active proletarian cadres, in depriving the masses of workers and peasants of all their political rights, in subjecting the workers and peasants to ruthless exploitation. The bourgeoisie repelled the revolutionary movement for a certain time and eliminated the proletariat as a major political factor.

But the Balkan bourgeoisie was unable to extinguish the ideas of the October Revolution, the spirit of Bolshevism, to uproot Communism from amid the masses, or to do away with the boundless affection of the Balkan peoples for Soviet Russia.

On the contrary, the process of bolshevization of the proletariat is *going ahead* at the price of enormous sacrifices and indescribable sufferings. The proletarian masses and a considerable part of the poor peasantry have remained true to Communism.

Despite everything, *the proletarian groups have not gone over* to Social-Democracy (the political agency of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolution).

The ruthlessly persecuted Communist Parties in the Balkans have recuperated as underground organizations (except for Greece, where the Communist Party is still legal) and slowly but surely are beginning to consolidate and grow strong.

The Communist Parties in the Balkans are learning through internal struggle and bolshevization to draw lessons from their own errors and from Social-Democratic deviations on the peasant and national questions, on the questions of the hegemony and leading role of the proletariat, as well as to correct their errors, to do away with ideological vagueness and to work out correct methods for the ideological and political enlistment of the proletarian and peasant masses and for their broad organization.

On the road to their bolshevization the Communist Par-

ties have eliminated from their ranks the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the Social-Democratic remnants, inclined to liquidationism. (The *Sakarov-Manov* group in Bulgaria, the Miloikovic group in Yugoslavia, Cristescu in Romania, and Pouliopolous in Greece). A proof of the advanced bolshevization of the Communist Parties in the Balkans, the significance of which we should not underestimate, can be found in the fact that they all stand firmly on the side of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the Trotskyist opposition, against the Menshevik position and dissident activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev group, which has *no* supporters within the Balkan parties. At present the Communist Parties in the Balkans are engaged mainly in their own consolidation and in strengthening their ties with the masses. The class trade union movement is gathering its forces so as to be able to appear again as the mass organization of the proletariat against the offensive launched by capital.

The retreat of the Balkan proletariat and peasantry which began in 1923 has already been stopped. The Balkan proletariat is forging its alliance with the peasantry, leading an active defensive fight and is approaching again the moment when it will take the offensive against bourgeois-fascist reaction in the Balkans.

A relative and temporary stabilization of capitalism has set in in the Balkans. This stabilization is, however, considerably more relative and more unstable here than elsewhere in Europe. It relies more on foreign imperialism and international reaction than on the proper inner forces of Balkan capitalism. The old contradictions in the Balkans have not been overcome. What is more, new ones have appeared.

At the same time, *the class contradictions* are being intensified, the peasant masses are turning to the left, the alliance between workers and peasants is growing steadily stronger, the national revolutionary movement is constantly gaining ground, and the entire revolutionary front of workers, peasants and oppressed nations in the Balkans is developing ever more ready for resistance.

Whilst the bourgeoisie in the Balkan countries, under

the guidance of the imperialist powers (Great Britain in the first place), is attempting to overcome its old and new contradictions and to create a counter-revolutionary Balkan bloc against the Soviet Union, the working class and peasant masses, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and the Balkan Communist Federation, are standing unreservedly on the side of the Soviet Union and consider the first workers' state as their real motherland. The ruling classes in the Balkans are subordinated to the imperialist League of Nations but the Balkan peoples declare themselves in favour of Soviet Russia, the centre of world liberation and the deadly enemy of imperialism. It can be safely said that a war against Soviet Russia would in the Balkans inevitably turn into a civil war, that a revolution would break out against the bourgeoisie and the monarchies, that soldiers' masses (mobilized workers and peasants) would desert to the Red Army, aiming their guns at the Balkan bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The Soviet Union, as a federation which embraces all nations included in former tsarist Russia, has become a *bright example* for the Balkan peoples. In the Balkans, as in Russia, only the setting up of a *federation of the Balkan peoples liberated* from capitalism can solve the highly entangled national question, iron out territorial disputes, overcome imperialist pressure and ensure real peace among the Balkan peoples. That is why the Balkan proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry and together with the oppressed nationalities, is fighting for the creation of a Balkan federation, for a union of the Balkan workers' and peasants' republics. In as much as the realization of such a Balkan federation is possible only by way of overthrowing the bourgeois-monarchist fascist regime in the Balkans, and through a resolute fight against imperialism, the only correct road to follow is the road of Bolshevism, the road of the October Revolution, the road of a worker-peasant revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

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Signed: G. Dimitrov
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Blagoev, Dimiter (1855–1924), founder and leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Born in Macedonia in the period of the revolutionary awakening of the Bulgarian people, Blagoev was imbued from his earliest years with a revolutionary spirit, which he preserved to the end of his life. Filled with a thirst for knowledge, Blagoev ran away from the shoemaker's shop in Constantinople and enrolled as a pupil of the well-known Bulgarian writer and teacher Slaveikov. But as he had no means of existence, Blagoev was forced to leave his teacher and to wander through various towns, until at last in 1878 he found himself in Odessa, where he succeeded in graduating from high school. In the autumn of 1880 Blagoev was a student at the University of Petersburg, and there he immediately joined the revolutionary movement. He set about studying the first volume of *Das Kapital*, the works of Lasalle, and later Plekhanov's pamphlet *Socialism and the Political Struggle*. By the autumn of 1883 Blagoev was a convinced Marxist and was engaged in active propaganda for the ideas of Marxism. In 1884 he founded the first Social-Democratic group in Russia, known by the name of the Blagoev group, which began to propagate Social-Democratic ideas among students and workers. The programme of the group, despite all its short-comings (elements of Populism and Lasallianism), was the first Social-Democratic programme to spring up on *Russian* soil. In 1885 the group began to publish its own paper, *Rabochii* (The Worker) – the first Russian Social-Democratic newspaper. Blagoev's group got in touch with the Labour Emancipation group and No. 2 of *Rabochii* published articles by G. Plekhanov and P. Axelrod. Blagoev was arrested on March 1, 1885 and, after spending

three months in prison, was expelled from Russia as a foreign subject.

On his return to Bulgaria, Blagoev set about spreading social democratic ideas, as he already had some experience in the field of revolutionary propaganda and organization. Throughout his life Blagoev remained true to the struggle of the enslaved Balkan peoples for freedom and independence, taking a particularly lively interest in the Macedonian question. Blagoev transmitted to the Bulgarian Socialists his hatred of Tsarist autocracy and his deep interest in and devotion to the Russian revolutionary movement. Undertaking the study of the economic life in the Balkans, Blagoev became the first Bulgarian economist. He foretold and proved the inevitable development of capitalism in Bulgaria and the emergence of the proletariat, called upon to realize the ideas of socialism.

In 1891 Blagoev published his first socialist pamphlet, *What Is Socialism and Can It Thrive in Bulgaria?* Its importance to Bulgaria was the same as Plekhanov's *Our Differences* to Russia. The young author found sufficient facts in the daily life of the unenlightened Bulgarian petty bourgeoisie to prove that capitalism was developing in Bulgaria, and that, as a corollary, the workers' movement would also inevitably come to life. Continuing his experience in Petersburg, Blagoev founded groups and study circles (of schoolboys and students at first) to study and propagate the socialist ideas. The most important of these groups, the one in Turnovo, headed by Blagoev, which had its own printing shop and published the newspaper *Rabotnik* (The Worker), became the centre of the Social-Democratic Party. From the very beginning of his work in Bulgaria, Blagoev successfully waged a merciless struggle against opportunist and petty bourgeois trends within the Party. He militated for the creation of a class-conscious Social-Democratic Party, for the independent political struggle of the Bulgarian proletariat. After the Social-Democratic Party split into 'broad' (Right-Wing) and 'narrow' (Left-Wing) Socialists, Blagoev assumed the leadership of the revolutionary Left Wing, which later became the Bulgarian Communist Party, and did much to consolidate this wing organizationally and ideologically.

During the imperialist war Blagoev was one of the few leaders who adopted a firm anti-war stand: he led his Party against Bulgarian imperialism and social appeasement. Blagoev attentively followed the international labour movement.

He was delighted to learn about the calling of the Zimmerwald Conference, correctly perceiving in it the possibility of re-establishing the war-disrupted international relations between the Socialist Parties and took an active part (at the head of the Left Wing) in the work of this conference. But when, after the February revolution, the failure of the Zimmerwald Conference became apparent at the Stockholm Conference (known as the Third Zimmerwald Conference), and when the possibility of creating a new revolutionary International appeared after the October Revolution, Blagoev greeted this initiative with youthful enthusiasm and became one of the founders of the Communist International.

Blagoev left a big literary heritage. On his return from Russia as early as 1885, together with Vela Zhivkova (his future companion in life), he founded the journal *Suvremenen Pokazatel* (Contemporary Indicator), only a few numbers of which appeared. Blagoev later took part in editing the magazines *Den* (Day) and *Delo* (Cause) and the newspapers *Rabotnik* (The Worker), *Socialist* and *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* (The Workers' Gasette); in the course of 22 years Blagoev edited *Novo Vremé* (New Times), the theoretical organ of the Party, which only ceased appearing after the suppression of the Party on September 12, 1923. Blagoev also wrote many books and pamphlets: *What Is Socialism and Can It Thrive in Bulgaria?; Socialism and the Tasks of the Workers' Party in Bulgaria; Bulgaria's Economic Development; Social and Literary Problems; Contribution to the History of Socialism in Bulgaria; From the History of the Russian Revolution*, and so on. Furthermore, he translated into Bulgarian the first volume of Marx's *Das Kapital*.

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Signed: G. Dimitrov
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MEASURES FOR COMBATING FASCISM AND THE YELLOW TRADE UNIONS

Statement made at the Fourth Congress of the Trade Union International

It should be quite clear to us that fascism is not a *local*, a *temporary*, or a *transitory* phenomenon. It is a *system* of class rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and its dictatorship in the period of imperialism and social revolution. After the imperialist war, after the victorious October Revolution, after the ten-year existence of the Soviet Union, and in the presence of the enormous revolutionizing impact of these factors upon the proletariat, peasantry, oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples, the bourgeoisie is no longer able to hold under its class hegemony the popular masses and to cope with the tasks of capitalist stabilization and rationalization by means of the old forms and methods of parliamentary democracy. A way out for the bourgeoisie in this respect is the *subjugation* of the masses through fascism. *Fascism is the final stage of the class rule of the bourgeoisie*. Sooner or later, all bourgeois states consecutively pass over to fascism, either by means of a *coup d'état* or in a 'peaceful' way , in a more brutal or a 'softer' form; the methods of transition are not essential and depend on the particular setup, on the social structure and on the balance of class and political forces in a given country.

Fascism is a *constant and growing menace* for the proletariat and the class trade union movement. The final elimination of this menace is possible only by overthrowing the very rule of the bourgeoisie, by replacing the bourgeois dictatorship by the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants. To regard fascism as a temporary and transitory phenomenon which, within the framework of capitalism, could be replaced by restoring the old bourgeois-democratic regime, and to deny the danger of the establishment of fascism in

the main capitalist countries, are vain illusions liable to weaken the proletariat's vigilance and resistance, to serve fascism and to help consolidate temporarily the fascist dictatorship. *These illusions should be most resolutely rejected, the adherents of the Trade Union International should fight against them by all means.*

All this applies even more to South-East Europe (the Balkan countries and Hungary), where a number of peculiar historical economic and political reasons inevitably push the bourgeoisie onto the road of fascism. The main reasons are:

The bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet been completed in the Balkans and in Hungary. The bourgeoisie has not fulfilled any revolutionary task, which would have given it the leadership of the people against feudalism and absolutism in the past, linking it ideologically and politically with the masses. The peasants did not get land through a democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they were only an object of most ruthless exploitation and plunder for the primary accumulation of capital. Feudalism has not been abolished completely. The national question has not yet been solved. In most of these countries the proletariat is of direct peasant origin, is linked with the peasants and from its very birth has been imbued with their oppositional, anti-capitalist sentiments.

The Balkan countries and Hungary have the status of semi-colonies of imperialism. They are primarily agricultural countries with a relatively weak industry which is up against the strong competition of highly developed capitalism in the imperialist states. They are engaged in a latent internecine economic war, in constant national and territorial conflicts fanned and exploited by the imperialist powers. Their home market is quite limited, owing to the ridiculously low purchasing power of the broad masses, whilst the foreign markets are mostly closed to them. Their own possibilities to stabilize capitalism and rationalize production are quite limited. The havoc wrought by the imperialist war, the reparations with which some of them are saddled, and the heavy burden of war debts weighing upon all of them, aggravate still more

their economic situation and intensify their economic crisis.

The imperialist war and its consequences have greatly discredited the bourgeoisie in the eyes of the masses. The gap between the ruling bourgeoisie and the oppressed and exploited masses has grown wider. Defending itself against foreign competition, the bourgeoisie in these countries has always ruthlessly exploited the proletariat and despoiled the peasant masses. After the imperialist war all this is being practised on a vaster scale. The workers have to put up a hard and long fight to make even the slightest gains. Hence the intransigent attitude of the proletariat towards the bourgeoisie and the relatively high revolutionary spirit of the masses. Hence also the weakness of the labour aristocracy and reformism in contrast to the imperialist countries, where the bourgeoisie, utilizing its superprofits extracted from the colonies, succeeded in creating privileged strata of the proletariat, in corrupting them by giving them some alms, and in turning them into its direct or indirect servants. The bourgeoisie in South-East Europe, especially today, is not in a position to make any serious economic concession to the workers and the working people in order to bridge the gap between them.

Owing to the strong similarity between the social structure of old Russia and that of South-East Europe, the impact of the October Revolution has been and is strongest precisely here and the devotion of the masses to the Soviet Union is immense.

In such a situation it is quite clear that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie could not be maintained by methods of parliamentary democracy, all the more so now, when it becomes inevitable and *indispensable* for the bourgeoisie to take *exceptional measures* for the stabilization of capitalism at the expense of the working class and the peasant masses.

It is only by means of a fascist dictatorship that the bourgeoisie can hope to preserve its rule, to crush the opposition of the masses and to achieve the utmost capitalist stabilization and rationalization to their detriment.

The Balkan bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie throughout South-East Europe will inevitably follow this road also

because of the pressure of imperialism, particularly in connexion with the participation of the Balkans and the other South-Eastern countries in the preparation of an imperialist anti-Soviet war, the decisive condition for which is to suppress, disorganize and weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, peasantry and oppressed nationalities.

The particular conditions prevailing in the countries of South-East Europe lend fascism, however, a *peculiar* character. This peculiarity consists primarily of the fact that, in contrast say to Italy, fascism in these countries comes to power as a *state form of government not from below* through a mass movement, but on the contrary – *from above*. Relying on the control of state power, on the military forces of the bourgeoisie and the financial power of banking capital, fascism attempts to penetrate the masses and create there an ideological, political and organizational basis.

That happened in Bulgaria after the military-fascist *coup* of June 9, 1923. In Yugoslavia the inspirer and organizer of fascism was the *bloc* of monarchy, militarism and banking capital. In Romania and Greece, with minor deviations, the situation is much the same. Hungary under Horthy and Bethlen is no exception to this rule. In Austria, and more covertly in Czechoslovakia, fascism is organizing, arming and preparing for a decisive offensive under the protection and with the maximum support of the 'republican' governments themselves.

In this development from above (by means of the state apparatus) to below, to the masses, fascism finds particularly precious supporters in the face of the reformists who, by destroying all vestiges of the class struggle, by proclaiming and carrying out a policy of 'industrial peace' and compulsory arbitration, by fighting ruthlessly against the revolutionary workers' movement, openly adopt *a fascist stand*.

To get *control of the trade unions*, to destroy the class trade union movement is a *vital necessity* for advancing fascism. Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is inconceivable without class trade unions, so is a lasting

fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie impossible without *subjugating* the proletariat and peasantry (in one form of another) and, above all, without crushing the *class trade union movement.*

Without desisting in the least from raising demagogic slogans and from using methods of demagogy and corruption, the Balkan South-Eastern brand of fascism is compelled to resort mainly to violence and to the most ruthless terror against the class-conscious proletariat, engaging in the mass murder of hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers, as is the case in Bulgaria and Hungary.

Fascism's main efforts are directed at *gaining control* of the movement of *transport workers, miners* and workers in other *key branches of industry,* as well as of the movement of civil servants. Raising various obstacles to the existence and consolidation of the class organizations of railwaymen, P.T.T. and state employees, miners, etc., fascism lays hands on the reformist and yellow organizations in these fields with the direct aid of their leaders. In all the Balkan countries fascism has already obtained a decisive influence inside the leadership of the present organizations of railwaymen, P.T.T. and state employees, whilst it paralyzes any attempt by the miners to form their legal organizations. Fascism is making big efforts to increase its influence among the farm labourers, taking advantage of their great cultural backwardness, as well as among the hungry masses of unemployed. Fascism plays no less attention to the peasant youth which it seeks to entangle in its nets through various sports and other 'cultural' organizations, counting on the susceptibility of a section of that youth which did not experience *directly* the horrors of the imperialist war.

In an ideological respect fascism uses mainly the ideas of *nationalism* and *chauvinism,* trying to oppose the local workers to those who have come from other countries, to deceive especially the unemployed and to divert the attention of the masses *from home problems to foreign problems,* inciting the masses against other nations, fanning national-chauvinist passions and painting rosy pictures about the

improvement of the condition of the working class through the conquest of neighbouring lands and territories.

Fascism puts forward the theory of collaboration between capitalists and workers in the field of the stabilization of capitalism and rationalization of production; the theory of harmony among classes, of the community of their interests, of the abolition of all class struggle and the replacement of strikes by compulsory arbitration, of the transformation of trade unions into organs of bourgeois state power.

Here again the reformist trade union leadership finds itself in full ideological and political agreement with fascism. In their press these leaders advocate the same ideas, the same policy. The reformist leaders of the railwaymen and P.T.T. workers in Bulgaria, for instance, are even direct members of *Koubrat*, a fascist organization, and write in *Zveno*, a fascist review, the task of which is to exert ideological influence upon the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, more particularly upon the trade union movement. They are also in a united front with fascism in the persecution of class trade unions; their adherents in offices and enterprises are informers against the revolutionary-minded elements, etc. That is the case in all Balkan countries and Hungary.

At the same time, relying on the upper crust of certain professions, the fascists make extraordinary efforts to form *their own* trade union groups which, in case of a forcible crushing of the class trade unions, would serve them as an *organizational nucleus* in getting control of the entire trade union movement.

In every bigger enterprise retired fascist officers and various vagabond elements are appointed as supervisors, guards, etc., constituting armed groups which terrorize the workers and employees and seek to disorganize and demoralize them, while purging the enterprises of the best revolutionary proletarian elements and trying in this way to deprive the masses of their leaders.

Without allowing in general any legal class trade union organization of miners, railwaymen, dock workers and

workers from other key branches of industry, as well as civil servants, fascism seeks to limit the scope and organizational basis of the class trade union movement within *the small artisan's trade and other branches of industry which are of no decisive significance for the class struggle.*

At the same time, fascism strives to obstruct in every way the *centralization* of the class trade unions into *national unions*, trying to break them up into local trade unions so as to render them incapable of successful struggle.

The vocational schools are used by fascism for the training of *new technically skilled cadres under fascist influence*, capable of replacing the revolutionary skilled proletarian cadres in transport and other key branches of industry.

The policy of fascism towards the trade union movement can be expressed by the slogan 'Divide and rule'. Fascism seeks to divide and oppose to one another different categories of the proletariat, the unemployed to the employed, the local to the foreign workers; to split trade unions in order to set up fascist organizations upon the organizational remnants of the class trade union movement. Fascism is a firm opponent of the re-establishment of unity within the trade union movement, and in those countries where the trade unions, as in Greece and Hungary for instance, have not yet been split, fascism tries to do so, together with the reformists. *The domination of fascism in the trade union movement means the split of the trade union movement, the suppression of class trade unions, an end to the independent trade union movement of the proletariat.*

Fascism is a sworn enemy of the proletariat and the class trade unions. An uncompromising and relentless struggle to the end should be waged against fascism. There can be no appeasement between the class trade union movement and fascism. Never and nowhere should the members of the Trade Union International go into *joint* or *parallel* action with fascism. And where fascists have not yet reached final agreement and mutual understanding with the reformist leadership of trade unions (the Teachers' Union in Bulgaria, for example) and still compete with one another, the members of the Trade Union International should have nothing to do with fascists in the fight against

the reformists. Mistakes committed in this respect by the members of the Trade Union International in Bulgaria in the railwaymen's and teachers' organizations should in future be carefully avoided. *The fight against reformism should always mean fight against fascism and vice versa.*

A systematic, persistent and relentless fight should be waged continuously *on all fronts and everywhere* against fascism in the trade union movement and particularly against fascist trade unions. Fascism should be hit wherever it appears – in factories, offices, organizations, among the jobless, etc., in a concrete and efficient way from the point of view of the emancipatory class struggle of the proletariat and in close connexion with the immediate interests of workers and employees and the special tasks of the trade unions themselves.

The fight against fascism should be waged simultaneously in the ideological, political and organizational fields of the trade union movement in the following direction:

1. To oppose resolutely the class revolutionary ideology of the proletariat to the fascist ideology. To expose and stigmatize nationalism and chauvinism as well as the ideas of 'industrial peace' and 'harmony of classes'; to abolish class collaboration and all kinds of reformism. To unmask fascism as the destroyer and grave-digger of the trade union movement. To expose fascism as the ideology of banking capital and imperialism. To denounce fascism as the cause of the war danger, especially of war against the great Union of the Soviet Republics. To popularize most widely and tirelessly among the masses the programme and tactics of the Trade Union International – the International of the class trade union movement.

2. To strengthen the organization of the class trade unions and enlist the masses of unorganized workers in their ranks. Where the existence of legal class trade unions (miners and other workers) has become impossible, it is necessary to form *illegal* trade union groups which are to maintain relations with the broad masses and head their struggle. To strengthen the class-conscious elements within the reformist, nationalist, autonomous and other trade un-

ions and their ties with the class trade unions in view of joint action and struggle. To extend and strengthen the network of workers' committees in enterprises and offices as on-the-spot organs of the masses and to link their work with the class trade union movement. To organize the movement of the unemployed and coordinate it with the campaigns conducted by the class trade unions. To embrace the masses of working youth and working women in the ranks of the class trade unions. To organize and protect the foreign workers in every possible way.

3. Of special significance are mass campaigns and strikes for higher pay, for shorter working hours, for labour protection and for the freedom to organize and go on strike. To oppose in this way (in the process of the fight for the workers' immediate interests and demands) the *masses* to fascism (and its auxiliary – reformism) and to bare their treacherous bourgeois nature. To isolate in this way fascism and fascist trade unions from the proletarian masses.

4. To secure the *active* moral and material support of other urban and rural working people in the workers' struggles (strikes, etc.): to form a united front of workers and working peasants, to ensure close collaboration between the workers in industrial enterprises (tobacco, sugar industry, etc.) and the small producers of raw materials (tobacco growers, beetroot producers, etc.) in their common struggle against the respective industrial capital in order to isolate in this way fascism from the working masses in the process of the struggle.

5. To organize self-defence against the fascist oppressors in enterprises (guards of organizations, meetings, strikes, trade union militants, etc.). To conduct a campaign for the expulsion of fascist agents, supervisors, spies, *provocateurs* from enterprises.

6. To intensify the campaign *from below* against the dissident policy of fascism (and reformism) among the masses in the process of the struggle for the *class unity* of the trade union movement, without making any concessions to the Amsterdam International and fascist trade unions, and to wage an uncompromising fight against them.

The fight against fascism in the trade union movement

and against fascist trade unions should be conducted on an *international scale* with the joint efforts of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries. Is is particularly necessary to organize international campaigns in defence of the class trade unions in the countries where a fascist dictatorship has already been established (Italy, Bulgaria, etc.). The weakening of the positions of fascism in the countries where it is in power will undoubtedly facilitate the fight against the fascist offensive in the trade union movement of those countries where a fascist dictatorship has not yet been established.

It is not necessary to emphasize that the success of the entire fight against fascism within the trade union movement will depend, first of all, on the activity displayed by the members of the Trade Union International, on the correctness of their policy, on their winning the confidence of the masses and on their actual leadership of the fight waged by the masses against the offensive by capital and against the danger of war.

Otherwise it is impossible to preserve the class trade union movement.

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THE MAIN TASKS OF THE BALKAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Eighth Session of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. Continuation of debates on the report of its Executive Committee

Owing to their geographic position, the Balkans are an extremely important strategic base for the military attack against the Soviet Union which is now being feverishly prepared. The Balkans are also one of the foremost raw material sources for the big industrial countries and a market for the sale of their industrial products.

It is quite understandable then that the struggle of the imperialist powers for control over the Balkans is at present in full swing. Together with the competing Great Britain, France and Italy, rising German imperialism is again rearing its head in the Balkans today. The powerful United States too begins to intervene ever more actively in Balkan affairs and Balkan politics. This constant interference on the part of the imperialist powers in the Balkans and their rivalry, which naturally does not prevent them in the least from following a common counter-revolutionary policy towards the Soviet Union and the revolutionary movement in the Balkan states, deepens and intensifies ever more the old and new contradictions and conflicts between the Balkan states, which at any moment threaten to produce military complications and international consequences.

The Balkan states do not pursue an independent national policy. With the help of their bourgeois classes and dynasties, which in their fight against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, peasantry and oppressed nationalities, seek support from imperialism, the Balkan states have been turned into semi-colonies of the imperialist powers. The deep internal economic and political crisis is being ever more aggravated, extended and sharpened through imperialist pressure, imperialist intrigues and the entire policy of the imperialist powers,

which maintain chaos and try to hinder the development of the productive forces in the Balkans. The formation of the Venizelos Government in Greece and the signs of new internal military conflicts which accompany it, the assassinations in the Yugoslav National Assembly, the stepping up of the national struggle in Yugoslavia and the extreme aggravation of the Serbo-Croatian contradictions, the powerful peasant movement against the regime of B. tiamu in Romania, now only temporarily at a lull, the process of disintegration within the so-called Democratic Union, the assassination of General Protogerov, the new bloody internecine struggle of the nationalist Macedonian organization (IMRO) and the obvious chances of new military coup d'état in Bulgaria, the planned proclamation of Ahmed Zogu as king of Albania and the new deterioration of relations with Yugoslavia, the growing white terror and fascist offensive in the Balkans – all these important recent developments and events are symptoms of a profound and intensifying crisis in the Balkans, which the bourgeoisie can neither check for long, nor resolve definitely. On the other hand, the terrible ruin and tremendous sufferings of the toiling masses, the unscrupulous exploitation of the workers, the feudal conditions prevailing in agriculture and the plundering of the peasants, the national oppression and the forcible policy of denationalization and colonization are leading to a new upsurge of the workers', peasant and national revolutionary movements in the Balkans.

At the same time, the prospects for the advancing peasant and national revolutions in the Balkans – in Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania and Greece, are becoming ever more clearly defined. But under the existing conditions in the Balkans, and in the present international situation, a peasant as well as a national revolution can succeed only if linked with the proletarian revolution, through the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, poor peasants and the oppressed Balkan nationalities under the leadership of the proletariat and its Communist vanguard.

It can safely be said that the stabilization of capitalism is nowhere so shaky, and that the contradictions arising

from the stabilization are nowhere so considerable and sharp as in the Balkans. The Balkans are a constant powder keg. They are undoubtedly one of the weakest and most vulnerable spots of the world rule of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Just now, when imperialism is making great efforts to strengthen that sector of its front, when it is trying to turn the Balkans into a safe base of international counter-revolution, to set up an anti-Soviet bloc of the Balkan states, it is our supreme task to build here strong positions of the international proletarian revolution. To this end, the Communist International must pay particular attention to the situation and struggle in the Balkans, redoubling its efforts to build up Bolshevik mass parties there.

Comrades, as a result of the blows of fascism and the white terror, and in consequence of certain major errors committed by its leadership, the Communist movement in the Balkans has suffered a number of severe reverses and internal crises in the past few years. But thanks to the aid of the Communist International, the Balkan Communist Parties, profiting from the rich experience of their errors and setbacks, are now emerging from the internal crisis, rectifying their political and theoretic line, recovering from the defeats they suffered and with greater boldness are embarking systematically on the road of their bolshevization and transformation into real mass parties of the revolutionary proletariat, in spite of the enormous difficulties existing in this respect. Characteristic of this process of development and transformation of the former revolutionary Socialist parties in the Balkans into true Bolshevik parties are the following three moments:

1. The Communist Parties have finally got rid of the Social-Democratic and semi-Social-Democratic elements alien to them, such as the Zhivot-Miloikovic group and others in Yugoslavia, Kodatos-Dimitraros and Maximos-Pouliopolous in Greece, Cristescu and others in Romania, Sakarov-Manov and Loukanov-Popov in Bulgaria. The small groups and individual dissidents alien to the Communist movement were unable to drag along any

proletarian elements. The revolutionary proletariat has succeeded in completely isolating repelling them.

2. A considerable number of the former Communist leaders has proved unfit to lead the Communist Party in the new conditions, so that it has become necessary to replace them by new party functionaries from among the proletariat, imbued with a Bolshevik spirit and endowed with Bolshevik qualities. In the Yugoslav Party this inevitable change was considerably hampered and rendered more difficult by a factional struggle, encouraged and egged on by the former leaders; it was, however, liquidated owing to the active intervention of the Party masses, and thanks to the energetic support of the Communist International. The problem of elevating and educating energetic Bolshevik leaders and party cadres in the Balkan Communist Parties remains one of the foremost problems of the Communist movement in the Balkans.

3. The further bolshevization of the Balkan Communist Parties is proceeding through a resolute and persistent struggle against the right-wing and defeatist trends which, amid the white terror, rely on the privileged strata of the proletariat. These trends constitute at present the main danger for the Balkan Communist movement. On the other hand, bolshevization is achieved also by combating the extreme leftist and sectarian trends which exist here and there.

Comrades, the Balkan Communist Parties have a strong influence on the proletariat which organizationally, however, has not as yet been properly taken advantage of.

Social-Democracy has no influence upon the masses of the Balkan proletariat, as it has in the big capitalist countries, and is in constant decline. This is due mainly to the fact that the privileged strata of the proletariat, on which Social-Democracy usually relies, are insignificant in the Balkans, owing to the particular historic, economic, social and political conditions. On the other hand, this can also be explained by the constant sharp class struggle in the Balkan countries as a result of the above-mentioned reasons.

But the fact that Social-Democracy has no influence on

the masses in the Balkans does not mean at all that it is not dangerous for the revolutionary movement. On the contrary, as an agent of the bourgeoisie and purveyor of social-fascism among the civil servants and petty bourgeoisie, it does considerable harm and should be fought relentlessly.

Trotskyism has not found followers in the Balkan Communist Parties and among the proletariat. Its supporters were the social-fascists and the most unscrupulous renegades of the Communist movement.

Comrades, in the opinion of the Bulgarian delegation, the following are the main tasks of the Communist parties in the Balkan states:

The organizational strengthening of the proletariat and an internal Bolshevik consolidation.

The establishment and broadening of contacts with the masses as their real vanguard and leader.

The education of adequate Bolshevik cadres.

The establishment of an alliance between the proletariat and poor peasantry, as well as a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and the oppressed nationalities for fighting against the offensive of capital and fascism, against the exceptional regime of white terror, against national oppression and feudalist survivals, against imperialist pressure, against the danger of a new imperialist war and the danger of a military attack against the Soviet Union. This fight should be linked with the immediate interests of the workers' and peasant masses and conducted under the slogans: 'For a Worker-Peasant Government!' and 'For a Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasant Republics!'

A considerable part of the tasks facing the Balkan Communist Parties concern all the Balkan states and can be fulfilled only through constant collaboration and joint efforts of all the Balkan Parties. The fight against the danger of an imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union, against fascism in the Balkans, and against imperialism, for a Balkan federation of workers' and peasant republics should be organized and conducted both on a national and Balkan scale. The fight against national oppression and for the national liberation of the oppressed Balkan peoples is

also a task concerning all the Balkan states. The creation of a revolutionary Balkan bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and oppressed nationalities, the establishment of contact between the peasant and national revolution and the proletarian revolution under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat is a task concerning all the revolutionary parties in the Balkans. The fight against the offensive in the Balkans can be conducted successfully only in close union with the proletariat and its trade union organizations in all the Balkan countries. Finally, to develop a campaign abroad against the white terror and fascism is a common task of all the Communist Parties in the Balkans.

The Balkan states are so closely interrelated that the success of the proletarian revolution in any one of them directly depends on the situation in the neighbouring countries and on the situation and strength of their revolutionary movement.

Bearing in mind all these reasons and in view of the aggravating Balkan crisis and the approaching danger of war, it is necessary more than ever to strengthen and develop the Balkan Communist Federation (the former Balkan Socialist Federation) founded as early as 1910.

The Balkan Communist Federation, which is not an intermediate organ between the Communist International and the individual Communist Parties in the Balkans maintaining direct contact with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has as its task only to help them fulfil jointly and successfully their revolutionary tasks affecting the Balkans as a whole. It is a vitally important political necessity for the Communist movement in the Balkans, and the Balkan Communist Parties should do their best to strengthen it and intensify its activity; they should also request the Communist International to give all-round support to the Federation. Any hesitation in this matter, any delay may cause great harm.

The only Balkan state without a Communist Party is little Albania. But the elements indispensable for the creation of an Albanian Communist Party are already ripening.

The Bulgarian delegation is firmly convinced that the

proletariat in the Balkans and its vanguard, under the leadership of the Communist International and with its constant aid, marching steadfastly on the road of bolshevization, will be able to accomplish its task in the face of the forthcoming events and severe struggle in the Balkans against imperialism, for the Soviet Union and for the cause of the proletarian revolution and Communism.

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A BASE LIE ABOUT THE ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS IN THE VIENNA *ARBEITER ZEITUNG*

The Militant Programme of the Romanian Worker-Peasant Bloc

Under the sensational heading 'Communists, Vote for the Bourgeoisie! A Moscow Order by Radio to the Romanian Communists,' the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* of December 2, 1928, published a 'telegram from Bucharest', according to which the Romanian Social-Democratic newspapers wrote that

> 'about midnight it was possible in Romania to tune in to a Moscow broadcast, addressed to the press, in which the Romanian Communists were urged to vote for the Liberals in the approaching elections, wherever they had no list of their own, but in no case were they to vote for the joint ticket of the National Peasant Party and the Social Democrats.'

The secretariat of the Balkan Communist Federation is able categorically to declare that this sensational announcement is a base Social-Democratic concoction. As everyone knows, the Communist Party in Romania as the leader of the Romanian proletariat, has always waged a steadfast and consistent class struggle against the Romanian bourgeoisie and the Liberal government, and has made countless sacrifices in this struggle, while the Romanian Social-Democrats have played the part of the most pitiable servants of the bourgeoisie against the Communist movement.

In the present electoral fight, in full agreement with the Communist International, the Romanian Communist Party is marching independently at the head of the Romanian proletariat and is pursuing a completely independent proletarian line, the line of mobilizing the toiling masses of town and country around the worker-peasant bloc, against the financial and wealthy bourgeoisie (the Liberal Party)

and against the National-Tsaranist Government, which is a bourgeois-koulak government and a tool in the hands of the imperialists for the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union.

Actually, the Romanian proletariat and poor peasantry are uniting under the banner of the worker-peasant bloc which at a recent conference adopted a programme of action with the following chief slogans:

Annulment of the Liberal legislation, as well as of all laws hostile to the workers, the peasants and the minorities.

Restoration, guarantee and extension of the rights and liberties of the toiling masses and the minorities.

Abolition of martial law and censorship throughout Romania.

A general political, military and agrarian amnesty.

Expropriation of all the land, without compensation, as well as of all the machinery, agricultural implements and draught cattle, and their distribution to the poor peasantry free of charge.

An eight-hour working day and extensive social legislation in the interests and under the control of the workers.

Abolition of all taxes which weigh upon the working class, the poor and middling peasantry and the tradesmen.

Right to national self-determination up to secession.

Annulment of all obligations assumed during the war and for the war.

A policy of peace with all neighbouring states.

Cessation of expenditure on armaments and closure of all factories producing war materials.

Replacement of the permanent bourgeois army by a militia of the working people.

Recognition of the Soviet Union, resumption of diplomatic and economic relations with it.

For a worker-peasant government.

For a Balkan Federation of worker-peasant republics.

In the struggle for this class programme, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Romanian proletariat quite naturally has the entire bourgeoisie, the big landowners and koulaks against it, together with their

servants, the Social-Democrats. Any direct or indirect support of the Liberals on the part of the proletariat and their vanguard, the Communist Party, is completely excluded.

The Communist International and the Romanian Communist Party, which are resolutely in favour of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Romania and of its further development up to the triumph of the proletarian revolution are, at the same time, the staunchest opponents of the Liberals of the Romanian big financiers and bourgeoisie, as well as of the pseudo-progressive bourgeoisie, now represented by the National-Tsaranist Government. They are also fighting against Social-Democracy as a prop of the bourgeois dictatorship, and because it is clearing the way for fascism. Finally, they are relentlessly combating all right deviations within the workers' movement and within the communist ranks, deviations which hamper and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and their allies, the poor peasants.

The Social-Democratic lie of the Romanian Social-Democratic press, which was taken up with such glee and commented on so basely by the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna, can only have a charlatan's manoeuvre in view, to cover up the treacherous role of the Romanian Social-Democrats. The silly legend of 'the radio order of the Russian press broadcast' is one more proof that the Social-Democrats are blind and zealous agents of the imperialists and their war-loving and provocational policy towards the Soviet Union, the only state of the workers and peasants.

International Press Correspondence
No. 137, December 7, 1928
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 393–396
Published by the BCP, 1953

The Balkan states are falling under the fascist dictatorship one after the other. Besides Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, where this dictatorship has already been established in different forms, Greece and Romania are also gradually passing over to fascist dictatorship.

Besides the general reasons, which prompt the ruling classes in all these countries increasingly to abandon the soil of bourgeois democracy and to begin applying the methods and system of fascism, there are particular historical, political and economic reasons in the Balkans which impel these countries in that direction.

As is known, it proved impossible to implement the bourgeois democratic revolution in the Balkans which might have politically and ideologically rallied the broad masses to the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of these countries allied itself closely with international capital from the very beginning of its rule, becoming its agent and thereby a counter-revolutionary class. The peasants, who form the vast majority of the population in the Balkans did not obtain land as a result of a democratic revolution headed by the bourgeoisie against the feudal landowners, as this occurred in France and in the other Western countries. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie saw in the peasants merely an object of ruthless exploitation, of unrestrained greed to accumulate capital in the Balkan states. Feudalism has not yet entirely disappeared; even today the vast majority of the toiling masses endures its domination. This creates a deep abyss between the ruling classes and the peasant masses.

Nor has national question found a final solution in the Balkans. Many millions groan under national oppression

The bourgeoisie is trying to overcome the great difficulties which have arisen chiefly owing to the system of colonization imposed in the conquered regions and the denationalization of the population, which has been carried out to the extreme, and these are unsolved problems. This system renders the national question more acute. Owing to this, the oppressed nations are impelled towards an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois rule.

The Balkan states, which are primarily agricultural and industrially weak, actually represent semi-colonies of international capital. Their dependence on the latter is growing from day to day. These countries are engaged in endless internecine economic struggles and, thanks to the great imperialist powers which pursue their own interest in laying hold on the Balkans, are continuously faced with insoluble conflicts. Because of the growing poverty among the masses, the home markets are in a very poor condition, and in most cases the foreign markets are inaccessible to them. Moreover, the possibilities of stabilization and capitalist rationalization are very limited. The ravages caused by the imperialistic world war, the war debts and reparations which they have to pay, render the economic and financial crisis in these countries still more acute. Foreign loans, to which the bourgeoisie resorts and which it considers the most important way out of this situation, burden the masses with still heavier taxes and increase their dissatisfaction with the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie in the Balkan states is up against the competition of the highly industrialized Western countries. It is therefore obliged to seek an issue in the over-exploitation of the worker and peasant masses. It cannot afford to make minor concessions, as does the bourgeoisie in the big imperialist countries, so as to enlist part of the toiling strata on its side. The most insignificant economic gain of the masses is won at the cost of a long and persistent struggle against the bourgeoisie. This still further deepens the abyss which exists between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This partly explains the revolutionary spirit of the toiling masses and their resolute will to struggle against the bourgeoisie. This also explains the

weakness of the labour aristocracy and of Social-Democracy in the Balkan states, in contrast to the big imperialist powers. The victorious October Revolution, which liberated the exploited proletariat, the peasants and the oppressed peoples in the great Russian Empire, made a deep impression on the toiling masses in the Balkans, as the Balkan states have many features in common with tsarist Russia in their economic structure. This development has been steadily intensified and extended during the USSR's 11 years of existence, because of its revolutionary policy and socialist construction, and because of its resolute struggle against imperialism and for international peace.

That is why the bourgeoisie in the Balkans is in no position to maintain its rule by the methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism. Western imperialism is also unable to lay hands on the Balkans by means of these methods. These methods have an all the more hampering effect, as it is now a case of involving the Balkans and the Balkan peoples in the war now in preparation against the Soviet Union, but the masses are resolutely against this. Therefore the Balkan bourgeoisie and international imperialism have no alternative but to resort to the methods of the fascist dictatorship and to establish the latter.

The above-mentioned historical, economic and political features of the Balkan states lend fascism a very particular character. This particularity of Balkan fascism consists, first and foremost, in the fact that, in contrast to all that we see in Italy and Poland, it does not spring up from below as a mass movement to seize power, but on the contrary, it comes from above: from the state apparatus, supported by the military power of the bourgeoisie and united under the command of finance capital, as well as by all the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie, the big landowners, the wealthy peasants, the top crust of the petty bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy, against the proletariat, the worker and peasant masses, and the national minorities, which are fighting for their freedom.

Bourgeois nationalism is undoubtedly a particularly efficacious weapon of Balkan fascism: nationalist and chauvinist passions are fanned by Pan-Bulgarian, Pan-

Serbian (Yugoslavia), and Pan-Hellenic and Pan-Romanian dreams. Banking on this nationalist ideology, fascism in the Balkan states endeavours, although only to minor extent, to form an alliance with the less conscious strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the workers, so as to broaden the social base of its dictatorship and to make its counter-revolutionary bourgeois policy (of colonization and denationalization) more bearable. The revolutionary movement of the Balkan national organizations of Macedonians, inhabitants of the Dobroudja, Albanians and so on is a most serious obstacle for the fascist dictatorship. That is why fascism in the Balkans pursues a policy of unprecedented terror against these organizations as well as against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the peasants. It avails itself on an extremely extensive scale of the services of the fascist national organizations to establish and maintain its dictatorship and to crush the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, the peasantry and national-revolutionary movement. Its efforts in this field with the Macedonian organizations of Alexandrov Protoguerov, and with the fascist Dobroudjan organizations have already become classical. The Yugoslav military-fascist dictatorship is following the same road, using the Serbian colonists and their gangs in Macedonia, and trying to do the same with the Albanian, Montenegrin and other movements, too.

In its very essence fascism is very closely linked with the rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and international capitalism. It is not a momentary episodical fact. Its final liquidation is possible only by overthrowing the bourgeoisie itself. Hence the struggle against it will be stubborn and revolutionary in character. Not a single group of the bourgeoisie, the big landowners and the affluent peasants has any interest in this struggle against fascism: on the contrary, they all have a direct stake in the further existence of this dictatorship. They need the fascist dictatorship as a bastion against the revolutionary liberation movement of the toiling masses and the oppressed nationalities. This struggle is and can only be the struggle of the working people in town and country, led by the

proletariat, as the best organized class which is schooled in a revolutionary spirit, in alliance with the nationally oppressed masses. Only the revolutionary bloc of the broad masses in the Balkans will be able to fight against fascism and its dictatorship until final victory.

The national-revolutionary organizations in the Balkans, whose mortal enemy fascism is, rightly consider the struggle against fascism and the fascist dictatorship their own struggle, an indivisible component of the great struggle against national oppression and for liberation.

La fédération balkanique
No. 112. March 15, 1929
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 397–402
Published by the BCP,1953

Owing to their geographical, military, strategical and economic situation, the Balkans are an extremely important objective for international imperialism. For the imperialist powers and for Great Britain, France and Italy in the first place, the Balkans are a necessary base for the preservation and consolidation of their positions in the Mediterranean basin, and for mastery of the routes which link Europe with Asia, Africa and India through the Balkans and the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time, the Balkans – owing to their economic backwardness and population of 42 million – are an important market for selling the industrial products of the highly developed capitalist great powers, and as a primarily agricultural region the Balkan Peninsula is a most valuable source of prime and raw materials for the industry of these powers. And finally, the importance of the Balkans is inherent in their quality of a military-strategic base, and as the suppliers of millions of primitive soldier-masses for imperialist war in the Mediterranean basin and the coastal areas of Asia and Africa, in which war the Balkans themselves would be inevitably drawn, particularly with the present world situation of a threatened war against the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in view.

All this fully explains the fact that the entire new political history of the Balkans today, too, as well as the history of inter-Balkan relations in the 19th century, is determined by the advance and penetration of imperialism in the Balkans and its persistent endeavour to place these states in full dependence and to turn them into colonies.

The imperialist war and the Russian October Revolution caused a number of changes in the balance of power in

the Balkans, particularly owing to the fall of the former imperialism of the Russian Tsars and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, the dependence of the Balkans on international imperialism is still in existence – what is more, it is increasing. The place of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been largely taken by fascist Italy, while the fall of the former Russian imperialism has opened the road to a more active capture of the Balkans by British and French imperialism, which are acting here as an Anglo-French bloc.

It is known that the concrete interests and immediate aims of the imperialist powers in the Balkans do not fully coincide. On the contrary, they contain contradictions and contrasts. Those between France and Italy are particularly strong and serious. This is reflected in the mutual relations among the Balkan states themselves and is expressed in frequent conflicts. On the other hand, this explains the fact that while Yugoslavia has given herself entirely up to the influence of French imperialism, and Albania to that of Italian imperialism, Greece and Romania are swimming in the waters of the Anglo-French imperialist bloc, while Italian imperialism is waging a desperate struggle for Bulgaria, utilizing to this end its relations created in the past, although that country leans more towards the Anglo-French imperialist bloc. It would, however, be erroneous to overestimate the importance of these 'domestic' contradictions in the imperialist camp, which are still further complicated by their running up against certain special endeavours and plans of American and revived German imperialism. It would be a dangerous mistake if, in view of these factual contradictions, we fail to see and correctly to estimate the *general line* of international imperialism in the Balkans in its entirety as it predominates over the said contradictions. This general line consists of the subjection of the Balkans to the great interests and aims of imperialism, the hampering of their independent economic and political development, the hindrance of the union of the Balkan nations in an economic and political community, the preservation of the semi-colonial or colonial status of the Balkans by means of military and financial control, by

enthralling loans and concessions, and by taking crucial economic and strategic key centres in the Balkans into their hands.

Acting in complete understanding on principle, the imperialist powers maintain the present unnatural and intolerable territorial division of the Balkans. They firmly oppose the national liberation of the oppressed Balkan peoples. They are deadly enemies of the union of the Balkan nations in a Balkan federation, as they are well aware that in the present international and Balkan set-up this federation is possible only as an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-monarchist federation of the masses in the Balkans. Great Britain and France are working for a certain ironing out of the contradictions among the Balkan states, in order to facilitate thereby the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc for the preparation of war against the Soviet Union, however, only as a means of better utilizating the Balkans in this war as a springboard and for their military strength.

That is precisely why international imperialism wholeheartedly supports fascism and the regime of violence in the Balkans, and is an implacable enemy of the general revolutionary movement of the Balkan workers and peasants, as well and more particularly of the national revolutionary liberation movement of the Macedonians, the Croatians, the Albanians, the Montenegrins, the Dobroudjans, the Bessarabians, the Thracians and so on. The full subjection of the Balkans to the interests and aims of international imperialism, harnessing the Balkan nations to imperialism's war chariot against the Soviet Union is impossible without the preliminary crushing of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, of the peasants, and the nationally oppressed masses in the Balkans.

However, international imperialism would be unable to achieve its military plans and bandit aims as regards the Balkans and their peoples without the active help of the Balkan bourgeoisie, without so-called Balkan imperialism. The latter is playing the part of a tool of international imperialism. The framework of its independent manifestation

is extremely narrow and is determined solely by the major interests of international imperialism. However, simply to be able to retain the conquered regions (Macedonia, Thrace, the Dobroudja, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Croatia and so on) and to utilize them as colonies, the imperialism of the Romanian, Serbian and Greek big bourgeoisie seeks the support of international imperialism, giving up to it their own countries for exploitation in common and thus opening the road to it for the complete subjection of the Balkans. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie too has its imperialism. However, it cannot be openly manifested owing to the present particularly unfavourable situation in the Balkans, and it is, so to speak, in a latent condition.

For the Balkan peoples the imperialism of the Balkans is a *double bondage* – enslavement by Balkan imperialism and by international imperialism. It is at the same time, economic, social and national bondage. Finally, it implies the growing danger of the Balkan peoples being thrust into a new imperialist war, first of all in the imperialist war now being feverishly prepared against the Soviet Union.

The struggle against their 'own' and international imperialism in the Balkans is a question of life and death for the masses in the Balkans. The active forces of this revolutionary struggle are: a) the proletariat; b) the toiling peasantry; c) the urban petty bourgeoisie (craftsmen, tradesmen and so on) and d) the nationally oppressed masses of people. In this struggle the capitalist bourgeoisie in general stands on the other side of the barricade. Only certain groups of the so-called middle classes of the nationally oppressed people can be drawn into this struggle, while other groups might be neutralized.

The struggle of the proletariat against the campaign of capital and capitalist rationalization, the struggle of the toiling peasantry for land and against being despoiled by banking and usurers' capital, the struggle of the enslaved nationalities against national oppression, against denationalization and colonization, their common struggle against fascism and the danger of imperialistic war – all these struggles are in close organic relation to the struggle against imperialism, to the struggle for social and national

liberation, to the struggle for a Balkan federation of the worker and peasant republics. The endeavours of the proletariat for a proletarian revolution, of the toiling peasants for an agrarian revolution and of the oppressed nationalities (Macedonians, Croatians, Albanians, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Dobroudjans, Bessarabians, Thracians and so on) for a national revolution must be united under a powerful slogan against imperialism, against capitalist exploitation and spoliation, against fascist dictatorship and tyranny and against national enslavement. The struggle against imperialism in the Balkans is inseparably linked with the daily struggle for bread, land and freedom. It must lead to the fall of the domination of imperialism and of the Balkan bourgeoisie, to the downfall of the artificially built walls and frontier stakes between the Balkan peoples, and to their revolutionary union in a Balkan federation.

So that this great historical struggle may end successfully, it is necessary to create a double front of the proletariat, the peasants and the national oppressed masses of people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, as the most consistent, most purposeful and most stubborn vanguard in the struggle against imperialism.

The International – Anti-imperialist League,[64] which at this moment is holding its second congress, was created as an organization for the struggle against imperialism chiefly in the big colonies and semi-colonies. With the participation of the national-revolutionary organizations in the Balkans and of the Balkan Communist Federation, at the congress of the Anti-imperialist League, now in session, it includes the Balkans as well – that important objective of international imperialism – and will give a new impetus to the struggle of the Balkan peoples against imperialism, extending the common front from the Balkan Peninsula to China and India, Latin America, Syria, Morocco, Egypt, Afghanistan and Iran in a *world anti-imperialist front.*

La fédération balkanique
No. 120, July 15, 1929
Signed: G. Dimitrov
Georgi Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 408–414
Published by the BCP, 1953

STATEMENT TO THE POLICE INQUIRING MAGISTRATES[65]

In connexion with my arrest, I have to state the following:

1. I, Georgi Dimitrov, former Bulgarian national representative, former secretary of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria, and a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party ever since 1910, have been a political emigrant since the month of October 1923, sentenced in Bulgaria by default in connexion with the events of June – September, 1923. Persecuted by my political opponents with attempts at my life abroad, I was unable to live in Europe under my real name and was compelled to use other names, such as the name of Dr. Rudolf Hediger, under which I was arrested.

2. When in the spring of 1932, the question of granting an amnesty to the remaining persons convicted in connexion with the events of 1923 was again brought up in Bulgaria, and a great political struggle flared up on this question, I decided to leave the Soviet Union, where I was at that time, and to return to Central Europe, to take an immediate part from abroad in the campaign for a general political amnesty. At the end of June 1932, I arrived in Berlin, and from here I made trips to Vienna, Prague, Amsterdam, Paris and Brussels where I endeavoured to get prominent personalities interested in the matter, such as Zweig and others in Austria, Prof. Neyedly and others in Czechoslovakia, Barbusse, Romain Rolland and others in France, the editorial offices of various newspapers and magazines as well as different organizations – cultural, scientific, etc. – and to secure their moral and political support in favour of the demanded amnesty. For the purpose, I compiled information on the question of the amnesty,

published letters addressed to prominent personalities, editorial offices and organizations, and wrote a series of articles on Bulgaria's economic and political situation, on its foreign and home policy, etc., for the foreign press, as well as for the *International Press Correspondence* magazine, published in French in Paris, in English in London and in German in Berlin. For this purpose I followed the Bulgarian press and literature, all that appeared about Bulgaria in the foreign press, collected statistical and other data in the Prussian Library and other institutions, as can be seen from the Bulgarian and other papers, magazines and books, newspaper clippings and other publications found at my lodgings.

3. I defrayed my personal maintenance as well as the expenses for my trips with the fees I got for my articles and for translations from the Russian and the German. The sum of 350 Marks and 10 dollars, found on me at my arrest, is all I possess as an emigrant over a period of 10 years.

4. During my stay in Germany I have not interfered in German home affairs. I have not taken any part, direct or indirect, in this country's political struggles. I was completely dedicated to my own task, which for me, as a Bulgarian political worker, was a vital question – to help promote, to the best of my abilities, an early and general political amnesty in Bulgaria, so as to be able, after a period of 10 years of emigration, to return freely to my country and there to serve my people according to my own convictions and ideal. The documents found on me: the united front appeal of the Communist International, and the appeal for convening an international anti-fascist congress, were used by me only as information. They were published by the whole world Communist press and are not illegal documents. In general, I have neither composed nor distributed in Germany any document on the German situation or problems.

5. I learned about the Reichstag fire from the papers in the morning on February 28, in the train from Munich to Berlin, like all other passengers in this train. I saw the name and the photograph of the 'incendiary' for the first time in the German papers after they were published. I

have never seen or met him personally in my life. As a Communist, as a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist International, I am in principle against all individual terror, against all senseless fires, because these actions are incompatible with the Communist principles and methods of mass work and with the economic and mass political struggle, and because they can only be harmful to the liberation movement of the proletariat, to the Communist cause. The programmes and constitutions of all Communist Partes and of the Communist International forbid individual terror under the threat of expulsion from the Party of any member who may resort to methods of individual terror. All terrorist actions perpetrated in Bulgaria, including the blowing up of the Sofia Cathedral in April 1925, were publicly and categorically condemned both personally by myself and by the Party to which I belong, as well as by the Communist International. We are Communists and not anarchists. According to my deepest conviction, the Reichstag fire can be the work only of madmen or of the worst enemies of Communism, who through this act intended to create an atmosphere conducive to the crushing of the workers' movement and the Communist Party in Germany. I am, however, neither mad, nor an enemy of Communism.

6. Moreover, at the time when the fire took place, I was not even in Berlin, but in Munich, where I arrived on February 26 in the morning and from where I returned to Berlin on February 27 in the evening by the through train, sleeping car, 3rd class.

7. I reject with the deepest indignation all suspicion of having taken a direct or indirect part in this anti-Communist act, in this crime reprehensible from every point of view, and resolutely protest against the unprecedented injustice committed against me by my arrest on the pretext of and in connexion with this crime.

My sole offense against the laws of Germany is that, as a political emigrant threatened with murder, I have lived underground in Germany.

8. I also protest against being kept in the position of a war prisoner, to whom not a single cent out of his own

money was left to meet my most immediate needs, and that I am deprived even of the most elementary legal defence.

Berlin, March 20, 1933

G. Dimitrov

P.S. As regards the papers found at my lodgings, I acknowledge as indisputably my own only those among them which were proved to be such at the perquisition. My lodgings were searched in my absence.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 1–8, 1960

TO THE EXAMINING MAGISTRATE

May 4, 1933

Your Honour:

Of course, I need not thank you for your communication that you have rejected my request to return my confiscated money.

Still, you have thereby saved me from an illusion. For a moment I had supposed that, as a political worker who is not guilty of burning down the Reichstag and is suffering only for having fulfilled his Communist duty, I would be treated, at least in this respect, not worse than a robber or murderer and that I would be able to count on a few Marks from my own money for newspapers, postage and a German language manual.

I now realize that this was a mere illusion. I am deprived of the right to make use of my own money. I have no right to visits and moreover must stay manacled by day and night.

As far as I know, even those accused of murder are not subjected to such a treatment.

And this I owe to you!

Yes, this is right and logical, I find myself in the hands of the class enemy, who is trying to make use even of justice as a weapon to eradicate Communism, i. e. in practice to destroy its convinced, consistent and adamant adherents.

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

TO DR. PAUL TEICHERT
Lawyer, Leipzig

August 1, 1933

Dear Doctor:

I have received today your letter of July 27 and took notice of the information that the Supreme Court has appointed you to be my defence counsel.

I inform you that on July 20 I entrusted my defence to the Bulgarian lawyer Stefan Dechev (now living in Paris, at the Palace Hotel), that besides this, through my sister and on my request, the French lawyers Messrs. Moro Giafferi, Campinchi and Torres have been invited to become my defence counsels. In all probability they will contact you.

As to my case, I am quite amazed that the Supreme Court should have accused me in connexion with the Reichstag fire. Judging by all the data, the preliminary investigation should without fail have led to the conclusion that I have had nothing to do with this crazy and provocative crime. But, they seem to have decided to put us, the three arrested Bulgarian emigrants, in the place of the undetected real culprits. It is precisely political trials that most vividly demonstrate how justice is made use of as a political instrument.

In my *written statements* of March 20 and May 30, which I gave to the examining magistrate at the Supreme Court, counsellor Vogt, I have already said everything that is essential in connexion with my case. I should ask you to get more closely acquainted with these documents.

I am very curious to learn how the state prosecutor's office will try to substantiate the indictment of high treason in connexion with the burning of the Reichstag building against a political worker who in fact has had nothing, absolutely nothing, to do with it.

It will be possible for me to formulate proposals in con-

nexion with the proofs, only after I have the text of the indictment in my hands, which, if actually an indictment of having set fire to the Reichstag is to be brought in it against me, will have truly to be a Kunstwerk (work of art) of German justice.

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

TO DR. BÜNGER, *President of the 4th Penal Department of the Supreme Court*

August 28, 1933

Dear Mr. President,

Since April 4 my hands have been manacled day and night. My repeated requests for the repeal of this measure have been of no avail.

On July 26 I once again asked the investigating magistrate at the Supreme Court, if it was impossible to have my manacles completely removed, to keep me manacled only at night, as is usually the practice with prisoners sentenced to death. To this I received the reply: 'As to the manacles, there can be no change for the time being.'

On August 18, I turned to my counsel who was appointed by the court, Dr. Teichert, and asked him to take the necessary steps for the removal of the manacles.

As I have received no reply so far and the manacling which is both noxious to my health and terribly painful still continues, I decided to address myself to you to obtain a legal solution to that question.

In the Code of Criminal Procedure (§ 116) I read the following:

'A prisoner can be manacled while in prison only in cases when, owing to particular danger from his person, this proves to be *necessary for the safety* of others, or if he has made or *prepared an attempt at suicide or escape*. During the trial the manacles must be removed.'

Hence, it follows that the use of manacles with regard to myself has no legal ground or justification.

Respectfully, *G. Dimitrov*

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 87–89
Published by the BCP, 1960

TO DR. PAUL TEICHERT

Lawyer, Leipzig

September 6, 1933

Dear Doctor:

I have gratefully received your letter of September 2 and am very glad to learn that you too are a fighter by nature.

But the question is not *who* of us can better judge *how* to conduct the defence and, still less, in a state of exceedingly overstrained nerves; the question is that I attach great importance to the possibility for a compatriot of mine to take part, directly or indirectly, in my defence, a man who knows me personally as well as my political activity and who is, therefore, 100 per cent convinced in my innocence. This is something that goes without saying. As you have always stated that you have the intention of conducting my defence absolutely seriously and do not feel bound by anything in this respect, you should not object to that either; on the contrary, you should only welcome such a joint participation in my defence.

The Supreme Court has conceded to Mr. Dechev a certain *indirect* participation in my defence (through your intermediary). But it is clear that unless he is given a chance to acquaint himself with the *concrete* reasoning of the accusations brought against me in the indictment, he will not be able to cotribute anything positive to my defence. But it is precisely information on the concrete reasoning in the indictment (and not the names of witnesses and other 'secrets' of the indictment) that he, as he writes to me, has not been able to obtain from you.

I find this fact, you will excuse me, worthy of regret and even contrary to the sense of the decision of the Supreme Court.

As I cannot dispense with the participation of a Bulgarian lawyer in my defence, I again addressed myself to the Court with the request to allow the Bulgarian lawyer, Mr. *Peter Grigorov*, who is at this moment in Switzerland and *who speaks German*, to take part in my defence along with you.

I ask you as my German defence counsel to give your consent required by the law.

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

P.S. Although I am not a jurist, I think that the appointed defence counsel is not obliged to abide by the instructions of the defendant. And, of course, I have never had such an intention. But, on the other hand, the official defence counsel is not a boss of the defendant and cannot act according to the so-called Führerprinzip in the given case. Mutual understanding between defence counsel and defendant is absolutely necessary in this instance. Otherwise, the defendant can safely refuse the benefit of such a defence and prefer to defend himself alone, though quite inadequately.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 95–96, 1960

DIMITROV'S NOTES FOR HIS FIRST SPEECH IN COURT[66]

Born on June 18, 1882, at Radomir, near Sofia.

Left school in the 6th grade, worked as a compositor up to 1904.

Son of the Bulgarian working class.

Born and brought up in the ranks of the revolutionary workers' movement (I have been active in this movement from the age of 15).

For thirty years member of the Bulgarian Communist Party – (formerly the Party of the so-called Narrow or Left-Wing Socialists.)

For twenty-three years member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

From 1904 to 1923 Secretary of the Trade Union Federation.

From 1913 to 1923 Party national representative for Sofia in the Bulgarian Parliament – also representative of the Party in the Municipal Council of Sofia and in the Regional Council of Sofia.

At the same time I was active as *a Party speaker* and *writer.*

June 9, 1923 – Military coup d'état – overthrow of Stamboliiski's Government – by officers and Macedonian terrorists under the patronage of the Tsar himself, aided by Social-Democrats and from abroad.

Thousands upon thousands of peasants, workers, intellectuals murdered. Stamboliiski murdered.

Largest parties – Agrarian Union and Communist Party – dissolved.

All rights and liberties of the mass of the people abolished.

Introduction of a military-fascist regime.

Boundless indignation – mass uprising inevitable.

September 23 – Workers' and peasants' uprising under the leadership of the Communist Party against the oppressors of the people and the usurpers of power, for a worker-peasant government.

In this uprising I *was delegated by my Party to take an active and leading part.*

After a week of armed struggle the uprising was defeated. Fighting every step of the way, with about a thousand of my comrades-in-arms I crossed over into *Yugoslav territory.*

There we were treated at first as a political *prisoners* and later as political *refugees.*

From that time onwards – exactly ten years – I have been living abroad as a political refugee and a political writer – unregistered and under a false name, because while abroad I was again threatened with death by my enemies.

Several months after the September uprising *I was sentenced to death by default* – as the press announced at the time. I never had the opportunity of hearing the sentence pronounced against me.

I am proud of the heroic uprising.

I only regret that I and my Party were not yet *real Bolsheviks* at that time. That is why we were unable *successfully to organize and lead this historic* people's uprising, *headed by the proletariat.*

Our insufficiently Bolshevik organization, policy and tactics, the lack of revolutionary experience, and especially our opportunist and so-called neutral attitude towards the military-fascist coup on June 9, did much to help the murders and executioners of the Bulgarian people, the usurpers of state power, to suppress the uprising of the masses.

But the Party has learned and appreciated the bloody lessons of this experience, and the struggle for the emancipation of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, enlightened by the great experience of the September Uprising, is going unfalteringly forward to the final victory.

In order to root out Communism, immediately after the uprising and in the two following years the government's fascist gangs murdered more that 20,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals. My brother, too, was murdered in the police prison. But, notwithstanding this, Communism has incomparably deeper and stronger roots in Bulgaria now than in 1923 – undoubtedly a useful warning for all the eager extirpators of Communism in other countries – for all the many varieties of modern Don Quixotes.

October 1, 1923, I left for Vienna.

Support for my *suffering fellow-fighters in Yugoslavia*. Campaign for the defence of persecuted and bestially slaughtered class comrades in Bulgaria.

Here, for three months, I edited and published the Party organ, *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*.

Published two pamphlets against the bloody White Terror in Bulgaria, in Bulgarian, German and English.

In the spring of 1924 went to Moscow as a political refugee and political writer and stayed until the end of 1926.

In 1927 I was again in *Vienna*, in connexion with the projected amnesty, up to the autumn of 1929. I was not amnestied.

Publication of the Party paper, *Komunistichesko Znamé*, contacts with certain Party papers.

From the autumn of 1929 I was settled in Berlin – far fewer Bulgarian refugees were there, and therefore safer incognito.

Two fairly long interruptions – from November 1929 to May 1930, and from December 1931 to June 1932, in the Soviet Union.

I returned specially to *Berlin* in the summer of 1932 in connexion with the last *draft Amnesty Law*, in order personally to organize the amnesty campaign.

Journeys to Vienna, Amsterdam, Paris.

I have never taken part in *German politics* – have no contacts with the Communist Party of Germany. This was not necessary for my work.

But I openly state that if I had needed these contacts for

my work I certainly should have been associated with the Communist Party of Germany.

I was in touch with *International Press Correspondence* only because of my articles.

It is true that I am Bolshevik, a proletarian revolutionary. I must emphasize *proletarian* revolutionary because this is a period of confusion in which even the German Crown Prince is accustomed to proclaim himself a revolutionary, and in which there are also such crazy revolutionaries as, for instance, van der Lubbe.

It is also true that as a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I am a responsible and a leading Communist.

And I am ready *to accept full responsibility for all the decisions, documents and actions of my Bulgarian Party and of the Communist International. But precisely for this reason I am not a terrorist adventurer, a conspirator or an incendiary.*

Further, it is perfectly true that I am in favour of the *proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.* I am firmly convinced that this is the *only way out of, the only salvation from the economic crisis and the catastrophe of war* under capitalism.

And the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the victory of Communism is, without any doubt, the whole substance of my life. I should like to live at least another twenty years for Communism and then quietly die. *But precisely for this reason I am a convinced opponent of the methods of individual terror and conspiracies.*

And this is not from any sentimental or humanitarian considerations. In agreement with our Leninist theory, and with the decisions and discipline of the Communist International, which for me and for every true Communist are the supreme law, *I am opposed to individual terror and to putschist activities* from the standpoint of *revolutionary expediency,* in the interests of the proletarian revolution and of Communism itself.

I am, in fact, *an enthusiastic follower and admirer of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,* because this Party rules the largest country in the world – a sixth part of the earth –

and is building up socialism with such heroism and with such success.

But I have never been an emissary in Germany of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the indictment tries to indicate.

The only breach of the law which I have committed in Germany consists in the fact that I have lived there *unregistered and under a false name.*

But unfortunately it was impossible for me to live in any other way.

With the burning of the Reichstag I had absolutely nothing to do, whether directly or indirectly. The Reichstag incendiary, van der Lubbe, I now see for the first time in this hall. When, early in the morning of February 28, in the train from Munich to Berlin I read in the papers about the burning of the Reichstag, I immediately took the view that the instigators of this action were either *despicable provocateurs or mentally and politically demented people,* and in any case enemies of the German working class and of *Communism.*

I am now more inclined to assume that the burning of the Reichstag – this anti-Communist undertaking – must have taken place as a result of a double alliance between *political provocation and political madness.*

It would hardly be possible to make a graver attack upon my revolutionary, political and personal honour than to cast upon me *the suspicion and the accusation* that I had a share in this crime against the people and against Communism.

My consolation was, and is to this day, that my Bulgarian comrades-in-arms, the class comrades abroad, the revolutionary proletarians in Germany, and all who are acquainted with me in some degree, cannot doubt *for a single instant that I am innocent.* I wish most forcefully to stress that I have had just as much to do with the burning of the Reichstag as, for instance, any foreign correspondent in this hall or *the judges* themselves could have had.

At the same time I wish to state most emphatically that I have had *absolutely no connexion,* not even *a chance connexion* or the *most remote connexion,* with this crime.

During the preliminary examination I submitted two

written statements – on March 20 and May 30 – where practically everything essential in my defence has already been said.

On the other hand, I did not sign the depositions at the preliminary examinations because they were incomplete and tendentious.

My whole preliminary examination was based on the express intention of turning me into an incendiary of the Reichstag for the benefit of the Supreme Court – *at any price*, and in spite of the facts which disproved this; and even after the preliminary investigation, which had lasted for months, had still failed – as I now see clearly – to discover the real criminals.

September 25, 1933

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 111–117
Published by the BCP, 1960

FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION[67] ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1933

Interrogation of the accused van der Lubbe

Dimitrov: I wish to protest against the falsified version of my words in the fascist press.

President: Shut up! I have not given you permission to speak. I am the one who decides when statements can be made.

Dimitrov: I should like to state on Saturday...

President: I do not permit you to make any statements now.

Dimitrov: I note that I am deprived of the possibility...

President: Keep quite! You can note nothing here! Turn to your defence counsel!

Dimitrov: I am defending myself!

President (to van der Lubbe, after reminding him of the minutes of the inquest where the presumed course of the three minor fires is mentioned, but obtains either no reply or exceedingly short replies): Why did you perform these three acts of arson?

Van der Lubbe (after a long silence, through the interpreter): I was prompted by reasons of my own.

President: What did you want to prove thereby?

Van der Lubbe: At that time I did not know it myself.*

President: Was it not meant to be a public protest against capitalism (van der Lubbe keeps silent)?

Dimitrov: it is quite inexplicable that earlier van der Lubbe made such detailed depositions before the examining magistrate, while here, at the public hearing, he

* The inquest minutes, however, read: 'Van der Lubbe said that he wanted to incite thereby the workers to carry out a revolution while it was not too late, that he was glad he would be able to make an ardent speech before the court' etc.

keeps quiet and makes no reply whatever. If he is normal indeed, as the professorial experts claim, there remains only one hypothesis.

Chief Prosecutor and President (interrupting): You cannot put forward any hypotheses here, but can ask questions only in connexion with the fires which are being examined at this moment.

Dimitrov: I shall do that at once. At any rate, I must state my viewpoint at least for once. Van der Lubbe was a simple, quite good boy. He was a mason, wandered, travelled, and then committed this crime. There can be only one hypothesis here. Either van der Lubbe is mentally unbalanced, or else he is normal. If he is normal and keeps quiet, he is keeping quiet on account of his monstrous crime against the proletariat. I wish to put to van der Lubbe the following question: *Has he ever in his life heard my name?*

President: Question overruled. It is inexpedient here.

Dimitrov (addressing van der Lubbe in a loud voice): He must tell the truth!

President: You have no right to ask questions. It is I who ask them (van der Lubbe keeps quiet).

Dimitrov: I put one more question to van der Lubbe.

President: What is it?

Dimitrov: Why does he behave here in this way? Why does he say once 'yes', the second time 'no', the third time 'yes' and 'no' and the fourth time does not answer at all? Does he understand this or not? It is indeed wonderful! Ridiculous!

President: Listen, you have no right to interfere in the deliberations. You speak as though you were taking a direct part in the deliberations. Your question is overruled.

Dimitrov: The third question: Has van der Lubbe talked with anyone about these fires?

President: Why this question?

Dimitrov: Has he had an agreement with anyone on this matter?

President: Question overruled.

Dimitrov: A final question: Why did he commit this

monstrous crime against the German working class and with *whom* did he commit it?

President: Well, your questions are overruled. We have already heard everything. He has acted alone, and has told us part of his reasons without telling us the other part. Enough with those questions (The court hastily withdraws for deliberation).

President: The accused Dimitrov is not allowed to ask further questions, because he has abused his right of asking questions and asks them only for the purpose of making Communist propaganda (In spite of this Dimitrov insists on speaking. The policemen force him to sit down).

President: That is enough now, Dimitrov!

Dimitrov: I protest against this!

A few days later, on October 4, during the interrogation of Torgler, Dimitrov again put several questions to van der Lubbe.

Dimitrov: Why were you unable to set fire to the small charity institution, yet managed to set fire to the large stone building of the Reichstag, and in just a quarter of an hour at that?

Dr. Sack: See, see! Dimitrov now wants to interrogate the accused van der Lubbe as an expert?

President: It is quite clear that such a question should be asked! How can you answer this, van der Lubbe? (Van der Lubbe keeps quiet).

Dimitrov: The Communist International demands full clarity on the question of the Reichstag fire. Millions are waiting for an answer!

President: Who is president here? Shut up immediately!

Dimitrov: Millions are waiting for a clear answer!

President: I can no longer brook this! You must keep quiet when I order you to do so, otherwise I shall order you to be taken out of the courtroom.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 119–122
Published by the BCP, 1960

TO DR. BÜNGER, *President of the 4th Penal Department of the Supreme Court*

Leipzig, September 28, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

I am sorry that my Court speeches have on several occasions led to undesirable incidents and altercations. But I feel bound categorically to reject the interpretation of having intentionally abused of my right to ask questions for propaganda purposes. Insofar as the prosecution demands my death, I, who have been accused quite unjustly, consider it as my natural and lawful right to defend myself with all means which I have at my disposal.

I admit that some of the questions may not always have been asked by me in proper juridical form. This, however, is to be explained solely by the fact that I am not versed in German law. Besides, it is for the first time in my life that I participate in such a trial. If I had had a *defence counsel of my own choice*, I should undoubtedly have been able to avoid such incidents which are not conducive to my own defence.

I remind you that all the candidates proposed by me (lawyers Dechev, Giafferi, Campinchi, Torrès, Grigorov, Leo Gallagher of America, and Dr. Lehmen of Saarbrücken) were, one after the other, on one pretext or another, rejected by the Supreme Court, and Mr. Dechev, as is evident, has even been refused an admission card.

I personally do not feel any lack of confidence in Dr. Paul Teichert as a person and lawyer. But as matters now stand in Germany, I cannot have the necessary confidence in Dr. Teichert as my official defence counsel. That is why I am trying to defend myself alone and in doing this often take steps which are undoubtedly incorrect from a juridical point of view.

In the interest of my defence before the Court, and I believe in the interest of the normal course of the trial too, I once again – and for the last time – address myself to the Supreme Court with the request to allow the lawyer *Marcel Willard*, who has now been given a power of attorney from my sister, to take part in my defence.

If my present proposal should unfortunately again be rejected, I will have no other alternative but to defend myself alone to the best of my abilities and understanding.

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 123–124
Published by the BCP, 1960

FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON OCTOBER 11, 1933

President: Tomorrow, at 8 p. m., an on-the-spot inspection of the Reichstag has been scheduled, but it must not take up too much time.

Dimitrov: In connexion with the time of the on-the-spot inspection I should like to ask one question.

President: No, Dimitrov, this will be of no use to you at all. I have told you so many times: asking questions and giving explanations are things not provided for in the Code of Procedure and you can hardly expect me to allow precisely you who – to put it softly – have already repeatedly tried to overdo it with your asking questions and giving explanations, making statements, etc., that to which the Code of Procedure does not entitle you. So better give up this idea.

Dimitrov: Mr. President...

President: No, I do not want to hear anything! Do not say anything: It will be of no avail to you.Sit down.

Dimitrov: I should ask you to allow me to point out ...

President: I deprive you of the right to speak...

Dimitrov: I am not only the accused Dimitrov (*President:* Shut up!), but also Dimitrov who defends himself (President rises and the Court withdraws to deliberate).

President: I have the following decision to announce: For repeated insubordination to the orders of the President, particularly of the order depriving him of the right to speak, the accused Dimitrov shall be removed from the courtroom until further notice. He shall be taken to the prison.

Dimitrov: This is depriving me arbitrarily of my right of defence, Mr. President (Dimitrov gives a note to his official defence counsel, telling him): 'I wanted to put these questions, you ask them!' (Dimitrov is taken out of the room).

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 131–132
Published by the BCP, 1960

TO DR. BÜNGER,[68] *President of the 4th Penal Department of the Supreme Court*

Berlin, October 12, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

After the Supreme Court rejected all eight defence counsels proposed by me of my own choice, I have no other alternative but to defend myself to the best of my abilities and understanding. I am thus compelled to appear before the Supreme Court in a double role: first, as *Dimitrov – the accused*, and second, as defence counsel of the *accused Dimitrov*.

I quite agree that both as accused and as a person who defends himself, I am inconvenient and disagreeable to my prosecutors and those who give them orders. But I am not to blame for this.

After the judicial authorities were careless enough to put me, an absolutely innocent man, in the dock of the accused before the Supreme Court as a substitute incendiary of the Reichstag, they shall have to bear the consequences of their carelessness. They have cooked the broth which they will now have to eat. Whether they find it to their taste or not – that is none of my business; it does not interest me in the least.

I think that before the Supreme Court I am supposed to behave like a person who is accused of having committed a political crime, and not like a soldier in the barracks or a prisoner of war in a concentration camp.

I am firmly convinced that in this trial van der Lubbe is only, so to say, the *Faustus in the Reichstag fire*, behind whose back undoubtedly stood the *Mephistopheles of the Reichstag fire*. Poor *Faustus* is now standing before the Supreme Court, while *Mephistopheles* has disappeared.

As a casual and innocent accused, and still more as a Communist and member of the Communist International,

I am most deeply interested in the all-round and complete elucidation of the case of the Reichstag fire, and at the same time in the detection of the vanished Mephistopheles of the fire.

I put all questions to the Court *only with this* and with no other aim in view. I do not need at all to make any propaganda in the Court, all the more so as the best propaganda for Communism has already been made, and not by myself, but by the very fact that innocent Communists have been brought to trial as incendiaries of the Reichstag, as well as by the 'classic' indictment of Dr. Parrisius.

It is my natural right to defend myself and to take an active part in the Court trial, both as an accused and as a person who defends himself alone. It is clear that no expulsions from the sittings of the Court and the Court sessions are in a position to frighten me in this respect. These expulsions precisely from the most important sittings and sessions are in fact nothing but a flagrant deprival of my rights to defend myself, and will only prove to the whole world that my prosecutors themselves are not too sure of their case. They will open the eyes of many credulous people, and in this way may supply new food to Communist propaganda.

If, nevertheless, this unbearable attitude towards me continues, then – let me state it quite frankly – I shall be compelled to decide, without taking into consideration the possible consequences, whether there is any sense at all in my further appearing before the Court.

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 133–135
Published by the BCP, 1960

FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON OCTOBER 23, 1933

From the interrogation of expert Josse

Prof. Josse (heat technician at the Higher Technical School in Berlin): The hall for plenary sessions, the volume of which is over 10,000 cu m, cannot possibly be set on fire merely by means of a torch. Liquid fuel must have been used for this purpose*. It *is out of the question* that van der Lubbe should have caused the fire all by himself. The preparation for setting the fire must have required quite some time and has been made by several persons. The main purpose of the smaller centres of the fire in the restaurant hall and in the corridors around the hall for plenary sessions (which must be attributed to van der Lubbe) was to attract the attention of those people who might enter to extinguish the fire, and to detain them from entering the plenary hall. Van der Lubbe may have set fire to the plenary hall alone, but he definitely has not made the preparations all by himself. This must have been done by at least *one* other incendiary. At least 20 kg of liquid fuel (probably gasoline or benzol), and maybe even 40 kg, are necessary for the purpose. Rags, film rolls or combustible wicks have probably been used to connect the separate centres of the fire.

President: Van der Lubbe told us about a piece of burning window curtain with which he ran through the hall. Was this of no significance?

Prof. Josse: None whatever.

Chief Prosecutor Werner: An attempt to attract attention by setting the restaurant on fire would hardly be expedient.

Prof. Josse: For me, too, the intentions of the incendiary

* *Josse here recalls the depositions of Senior Fire Director Gempp on the traces of liquid fuel in the Bismarck Hall.*

are a mystery, for if I really wanted to cause a fire, I would not show myself with a burning torch in hand on the terrace, nor would I run with a burning torch past the window, and in general, I would not behave so suspiciously.

Teichert: How much time was needed to prepare the setting on fire of the hall for plenary sessions?

Prof. Josse: This depends upon the number of participants. Ten to fifteen minutes would do, if the combustible materials were all ready.

Chief Prosecutor Werner: Torgler went out at 8:45 p. m. (Torgler protests: I left the Reichstag as early as 8:20). At about 8:20 I saw in the hall the lighting electrician Scholz. Could the preparations have been made in this time interval?

Prof. Josse: Yes.

Dimitrov: I am glad that the experts too are of the opinion that van der Lubbe could not have acted all by himself. This is the only point in the indictment with which I am in complete accord. But I go farther. According to me, at this trial van der Lubbe is, as it were, the Faustus of the Reichstag fire. This miserable Faustus has been brought before the Court, but the Mephistopheles of the fire is not here...

President: Now is not the time for pleading ...

Dimitrov: Was it at all possible for van der Lubbe to cover the distance from the place of the fire and set fire to the hall?

Prof. Josse: At his arrest van der Lubbe was panting for breath and was all in sweat. Taking into consideration his agility, which was known to those who had known him before, in the course of this time he could all by himself have kindled the fire *prepared beforehand.*

Dimitrov: If I have correctly understood his words, the expert presumes the presence of at least two incendiaries?

Prof. Josse: Yes. (Van der Lubbe comes forward, and the interpreter translates for him in brief the depositions of Prof. Josse).

President: Raise your head, van der Lubbe! Do you understand what has been said? The expert who is a learned professor says that you could not have set fire to the

Reichstag all by yourself. Who prepared the fire? Answer! (Van der Lubbe persists in his silence).

Dimitrov (Addressing van der Lubbe as the latter is being led past him to take his seat): This miserable Faustus must tell us the name of his Mephistopheles! Mr. President...

President: Dimitrov, you cannot go on talking all the time. I can allow you to put just one question.

Dimitrov: I wish once more and for the last time to ask van der Lubbe. As was already said, he was not alone. His conduct, his silence makes it possible for innocent people to be accused along with him. I would not ask van der Lubbe about his accomplices, had his act been revolutionary, but it is counter-revolutionary.

President: That is enough. Ask just one question.

Dimitrov: Is it true that while setting the fire van der Lubbe passed along the course as indicated or not?

President: He has said that a hundred times already.

Dimitrov: Has van der Lubbe set fire to the hall all by himself?

President: He has already answered this question. This is the last question which I authorize.

Dimitrov: He said here that he ran through the hall with a piece of burning material in his hand – was that so? (The President asks the interpreter to translate the question to van der Lubbe).

Van der Lubbe: I cannot say this exactly.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 141–144
Published by the BCP, 1960

FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON OCTOBER 31,1933

Interrogation of witness Lebermann

Dimitrov: I wish to put a question.

President: You may now put questions.

Dimitrov: I should like to know who called this witness, as this is of interest to the trial? Is he not a witness of the prosecution?

President: I have already said: once, on October 13, this witness sent a note to the Director of the Prison, after which he was examined by the prosecutor. But I have already said this.

Dimitrov: I heard that.

President: Afterwards it was proposed to call him as witness.

Dimitrov: By whom?

President: By the Chief Prosecutor. But I wish to tell you right away that you indulge in criticism which are quite useless.You cannot prevent the Chief Prosecutor, or the Court for that matter, from calling a witness when he has something to say.

Dimitrov: This is not my intention.

President: It would therefore be quite useless for you to draw any inferences along those lines.

Dimitrov: I do not intend to do that. But, Mr. President and your honours, I just wish to point out that today, with this witness, the circle of witnesses (the chief witnesses) of the representative of the Prosecution against us, the accused Communists, comes to a close. It started with deputies of the National Socialist Party to the Reichstag, with national socialist journalists, and ends with a thief.

Chief Prosecutor Dr. Werner: Is that a question?

President: All this has been noted down.

Dimitrov: The circle...

President (interrupting): Dimitrov! I have repeatedly told you that after the examination of the witnesses you can ask questions, but not indulge in partial pleading. There is still time for that. At present all that you are entitled to are questions. What questions do you want to put? But to the witnesses, and not to the Chief Prosecutor.

Dimitrov: One question to Dr. Parrisius' witness.*

President: No! What question do you want to put to the witness?

Dimitrov: I ask to following, Mr. President!

President: In other words, you have no questions?

Dimitrov: I have the following question.

President: Put your question at last.

Dimitrov: It has been established that on October 13 he wrote an application, after reading in the newspapers about the Reichstag fire trial. He said so himself. He is in prison, he is not at liberty. He has passed into the third category. He now has the hope of being freed on the basis of these lies here. I ask: who influenced him to make these base, shameful...

President (interrupting): Silence! Do not insult the witnesses... (To Lebermann): Has any one influence you?

Lebermann: No one has influenced me.

President: The question has been answered.

Dimitrov: I congratulate you, Mr. Prosecutor, on having called this witness!

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 153–155
Published by the BCP, 1960

* Witness Lebermann had been summoned on Parrisius' proposal

FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON NOVEMBER 4, 1933

Interrogation of witness Goering

Dimitrov: Count Helldorf[69] here testified to the effect that on February 27 at about 11 p. m. on his own initiative he gave orders for the arrest of the Communist and Social-Democratic leaders and functionaries. I now ask the Prime Minister: did Count Helldorf discuss then this measure with Mr. Goering, or not?

Goering: As a matter of fact an answer to this question has already been given. When Count Helldorf heard about the fire, he realized, as well as every one of us, that it must have been the work of the Communist Party. He had already given orders to his closest assistants. But I wish to stress once more: I, of course, called him to my room and told him that now I had to ask him to put his SA[70] troops at our dispósal, to which he replied that he had already given partial instruction to that effect. I thus assumed the responsibility for the orders which he had given, but which had not yet come into effect, and once again backed him with the authority of the state.

Dimitrov: I would like to know only whether between 11 and 12 o'clock a personal conference was held between Count Helldorf and Prime Minister Goering.

Goering: You have just heard it: he was with me.*

Dimitrov: The deputies of the National Socialist Party to the Reichstag, *Mr. Karwahne* and *Mr. Frey*, testified here that at about 11 o'clock they were in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, and informed it that both of them and the Austrian National Socialist Kroyer had seen Torgler with van der Lubbe on the day of the fire. Did these

* In his depositions made under oath before the Court, Helldorf denied this meeting with Goering.

Reichstag deputies speak at that time to the Prime Minister, Mr. Goering?

Goering: No.

Dimitrov: Did the Prime Minister know that Mr. Karwahne and Mr. Frey had made this report?

Goering: On the day after the fire I learned about their report.

Dimitrov: Was it in the morning or still during the night?

Goering: In the morning, or maybe in the afternoon.

Dimitrov: So it was either in the morning or in the afternoon.

Goering: When that report was made to me can be established by interrogating Ministerial Counsellor Diehls*!

Dimitrov: I should like to have it established exactly, because Karwahne categorically answered my question that he made the report after midnight, immediately after the fire.

Goering: The three of them gave their information at the Ministry before officials and not before me. I may not know that. It may have been during the night or in the morning: I cannot recall when I was told about it.

Dimitrov: On February 28 Prime Minister Goering gave an interview on the Reichstag fire, in which it was said: at the arrest of the 'Dutch Communist' van der Lubbe, besides his passport, his Party membership card was seized. How did the Prime Minister Goering know then that van der Lubbe had a Party membership card on him?

Goering: I must say that so far I have not been so much interested in the present trial, i. e. I did not read all the reports. I only heard from time to time that you (to Dimitrov) were a particularly clever man. That is why I supposed that the question which you asked has long been clear to you, namely that I never occupied myself with the investigation of this matter. I do not run about or search the pockets of people. If this (to Dimitrov) should still be

* Chief of the Gestapo at that time

unknown to you, let me tell you: the police examines all great criminals and informs me of its findings.

Dimitrov: The three officials of the criminal police who arrested and first interrogated van der Lubbe unanimously declared that no membership card was found on Lubbe. From where has the information about the card come then, I should like to know?

Goering: I can tell you that with absolute exactitude. This report was officially made to me. If on that first night they reported things which perhaps could not be checked so quickly, if before an official, perhaps on the basis of the depositions, it was mentioned that Lubbe had a membership card on him and if that could not be checked, they probably assumed it to be a fact and, of course, let me know it. I gave this information on the following day before noon when they had not yet definitely concluded the examination. This is of no significance in itself, because here, at the trial, it seems to have been established that van der Lubbe had no membership card.

Dimitrov: The witness is Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior and President of the Reichstag, so does the Minister bear responsibility for his police?

Goering: Yes!

Dimitrov: I ask: What the Minister of the Interior do on February 28 and 29 or during the following days in order to establish through a police investigation van der Lubbe's moves from Berlin to Henningsdorf, his stay at the Henningsdorf asylum, his getting acquainted there with two other persons, so as to discover in this way his real accomplices? What did your police do?

Goering: As Minister I, of course, did not go after the traces like a detective, for I have my police for this job.

Dimitrov: After you, as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, had declared that the incendiaries were Communists, that the German Communist Party had committed the crime with the aid of van der Lubbe as a foreign Communist, did this declaration on your part not serve to direct the police inquiry and afterwards – the Court investigations in a certain direction, excluding the possibility

of *looking for other ways and means of* finding the true incendiaries of the Reichstag?

Goering: First of all, the law prescribes to the criminal police to make its investigations in all criminal cases along all lines, regardless of where they may lead to, and wherever there are traces. However, I personally am not an official of the criminal police but a responsible Minister, and that is why it was not so important for me to find the particular petty criminal, but the Party, the outlook on life which was responsible for it all. The criminal police will investigate all traces, be sure of it. I had only to establish: was this a crime beyond the political sphere or was it political in character. For me it was a political crime and I was also convinced that the criminals had to be looked for in your (to Dimitrov) Party (Shakes his fists at Dimitrov and shouts). Your Party is a Party of criminals, which must be destroyed! And if the hearing of the Court has been influenced in this sense, it has set out on the right track.

Dimitrov: Is it known to the Prime Minister that the Party, which 'has to be destroyed', rules over one sixth of the globe, namely in the Soviet Union, and that this Soviet Union maintains diplomatic, political and economic relations with Germany and that hundreds of thousands of German workers benefit from its economic orders?

President (to Dimitrov): I forbid you to make Communist propaganda here.

Dimitrov: Mr. Goering is making National Socialist propaganda here! (After that he turns to Goering). This Communist outlook on life prevails in the Soviet Union, the largest and best country in the world, and here, in Germany, it has millions of followers among the best sons of the German people. Is this known ...

Goering (yelling loudly): I shall tell you what is known to the German people. The German people know that here you are behaving insolently, that you have come here to set fire to the Reichstag. But I am not here to allow you to question me like a judge and to reprimand me! In my eyes you are a scoundrel who should be hanged.

President: Dimitrov, I have already told you not to make here Communist propaganda. That is why you should not

be surprised if the witness is so agitated! I most strictly forbid this propaganda! You can only ask questions referring to the trial.

Dimitrov: I am highly pleased with the reply of the Prime Minister.

President: Whether you are pleased or not is quite immaterial. Now I deprive you of the right to speak.

Dimitrov: I wish to put one more question pertaining to the trial.

President (still more abruptly): Now I deprive you of the right to speak.

Goering (yelling): Go out, scoundrel!

President (to the policemen): Take him out!

Dimitrov (whom the policemen have already seized): You are probably afraid of my questions, Mr. Prime Minister?

Goering (shouting after Dimitrov): Be careful, look out, I shall teach you how to behave, only come out of the courtroom! Scoundrel!

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 161–166
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FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON NOVEMBER 8, 1933

Questions to Goebbels

Dimitrov: Mr. President!

President: And so, Dimitrov, you must address all your questions to me! Do you understand?

Dimitrov: Answering the question of the Chief Prosecutor, the witness said that the setting on fire of the Reichstag, according to the opinion of the whole Cabinet, was to serve as a signal for an armed insurrection on the part of the German Communist Party. I would like to know whether on the 26th of February, on the 27th of February or on any other day following the Reichstag fire the Cabinet had taken a decision to make use of all armed forces in Prussia and Germany against the expected armed uprising of the German proletariat and of the German Communist Party. *Is there any such decision,* any authentic document, or isn't there?

President: Dimitrov! Ask your questions calmly and only to the point if you want to be allowed to put questions. Nothing else!

Dimitrov: Isn't this to the point?

President: Mr. Reichsminister, could you give any information on this question?

Goebbels: I must explain that it is not at all a task of the Cabinet to deal with the Communist peril. That was up to the Police Minister. It is not the fashion in a National Socialist Cabinet for a Minister of a given jurisdiction to hide behind the Cabinet majority. The Police Minister has the task to safely avert any serious danger and disturbance of public tranquillity. If there is any need to act, the Police Minister puts into action his police force. The details are of no interest to the Cabinet, but the Police Minister is obliged to inform the Cabinet of the measures he has taken.

President: You have heard the answer.

Dimitrov: Does the witness, Mr. Minister Goebbels, know that at that time in the Police Ministry in Berlin, in the Direction of the Police and in the War Ministry orders had been given that the armed forces should be ready to act against the expected armed insurrection?

Goebbels: It seems that Mr. Dimitrov gets me mixed up with the War Minister and the Minister of Police. I am the Propaganda Minister, however, and have nothing to do with all this. I presume that the Police Minister had taken the respective measures to crush the peril at any given moment, but by no means the War Minister because, first, there is no War Minister, but only a Minister of Defence and, second, it is not among the duties of the Minister of Defence to ward off the Communist peril. It seems that Mr. Dimitrov considers the Communist peril much greater and more dangerous than it is, if he assumes that military force should be used against it. It was quite enough to use the SA and the SS and the police in order to have it destroyed in a flash.

President: You have heard this answer too. We must agree with the witness that he is not at all obliged to give information on questions of other jurisdictions.

Dimitrov: In this connexion, Mr. President, I shall later on submit a proposal regarding the evidence. Does the witness, both as head of the National Socialist Party propaganda and as Propaganda Reichsminister, know whether it is true that the setting on fire of the Reichstag was immediately used by the Government and the Propaganda Ministry as a pretext to stifle the electoral campaign of the Communist Party, the Socialist and other opposition parties?

Goebbels: I did not understand this question well, Mr. President.

Dimitrov: Whether the setting on fire of the Reichstag was immediately used for propaganda purposes against the Communist Party, against Social Democracy and against the other opposition parties!

Goebbels: I must explain the following : the necessary measures were taken by the police. We did not need to use

any propaganda, because the Reichstag fire was actually only a confirmation of our struggle against the Communist Party and we could merely add the burning of the Reichstag to the collection of adequate proofs against the Communist Party as a new evidence, there being no need to launch a special propaganda campaign.

Dimitrov: Did not he himself deliver a speech broadcast over the radio, branding the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party as authors of the Reichstag fire? Not only against the Communist Party but also against the Social Democratic Party?

President: Have you delivered a speech in this sense, Mr. Minister?

Goebbels: At that time I did not deliver any speeches over the radio but only prepared introductory reports for the meetings of the Führer. But it is quite possible that I have said this because it was my firm conviction – and my firm conviction now is – that the Communist Party is the author of the Reichstag fire.

Dimitrov: Was it not said in these speeches and circular letters of the Propaganda Ministry, as well as in the statements of Goering and the other Ministers, that not only the Communist Party, but also the Social Democratic Party had something to do with the Reichstag fire?

President: But tell me at last what connexion does that have with the question, who set the Reichstag on fire?

Dimitrov: There is a connexion, Mr. President, a close connexion.

Goebbels: Mr. President, I shall be only too glad to answer this question. A preliminary note. I have the impression that the defendant Dimitrov wants to make propaganda before the Court in favour of the Communist Party, respectively of the Social Democratic Party. I can give him an answer to that: I know what propaganda is and he need not try to overtax my patience with such questions; this is quite impossible.

When we accused the Communist Party of being the instigator of the Reichstag fire, the continuous line from the Communist Party to the Social Democratic Party was immediately apparent; because we do not share the bourgeois

viewpoint that there is a fundamental difference between the Social Democratic and the Communist Party – something which is confirmed by the German politics of fourteen year. For us there was a difference between these two organizations only in tactics, only in the pace, but not in the principles, nor in the basic positions. When, therefore, we accused Marxism in general and its most acute form – Communism, of intellectual instigation, and maybe even of practical implementation of the Reichstag fire, then this attitude by itself meant that our national task was to destroy, to wipe off the face of the earth the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party.

Dimitrov: In the autumn of 1932, during the chancellorship of von Papen and later of Schleicher[71] a series of assaults and bomb attempts took place in Germany. There were trials and capital sentences against some National Socialists. I ask, were not these acts of terrorism in 1932 the work of the National Socialists?

The Chief Prosecutor Dr. Werner: This, however, has nothing to do with this case.

Goebbels: I am ready to answer this question.

President: You are ready?

Goebbels: Of course! My answer to this question is: it is possible that *agent provocateurs* alien to the NSDAP circles[72] had been sent to it in order to carry out such assaults.

President: Have you any more questions to ask?

Dimitrov: Mr. President, I have not yet finished my questions. In my last question I did not speak about provocative elements, but about such National Socialists, who killed one of their enemies and were on this account sentenced to death. For political purposes, they were solemnly and demonstratively congratulated by the president Reichskanzler, Adolf Hitler.

President: Speak only facts! What else have you to ask?

Dimitrov: I ask, is this true?

President: The defendant Dimitrov asks whether formerly sentenced National Socialists were solemnly congratulated by the Führer for political purposes.

Goebbels: The Führer thought that those men, who were subjectively convinced that they were acting justly and

faced the scaffold, should not be left without support, and that is why he sent them a congratulatory telegram.

Dimitrov: Is it true that the National Socialist Government has granted a pardon to all terrorist acts carried out to further the aims of the National Socialist movement?

Goebbels: The National Socialist Government could not leave in prisons people who, risking their lives and health, had fought against the Communist peril.

President: Did you hear, Dimitrov?

Dimitrov: I did hear very well! So far as I know, Mr. President, four or five political murders are well known in Germany. The Communist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered...

President: That's enough! (*Dimitrov:* After that...) The question goes very far. We have to clarify who set the Reichstag on fire. We cannot go back here to the distant past.

Goebbels: It might perhaps be more expedient if we started from Adam and Eve. At the time of these murders the National socialist movement did not yet exist.

Dimitrov: Does the witness know that the murderers of the German statesmen Erzberger[73] and Rathenau[74] belong to the right wing and are not from amongst the Communists?

President (interrupting): I want to leave off this question at once, unless Mr. Minister wants to answer it.

Goebbels: I do not want to dodge this question. The murder of Erzberger and Rathenau was not perpetrated by National Socialist circles. This movement was still a very small group then...

President: Dimitrov, this is the second question which I should have rejected. You will probably remember the former cases.* I draw your attention to them.

Dimitrov: Are not the circles that committed such political murders in Germany now allies of the National socialists?

* The President has in mind Dimitrov's expulsion from the courtroom when he asked questions exposing the fascist incendiaries of the Reichstag.

Goebbels: I did not get the sense of the question.

President: He asks whether those, in whose circles the murders had then been committed, are now allies of the National Socialist Party.

Goebbels: I do not know in detail who the murderers were. Some fled abroad, others were shot by the Prussian police, while some committed suicide. The greater part of these people exists no more, and I am not interested in them.

Chief Prosecutor Dr. Werner: It is a good thing that Mr. Minister answered all these questions. (*President:* Yes, precisely). But I think that it would have been even more correct not to have answered those questions at all, because they are asked only for the sake of making propaganda here with a definite purpose. I think that if you answer all questions, the defendant Dimitrov will always have an occasion to ask new questions which will serve his propaganda.

Goebbels: I answer the questions in order not to give any possibility to Dimitrov, to those who stand behind him, and to the world press to maintain that I avoid or decline to answer his questions. I have managed to cope with a great many other people, so I need not be afraid of the questions of this small-time Communist propagandist.

Dimitrov: May I remark, Mr. President, that my questions are in connexion with the indictment? All these questions are connected with a political charge against me as a defendant. That is precisely why I ask these questions. I am accused by the Prosecutor, among other things, of having intended to bring about a forceful change in the German Constitution by organizing the Reichstag fire. I ask, which constitution was, as a matter of fact, in force on January 30 and on February 27 in Germany?

Goebbels: The constitution which was approved by the Weimar Parliament was in force. Whether this constitution was good or bad – this is of no importance. But it was legal and we recognized it. We did not want to give the Communist Party the opportunity of changing it, but retained that right for ourselves. I think that the constitutional amendments made so far are insufficient.

Dimitrov: This proves that you do not respect the German Constitution.

President: Leave aside (t u r n i n g t o D i m i t r o v) those legal conclusions.

Dimitrov: Mr. President, I further ask the witness as head of the state propaganda: does he know that the periodical *International Press Correspondence* appears in Germany in German, in France – in French, in Spain – in Spanish, in England – in English and in Czechoslovakia – in Czech?

Goebbels: I can answer to this long question with just one word: No!

Dimitrov: Does the witness know that the periodical was legal up to the end of February?

President: The witness just said: 'No!' He does not know of this periodical. This answers the question. Have you any further question?

Dimitrov: Yes,Mr. President!

President: Hurry up then.

Dimitrov: Does the witness know that his partisans in Austria and Czechoslovakia, the local National Socialists, nowadays must also work illegally, carry on an illegal propaganda and sometimes use false passports and that sometimes they have to resort to false addresses and cipher correspondence in their political struggle?

Goebbels: It seems that you are out to insult the National Socialist movement. I answer to you in Schopenhauer's[75] words: Every man deserves to be looked at but not to be talked to.

President: This is the third question which I find inadmissible.

Dimitrov: Inadmissible? I make a demand that evidence be admitted in connexion with this. I make this demand in connexion with the indictment that the Reichstag fire should be considered as a signal for an armed Communist insurrection, as well as in connexion with the statement, made by the Prussian Minister of the Interior and Prime Minister Goering and by the Reichsminister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels.

President: Enough! Submit your demand for evidence in writing!

Dimitrov: Mr. President...

President: Shut up! Submit your demand in writing!

Dimitrov: Mr. President, according to the Penal Code of Procedure, I must make it orally!

President: No!

Dimitrov: Yes! Yes! This is necessary according to the Penal Procedure Code. This demand for evidence is in connexion with the statement that the Reichstag fire was to be the signal for an armed Communist insurrection.

President: You have already said that!

Dimitrov: I would like...

President: Enough! I forbid you to speak about the contents of the demand for admittance of evidence. The Court will take a decision on your written proposal.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 169–178
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FROM THE VERBATIM REPORT OF THE COURT SESSION ON NOVEMBER 13, 1933

*Interrogation of witness Grawe**

Dimitrov: Did van der Lubbe leave for Berlin on the following morning alone or with somebody else?

Van der Lubbe: Alone!

Dimitrov: Thank God, now he speaks a little more! May be we can ask some other questions?

President: Yes, about what?

Dimitrov: I want first of all to put a question to the witness and then also to van der Lubbe: If I have understood correctly, after the Reichstag fire it became known in this notorious Hennigsdorf that van der Lubbe had been there on February 26. Is that so?Have I understood correctly ?

President: You ought to ask me, I have told you that also before: Yes, the witness said that.

Dimitrov: Have I understood correctly that in this connexion in Hennigsdorf also, as well as in the whole of Germany, it was known that the Communists were responsible for setting the Reichstag on fire?

President: Yes, that was known.

Grawe: It was generally said: who else could it be!

Dimitrov: It was known that van der Lubbe had been in your house. This was known, you said it, didn't you?(*Van der Lubbe:* Yes.) When did this witness for the first time mention there, in Hennigsdorf, the fact that van der Lubbe had been in front of his shop or his house?

President: I have already asked earlier. Did you not tell about this?

* During the examination of Grawe (a fascist barber of Hennigsdorf, where van der Lubbe spent the night before the Reichstag fire) Dimitrov put a series of questions to van der Lubbe.

Grawe: I did not tell the police at once.

President: No, later.

Dimitrov: When later?

Grawe: The police knew this.

President: That is precisely why you did not tell anything.

Dimitrov: From van der Lubbe's answer one may infer that van der Lubbe had actually been in this house. If that is so, the question must then be asked, has the Hennigsdorf police gone to this witness and has it asked him. was van der Lubbe here or not? If he was here, what did he do, with whom did he speak, and in general what did he do? Did the Hennigsdorf police call on this witness on the 28th or on the following day and did it question him?

President: Did the police know at all that van der Lubbe had been in your house?

Grawe: I suppose so, because I told the wife of the police sergeant about it, and she told her husband.

Dimitrov: The police knew about it, but did not come... Does the witness know whether in the course of eight or nine months after the burning of the Reichstag anyone from the committee on the fire, from the political police or from some other institution came to Hennigsdorf and whether an inquiry was made on this matter? Was any house searched in connexion with the overnight sojourn of van der Lubbe in Hennigsdorf?... Was the witness Grawe then also a National Socialist?

Grawe: I have always been a rightist.

Dimitrov: I am asking van der Lubbe a question and would request the President to have this question also translated into Dutch. In my opinion the bridge between van der Lubbe and the fire in the plenary sessions chamber of the Reichstag...

President: You should not have said this, because that might influence the testimony, the objective testimony of the defendant. And so, put the question you want to put at once!

Dimitrov: The bridge passes through Hennigsdorf...

President: You must put a question!

Dimitrov: That is why I am asking van der Lubbe: is it

not true and it is no accident, is it, that he spent the night of February 26 in Hennigsdorf?

President. You should not ask prompting questions. And this question is of that kind. Defendant van der Lubbe, what was the reason for your spending the night in Hennigsdorf, why did you go and spend the night there?

Van der Lubbe: Because I could sleep well there. (Laughter).

Dimitrov: He was there, because he could sleep well there, that is how he answered. Is it true, however, that he went from there to Berlin and in the evening of February 27 was here, in the Reichstag, at the fire and that he personally took part in setting the fire?

President: Why, he himself kindled the fire.

Dimitrov: Took part! I am asking whether it is true that he left Hennigsdorf for Berlin, spent the whole day in Berlin, on the evening of February 27 was here, in the Reichstag, and took part in setting the Reichstag on fire. Yes or no, is this true?

President: I want to ask once more: did you set the fire?

Van der Lubbe: Yes.

Dimitrov: Is it true that he did not do that alone? (Van der Lubbe keeps silent).

Dimitrov: Is it not true, Mr. President, that on account of the conduct of van der Lubbe in the Court, namely his silence, his answers: yes and no, his refusal to describe the real situation – is it not true that the behaviour of van der Lubbe* gives rise to the possibility of accusing innocent people, who are sitting here as sham-incendiaries of the Reichstag and does not this behaviour facilitate and intensify the possibility of carrying out a monstrous raid against the Communists...

President: Shut up!

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 179–182

Published by the BCP, 1960

* During the whole trial van der Lubbe gave the impression of an abnormal man. He did not answer the questions, looked absentmindedly about or sat with his head dropping, his nose running. Numerous newspapers and medical experts explained van der Lubbe's condition by the fact that the fascist prison authorities had put narcotic poisons in his food.

TO DR. BÜNGER, *President of the 4th Penal Department of the Supreme Court*

November 16, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

In connexion with the political aspect of the Reichstag fire trial, I propose to have the President of the German Communist Party, *Ernst Thaelmann,*[76] questioned as a witness.

He should especially be questioned about the following:

1. Whether it is true that the German Communist Party as early as 1932 was subjected to intensified persecutions, assaults and systematic restrictions of its possibilities to continue its activity and struggle?

2. Whether it is true that the persecutions of the German Communist Party were accompanied by a series of assaults upon Communist meetings and demonstrations, upon Communist premises and individual Communist workers and activists on the part of the armed detachments of the National Socialist Party, whether as a result of these assaults the Communists suffered numerous casualties and the party was thereby obliged to resist by means of mass struggle?

3. Whether it is true that these persecutions and assaults, carried out jointly by state officials and National Socialist detachments, turned, after January 30, 1933, into an extermination campaign against the German Communist Party and the workers' organizations through all-sided use of the state power?

4. Whether it is true that early in 1933 and at the time of the Reichstag fire the whole activity of the Party, in accordance with the decisions of the Communist International, was turned towards the political mobilization of the masses, the establishment of united front of the

proletariat and the defence of the workers' movement and its vanguard – the German Communist Party, and in no way towards an immediate armed struggle for power?

5. Whether it is true that, in connexion with these main problems and this political orientation, the Party resolutely and with all its power fought against terrorist deviations, against every terrorist degeneration, for persistent and systematic mass work and mass struggle of an economic and political nature?

6. Whether it is true that as early as 1932 the Party resolutely came out against any terrorist interpretation of the slogan 'beat the fascists' and later on, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, repealed this slogan altogether.

7. Whether it is true that the Party, in the course of its long years of development, carried out a series of purges and expelled from its ranks all alien, adventurous and undisciplined elements (the grouts of Ivan Katz, Ruth Fisher–Maslow,[77] the Trotskyites and so on) and that many of these elements found their place in the National Socialist Party and its SA and SS detachments?

Respectfully yours,
G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 196–197
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Delivered on December 16, 1933

Dimitrov: By virtue of Article 258 of the Criminal Procedure Code I am entitled to speak both as defender and as accused.

President: You have the right to the last word and you can make use of that right now.

Dimitrov: By virtue of the Criminal Procedure Code I have the right to argue with the prosecution and then to deliver my final speech.

My Lords Judges, Gentlemen for the Prosecution and the Defence. At the very beginning of this trial three months ago as an accused man I addressed a letter to the President of the Court. I wrote that I regretted that my attitude in Court should lead to collisions with the judges, but I categorically refuted the suggestion which was made against me that I had misused my right to put questions and my right to make statements in order to serve propagandist ends. Because I was wrongly accused before this Court I naturally used all the means at my disposal to defend myself against false charges.

'I acknowledge, I wrote, that several of my questions had not been as apposite from the point of view of time and formulation as I could have wished. May I explain this by referring to the fact that I am not acquainted with German law and further that this is the first time in my life in which I have played a part in judicial proceedings of this character. If I had enjoyed the services of a lawyer of my own choice I should doubtless have known how to avoid these misunderstandings so harmful to my own defence.

Permit me to recall that all my requests for the admission as my defending counsel of Mr. Dechev, Moro-Giafferi, Campinchi, Torrès, Grigorov, Leo Gallagher form the United States and Dr. Lehman from Saarbrücken were one after another rejected by the Supreme Court for

various reasons. Mr. Dechev, as is now apparent, was even refused an entrance ticket.

I have no personal distrust of Dr. Paul Teichert either as a man or as a lawyer, but in the present conditions in Germany I cannot have the necessary confidence in his official defence. For this reason I am attempting to defend myself, a course in which I have been sometimes guilty of taking steps legally inapposite.

In the interests of my defence before the Supreme Court and also, as I am convinced, in the interests of the normal course of the trial, I now apply to the Court for the last time to permit the lawyer, *Marcel Willard*, engaged by my sister, to take part in my defence.

If the Court also rejects this application, then the only course remaining open for me is to defend myself as best I can alone.

Now that the Court has rejected my last application, I have decided to defend myself: I want neither the honey not the poison of a defence which is forced upon me. During the whole course of these proceedings I have defended myself.

Naturally I do not feel myself in any way bound by the speech made by Dr. Teichert in my defence. Decisive for my case is only that which I say and have said myself to the Court: I do not wish to offend Torgler, particularly as, in my opinion, his defending counsel has already offended him enough, but as far as I am concerned I would sooner be sentenced to death by this Court though innocent, than be acquitted by the sort of defence put forward by Dr. Sack in favour of Torgler.

President (interrupting Dimitrov): It is none of your business to criticize us here.

Dimitrov: I admit that my tone is hard and grim. The struggle of my life has always been hard and grim. My tone is frank and open. I am used to calling a spade a spade. I am no lawyer appearing before this Court in the mere way of his profession.

I am defending myself, an accused Communist.

I am defending my political honour, my honour as a revolutionary.

I am defending my Communist ideology, my ideals.

I am defending the content and significance of my whole life.

For these reasons every word which I say in this Court is *a part of me*, each phrase is the expression of my deep indignation against the unjust accusation, against the putting of this anti-Communist crime, the burning of the Reichstag, to the account of the Communists.

I have often been reproached for not taking the highest Court in Germany seriously. That is absolutely unjustified.

It is true that the supreme law for me *as a Communist is the programme of the Communist International, the supreme court – the Control Commission of the Communist International.*

But to me as an accused man the Supreme Court of the Reich is something to be considered in all seriousness – not only in that its members possess high legal qualifications, but also because it is a highly important organism of state power, of the ruling order of society: a body which can dispose of the highest penalties. I can say with an easy conscience that everything which I have stated to this Court and everything which I have spoken to the public is the truth and nothing but the truth. As regards my Party, which has been forced underground, I have refused to make any statements. I have always spoken with seriousness and from my inner convictions.

President: I shall not permit you to indulge in Communist propaganda in this Court. You have persisted in it. If you do not refrain I shall have to prevent you from speaking.

Dimitrov: I must deny absolutely the suggestion that I have pursued propagandist aims. It may be that my defence before this Court has had a certain propagandist effect. It is also possible that my conduct before this Court may serve as an example for other accused Communists. But those were not the aims of my defence. My aims were these: to refute the indictment and to refute the accusation that Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev, that the German Communist Party and the Communist International had anything to do with the fire.

I know that no one in Bulgaria believes in our alleged complicity in the Reichstag fire. I know that everywhere else abroad hardly anyone believes that we have anything to do with it. But in Germany other conditions prevail and

in Germany it is not impossible that people might believe such extraordinary assertions. For this reason I desired to prove that the Communist Party had and has nothing whatever to do with the crime.

If the question of propaganda is to be raised, then I may fairly say that many utterances made within this Court were of a propagandist character. The speeches here of Goebbels and Goering had an indirect propagandist effect favourable to Communism, but no one can reproach them for their speeches having produced such results (c o m m o t i o n a n d l a u g h t e r i n C o u r t).

I have not only been roundly abused by the press – something to which I am completely indifferent – but my Bulgarian people have also, through me, been characterized as savage and barbarous. I have been called a suspicious character from the Balkans, and a wild Bulgarian, I cannot allow such things to pass in silence.

It is true that Bulgarian fascism is savage and barbarous. But the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the Bulgarian people's intelligentsia are by no means savage or barbarous. It is true that the standard of life is not so high in the Balkans as elsewhere in Europe, but it is false to say that the people of Bulgaria are politically or mentally on a lower scale than the peoples of other countries. Our political struggle, our political aspirations are no less lofty than those of other peoples. A people which lived for five hundred years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national character, our working class and peasantry who have fought and are fighting against Bulgarian fascism and for Communism – such a people is not savage and barbarous. Only fascism in Bulgaria is savage and barbarous. But I ask you, *in what country does not fascism bear these qualities?*

President (i n t e r r u p t i n g D i m i t r o v): Are you attempting to hint at the political situation in Germany?

Dimitrov (w i t h a n i r o n i c a l s m i l e): Of course not, Mr. President... . At a period of history when the German Emperor Karl V vowed that he would talk German only to his horses, at a time when the nobility and intellectual circles of Germany wrote only Latin and were

ashamed of their mother tongue, in 'barbarous' Bulgaria the apostles Cyril and Methodius invented and spread the use of the old Bulgarian script.

The Bulgarian people have fought obstinately and with all their strength against foreign oppression. Therefore I protest here and now against these attacks on my people. I have no cause to be ashamed of being Bulgarian, in fact I m proud to say that I am the son of the Bulgarian working class.

I must preface my discussion of the main issues with this statement. Dr. Teichert has seen fit to accuse us of being responsible for our own plight and position here. In reply I must say that much time has elapsed since March 9, 1933, when we were arrested, to the beginning of this trial. Any suspicious circumstance could have been thoroughly investigated during that period. During the preliminary inquiries I spoke with officials, members of the investigating committee concerning the Reichstag fire. Those officials assured me that we Bulgarians were not responsible for the burning of the Reichstag. We were accused solely of living with false passports, under adopted names, without registration forms and so on.

President: This is new matter. It has not been mentioned in the proceedings hitherto and therefore you have no right to raise it at this stage.

Dimitrov: Mr. President, during that time every circumstance could have been investigated in order promptly to clear us of that charge. The indictment declares that Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev have alleged that they were mere political fugitives from Bulgaria but that it must be considered as proved that they were in Germany for the purpose of illegal political activities.' They are, as the indictment further declares: 'emissaries of the Communist Party in Moscow, sent to Germany to prepare an armed insurrection.'

Page 83 of the indictment points out that although Dimitrov declares that he was not in Berlin from February 25 to 28 this does not materially affect the position and could not free him from the charge of being implicated in the burning of the Reichstag. Complicity, continues the in-

dictment, is proved not only by the evidence of Hellmer, but by other facts...

President (interrupting): You must not read the whole of the indictment here. The Court is quite familiar with it.

Dimitrov: As far as that goes, I must state that three-quarters of what the counsel for the prosecution and defence have said here was generally notorious long ago. But that fact did not prevent them from bringing it forward again (commotion and laughter in Court). Hellmer stated that Dimitrov and van der Lubbe were together in the Bayernhof restaurant. Now permit me to refer again to the indictment which says:

'Although Dimitrov was not caught red-handed at the scene of the crime, he nevertheless took part in the preparations for the burning of the Reichstag. He went to Munich in order to supply himself with an alibi. The Communist pamphlets found in Dimitrov's possession prove that he took part in the Communist movement in Germany.'

That is the basis of this precipitate, this abortive indictment.

President: (interrupting Dimitrov): You must not use this expression with respect to the indictment.

Dimitrov: I shall choose another expression.

President: In any case you must not use such disrespectful terms.

Dimitrov: I shall return in another context to the methods of the prosecution and the indictment.

The character of this trial has been determined by the theory that the burning of the Reichstag was an act of the German Communist Party, even of world Communism. This anti-communist deed, the Reichstag fire, was actually blamed upon the Communists and declared to be the signal for an armed Communist insurrection, a beacon fire for the overthrow of the present German Constitution. An anti-Communist character has been given to the whole proceedings by the use of this theory. The indictment runs:

'The charge rests on the basis that this criminal outrage was to be a signal, a beacon for the enemies of the State who were then to launch their attack on the German Reich, to destroy it and to set up in its place a dictatorship of the proletariat, a Soviet State, at the orders of the Third International ...'

My Lords, this is not the first time that such an outrage has been falsely attributed to Communists. I cannot here enumerate all the instances, but I would remind you of a railway outrage committed at Jüterbog in Germany some time ago by a certain mentally-deranged adventurer and agent provocateur. For weeks the newspapers declared both in Germany and abroad that the outrage had been committed by the German Communist Party, that it was a terroristic act of Communists. Then it transpired that a mentally afflicted adventurer, Matushka, was the author of the crime. He was arrested and convicted.

Let me recall yet another instance, the assassination of the French President by Gorgulov. In this case too the press of many lands proclaimed for weeks that the hand of Communism had shown itself. Gorgulov was pronounced to be a Communist and a Soviet agent. And what was the truth? The outrage was the work of Russian White-guards, Gorgulov was an agent provocateur who aimed at sapping the friendly relations between France and the Soviet Union.

I would also remind you of the outrage in the Sofia Cathedral. This attempt was not organized by the Bulgarian Communist Party, but the Bulgarian Communist Party was persecuted on account of it. Under this false accusation two thousand workmen, peasants and intellectuals were brutally murdered by the fascists under the pretext that the Cathedral had been blown up by the Communists. That act of provocation, the blowing up of the Sofia Cathedral, was actually organized by the Bulgarian police. As early as 1920 the Chief of the Sofia police, Proutkin, during the railway strike organized himself a bomb attempt as a means of provoking the Bulgarian workers.

President (i n t e r r u p t i n g): This has nothing to do with this trial.

Dimitrov: The police official Heller spoke here in his evidence of Communist propaganda by arson, etc. I asked him whether he had ever heard of arson having been committed by capitalists in order to get insurance moneys and of Communists having been blamed for them. On October

5, 1933, the *Völkischer Beobachter* wrote that the Stettin police...

President: The article in question was not referred to at any time during these proceedings.

Dimitrov: (attempts to continue).

President: Do not dare to refer here to matters which have not been previously referred to in the course of the trial.

Dimitrov: A whole series of fires...

President: (again interrupts).

Dimitrov: It was dealt with during the preliminary proceedings, because the Communists were accused of having been responsible for a whole series of fires which turned out to have been committed by the owners of the buildings themselves 'in order to make employment.' I should like also for a moment to refer to the question of forged documents. Numbers of such forgeries have been made use of against the working class. Their name is legion. There was, for example, the notorious Zinoviev letter, a letter which never emanated from Zinoviev, and which was a deliberate forgery. The British Conservative Party made effective use of the forgery against the working class. I would like to remind you also of a series of forgeries which have played a part in German politics...

President: That lies outside the scope of these proceedings.

Dimitrov: It was alleged here that the burning of the Reichstag was to be the signal for the breaking out of an armed insurrection. Attempts were made to justify this theory after the following fashion:

'Goering declared before the Court that the German Communist Party was compelled to incite the masses and to undertake something when Hitler came to power. He proclaimed that the Communists were forced to act then or never. He stated that the Communist Party had for years been appealing to the masses against the National Socialist Party and that, when the latter attained power, the Communists had no alternative but to do something immediately or not at all. The Public Prosecutor attempted more clearly and ingenuously to formulate this hypothesis.'

President: I will not permit you to insult the Public Prosecutor.

Dimitrov: The statement which Goering as chief accuser made was developed by the Public Prosecutor in this Court. Dr. Werner declared:

> 'That the Communist Party had been forced into a situation in which it must either capitulate or give battle although preparations for a fight had not been fully completed. In the circumstances that was its only alternative: either to surrender its aims without a struggle or take a risk, dare a hazard which might after the circumstances in its favour. It might fail, but its situation even then would be no worse than having surrendered without firing a shot.'

This thesis, presented by the prosecution and laid at the door of the Communists, is certainly no Communist thesis. It shows that the enemies of the German Communist Party do not know it much. He who desires to fight his enemy well, must learn to know him. Prohibition of the Party, dissolution of the mass organizations, loss of legality are serious blows indeed for the revolutionary movement. *But this by no means signifies that all is lost.*

In February 1933 the Communist Party was faced with the threat of suppression, the Communist press had been prohibited and the destruction of the Party as a legal organization was momentarily expected. These things the German Communist Party knew well. They were pointed out in pamphlets and newspapers. The German Communist Party was well aware of the fact that although the Communist Parties of many other lands were illegal they nevertheless continued to exist and to carry on their activities. Such is the position in Poland, Bulgaria, Italy and many other lands.

From my own experience I am able to speak of the position in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communist Party there was prohibited after the uprising of 1923, but has nevertheless continued to exist and to work. Despite great sacrifices it has in time become more powerful than in 1923, prior to its suppression. Anyone with a critical faculty can appreciate the importance of this phenomenon.

Given the necessary situation, the German Communist Party, although illegal, can still carry out a successful revolution. The

experience of the *Russian Communist Party* proves this. Despite its illegality and the violence of the persecution to which it was subjected, that Party won over the working class in the end and came to power at its head. The leaders of the German Communist Party could not possibly think that with the suppression of their Party all would be lost; that at any given moment the question was now or never; that the alternative was insurrection or doom. The leaders of the German Communist Party could not have entertained such foolish thoughts. Naturally they knew perfectly well that illegality would entail tremendous losses, that it would mean self-sacrifice and heroism, but they also knew that the revolutionary forces of the Party would increase again and that one day it would be able to accomplish its final tasks successfully. For these reasons the possibility of the German Communist Party seeking to indulge in any hazards at any moment must be rigorously excluded. *The Communists fortunately are not so nearsighted as their opponents; neither do they lose their heads in difficult situations.*

It must be added that, like every other Communist Party, the German Communist Party is a section of the Communist International. What is the Communist International? Permit me to quote from its programme.

Its first paragraph runs as follows:

The Communist International, an international association of workers, is the association of the Communist Parties in individual lands; it is a united world Communist Party, the leader and organizer of the universal revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the bearer of the principles and aims of Communism. Therefore, the Communist International fights to win the majority of the working class and the broad sections of the peasantry for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the creation of a world union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the setting up of Socialism as the first stage towards a Communist society.

In this Party of the Communist International, which numbers millions of members all over the world, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the strongest single unit. It is the governing Party of the Soviet Union, the largest State in the world. The Communist International, the world Communist Party, assesses the political situation together with the Communist Parties of all countries.

The Communist International to which all its sections are directly responsible is a world Party, not a mere organization of conspirators. *Such a world Party does not play with insurrection and revolution.* Such a Party cannot officially *say one thing* to its millions of adherents and at the same time in secret do *exactly the opposite.* Such a Party, my dear Dr. Sack, does not go in for double book-keeping.

Dr. Sack: All right. Carry on with your Communist propaganda.

Dimitrov: Such a Party proceeds with all seriousness and with a full awareness of its responsibility when it approaches the millions of the proletariat and when it adopts its decisions concerning tactics and immediate tasks. Permit me to quote from the decisions of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, for these decisions were quited in Court and I therefore have a right to read them out.

According to these decisions the chief tasks of the German Communist Party were:

'To mobilize the masses of the toilers in defence of their day-to-day demands, against the robber offensive of monopoly capital, against fascism, against the emergency decrees, against nationalism and chauvinism and, by developing political and economic strikes and the struggle for proletarian internationalism, as well as by demonstrations, to bring the masses to the point of a political general strike; to win over the main sections of the Social Democratic workers by overcoming the weakness in the trade union activity of the party. The main slogan which the German Communist Party must put in the forefront, against the slogan of the fascist dictatorship, the Third Reich and the slogan of the Social Democratic Party, the Weimar Republic, must be the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, Soviet Socialist Germany, which in itself contains the possibility of the voluntary adherence of Austria and other German lands.'

Mass work, mass activity, mass opposition and the united front– no adventurism – these are the alpha and omega of Communist tactics.

A copy of the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was found in my possession. I take it that I may read from it. Two points in it are of particular importance. The appeal speaks of demonstrations in various countries in connexion with the events in Ger-

many. It further speaks of the tasks of the Communist Party in Germany in its fight against the National Socialist terror and for the defence of the organizations and the press of the working class.

This appeal reads in part as follows:

'The main obstacle on the road to the establishment of a united front of the Communist and Social Democratic workers was and is the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie carried out by the Social Democratic parties, which have now exposed the international proletariat to the blows of the class enemy. This policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie known as the so-called policy of the 'lesser evil' has in fact led to the triumph of fascist reaction in Germany.

The Communist International and the Communist parties in all countries have repeatedly expressed their readiness for a joint struggle with the Social Democratic workers against the onslaught of capital and political reaction and against the war peril. It was the Communist parties that organized the common struggle in spite of the opposition of the leaders of the Social Democratic parties which systematically foiled the united front of the working masses.

As early as July 20 last year, after von Papen forced out the Prussian Social Democratic Government, the German Communist Party proposed to the German Social Democratic Party and the All-German Trade Union Association to organize a joint strike against fascism. However, with the approval of the whole Second International, the German Social Democratic Party and the All-German Trade Union Association described the joint strike proposal as a provocation. The German Communist Party reiterated its proposal for united action at the time of Hitler's advent to power, calling upon the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party and the leadership of the All-German Trade Union Association to organize united resistance against fascism; this proposal was again rejected. Moreover, when in November last the Berlin transport workers unanimously went on strike against the wage cuts, the Social Democrats foiled the united front of struggle. The history of the international working class movement abounds in similar examples.

The appeal of the Bureau of the Socialist Workers' International of February 19 this year contains a declaration by the Social Democratic Parties, members of the International, expressing their readiness to establish a united front with the Communists to combat fascist reaction in Germany. This declaration stands in sharp contrast with all former activities of the Socialist International and of the Social Democratic Parties. The entire policy and activity of the Socialist International so far give the Communist International and the Communist Parties grounds to distrust the sincerity of the declaration of the Bureau of the Socialist Workers' International which makes its proposal at a time when in a number of countries and, above all, in Germany the working class itself is taking the organization of a united front into its own hands.

Nevertheless, in the face of the fascist onslaught on the German working class – an onslaught which is unleashing all the forces of world reaction, the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all the Communist Parties to make yet another attempt to establish a united front with the Social Democratic working masses through the Social Democratic Parties. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is making this attempt in the firm conviction that the united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie would repel the onslaught of capital and fascism and would precipitate the inevitable doom of every type of capitalist exploitation.

Due to the peculiar conditions prevailing in the different countries and to the different specific tasks which the working class in each of these countries is facing, the agreements between the Communist Parties and the Social Democratic Parties for concrete action against the bourgeoisie can best be carried out within the framework of each individual country. That is why the Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends to the Communist Parties to propose joint action against fascism and the onslaught of capital to the respective Central Committees of the Social Democratic Parties, members of the Socialist International. The essential conditions of the joint struggle against the onslaught of capital and fascism should form the basis of all negotiations to this effect. Without a specific programme of action against the bourgeoisie, any agreement between the parties would be directed against the interests of the working class.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International make these proposals before the entire world working class and calls upon all Communist Parties and, above all, upon the German Communist Party to proceed with the immediate establishment of joint action committees both with the Social Democratic workers and with the workers of all other trends, without waiting for the results of the negotiations and agreements for joint action with Social Democracy.

By their long struggle the Communists have demonstrated not in words but in practice that they have always stood and will always stand in the front ranks of the struggle for a united front in the class action against the bourgeoisie.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is confident that the Social Democratic and non-party workers will overcome all obstacles, irrespective of the attitude the leaders of Social Democracy may take with regard to the establishment of a united front, and that together with the Communists they will achieve a united front not in words, but in practice.

Now that German fascism, in order to crush the working class movement in Germany, has organized a monstrous provocation – the setting of the Reichstag on fire, a forged document about an insurrection, etc. – precisely now every worker should realize his class duty in the struggle against the onslaught of capital and of fascist reaction.'

This appeal contains no mention of any immediate struggle for power. Such a task was put forward neither by the German Communist Party, nor by the Communist International. It is of course true that the appeal of the Communist International does not preclude the possibility of armed insurrection.

From this the Court has falsely concluded that, having an armed insurrection as one of its aims, the German Communist Party must necessarily have prepared for an insurrection and worked for its immediate outbreak. But that is illogical, it is untrue, to use no stronger expression. Naturally the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the task of all Communist Parties the world over. That is our principle; that is our aim. But that is a definite programme, the realization of which requires the forces not merely of the working class but of the other sections of the working people as well.

Everyone knows that the German Communist Party was in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that is by no means a point decisive for these proceedings. The point is simply this: was an armed insurrection aimed at the seizure of power actually planned to take place on February 27, 1933, in connexion with the Reichstag fire?

What, my Lords, have been the results of the legal investigations? The legend that the Reichstag fire was a Communist act has been completely shattered. Unlike some counsels here, I shall not quote much of the evidence. To any person of normal intelligence at least this point is now made completely clear, that the Reichstag fire had nothing whatever to do with any activity of the Communist Party, not only nothing to do with an insurrection, but even nothing to do with a strike, a demonstration or anything of that nature. *The legal investigations have proved this up to the hilt. The Reichstag fire* was not regarded by anyone – I exclude criminals and the mentally deranged – as a signal for insurrection. No one observed any deed, act or attempt at insurrection in connextion with the Reichstag fire. No one had heard then anything of the kind. The very stories of such things expressly appertain to a much later date. At that moment the working class was in a position of defence

against the attack of fascism. The German Communist Party was seeking to organize the opposition of the masses in their own defence. But it was proved that *the Reichstag fire furnished the occasion and the signal for unleashing the most terrific campaign of suppression against the German working class and its vanguard, the German Communist Party.*

It has been proved beyond refutation that the responsible members of the Government did not even consider the possibility of a Communist insurrection on February 27 or 28. Upon this point I put many questions to the witnesses who appeared here. In particular I asked Heller, the notorious Karwahne (laughter in the Court), Frey, Count Helldorf and the police officers such questions. Despite other contradictions in their evidence, they were all agreed on one thing, that they neither knew nor had heard anything about an imminent Communist insurrection. That indicates that the ruling circles had taken no measures of any kind against the possibility of such an insurrection.

President: A report from the head of the Western Department of the police was submitted, however, to the Court on this matter.

Dimitrov: The head of the Western Department of the police, in his report, stated that he was summoned to Goering who gave him verbal instructions concerning the fight against Communism, that is to say, for the suppression of Communist meetings, strikes, demonstrations, election propaganda, etc. But his evidence mentioned no measures to be taken against the threat of an imminent Communist insurrection.

Yesterday Dr. Seuffert dealt in his speech with the very same point and arrived at the conclusion that no governmental authority was anticipating the outbreak of any insurrection. He referred also to the evidence of Goebbels who stated, whether truly or not is another question, that when he first heard the news of the Reichstag fire he did not believe it.

To this point the Government's emergency decree of February 28, 1933, provides further proof. It was issued on the morning after the fire. Read the decree – what does it

say? It announces the suspension of various articles of the Constitution, particularly those guaranteeing the freedom of organization and the press, the inviolability of the person, the immunity of domicile and so forth. That is the essence of the emergency decree, its second paragraph; it is an assault on the working class.

President: Not against the workers, but against the Communists.

Dimitrov: I should like to point out that under this emergency decree not only Communists, but also Social Democratic and Christian workmen were arrested and their organizations suppressed. I would like to stress the fact that although this decree was directed chiefly against the Communist Party, it was not directed solely against it. This law, which was necessary for the proclamation of the state of emergency, was directed against all the other political parties and groups as well. It stands in direct organic connexion with the Reichstag fire.

President: If you attack the German Government, I shall deprive you of the right to address the Court.

Dimitrov: In this trial one question has not been at all elucidated.

President: You should address the judges and not the audience, for otherwise your speech might be considered as propaganda.

Dimitrov: One question has not been elucidated, either by the prosecution or by the defending counsel. This omission does not surprise me. For it is a question which must have given them some anxiety. I refer to the question of the political situation in Germany in February 1933 – a matter which I must perforce deal with now. The political situation towards the end of February 1933 was this, that a bitter struggle was taking place within the camp of the National Front!

President: You are again raising matters which I have repeatedly forbidden you to mention.

Dimitrov: I should like to remind the Court of my application that Schleicher, Brüning, von Papen, Hugenberg, Duesterberg, the Vice-Chairman of the

Stahlhelm organization, and others, should be summoned as witnesses.

President: The Court rejected the application and you have no right to refer to it again.

Dimitrov: I know that, and more, I know why.

President: It is upleasant for me continually to have to interrupt you in your closing speech, but you must respect my directions.

Dimitrov: This struggle taking place in the camp of the National Front was connected with the behind-the-scenes struggle in Germany's leading economic circles. On the one hand was the Krupp-Thyssen circle (the war industry), which for many years past has supported the National Socialists; on the other hand, being gradually pushed into the background, were their opponents.

Thyssen and Krupp wished to establish the principle of absolutism, a political dictatorship under their own personal direction and to substantially depress the living standards of the working class; it was to this end that the crushing of the revolutionary working class was necessary. At the same time the Communist Party was striving to establish a united working class front and to consolidate all forces in resistance to the National Socialist attempts to destroy the working class movement. Part of the Social Democratic workers felt the need of a united front of the working class. They understood it. Many thousands of Social Democratic workers joined the ranks of the German Communist Party. But in February and March, the establishment of a united front meant the mobilization of the working class against the predatory drive of the capitalists and the violence of the National Socialists; it certainly did not mean insurrection or preparations for insurrection.

President (i n t e r r u p t i n g): You have always stressed that your sole interest was the Bulgarian political situation. Your present remarks, however, show that you were also keenly interested in the political situation in Germany.

Dimitrov: Mr. President, you are making an accusation against me. I can only make this reply: as a Bulgarian revolutionary I am interested in the revolutionary movement all over the world. I am, for instance, interested in

the political situation in South America and, although I have never been there, I know perhaps as much about it as I do of German politics. That does not mean that when a government building in South America is burned down I am the culprit. During these legal proceedings I have learned much and, thanks to my political capacity for appreciating things, many details have become clear to me.

The political situation at that time was governed by two chief factors: the first was the effort of the National Socialists to attain power, the second, the counter-factor, was the efforts of the German Communist Party to build up a united working class front. In my view, the accuracy of this has been made abundantly clear during these proceedings.

The National Socialists needed something which would both divert the attention of the people from the difficulties within the National Front and, at the same time, break up the united front of the working class. The 'National Government' needed a plausible excuse for its emergency decree of February 28, which abolished the freedom of the press and of the inviolability of the individual and introduced a system of police persecution, concentration camps and other measures against the Communists.

President(interrupting): Now you have reached the limit, you are dropping hints.

Dimitrov: My only desire is to explain the political situation in Germany on the eve of the fire, as I understand it to have been.

President: This Court is no place for unwarranted suggestions against the government and for statements long since refuted.

Dimitrov: The attitude of the working class at this time was a defensive one; the Communist Party was, therefore, doing its best to organize a united front in spite of the opposition of Wells and Breitscheid who are now raising a hysterical hue and cry abroad.

President: You must proceed to your own defence if you want to, otherwise you will not have sufficient time.

Dimitrov: Once before I stated that I was in accord with the indictment on one point, and now I am compelled to

reaffirm my agreement. I allude to the question whether van der Lubbe acted *alone* in setting fire to the Reichstag or whether he had accomplices. The junior prosecuting counsel, Parrisius, declared here that the fate of the accused depended upon the answer to the question whether van der Lubbe had accomplices. To this I answer, no, a thousand noes. Such a conclusion is illogical and does not follow. *My own deduction is that van der Lubbe did not set fire to the Reichstag alone.* On the basis of the experts' opinions and the evidence which has been submitted, I conclude that the fire in the Plenary Session Chamber of the Reichstag was of a nature different from that in the restaurant, the ground floor, etc. The Session Chamber was set on fire by other persons, employing other means. *Although coincident in time* with the fires caused by van der Lubbe himself, the fire in the Session Chamber is fundamentally *different*. Most probably van der Lubbe is the unconscious tool of these people, a tool they have misused. Van der Lubbe has by no means told the truth in this Court and he remains persistently silent. The answer to this question does not decide the fate of the other accused. Van der Lubbe was not alone, true; but neither Dimitrov, nor Torgler, nor Popov, nor Tanev was in his company.

Is it not probable that van der Lubbe met someone in Hennigsdorf on February 26 and told him of his attempts to set fire to the Town Hall and the Palace? Whereat the person in question replied that things such as those were mere child's play, that the burning down of the Reichstag during the elections would be something real. In this way the secret alliance between political insanity and political provocation resulted in the Reichstag fire. While the representative of political insanity sits today in the dock, the representatives of provocation are still free. This fool, van der Lubbe, could not know that, while he was carrying out his clumsy attempts at arson in the restaurant, corridor and lower floor, at the same time other unknown persons, making use of that secret inflammable liquid of which Dr. Schatz here spoke, set the Session Chamber on fire.

(At this point van der Lubbe began to laugh silently. His whole body was shaken with spasms of laughter. The attention of

everyone, the Court and the accused included, was directed upon him)

Dimitrov(pointing at van der Lubbe): The unknown provocateur made all the preparations for the conflagration. This Mephistopheles succeeded in disappearing without a trace. Now this stupid tool, this miserable Faustus is here in the dock, while Mephistopheles has disappeared. It is most probable that the link between van der Lubbe and the representatives of political provocation, the agents of the enemies of the working class, was forged in Hennigsdorf.

The Public Prosecutor Werner declared that van der Lubbe was a Communist. He went further, he asserted that even if van der Lubbe was not a Communist he carried out his deed in the interests of and in association with the Communist Party. That argument is entirely false.

What is van der Lubbe? A Communist? Inconceivable. An Anarchist? No. He is a declassed worker, a rebellious member of the scum of society. He is a misused creature who has been played off against the working class. No, he is neither a Communist nor an Anarchist. No Communist, no Anarchist anywhere in the world would conduct himself in Court as van der Lubbe has done. Genuine Anarchists often do senseless things, but invariably when they are haled into Court they stand up like men and explain their aims. If a Communist had done anything of this sort, he would not remain silent knowing that four innocent men stood in the dock alongside him. No, van der Lubbe is no Communist. He is no Anarchist; he is the misused tool of fascism.

The Chairman of the Communist Parliamentary Group and we Bulgarians accused alongside him have nothing in common, nor any connexion with this creature, this poor misused scapegoat, who has been misused to the detriment of Communism. Permit me to remind the Court that on the morning of February 28 Goering issued a statement on the fire, declaring that Torgler and Koenen had together fled from the Reichstag at 10 o'clock the previous evening.

This statement was broadcast all over Germany. In the same statement Goering declared that the Communists had

set the Reichstag on fire. Yet no attempt has been made to investigate van der Lubbe's movements in Hennigsdorf. No search is made for the man with whom van der Lubbe passed the night there.

President (interrupting): When do you intend to conclude your speech?

Dimitrov: I want to speak for another half-hour. I must express my views on this question...

President: You cannot go on for ever.

Dimitrov: Mr. President, during the three months this trial has lasted you have silenced me on many occasions with the promise that at the conclusion of the trial I should be able to speak fully in my defence. The trial is drawing to a close now, but contrary to your promise you are now limiting me in my right to address the Court.

The question of what happened in Hennigsdorf is indeed of importance. The man with whom van der Lubbe spent the night there, Waschinski, has not been found, and my suggestion that the police should search for him was rejected as useless. The assertion that van der Lubbe was in Hennigsdorf together with Communists is a lie, concocted here by the National Socialist witness, the barber Grawe. Had van der Lubbe met Communists in Hennigsdorf, the question would have been gone into long ago, Mr. President. But no one is interested in finding Waschinski.

The civilian who brought the first news of the fire to the police at the Brandenburger Tor has not been searched for, his identity remains unestablished, he is still unknown. The preliminary examination was conducted in a false direction. Dr. Albrecht, the National Socialist deputy who hurried out of the Reichstag after the fire had begun, was not interrogated. The incendiaries were sought where they were not to be found, in the ranks of the Communist Party, rather than where they would have been found. Thus the real culprits were permitted to disappear. It was decided that since the real incendiaries could and dared not be found, other persons had to be taken in their stead, Ersatz-incendiaries of the Reichstag.

President: I forbid you to make such statements and I give you another ten minutes.

Dimitrov: I have the right to lay my own reasoned proposals for the verdict before the Court. The Public Prosecutor stated that all the evidence given by Communists was not worthy of credence. I shall not adopt the contrary view. Thus I shall not declare that all National Socialist witnesses are liars. I believe that among the millions of National Socialists there are also honest people...

President: I forbid you to make such ill-intentioned remarks.

Dimitrov: But is it not remarkable that all the chief witnesses called in support of the prosecution are National Socialist deputies, journalists or hangers-on? The National Socialist deputy Karwahne declares that he saw Torgler with van der Lubbe in the Reichstag. The National Socialist deputy Frey declares that he saw Popov with Torgler in the Reichstag. The National Socialist Walter Hellmer declares that he saw Dimitrov with van der Lubbe. The National Socialist journalist Weberstedt asserts that he saw Tanev with van der Lubbe. Is this a mere accident? The witness, Dr. Droescher, known under the name of Zimmermann to contribute to the National-Socialist *Völkischer Beobachter*...

President (i n t e r r u p t i n g): This has not been proved.

Dimitrov: ... Stated in Court that Dimitrov was responsible for the Sofia Cathedral outrage, which was completely disproved, and alleges that he has seen me with Torgler in the Reichstag. I declare with absolute certainty that Droescher and Zimmermann are one and the same person....

President: I reject this assertion. It has not been proved.

Dimitrov: Heller, the police official, read in Court a Communist poem out of a book published in 1925 to prove that the Communists set the Reichstag on fire in 1933.

Permit me also the pleasure of quoting a poem, a poem by the greatest German poet, Goethe:

> Lerne zeitig klüger sein.
> Auf des Glückes großer Waage
> Steht die Zunge selten ein:
> Du mußt steigen oder sinken,
> Du mußt herrschen und gewinnen

Oder dienen und verlieren,
Leiden oder triumphieren,
Amboß oder Hammer sein.

Yes, he who does not want to be an anvil, must be a hammer. The German working class did not realize the truth of this either in 1918, or in 1923, or on July 20, 1932, or in January 1933... The Social Democratic leaders bear the responsibility for this – the Wellses, the Severings, the Brauns, the Leiparts, the Grassmanns. The German workers can now understand this!

Much has been said here about German law and legality, and I should like to express my views on the matter. Undoubtedly, the political constellation ascendant at any particular moment and the prevailing political trends affect the decisions of a court of law.

The Court considers the Minister of Justice Kerl as a competent witness. I am quoting him:

'The prejudice of formal-liberalistic law lies in the fact that *objectivity* should be the idol of justice. We have now arrived also at *the source* of the alienation of *the people from justice*, and all matters considered, *justice is always responsible for this alienation.* What does, after all, objectivity mean at a moment when a nation is fighting for its very existence? Is objectivity known to the soldier at war, is it known to the victorious army? The soldiers and the army have but one *consideration*, they recognize only one question: how to save freedom and honour, how to save the nation.

'Thus, it is self-understood that *the justice* of a nation waging a life-and-death struggle cannot *stand in awe* before dead *objectivity. The actions of the Court, the prosecutor's office and the bar should be dictated solely by one consideration: what is important for the life of the nation, what saves the nation.*

'Not unprincipled objectivity, which means stagnation and with it ossification, alienation from the people – no. All the actions, all the measures of the collective as a whole and of the individual should be subordinated to the vital needs of the people, of the nation.

Thus, justice is a relative concept ... .

President: This is irrelevant. You must now bring forward your proposals.

Dimitrov: The Public Prosecutor has proposed that the Bulgarians accused should be acquitted for lack of proof. I am far from being satisfied. The question is not quite that

simple. This would not clear us from suspicion. The truth is that this trial has proved absolutely conclusively that we had nothing whatsoever to do with the Reichstag fire and that there is not the slightest ground to entertain further suspicions against us. We Bulgarians, and Torgler too, must all be acquitted, not for lack of proof, but because we, as Communists, neither have nor could have anything to do with an anti-Communist deed.

I therefore propose the following verdict:

1. That Torgler, Popov, Tanev and myself should be pronounced innocent by the Supreme Court and that the indictment be quashed as ill-founded;

2. That van der Lubbe should be declared to be the misused tool of the enemies of the working class;

3. That those responsible for the false charges against us should be made criminally liable for them;

4. That we should be compensated for the losses which we have sustained through this trial, for our wasted time, our impaired health and for the sufferings which we have indergone.

President: These so-called proposals of yours will be taken into consideration by the Court during the deliberations on the verdict.

Dimitrov: A time will come when such proposals will hve to be settled, with interest. The elucidation of the Reichstag fire and the identification of the real incendiaries is a task *which will fall* to the People's Court of the future proletarian dictatorship.

In the seventeenth century the founder of scientific physics, Galileo, was arraigned before the stern Court of the Inquisition which had to condemn him to death as a heretic. With profound conviction and determination he exclaimed:

'Eppur si muove!'

This scientific law later became known to all mankind.

President (c u r t l y i n t e r r u p t s D i m i t r o v, rises, collects his papers and prepares to leave).

Dimitrov(c o n t i n u e s): *No less determined than old Galileo we, Communists, declare today:*

Eppur si muove!

The wheel of history moves on towards Soviet Europe, towards a World Union of Soviet Republics.

And neither any measures of extermination, nor prisons or death sentences will be able to stop this wheel, driven by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International. It moves and moves towards the final victory of Communism.

(The police seizes Dimitrov and forcefully compels him to sit down in the dock of the defendants.

The President and the Court retire to deliberate on whether Dimitrov should be permitted to continue his speech. After deliberation, the Court returns and announces that Dimitrov is forbidden to speak further).

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 256–287
Published by the BCP, 1960

REMARKS ON THE SENTENCE[78]

Drafted Outline of an Unpronounced Speech before the Court

The Court is confronted with a difficult task: it has to pay Peter without robbing Paul. The sentence is an unsuccessful attempt at solving the unsolvable problem.

It will be up to the future proletarian dictatorship in Germany to find and sentence the real culprits and the persons behind the scenes – 'Mephistopheles'.

The Chief Prosecutor found himself in the position of a mother who has had a miscarriage.

Why a 'miscarriage'?

Because to formally pronounce Communism as guilty, after all disclosures before the Court to the contrary, actually is tantamount to an indirect admission that the National Socialists are guilty!

If van der Lubbe had had accomplices and if these were neither Torgler nor the other accused persons, then what?...

The question then comes up: *Why*, in the course of five months of preliminary inquest and three months of Court sessions, were the real accomplices not discovered?

And what is more, these accomplices must have been 'insiders', i. e. persons familiar with the distribution and inside structure of the Reichstag. Otherwise van der Lubbe could not have perpetrated the fire; but who, apart from the National Socialists, could have known these things at that time?

Who could, at a time when the Communists were under strict observation and persecuted, calmly and unhindered enter and leave the Reichstag?

And then:

Hennigsdorf – the asylum? Other asylums? The young man in Spandau?

The unknown civilian?

The National Socialist deputy Dr. Albrecht?

The legend about the conversation in Neuköln?

The police interrogation of van der Lubbe without a Dutch translator?

Karwahne, Frey, Kroyer, Weberstedt, Droescher, Hellmer?

Kämpfer, Kunzak, Lebermann, Grohte?

An appeal? A signal? But what for?

For a 'national revolution,' for an extermination campaign against the workers' movement and the German Communist Party.

For the establishment of a 'totalitarian state', of National Socialist 'total power'!

'High treason'? No!

High treason against the people, i. e. betrayal of the German people!

Fascist dictatorship – the dictatorship of capital: Thyssen and Krupp!

December 23, 1933

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 291–292
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AN INTERVIEW WITH DIMITROV

'Goering wants me to be executed!'

London, February 7, 1934

Daily Express published an interview with Dimitrov. The conversation took place at the office of criminal councillor Heller in the Secret State Police building in Berlin.

'A door was opened,' wrote the correspondent, 'and Dimitrov entered, accompanied by a guard... His first words revealed that he was suffering.'

'PhysicallyI feel allright,'he said. 'It is true that I have been smoking much, but I am in good spirit. You can easily understand that. For five months in manacles, three months before the Court, and in the end – this. No, I am not in good shape. The prison has an adverse effect on a man like myself... Why do they not release me? I understand that Goering wants me to be executed, and I too would think like him if I were a member of the German government, but to keep a man in prison after a verdict of 'not guilty' – that is what I cannot understand. I protest against this, and believe that you too will protest for me.'

'For a moment,' wrote the correspondent, 'I caught a glimpse of that Dimitrov who had resisted judges, lawyers and witnesses.. a man fighting for his life.'

'When set free,' explained Dimitrov, 'I shall not go to Russia. Russia is the motherland of every revolutionary, but I have not lost my Bulgarian citizenship, and I wish to go to my own country. I sent a letter to the Bulgarian Prime Minister, Moushanov, but do not doubt that he will have me arrested at the frontier...

To the journalist's question whether after his release he would not leave for America to shoot films, Dimitrov explained with a smile: 'Of course not. I shall continue to fight for my Communist ideals. I am a Communist, a true Communist and shall always be a Communist.'

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9,pp. 353–354
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TO THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS DR. FRICK

Berlin, February 7, 1934

A month and a half has already elapsed since the day on which a verdict of 'not guilty' was announced in the Reichstag fire trial, but we, the three acquitted Bulgarians, are still being kept in prison – in underground cells noxious to our health, deprived of daylight, utterly humid, almost hermetically isolated from the outside world, in which we feel like buried alive.

I, for instance, am forbidden to read not only any foreign newspapers, but even Bulgarian governmental newspapers, newspapers of my own country.

My mother and sister are not allowed to inform me during our meetings even about the situation and developments in Bulgaria.

Up to this day I have received no official explanation of the reasons for my arrest.

My wires and letters addressed to you have remained unanswered.

From the hints of different officials one can arrive at most diverse conclusions:

1. We are to remain under arrest, because we represent a political threat to the government.

2. We are being kept under arrest for the sake of our own personal safety.

3. We are still in prison, because negotiations are underway with other countries for our extradiction.

The first explanation, of course, cannot be taken as serious. A government, which feels so secure, cannot possibly risk any danger in connexion with the release and expulsion of three Bulgarian political emigrants.

The second explanation is groundless, because it cannot be assumed that any convinced National Socialist could be

found who, on his own initiative, might assault innocent foreign Communist.

The third explanation has already been refuted by the bare fact that, as has already been established, Poland is ready to grant us a transit visa, and the Soviet Union – to admit us as political emigrants.

And if, in spite of all this, we are still being kept under arrest, that might be with the following ends in view: either we are to be gradually turned into physical and moral invalids or, at a 'convenient' moment, with the aid of 'irresponsible' factors, be liquidated.

I think that politically this is not in the interest of the government, and that is why from day to day I am waiting for our case to be closed by our being sent at once to the Soviet Union or to one of the neighbouring countries.

If, unfortunately, this should not happen soon, I will have no other alternative – and I state this outright not as a threat, but as a dilemma imposed on me – but to resort to the only means of personal defence of innocent prisoners – to go on a hunger strike. My health and patience are almost exhausted. Better an end with horror than horror without end.

For exactly eleven months I have been in this terrible prison.

Respectfully yours
G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 355–357
Published by the BCP, 1960

INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET AND FOREIGN PRESS[79]

Some 100 correspondents of foreign and Soviet papers and telegraph agencies were present at the interview of Dimitrov, held in the evening of February 27.

Comrade Dimitrov told us how he was set free. 'We are, of course, a little worn out,' he explained. 'Today, at 5 o'clock in the morning, we were all of a sudden awakened by Prussian State Secret Police officials with the order: 'Get up and pack'. Without any explanation of why, where and what for. At the last minute they explained to us that we were being expelled from Germany and would be sent by plane today to the Soviet frontier. Our request to call a representative of the Soviet Legation, was of no avail. We supposed that our, the Soviet Legation, had not been informed about this, so to say, pleasant expulsion. From information coming from Berlin I understand that the Soviet Legation did not know that today we should be sent by plane from Berlin directly to Moscow.

'The first thing we wish to say – is to express our boundless and wholehearted gratitude to the international proletariat, to the broad masses of working people in all countries, to the honest intelligentsia, which all fought for our release. Our gratitude, naturally, is in the first place extended to the proletariat, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union – our socialist state. I can state with full conviction that we would not have been free today in Moscow had it not been for the international campaign mobilized against German fascism. The fascists wanted even at the last moment to keep us, to take vengeance on us and destroy us physically and spiritually on various pretexts. The great fiasco of the Reichstag fire trial had to be compensated by wreaking vengence on us.

'Unfortunately I and my comrades learned rather late about this campaign abroad and throughout the world. We were isolated, got no information from our people and

could not get any even from our relatives. We were strictly isolated. It is only now, after our stay here for several hours, that in conversing with our comrades we learned a lot about what had been going on around us. I am deeply convinced that this campaign has helped to save hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers. Not only we four, the three Bulgarians and Torgler, have been saved, but hundreds and thousands of responsible comrades who were to be destroyed, as Goering publicly declared in his depositions as a witness. This campaign deprived the fascists of the possibility of organizing a new provocation, in order to use it to destroy the leading cadres of the German revolutionary proletariat.

'I think that our comrades and friends abroad do not have an exact idea of the significance of this international campaign, in this respect, just as we were unable to assess the significance of this campaign on the outside for our own liberation.

'What I , as an accused, repeatedly declared before the Court and which today, February 27, the anniversary of the Reichstag fire, must resound throughout the world, should be stated over again – *That the Reichstag fire was the work of German fascism*, which used the unfortunate Lubbe as its tool. The real organizers and instigators undoubtedly occupy governmental posts in Germany. These facts have indeed become obvious not only abroad. I think that in Germany, this huge and multifarious prison, the broad masses and even those who at first believed that the Communists had set the Reichstag on fire today no longer believe it. On the contrary, I have many indications that quite a few National Socialists know and are convinced, that the burning of the Reichstag was the work of the National Socialist leadership, which they feel as a disgrace for the National Socialist Party.

'The trial was mean to be a means of rehabilitating the real incendiaries of the Reichstag. But as the real Reichstag incendiaries could not be brought before the Court, that had to be done with others, casually arrested, as it were substitute-incendiaries. That was Torgler, those were we, the Bulgarian Communists. I am convinced that if the

rulers of Germany had known beforehand what the outcome of the trial would be, they would surely not have implicated us, the Bulgarians. They cooked a broth, the taste of which subsequently was not to their liking. I once told this to the prosecutor, Dr. Werner. We were acquitted, not because we were innocent, but because there was no other way out as a result of the foreign campaign, the mobilization abroad, as a result of the revelations before the Court itself. The fascist "Court" was unable to sentence us. The way the trial went, that was out of the question.

'Acquitted but not set free! Acquitted but kept in prison. Dragged from prison to prison, the farther, the worse our imprisonment. Early in February we were transferred to the Berlin prison of the Prussian Secret State Police. What a prison that is – I would like the fascist butchers of the German proletariat to be detained in the cells of these *catacombs*... . It was the small ward for special cases, for such political Communist prisoners who were subjected to a special regime. Compared with this ward, even Moabit is a sanatorium, paradise. The cells are underground, no sun comes in. Inside, of course, it is humid, because the cells are built in the ground. If one is kept in those catacombs for a few months, he will turn, I am convinced, into a living corpse and an invalid for life.

'It is no secret to us why this is done. When one enters there and is weak, in a few days or weeks he will capitulate to fascism, or will be done for without capitulation. It is such a place – and our transfer today proves it – from where the prisoners, unnoticed and unseen by anyone, can be dragged out and taken anywhere and might, if the fascists find it useful, be "removed" altogether.

'Sometimes, but rarely, foreign correspondents came to visit us. I assumed that happened in connexion with the particularly noisy campaign abroad. They asked us questions about our health and how we were treated, and lately especially whether the regime was humane. "You were not tortured or beaten, were you?", the Reuters correspondent asked once. In this connexion it must be said that under the influence of the campaign abroad the attitude towards us was humane. But in general, they prac-

tised *a refined system of moral tortures*. I wish also to stress the fact that while the lower police officials and those of the storm troops treated us in general humanely, precisely the prison doctors of the Gestapo behaved rudely and incorrectly. Doctor after doctor came during the last two weeks. First one doctor in the uniform of a storm trooper, and then two doctors dressed in plain clothes. Not one of them wanted to examine us, while Popov in the last days suffered from a serious stomach ache. One of those doctors said that he was going to examine Popov; but he left without doing anything and without prescribing any medicine. I called the attention of one of those doctors to the fact that such an attitude was inexplicable and impossible to understand, all the more so as we were innocent and had been acquitted by the higher German Court. The doctor's answer was a snigger, and then he left. We thus had neither examinations nor medical care.

'I must mention here the difference between the regime in the Moabit prison, where the inquiry was carried out, and in Leipzig, where the doctors – I must underscore this – were not rude and careless and did not behave like enemies. The doctors of the first type work in such prisons as the former military prison in Tempelhof, where hundreds of Communists and other political prisoners are kept. I can imagine, if those doctors behaved towards us in this way, how they must treat the other Communists, the sick and dying German Communists.

'We are happy to have come to our motherland. We left Germany this morning. We hate only German fascism, but we nurture deep and abiding sympathy for the German proletariat, for the German revolutionary workers, for the German Communists. We could not learn in detail how these German workers bore the persecutions and how they fought fascism, owing to our isolation, but we felt on hundreds and thousands of occasions in the Courtroom and outside the Court and in the prison that the great, united German Communist Party, in spite of the most terrible blows, was standing at its post. This we were able to deduce from the moods and depositions of the witnesses before the Court, witnesses who had spent 8 or 10 months in concen-

tration camps. What loyalty to the Party, what devotion to the cause of Communism, the cause of the German proletariat, what a worthy behaviour before the Court! The same cannot be said about the National Socialist witnesses, for instance, about the National Socialist deputy Karwahne, about Grohte or other agents-provocateurs and thieves. The Communist witnesses were true, strong proletarian fighters, who behaved like revolutionaries. We got a number of expressions of sympathy and love as accused during the trial, as well as after the Court sessions in prison, during transfers, wherever we might happen to be. Even many among the rank and file of the National Socialist Party are convinced that the burning of the Reichstag was the work of the fascist leaders. Our indignation and hate in leaving Germany were directed toward fascism and were accompanied by deep sympathy and gratitude for the German proletariat, which fought for our liberation. Hundreds and thousands of people are smarting in Germany's concentration camps and prisons. Hundreds of trials are conducted, death sentences are imposed and carried out and a number of new trials are on the agenda.

'The struggle against German fascism and the liberation of the imprisoned anti-fascists must continue, so as to save hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers and fighters from fascism. At every step in its struggle the German proletariat, which was sold out and betrayed by the d... bureaucracy of the Social Democrats and the trade unions, needs international support.

'I think that I did not make a mistake when today, on taking leave in Königsberg, I answered the representative of the secret state police who expressed the wish that I would be objective abroad... .' (A v o i c e: What is the name of this official? *Dimitrov:* Criminal Counsellor Heller. V o i c e: A former Social Democrat? *Dimitrov:* Yes. ... 'I answered: Of course, I shall be objective. Then I added that I hoped to return to Germany, but as guest of the German Soviet Government'.

At the request of those present, Dimitrov who up to this moment had spoken in German, began to speak in Russian.

The representatives of the bourgeois press asked him a number of questions: 'What is your opinion of Goering?'

'I have no reason to add anything to the opinion which I expressed at our personal meeting before the Court,' replied Dimitrov.

'What are you going to do here?', Dimitrov was asked. His reply was:

'What I am going to do here is quite clear. I am a soldier of the proletarian revolution, a soldier of the Comintern. As such I was brought before the Court. Here I shall be doing my duty as a soldier of the proletarian revolution – to the last minute of my life.'

The correspondent of *New York Times* asked Dimitrov to sum up his opinion about the trial. Dimitrov answered: 'The trial was, in brief, a provocation, just as was the burning of the Reichstag. By means of this trial they wanted to hide the real incendiaries and pin the guilt for the fire on others. But according to the laws of dialictics, the laws of the class struggle, this trial was transformed into its opposite. The anti-Communist trial became a powerful anti-fascist demonstration, a shameful fiasco for fascism. The fascists, in setting fire to the Reichstag, wanted to deceive the German people that the Communists were the incendiaries, but the trial proved the opposite.'

A representative of the German Communist press put the following questions to Dimitrov: 'Did you learn while in prison that the leader of the German Communist Party, comrade Thaelmann, was transferred to the prison of the Secret State Police?' *Dimitrov:* 'Yes, I know this, but do not know any details.'

To the question whether, while in prison, he had learned the leading comrades of the German Communist Party, such as comrades Scheer, Schönhaar and a number of others had been killed, Dimitrov replied: 'Unfortunately I learned this only today. We knew nothing about that.'

The next question of the representative of the German Communist press was: 'The bourgeois press published a photograph showing you, Tanev and Popov in a cell of the Secret State Police. A large cigar is seen in your hand. This photograph was distributed to show what a good time

those acquitted at the Leipzig fire trial had in prison. Do you know how this picutre was taken and do you recognize it?'

Dimitrov: 'Of course, we know this photograph. We protested against this story. An American correspondent came to us, an alleged representative of the *New York Times*. I say alleged, because this man spoke German very well and looked like a German. He said that he wanted to take a picture. At first we hesitated, but then made the mistake to give him our consent. We did so, because we thought that not only the photograph, but also our statement, our decisive protest against our detention in prison after our acquittal, against all that unheard-of affair would be published. This was, of course, a mistake. *Völkischer Beobachter* published the photograph and wrote that they had sent an American correspondent to take the picture as a proof that we were in a good condition. This, however, happened not in the prison of the Secret State Police, but in the Leipzig prison. That same day our so-called official defence-councel came and 'showed interest' in how we were getting on. He asked: 'Are you still in good health?' We replied: 'Yes.' He then asked: 'Have you anything to eat?' – 'Yes.' 'Do you play chess?' – 'Yes.' One or two days before we had played chess. Then our official defence counsel told us that the German Information Bureau had informed the German and foreign newspapers that we were in excellent health and enjoyed a splendid regime. We protested against the photograph and against this deception.'

Several bourgeois correspondents wanted to know: 'How come Goering declared that he was going to square accounts with you, yet did nothing?'

Dimitrov shrugged his shoulders: 'Not everything happens according to one's wishes. Goering expressed the most cherished desire of the fascist top clique, but besides him there is an international proletariat, there is Moscow, too. We got to know our judges quite well. These judges, who were not all racially pure political Arians, had to solve the problem so as to pay Peter without robbing Poul. Even the wise Solomon was not able to solve this problem in his

time. That is why our judges formulated the sentence very poorly. But they were compelled to acquit us, they had no alternative. If they had condemned us, that would have been a condemnation of fascism: The Pauls remained hale and hearty – until when, the doctors are going to tell us this tomorrow. But Peter is not too pleased either, for we were acquitted. It so happened that we are dissatisfied with the trial and so are Hitler and Goering.'

In dwelling again on the trial, Dimitrov declared that the accused were deprived of real defence counsel. 'According to the German Laws, we had the right to choose our defence-counsel, but we were given officially appointed lawyers. If I had left my defence to him, today I would be a political corpse. He would have discredited me and destroyed me politically.'

At the request of the foreign correspondents, Dimitrov gave a detailed description of *the conditions during the inquiry.*

During the trial we were isolated from each other. Towards the end of the Court hearings I sharply insisted before the President to explain to us why we were being held isolated. I told him that I did not approve of this and that now after the hearing was nearing its end, I insisted on meeting my comrades. After the trial we continued to be kept isolated. It was only on the 16th or 17th that they brought us together in the same cell. After our transfer to Berlin, we were again kept isolated at first for a few days. The fascists got us involved in this trial although we were innocent and after our acquittal kept us imprisoned. *For five months before the trial by day and by night* our hands were manacled. No one who has not lived through this experience can have an idea of what it means. To sleep in this way for five months by day and by night; and your hands to be left free for only fifteen minutes a day to dress and to eat. For five months all night your hands in those accursed manacles. And then they say that they treated us humanely and that we were in excellent health. During all this time I did not sleep properly a single night. I used to wake up twenty, thirty, fifty times a night from the pain. And all this depended upon that police official. If they

tighten the manacles just a little, one suffers immensely. I and my comrades had to do our writing to the Court and to the examining magistrate with manacled hands. In connection with that regime I should like to say the following: Our comrade Tanev did not know a word of German. His situation was much worse than ours. His nerves were so strained that he attempted to commit suicide. Fortunately he did not succeed. But those manacles and the moral terror in the course of months could produce such a consequence. He gets the indictment and does not understand a word! A week passes! He asks for an interpreter. They appoint one a little before the trial. This interpreter translates only parts of the indictment to Popov and Tanev...'

The lively conference was interrupted, owing to the late hour and Dimitrov's fatigue.

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WE SHALL AGAIN BE IN SOVIET GERMANY!

Speech at the meeting in celebration of the 65th anniversary of Comrade N.K. Krupskaya[80] at the Association of Old Bolsheviks on February 28,1934

Comrades, two days ago I could not have even supposed that on this very day, the 65th anniversary of our dear friend Krupskaya, I would be fortunate enough personally to congratulate Comrade *Krupskaya* here, in this family of old militants and pioneers of the movement.

I am very happy to be able here today personally to convey these greetings on my behalf and on behalf of my friends from the fascist prison in Germany.

I am very sorry that I am not in a position to tell you much at this moment. But I do wish to say a few words to you. I do not know how I was admitted to membership at the Association of Old Bolsheviks: whether I have really deserved this. For this is a very high honour. It is a particular title. True Bolsheviks, and old Bolsheviks at that, were to be found actually only in our Russian Bolshevik Party. These Bolsheviks in prisons and in exile, in the course of long years have staunchly endured all the horrors of the tsarist regime. Those old Bolsheviks – the Old Bolshevik Guard of our great Communist Party, together with the young pioneers, the members of the Komsomol and our youthful forces, have for decades now been building socialism in one sixth of the world.

It seems to me that we have been extolled and glorified too much in the press, both here and abroad. Personally I had no idea in the Berlin prison, in those catacombs, of what was going on around our persons. I think, comrades that we had only a single goal: to fulfil, loyally to fulfil, our revolutionary proletarian duty.

We were at the front in the fight between fascism and communism in fascist Germany and were taken in captivity as prisoners in the civil war. Before the Court, in one of the sectors of this tremendous front in the fight between

the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the Communists, between capitalism and the Soviet Union – in this sector of the front we only fulfilled our duty: *to fight*. And within our possibilities, we fought to the best of our ability. I think that it is no merit but a *duty* for every Communist, and especially for those who are fighting for the implementation of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, to fight against fascist reaction, to fight against the perpetrators and fomentors of a new world war. And as an old Bolshevik I feel that in spite of everything I succeeded in doing just my duty as a soldier of the revolution.

I harbour only one wish: that our old Bolsheviks may live to see at least the complete destruction of capitalism in the whole world. I was and am still convinced that I will live some 20 more years and will see the triumph of the proletarian revolution in all Europe. It was this conviction that I expressed at Königsberg yesterday on parting with the representatives of the fascist government when I told them: I hope to come again to Germany, but then as a *guest of Soviet Germany*.

It is hardly necessary for us to express our gratitude. But the hearts of my comrades and myself are brimming with gratitude, gratitude towards the millions of the proletariat in all countries and, first of all, towards the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

The solidarity, love and support, which penetrated to us like rays through the walls of the fascist prison, helped us to endure all sufferings and all tortures.

At moments when I felt particularly oppressed – and there were such moments – being manacled day and night, I very often recalled the fortitude and endurance of our old Russian Bolsheviks. I recalled the tenacity, firmness and the unflinching march forward, despite all difficulties, of our great All-Union Communist Party under Lenin's leadership.

In the hardest moments in prison and before the fascist court, I always remembered that, in spite of everything, there was Moscow in the world – the capital of that great land, the land of the proletarian revolution, the land of the proletarian dictatorship! And when they told us in the

prison that the Soviet Government had admitted us and that we were Soviet citizens, we said: That's the end now, that's all! Today, tomorrow, in a month or two, that made no difference, for it put an end to the designs of the fascist government and personally of Goering against us. Our liberation might be sabotaged, our imprisonment might be prolonged, but as long as the Soviet Union, as long as Moscow stood back of us, it was impossible for us, the communists, to be annihilated, that was impossible.

The international situation and the internal force of the Soviet Union, the enthusiasm, the readiness to defend it, this moral, organizational, cultural and political mobilization, which is effected under the leadership of the Communist Bolshevik Party, acts and falls like a cold shower on the heated fascist heads. These fascist heroes of Cervantes, these criminal gang-leaders are preparing a war against the Soviet Union. But the might, the revolutionary might of the Soviet Union is growing. I can see and sense what great changes have taken place in the two years that I was not in Moscow; I can see how the revolutionary forces in the other countries are growing, how they are growing in fascist Germany itself.

One of the old pioneers was right in remarking here that we shall break the neck of our enemies, the enemies of communism. We shall try to do this with our own forces; we shall try, as Comrade Krzyanowski said, to go on living, until the final victory of socialist construction, until victory on the front of the class struggle in the other countries, for the great cause, *until the final triumph of the world proletarian revolution!*

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 370–372
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LETTER TO THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS

I

In front of me is a letter dated December 7, 1933, which I received in the Leipzig prison as late as January 15, 1934. This letter is from a group of workers at Karl Marx-Hof, which today, after the February events, has won world fame. Here are the contents of the letter:

Vienna, Dec. 7, 1933

Karl Marx-Hof

Dear Comrade Dimitrov,

On behalf of many people, we are sending you our warmest greetings. Millions are listening to your bold words. With them you are lending fresh forces to millions. Your fight will not have been in vain: it is also our fight. The great army of the class-conscious proletariat stands united behind you.

We ask you, Comrade, to send us a few lines.

With proletarian greeting and freedom

(Follow a number of signatures)

On the same day on which the letter got into my hands, I tried to send through the strict police censorship the following brief reply:

'Today I received your friendly letter of December 7, 1933, and read it with great joy and gratitude. As to my conduct before the court, I only endeavoured to do my proletarian duty and to remain completely loyal to my heroic class.

'With fraternal militant greetings.'

I do not know even whether this brief reply ever reached its destibation.

I kept re-reading this letter of the Austrian workers, when in the underground of Goering's secret police in Berlin, I learned from the German fascist papers about the heroic struggles of the Austrian workers. Most profoundly moved, I followed the developments and the outcome of

the armed struggle between the Austrian proletariat and fascism. Your proletarian heroism filled me with boundless joy, and it was with profound disgust that I heard about the treacherous policy of the Social Democratic leadership.

After my arrival in the Soviet Union, still in bad health owing to the hard prison regime and the strain during the trial, I tried first to get acquainted in greater detail with the Austrian developments and with the historic lessons to be drawn from them not only for the Austrian workers, but also for the workers in all capitalist countries.

I would like now to share my impressions and exchange a few thoughts on the Austrian developments with those comrades who wrote to me, as well as with all Austrian fighters for the proletarian cause.

I do not know who of the authors of that letter has remained alive. But every communist today is linked with the Austrian fighters who have remained alive, as well as with those who lost their life in the fight, through the indissoluble tie of fighters for the common cause of the working class.

Today, when Austrian reaction is celebrating its bloody victory over the working class, we, communists, hold the workers who fought and who are still fighting still closer to our hearts. Thousands of massacred workers, thousands of wounded and imprisoned; unbridled terror throughout the country, a prisoner's regime for the proletariat which can be compared only with the fascist regime in Germany – that is the balance sheet of the butchery perpetrated by the Dollfuss government[81].

The bourgeoisie is crowning with laurels the heads of the Dollfusses and Feys, who ordered the shooting by howitzers of the workers, together with their wives and children.

The Papal Nuntius gives his blessing to those butchers. At the same time the craven leaders of the Social Democrats instruct the workers that they should not have resorted to arms, that the proletariat had made a mistake when it retaliated with arms in hand to the brutal general attack of fascism which threatened to nullify not only the economic and political gains of almost 50 years of struggle

of the Austrian working class, but also threatened its most elementary existence.

But would a surrender without a fight have saved the Austrian proletariat from the reactionaries? Surely not. This would have made the reactionaries still more insolent, still more self-confident.

The Austrian proletariat did not want to go back on itself as a class. And it was right. It did not want to resign itself humbly and without a fight to the sufferings which have become the destiny of the German working class which was betrayed by the Social Democrats. The armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat was a palpable warning not only to the Austrian bourgeoisie, but also to the bourgeoisie of all countries. It shows that the proletariat will never get reconciled with fascist rule.

No, the armed struggle of the Austrian working class was not a mistake. The mistake consisted in the fact that this struggle was not organized and was not waged in a revoulutionary, a Bolshevik fashion.

The main weakness of the February struggle of the Austrian workers lay in the fact that, owing to the pernicious influence of the Social Democrats, they failed to grasp that it was not enough to resist the attack of fascism, but that they should have turned their armed resistance into a fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for seizing power by the proletariat. The armed fight of the Austrian proletariat was not transformed into an actual armed uprising. Herein lies the main error.

Reaction in Austria came out victorious. But this is only a temporary victory. Even today it contains elements of the future defeat of the bourgeoisie. For the Austrian workers the important thing now is not to lose heart, not to lose faith in the strength of their class, but, on the contrary, to be able to draw all the necessary political and organizational conclusions from the lessons of the February struggle, in the first place with regard to the Social Democrats.

Please, friends, remember 1905 in Russia. Tsarism then crushed the heroic uprising of the Russian workers. Who, however, does not know that precisely that uprising was

the historical prerequisite for the triumphant October Revolution in 1917? In 1923 the September uprising of the Bulgarian proletariat was crushed. But just as the Russian proletariat in 1905 under Lenin's leadership was able to draw all lessons from its uprising and gain faith in its cause, so today the Bulgarian workers under the leadership of the Communist Party and under the guidance of the Communist International, after the crushing of the uprising steeled their forces still more, are consolidating their Party and are today unflinchingly fighting against Bulgarian fascism. The experience of the September uprising enabled the Bulgarian proletariat to see clearly the roots of its weakness, the correctness of the theory and practice of bolshevism. The Bulgarian proletariat and its Party which was driven underground turned the Bolshevik teaching into the unshakeable basis of their activity and their struggle, thus transforming the defeat of the September uprising into a prerequisite for the triumphant development of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Bulgaria. Today even the class enemies are compelled to admit that the Bulgarian proletariat and its Party have become much stronger than they were prior to the September 1923 uprising.

The Austrian workers should draw a number of fundamental lessons from these historical examples. As in 1905 in Russia, as in 1923 in Bulgaria, so today in Austria, the impassable gulf which was opened between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by the bloody crushing of the fighting workers, is one of the preconditions for the victory of the proletariat.

II

Otto Bauer[82] speaks of a disaster in Austria. Yes, there is a disaster. It is the disaster of the whole Second International, its theory, its policy and tactics, the collapse of the Social Democratic theory on the peaceful, painless evolution of capitalism into socialism by means of parliamentary bourgeois democracy, a collapse of the reformist policy which tried to patch up disintegrating capitalism, the

collapse of a tactics aimed at preventing the proletarian revolution.

This is already the second disaster after that of the German Social Democratic Party. And the social democratic parties in the other capitalist countries are also headed for a disaster. In vain is Otto Bauer invoking Germany to prove the inevitable seizure of power by the fascists, where, as he says – neither the powerful Social Democrats nor the big Communist Party were able to offer resistance to Hitler's seizure of power. But did not the German Social Democratic Party fight a bloody struggle over a long period of time, with the aid of its Severing, Zörgiebel, Gresinsky, against the anti-fascist front formed under the leadership of the Communist Party? Did it not sabotage the repeated proposals of the German Communist Party for the establishment of a united front against fascism, including also the proposal for a united front, made in January 1933? Did it not reject the proposal of the German Communist Party for a prompt proclamation of a general strike and did it not foil the joint action of the communist and social democratic workers against fascism? If the German Social Democratic Party had not acted that way, the German proletariat would certainly have prevented the seizure of power by the fascists and the German people would not have become the victim of the bloody fascist orgy. Unfortunately at that moment the German Communist Party was not sufficiently strong to overcome the sabotage and treachery of the German Social Democratic Party and lead the German workers to an open armed struggle against the nazi gangs. It is clear that the entire responsibility for the victory of fascism, both in Germany and now in Austria, falls on the Social Democrats.

In the light of the victorious construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the developments in Austria and Germany have the significance of a test, undertaken on the basis of the experience of millions of people, of the two roads to socialism: on the one hand, the road of Lenin's Party, the road of the Communist International and, on the other hand, the road of Austrian and German Social Democracy, of the Second International. The first road, the

road of the proletarian revolution, has already brought the working class and, under its influence, the bulk of the peasantry to socialism in the Soviet Union. The second road, the road of a compromise with the bourgeoisie, has led, as developments in Italy,[83] Germany[84] and Austria have clearly demonstrated, to the victory of the counter-revolution, to the triumph of fascism.

The Soviet Union, the mighty achievement of the Bolsheviks, stands now like an unshakeable rock: the bourgeoisie and the big landowners have been eliminated, the power of the working class has been built up, a strong proletarian state has been set up with a mighty Red Army of workers and peasants, a new, socialist economic system has been built up, unemployment and pauperization in the countryside have been overcome, the material and cultural level of the masses in town and country is steadily rising. In Austria and Germany, on the contrary, no trace has been left of 'democratic socialism'. Dollfusses and Feys, Hitlers, Goerings are ruling there inseparably, the working class is bereft of all rights, the arms are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the town hall is occupied by the Heimwehr, the workers' dwellings of the Vienna municipality which the Social Democrats used to point out as a symbol of the 'peaceful growing into socialism' are half-destroyed by the guns and are being taken away from the Austrian proletarians.

Yet, in 1918, comrades, everything was in your hands. The arms were in your hands and you were setting up your workers' and soldiers' councils. On two sides you were surrounded by Soviet republics: Hungary and Bavaria. The bourgeoisie had lost its presence of mind: it was afraid that you would deal with it as the Russian workers had dealt in 1917 with their bourgeoisie. It was afraid that *you* would confiscate its houses and villas for the workers. Today, however, *it* has lined up guns against your workers' houses and is allotting your dwellings to the murderers of your wives and children. It expected that *you* would disband and ban all its political parties. Today, however, *it* has banned your organizations. It expected *you* to ban the bourgeois press. Today *it* has banned yours. It expected *you*

to put the Dollfusses, Feys. Starhembergs and other butchers of the working class in prison. Today, however, *it* imprisons the workers and executes the revolutionaries.

If the Austrian and German proletariat had in 1918 set out along the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, there would have been no fascism today – neither in Austria and Germany, nor in Poland and in the Balkans. And there can be no doubt that not the bourgeoisie but the workers would long have been masters of the situation in Europe.

But Austrian Social Democracy headed by Adler[85] and Otto Bauer led the working class along a different road. It concluded an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolution. It strove to frighten the Austrian workers with the hardships of the heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants, promised socialism to the proletariat without a revolution, without bloodshed, only with the aid of the ballot and parliamentary machinations. It did not lead the workers to a fight against the bourgeoise, but to civil peace with it on the basis of minor, temporary concessions, which for the bourgeoisie were only a means to save itself from the revolution. Unfortunately you, comrades, did not heed the voice of the communists, who were trying to convince you of the fact that this road was disastrous. For years on end you suffered the treachery of the Social Democratic Party leadership which, through its capitulation before reaction, was leading the working class from retreat to retreat, from defeat to defeat. Reaction and fascism organized their forces systematically and unhampered under the very eyes of the Social Democratic Party in the course of 15 years.

Could this organizing of the forces of reaction and the road of Austrian fascism have been barred? There is no doubt that this was possible. But only through a revolutionary struggle. Remember, comrades, July 15, 1927, when the masses went out into the street in reply to the acquittal of the fascist murderers of Schattendorf. This was a turning-point in the class struggle and in the balance of class forces in Austria. The bourgeoisie then gained a substantial superiority over the proletariat, and started feverish preparations for the establishment of a fascist dic-

tatorship in Austria. If the Social Democratic Party had preserved at least a spark of its fighting spirit, it would have been easy for it to turn the July 1927 movement into a proletarian revolution[86]. But even if it had lacked the courage for it, it could in any case have achieved the crushing of fascism: all it needed to do in this case was not to restrain the workers. But Social Democracy undermined this powerful drive of the Austrian proletariat against fascism. In 1927 it gave away the workers' arms from the arsenal; in 1928 it concluded the Hüttenberg Pact which threw wide open the gates of the plants to the fascists; it created the law of Julius Deutsch on army discipline, which facilitated the purge of proletarian elements from the army; it gave its consent to the constitutional reform of December 8, 1929, which suited the demands of the Heimwehr; through Mayor Seitz, it allowed fascist demonstrations and forbade those of the communists in 1930.

Social Democracy owned arsenals, had its own paramilitary organization, the Schutzbund, and behind it stood two-thirds of the Viennese population, was it not so? It had almost a monopoly influence on the working class throughout Austria. Yet, before its own eyes the fascists, unpunished, perpetrated murder after murder of workers, and every time the Social Democrats retreated, threatening only that at the next murder they would compell the bourgeoisie through 'the force of the organized working class' to discontinue its terror. But the Dollfusses and Feys and the Heimwehr contunued their work unhampered – they knew the value of these social democratic declarations. The might of the working class cannot be demonstrated when one always retreats.

III

Nevertheless, the Austrian proletariat could have won victory as late as 1934, if you, the social democratic workers, had refused to follow the policy of the social democratic leaders who, through their policy of surrender and defeatism, demobilized your struggle from the very

start, if you had, together with the communists, in good time taken the organization and leadership of the struggle into your own hands.

The armed struggle is not an action detached from the general policy of the party. A party which always retreats, which in the course of 15 years urges the workers to avoid fighting, can in no case reconstruct itself politically and organizationally within 24 hours to wage an armed struggle.

In his pamphlet entitled 'The Uprising of the Austrian Workers' Otto Bauer now bewails the failure of the general strike. But did the Social Democrats prepare the general strike? On the contrary, Social Democratic leadership was trying to renounce all responsibility for the general strike before the bourgeoisie, stating that the workers themselves would take the initiative for a strike, if one of the well-known 'four points' were implemented (anti-constitutional promulgation of a fascist constitution, disbandment of the Social Democratic Party, dissolution of the trade unions or their transformation into official bodies and appointment of a government commissar in Vienna).

And those workers were absolutely right about whom Otto Bauer in his pamphlet writes: 'At the factories and the Party's sections the voices of the impatient, of those eager to fight and those who insisted on action increased: Let us not wait any longer! We shall no longer be fit to fight if one of these four cases sets in. Let us attack while we are still able to fight! Otherwise the same fate will befall us as our comrades in Germany' (Otto Bauer, The Uprising of the Austrian Workers, p. 14).

Today Otto Bauer himself assures us that in those February days the leadership of the Social Democratic Party was against a fight, but that it was no longer able to restrain the workers and that they started it spontaneously. In recalling the crisis, Otto Bauer tries to justify the treachery of the railway functionaries who foiled the railwaymen's strike and thereby made it possible for the Government quite unhindered to transport artillery and troops from the provinces, while the Floridsdorf workers were shedding their blood.

He also attempts to wash clean the trade union functionaries of the printers' union, who on February 13, the day of the armed struggle, appealed to the printers to discontinue the strikes and return to their jobs.

In his pamphlet Otto Bauer says that the social democratic leaders let themselves be arrested to avoid joining the workers' fight. Precisely those leaders got arrested 'who did not take part in the fight and who on Monday and on the following days sat in the trade union secretariats, at their official jobs in the Vienna municipality, in their district offices, counties and communities' (p. 3).

Yes, that is what actually happened. That is how the traitors of the working class always act. But the secretary of the Second International, the leader of the Austrian Social Democrats Fritz Adler is not much better than those cowardly deserters, who call themselves working class leaders. Personally he stayed away from the struggle and, while the Austrian workers were fighting arms in hand, he publicly declared that he was unable to take part in their struggle, because he was busy with 'current business'.

Is it possible, comrades, to go out fighting with such deserters? Why, those are all people who even before the fight cry that they are defeated, and who at the first shot try to provoke a panic in the ranks of the fighting workers. Those people do not want a victory of the working class, they are afraid of it. They just want to frighten the bourgeoisie a little, to make it more lenient in its concessions to them and capable of being talked to. That is why they first restrain the workers and then consciously try to limit their action in size and exclude the masses from taking part in it. They told the workers who wanted to help the Schutzbund in the fight: 'go home and get your meal while there is still gas. The armed struggle is no business of yours. It is the business of the Schutzbund'. And they did not give arms to the workers who wanted to fight.

Pain and sorrow grip one's heart at the thought of the heavy sacrifices which today the Austrian working class has to pay for the crimes committed by the Social Democratic leadership.

Fully conscious as a soldier of the revolution, I cannot

get reconciled with the fact that the glorious fighters of Karl Marx-Hof were members of the same party as the functionaries of the Social Democratic organizations of Carinthia and Vorarlberg, who at the first shot in Linz passed over to the camp of the Heimwehr. One cannot get reconciled with the fact that the social democratic proletarians, who fought so heroically and died as heroes, for years on end were led by such pitiful political philistines and cowards as Otto Bauer, Fritz Adler, Deutsch and Seitz.

*

Your armed struggle was essentially a struggle for the restoration of the Constitution which had been violated by Dollfuss. It did not go beyond those limits and was never transformed into a struggle for power. In the century of the general crisis of capitalism, however, when the bourgeoisie is no longer in a position to rule with the methods of parliamentary democracy and when it embarks on the road of fascism, the decisive question in the workers' struggle is no longer the restoration of the outdated bourgeois democracy, but that of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the fight for the proletarian dictatorship. Only the slogan for Soviet power, brought to the consciousness of the broad masses, would solidly tighten the ranks of the fighters and establish an indissoluble link between the fighting workers and the whole remaining part of the proletariat and the peasantry. Only if the Austrian workers had set themselves the task of fighting for Soviet power, could their armed campaign have been transformed into a real armed uprising.

Yes, comrades, unfortunately your armed struggle was not a struggle for power and that is why, as Marx and Lenin taught, it was not a real armed uprising. The fact that this goal – the seizure of power – was missing in your armed struggle, constituted the main weakness of your heroic action.

The fact that the Austrian workers in their struggle did not go beyond the limits of armed resistance is not at all ac-

cidental. It was a necessary consequence of the entire political orientation of Austrian social democracy. 'We do not want yet to overthrow either capitalism or the bourgeoisie,' that is how the political thesis of the social democratic leaders ran. In other words, in the concrete set-up this meant: you, militant workers, must not attack the enemy, you must only defend yourselves against him in your municipal halls. With such an orientation, the workers let the initiative in the fight get out of their hands and ceded it entirely to the enemy.

What was the destiny of the workers guided by this policy of the social democratic leaders? Locked up in their homes, without any contact among each other, they sat like in mouse traps. They had not secured either the points of entry to these houses, or the heights from which the enemy could unpunished occupy positions like those of the workers at Karl Marx-Hof under its artillery fire. By their instructions given to the workers to stay at their homes and wait for the outcome of the struggle of the Schutzbund, the social democratic leaders placed the streets in the workers' quarters at the disposal of the Government troops, so that they could move along them unhindered. The Government troops had the possibility of occupying one after the other the strong points of the workers who defended themselves. An aggressive tactics on the part of the workers, on the contrary, would have sown confusion in the ranks of the Government forces and would have won over the vacillating elements to the side of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie did not hesitate to requisition private means of transport for its fight against the workers and to take prisoners as hostages. The fighting workers, however, who had passed through the school of Austrian social democracy, preferred to starve rather than infringe on sacrosanct private property by a confiscation of provisions. It did not even occur to them to take hostages from among the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Today Otto Bauer and the leader of the Schutzbund, Julius Deutsch, cite this petty-bourgeois wishy-washiness as an example of civic virtue. If at the time the Russian workers had followed the same tac-

tics, today their own Dollfusses and Feys would be sitting on their necks.

Just think: What heroism and what selfless bravery were displayed by the workers and what criminal shedding of workers' blood on the part of the social democratic leaders!

IV

What is there to be done now, comrades? First of all, we must make a thorough check of the road travelled since 1918 until the armed struggle in February 1934. It is necessary to make use of the lessons to be drawn from this struggle, which reflects the whole bankruptcy of social democratic policy. The sooner this is done, the better for you and for the entire Austrian working class, and the nearer will be its sure victory.

In contrast to Bauer's 'criticism', endeavouring to efface his own crimes as well as those of the entire Social Democratic Party leadership, you have to subject the system of ideas with which the social democratic leadership poisoned the workers to the sharpest and most severe criticism. Examine and reassess the road travelled by you under the leadership of the social democrats. Recall what the social democratic press and the social democratic leadership wrote and spoke in defence of this road, and compare their words with the stark facts. Analyze critically Otto Bauer's pamphlet which in its essence is an indictment against the author himself, as well as against the entire policy of the social democrats. Remember, on the other hand, what the Communist International has been saying in the course of these 15 years. And you are bound to let your class know the truth, however bitter it may be.

This truth will lead you to the conclusion that not the social democrats but the communists, not the Second International but the Communist International were right. The communists were right when they maintained that the Austrian social democrats were leading the 1918 revolution to defeat. They were right when they warned you that the policy of the social democrats led to a consolidation of

bourgeois dictatorship. The communists were right when they said that social democracy was saving the rule of capitalism, that it did not lead to socialism. They were right when they maintained that all economic, political and social gains which the workers had wrested from the bourgeoisie, that all their communal houses, etc., were always under a threat, and that the bourgeoisie would take them away from them unless it were shorn of power. The communists were right when they said that the defence of the interests of the working class could not be achieved through compromises with the bourgeoisie, but only through an intransigent class struggle against it.

The truth further compels you to admit that Austrian social democracy has gone politically bankrupt today. A part which was given so much and which lost and squandered everything – such a party has no longer any justification for its existence. Such a party deserves only the workers' hatred. Only after overcoming the political and organizational influence of the social democrats will the Austrian proletarians be able to embark on a new road, a road that will lead them to victory, to a victory over Dollfusses and Feys, over the Heinwehr, over fascism.

It is a question, comrades, of your organizational break with the Social Democratic Party, and of establishing, together with the communist workers, a genuine fighting unity of the Austrian working class. This fighting unity is possible only on the basis of the revolutionary struggle. This unity will multiply tenfold the forces of the working class and will make several times weaker the offensive of fascism, will increase the revolutionary influence of the proletariat on the peasantry and will create the prerequisites for a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalists and for a fight for Soviet power.

The greatest danger for the revolutionary unity of the Austrian working class today would be an attempt to revitalize Austrian social democracy, so that it may be saved on the basis of a new, *'leftist' programme*. Nothing would come out of such attempts, except a disintegration of the Austrian workers' movement. Were there not in your

ranks people who in the course of 15 years have done nothing else but trying to 'correct to the left' the policy of your social democracy? The results are now at hand!

It would be no less a deception if the workers, disappointed by the social democrats in their fight against the fascism of Dollfuss, came to the conclusion to seek salvation in Hitler's fascism. In the armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat the Austrian national socialists stood on the side of the murderers of the workers. Today, like brown vultures, they circle above the battlefields and seek demagogically to make use of the sacrifices and sufferings of the proletariat, in order to win over to Hitler's fascism the Austrian workers, who are disappointed by the social democrats and are standing at a crossroads.

We, communists, are filled with faith in the bright morrow of the Austrian working class. We are firmly convinced in the final victory of the proletariat throughout the world. This unshakeable conviction gave me the courage during the Reichstag Fire Trial to look straight into the eyes of the raging enemy, just as the brave fighters of Karl Marx-Hof looked straight into the face of death. Behind the blazing fires, behind the slavery and misery which fascism carries with it, we see in the East the powerful bastion of the world proletariat – the Soviet Union. There is no power on earth that can check the historical development of mankind towards socialism. A battle has come to an end, the fighters are counting their dead, but they have not been crushed. The great proletarian army continues its march forward to the final victory.

Maybe, comrades social democratic workers, you will find it difficult to adopt the thoughts expounded herein. Nevertheless, I hope that this letter will help you to make a critical reassessment of the past, and draw the respective conclusions. If, however, there is something in this letter that is not quite clear to you or gives rise to any doubts, I shall be glad to have you share this with me.

Moscow, hospital,
March 1934

Georgi Dimitrov

*

These lines had already been written, when at the end of March I received the following letter dated March 2, 1934, from one of the authors of the first letter:

Dear Comrade Dimitrov,

I was glad to learn that you, as well as your comrades Popov and Tanev, have left the brown inferno and are already in the Soviet Union. Thousands of proletarians are heaving a sigh of relief, because we need such heroic fighters in our ranks. If we had had such fighters, we would not have landed in such straits for the Austrian working class to suffer ignominous defeat through treachery. For us this was a bloody lesson. For us it is the Russian year of 1905. And let us hope that it will not last so long and that we, too, shall proclaim Soviet Austria and will be able to extend a fraternal hand to Russia and together build up a new state in which only the proletarians will be able to live. A genuine workers' state*.

Dear Comrade Dimitrov, be kind enough and write us a few lines so that we may see that you are indeed in Russia, because we have become pessimists now.

Militant greetings:

* Here you have allowed a misunderstanding to slip in, comrades. You naturally have in mind the Soviet state, which is a state of the proletarian dictatorship. But not only workers live in it, but all working people who, under the leadership of the proletarians, are building socialism.

Yes, comrades, you are right. If you had been led by real Bolshevik fighters, your heroic fight would surely have had another outcome. But such fighters can grow up only in an irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The social democrats did not wage such a struggle – on the contrary, your Otto Bauers and Fritz Adlers obstructed this fight. Only in a constant struggle of the revolutionary united front against fascism can new and steeled fighters be created. It is only under the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin that the new Bolshevik leaders will be created and the Austrian proletariat will at last receive what it lacked to come out victorious in its heroic struggle: a powerful Bolshevik party.

April, 1934

Georgi Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 406–426
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CAN FASCISM WIN IN FRANCE?

In its issue which is due to come out on April 27, the illustrated magazine *'Regard'* publishes an interview of G. Dimitrov by its special correspondent in Moscow.

In this interview, G. Dimitrov answers the following three questions:

Can fascism win in France?

What do you think of the events of February 6?

Is a united front possible in *France?*

We are indebted to *'Regard'* for being able to publish today G. Dimitrov's reply to the first question.

Question: Can fascism win in France?

Answer: If the question is formulated in general, we must say that the possibility of a fascist victory in France, of course, cannot be excluded. Although the victory of fascism – owing to the deep-going revolutionary traditions which exist among the French masses – would be, of course, more difficult in the country of the Great French Revolution, of the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, and particularly of the Paris Commune, than in Italy or Germany, France, too, has its potential Hitlers and Goerings. That is why, in the struggle against reaction and fascism, which has already been started by the French working people, the aim is to do all that is possible to check in good time the road to fascism by mobilizing the masses. Nothing can be achieved by itself. The discontent and indignation of the proletariat, of the petty and middling empolyees and civil servants, and of a large section of the intelligentsia and the bourgeousie, affected by the crisis, against reaction and fascism is increasing every day.

The proletariat and the masses, in general, are also deeply indignant at the growing unemployment, the falling salaries and wages and increasing misery. Their most elementary living standards are jeopardized. But the situa-

tion cannot be altered just by indignation and hate. Only the fight of the masses, organized and led by a revolutionary party, a fight not only defensive but also offensive, can bring victory.

Victory is possible if we prevent reaction and fascism from rallying their forces and consolidating their positions and from enlisting the dissatisfied masses. Victory is possible if you work systematically to mercilessly unmask in an accessible manner every one of their manoeuvres, their nationalistic and chauvinistic ideology, their demagogical slogans, if the real interests and goals that lie hidden behind their campaigns are bared, if you show where and from what quarters the fascist movement gets its financial support.

Victory is possible if you unmask in a concrete way the elements, groups, the methods and means in which the fascist cadres have been formed and the military fascist organizations have been set up. In this connexion, the developments in Germany and Austria, which were so dearly paid for by the Austrian and German workers, will be a precious lesson.

A particularly essential condition for the victory over fascism is to timely unmask before the proletariat and the masses all the concrete manoeuvres of the parties and groups, the methods and means which tend to strengthen fascism and to check, confuse, paralyze and disorganize the mass anti-fascist struggle.

These parties and groups are endeavouring to divert the anti-fascist movement from its revolutionary path, to turn it into a movement of a parliamentarian type, to reduce the struggle to threats and to passive oral appeals.

For the conditions existing in France, this boils down to the necessity systematically to unmask the policy and practice of all parties belonging to the so-called 'left' bloc namely the Socialist Party and the leaders of the General-Confederation of Labour and, more particularly, to the necessity of unmasking all attempts at plunging the mass anti-fascist movement – with the aid of demagogical slogans for a 'defence of the Republic', 'democracy', etc. – into the mire of a 'left' bourgeois bloc. This would be a fresh and monstrous deception of the masses, through which the

reactionary fascist forces endeavour to achieve their unification and consolidation.

A great part of the dissatisfied petty bourgeois elements which, disappointed by the party of the 'left' bloc, may be used by the fascists as a social mass basis, should be enlisted by the proletariat under the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party, in the mass revolutionary struggle.

The rallying of the proletariat, of the masses and progressive elements from among the intelligentsia in the committees of the united front for a fight against fascism, a fight for the partial demands of the workers against the big businessmen, the financial oligarchy, its cartels, trusts, banks, trade unions, parties and para-military organizations, a fight combined with mass demonstrations, mass 24-hour or longer political strikes, led in the different localities (at enterprises, plants, factories and wards) by strike or united front committees, elected by the masses themselves – that is how I visualize the concrete, real road of the anti-fascist struggle in France.

All those who check and hinder the development of a revolutionary initiative among the masses, all those who hinder the setting up of these elective committees of the militant united front and who try to destroy the revolutionary unity of the anti-fascist movement and to hide from the masses the lessons drawn from the treachery of the German, Austrian and Italian social democracy and of the Second International in general; all those who think that it is possible to complet fascism to withdraw by itself, only by blowing the trumpets of Jerico – are, whatever their subjective desires and aims may be, objectively abettors of fascism. A daily and concrete mass struggle, led in an organized and resolute manner, and passing over from the defensive to an anti-fascist offensive, unmasking all would be 'friends' of the anti-fascist united front movement – herein lies the road to victory over the reactionary fascist forces. There is no and there cannot be any other road.

l'Humanité,
No. 12, April 26, 1934

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 427–430
Published by the BCP, 1960

May Day was first celebrated in the streets of Sofia in 1898. Major clashes with the police took place, because the demonstration had been prohibited. We defended ourselves with bricks and stones. The police wounded many workers. Unusual indignation reigned among the population.

At that time, I was working as type-setter at the printing shop of the Liberal Party, where its central organ *Narodno Pravo* was printed. The leader of that Party, Dr. Radoslavov[87], was the responsible editor of the paper. His handwriting was so difficult to decipher that only two type-setters in the whole printing shop could read it: an old type-setter and myself. Two weeks prior to May Day that old man had fallen ill and that is why I was the only one who could set Radoslavov's article.

On May 2 Radoslavov wrote an editorial on the turbulent events of the previous day. In sharp language he described the 'anti-state' demonstration and the participants in it, calling them 'vagabonds', drunkards and robbers.

'This rabble,' he wrote, 'which had the cheek to attack the defenders of the state with stones, should be dealt with ruthlessly, if we do not want the socialist gang in our country to assume such proportions as it has assumed in other countries.'

I started setting the article into type, and suddenly came upon this insulting passage.

'I'm not going to set this into type,' I said to the technical manager.

'Why?'

'Because Radoslavov's article is slanderous!'

'But the whole paper is ready now and we're waiting only for the editorial.'

I stood my ground, refusing to set the type. They sent for Radoslavov.

After a little while he came and started railing at me:

'What does all this mean? You're working here and I'm paying you for it. It isn't your business to criticize what is written or how it is written. A type-setter has to set all kinds of type. Your conduct is unbearable! It's scandalous! You're dismissed.'

I said to him:

'I know very well my duties as type-setter. Up to now I set type for everything, although I was often filled with indignation. I'm not going to set type for this article, however. If you can find a type-setter able to set this into type – go ahead! But I rather doubt that you'll be able to find one.'

He cast a malicious glance at me and went to the editorial office. The manager of the printing shop tried to persuade me to agree to set the type, for otherwise I would be dismissed. He turned to another type-setter, but the latter couldn't make out a word. At last he tried to do it himself, but failed.

After a few minutes Radoslavov came back, came up to me and asked me:

'What the devil don't you like in the article? It's for the first time in my life that such a thing has happened to me...'

He called me to his room and I told him:

'We are neither robbers, nor bandits, nor a rabble; these names are quite undeserved: *we are workers.*'

'Yes,' he said, 'maybe you are a decent fellow, but how can you believe and how can you be sure that all are as decent as you? The others are not such decent people.'

'Workers are decent people, especially those who demonstrated yesterday. Not a single type-setter will set this into type.'

'Well, then,' he said with a sigh, 'let's strike this out.'

And he struck out the whole paragraph, so that the paper might come out in time.

In 1905 I was deputy to the National Assembly, and Dr. Radoslavov was Prime Minister.

Once I spoke at the National Assembly in connexion with the outrageous treatment of the prisoners of war. When I stepped on the rostrum, Dr. Radoslavov happened to be next to me. He looked at me and smiled. I started speaking about the military censorship.

'The persecution of the press is an unheard-of suppression of public opinion.'

Suddenly Radoslavov jumped up from his seat and yelled:

'And you're speaking about censorship, precisely you, Dimitrov? You'll recall perhaps that while you worked for me you subjected even my own article to your censorship?'

'That was quite another matter,' I replied. 'Then, as now, I defended the interests and the honour of the working class. But then you were repressing the opinion of the working masses, as you are doing now. You use the censorship to repress the working people now, in the same way in which you used your newspaper then to slander the workers. At that time I was fighting against it and I'm doing the same thing now.'

How deeply he must have been affected by that May Day that he remembered it after the lapse of so many years!

Komsomolskaya Pravda,
May 1, 1934
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 9, pp. 444–447
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ON A TURN IN THE PARTY

Speech delivered on the 10th anniversary of the death of Dimiter Blagoev

May, 17, 1934

Comrades, as a result of many May-Day and post-May-Day speeches, my health has unfortunately again deteriorated. My physicians have therefore forbidden me to make any speeches for a certain time. If, in spite of this, I have come here this evening for a little, I have done so because I felt it my duty to take an immediate personal part in this remarkable demonstration of unity between Blagoev's Party and the old Russian Bolsheviks. I would like personally, on behalf of this Party and from this rostrum, to express our firm determination to follow in the steps of the glorious Russian Bolsheviks.

I am, comrades, one of Blagoev's pupils and have been one of his closest collaborators for a good many years. Blagoev, the founder of our Party, had certain distinctive features which were characteristic of Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism and which testify to the kinship between Left-wing Socialism in Bulgaria and Bolshevism.

These distinctive features of our late leader Blagoev are the following:

1. Class implacability towards the bourgeoisie and its Right-wing Socialist (Menshevik) tools. Class against class – that was the slogan, that was the motto, that was the policy of Blagoev and Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism.

2. All for the Party of the proletariat. Complete subordination of one's personal life, interests and will to the interests and will of the Party of the proletariat.

3. Abiding, boundless faith in the forces and future of the working class. It seems to me that this was the prime cause for the great successes of our revolutionary movement in Bulgaria prior to the war and immediately after it. This also enabled us to smash the Bulgarian Mensheviks (the

Right-wing Socialists, the common-causers) in a way in which Social-Democracy was smashed nowhere else, except in Russia at the hands of the Bolsheviks. This mainly helped the Bulgarian Party to follow the Bolshevik path after the war and to become, together with the Russian Bolshevik Party and under its leadership, one of the founders of the Third Communist International.

But Blagoev and Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism *differed from the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism.* Even when we become co-founders of the Communist International, we were still far from being Bolsheviks, real Bolsheviks. And the fact that we were not Bolsheviks led us to the mistakes in 1918 in the soldiers' insurrection immediately after the war, as well as during the fascist coup d'état of June 9, 1923. This circumstance prevented us from organizing and directing the glorious September 1923 Anti-fascist Uprising in a Bolshevik manner and thus from securing its possible victory. Finally, this prevented us from seeing in time and from properly grasping the profound difference between Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism and Bolshevism on the basic problems of the proletarian revolution.

Comrades, in my 35 years' revolutionary and political life, I have made no few mistakes, but there are two mistakes which I shall never forget and for which I can never forgive myself: the first mistake I made together with the Central Committee of the Party on June 9, 1923, when we took a so-called 'neutral' stand during the fascist coup d'état, and the second, when not only I but the whole Party failed to understand in time (as early as *1918–19) that* our revolutionary Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism *was not as yet Bolshevism.* We did not draw the necessary conclusion from the difference between Left-wing Socialism and Bolshevism, we did not learn the necessary lesson, and thereby delayed the bolshevization of our Party, which undoubtedly would then have proceeded much faster and much less painfully.

Comrades, not only our friends, but also our foes, everyone in his own way, noted my personal bravery in Leipzig. But, comrades, during and after the trial, I stated that while in Bulgaria, in our revolutionary movement I per-

sonally manifested such bravery many a time, and not only I, but tens, hundreds and thousands of Left-wing Socialists who always fought manfully, and I must tell you that one of the distinctive features of Bulgarian Left-wing Socialism is its manly struggle against its enemies. Thousands of Left-wing Socialists perished in the September 1923 Uprising without forsaking Communism. Many of them could have saved their life, had they only pledged to renounce Communism. If I had appeared at the Reichstag Fire Trial as an old-type Left-wing Socialist, I would have behaved with manliness and dignity, but I would have confined myself to personal self-defence and would not have waged that battle against fascism which won the admiration of the workers all over the world. When in Leipzig and Berlin, before the fascist tribunal, I was holding in one hand, in my left, the Legal Procedure Code of the German state and in my right hand – *the Programme of the Communist International*, when I was using at every step Lenin's arguments against the enemy, against fascism, I was fighting not as a *Left-wing Socialist, but as a Bolshevik* because only Lenin's teachings, only the Bolshevik methods and *only Bolshevik heroism* enable us to fight and win that way.

I am of the opinion that the Left-wing Socialist past, the Left-wing Socialist probation period in the Bulgarian revolutionary movement *is not a minus* but, on the contrary, *a plus*. On condition, however, that the Left-wing Socialist traditions and the virtues of the old Left-wing Socialist, Marxist experience be *melted down in the Bolshevik cauldron*. Our Party has made the basic steps in this respect. It still faces much work along this road. But only by following this road did it draw all lessons from the September 1923 Uprising for its bolshevization. In this way the Party turned the defeat of this uprising into a condition for the victory of the future proletarian revolution in Bulgaria. It won over the majority of the working class. And only by fighting to win over and consolidate the alliance between the proletariat and the working peasants, does our Party march forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, towards the decisive battle for Soviet Bulgaria.

Comrades, we learned, we are learning and we will learn in the future from the glorious Russian Bolsheviks. We are happy that, following the example of the still living old Bolsheviks, we can further steel our will to fight and our conviction in victory. While staying handcuffed in prison, I personally recalled during the most trying moments how the revolutionary proletariat used to live in old tsarist Russia. I remembered with what energy and fearlessness hundreds and thousands of our old Bolsheviks fought against all hardships and perils. What heroism Russian Bolsheviks manifested during the Civil War and after that in the field of socialist construction. And if they – I used to say to myself – endured all these trials with honour and dignity, I, a Bulgarian Communist, was duty-bound, remaining unflinchingly on my post, standing on a world rostrum, to set an example to the German proletariat, to my Bulgarian brothers and to the whole international proletariat, of how a Bolshevik can and ought to fight against the bourgeoisie and fascism, deeply convinced in the inevitability of the final triumph of the proletarian revolution...

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NOTES

to the Selected Works of Georgi Dimitrov

1. By 'social policy' Georgi Dimitrov meant the policy of sops and stick towards the working class, practised by the Second Stambolovist regime (1903–08). On the one hand, under the pressure of the workers' movement, headed by the social democracy, it was compelled to make certain concessions (Law on Woman and Child Labour, Law on Assistance to Disabled State Workers) and, on the other, it passed a number of laws depriving the working class of its elementary rights and freedoms.

2. *Zubatovshtina* – from Zubatov, a police colonel of the Russian Okhrana, who at the start of our century set up police-controlled legal workers' organizations to counteract the class workers' organizations.

3. *The Union of Bulgarian Industrialists* was founded on March, 17, 1903.

4. The first Industrial and Crafts Congress was held in Sofia on June 29, 1901, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Crafts Associations. There the Industrial and Crafts Union was founded, which was joined by tradesmen, industrialists and craftsmen.

5. Two trends crystallized in the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) after the turn of the century: the one revolutionary and the other opportunistic; they differed on matters of principle, tactics and organizations. The former, headed by Dimiter Blagoev, Georgi Kirkov, Gavril Gavrilov, Georgi Dimitrov and others, adhered to the principles of Marxism, defended the class character of the Party, and stood for a truly proletarian Party, ideologically united, militant, capable of heading revolutionary struggles. The opportunistic trend, headed by Yanko Sakuzov, advocated class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and represented the Bulgarian version of Bernstein revisionism. After the split in 1903, when the reformist wing was expelled, the BSDP emerged as a Marxist Party of the working class. Subsequently it adopted Lenin's teaching on the party, and became a party of a new type. During the Party split, the trade unions, in which the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia predominated, sided with the reformists, while the unions in the principal towns, where workers predominated, side with the Party of the Left-Wing (Narrow) Socialists.

6. On June 18, 1906 the miners of Pernik, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, went on strike, demanding among other things, the right to set up their own trade unions. They received nation-wide support from the workers, who organized meetings, rallies and collected strike funds.

The 35-day strike achieved its main purpose – the Miners' Trade Union was founded, thus giving a strong impetus to the trade union movement in Bulgaria.

7. On December 20, 1906, the railwaymen spontaneously went on strike, the biggest until then in the annals of Bulgaria. It was preceded by a petition to the National Assembly, signed by more than 3,000 workers and employees, but Prime Minister Dimiter Petkov refused to receive the delegation. Instead, the Government hastened to pass two laws, the one forbidding state workers to strike, and the other depriving them of their pension in case they take part in strikes, as well as of the right to organize in trade unions and to publish their own newspapers. The bourgeois opposition tried to take advantage of the 42-day strike to overthrow the Petkov Government. Railwaymen's Trade Union under the guidance of the Party joined the strike but did not head it, confining itself to publishing a leaflet in which it exposed the demagogical policy of the bourgeois opposition parties.

8. Under the headline 'A Strike-Breaker Bloc' several bourgeois papers announced in February 1907 that the organizations of industrialists, tradesmen and craftsmen were negotiating to form a bloc for an all-out fight against strikes. A committee, composed of prominent members of these organizations, was set up for the purpose.

9. Referring to Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule by the Russian army as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78.

10. See note 7.

11. The plight of the railwaymen on the Eastern Company's Belovo-Plovdiv-Svilengrad-Istanbul line, most of whom were foreigners, set off a general strike both in Turkey and, almost simultaneously in Bulgaria (September 5, 1908). The strikers demanded higher wages, shorter working hours and regulated relations with the management of the company.

12. Early in 1907, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties in opposition: the Populists, Tsankovists, Democrats, Radicals and Right-Wing Socialists formed the 'Patriotic Bloc', a coalition against the National-Liberal Party (Stambolov's followers). Masking its factional aspirations, it pretended to fight against the 'personal regime', but at the end of May 1907, when the position of the National Liberals became shaky and Ferdinand showed an inclination to call to power a party of the Bloc, it disintegrated.

13. Taking advantage of the crisis in Turkey, following the Young Turk coup d'état, the Government of the Democrats proclaimed Bulgaria an independent kingdom on September 22, 1908, and awarded Prince Ferdinand the title of 'King of the Bulgarians'. In 1911 the Fifth Grand National Assembly was called to amend the Constitution; it voted an amendment to Art. 17, granting the king the right to conclude secret political agreements without consulting the national assembly.

14. The *American Federation of Labour* (AFL), founded in 1881, comprising mainly the workers' aristocracy under a mercenary clique of reactionary leaders, such as Gompers up to 1925 (whom Lenin compared to Zubatov), Green and Carey, adopted a hostile attitude to the

Russian Revolution. Refusing to join the World Trade Union Federation, it is actively working to split the world trade union movement.

15. At the International Trade Union Conference in Paris (August 17–18, 1909) the delegate of the Bulgarian trade union participated with a deliberative vote, as the union had not yet established official relations with the International Secretariat. In connexion with the central question discussed at the conference, the Arbitrary Measures of the Prussian Government against Foreign Workers, it was decided that a joint campaign be launched by the International Trade Union Secretariat and the International Socialist Bureau. The American and British delegates proposed that measures be taken against the passing of blacklegs from one country into another. The attention of the Secretariat was drawn to the fact that it had to contact the Russian trade unions, which at that time were subjected to hard reprisals by the tsarist Government. A cable was received at the conference from the workers on strike at the Kosterets Match Factory, asking the International Secretariat to do all that was within its power to boycott the sale of Bulgarian matches to other states.

16. Jouhaux, Léon (born in 1878), leader of the French reformist trade union movement, one of the foremost leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Unions International. Prior to the First World War he was an anarchist anti-militarist, but then became an outspoken advocate of 'civil peace'. Lenin called him one of the most disgusting social conciliators. Jouhaux tried to split the French Confederation of Labour but failed: he organized the 'Force ouvrière', a reformist trade union organization.

17. The *Confederation Generale de Travail* (CGT) was from 1895 to 1921 the leading trade union centre in France. During and after the First World War it advocated conciliation with capitalism, which at the end of 1921 led to a split and to the expulsion of the revolutionary elements who later established the Confederation Generale de Travail(unitaire), while the former CGT became the main prop of the Amsterdam International. At first the anarchist trade unionists tried to capture the CGTU, but in 1924 they left it, realizing that most of the trade union members stood for revolutionary tactics and for the principles of the Trade Unions International (Profintern). Today the CGT is a member of the World Trade Union Federation and takes an active part in the fight for peace. Its daily paper is 'La vie ouvrière'.

18. *Legien, Karl* (1861–1920), German trade union leader, right-wing Social Democrat, member of Reichstag from 1893, President of the German General Trade Unions and Secretary of the International Trade Union Secretariat from 1890, and after 1913 its President, during World War I an outspoken chauvinist sacrificing the trade unions to the interests of the military, and after the German revolution in 1918 promoter of co-operation between businessmen and trade unions.

19. *A Balkan Democratic Federation* was raised as a slogan at the First Balkan Socialist Conference in Belgrade in 1910, in connexion with the growing threat of imperialist aggression on the Balkans. The Balkan socialist parties advocated fraternal understanding of the Balkan

peoples, which would enable them to defend their freedom and national independence against the aggressive encroachments of the imperialists. The federation was to facilitate the settlement of all outstanding national issues in the Balkans, including the Macedonian question. Macedonia, which was split into three parts, was to be reunited into a single state enjoying equal rights within the framework of the Balkan Democratic Federation (Georgi Dimitrov).

The Balkan Communist Federation (1919–1939) opposed the imperialist attempts to turn the Balkans into a bridgehead for an anti-Soviet war and advocated friendship with the Soviet peoples.

20. The *International Socialist Bureau* is the executive organ of the 2nd International. Set up after the Paris Congress (1900) with headquarters in Brussels, it actually ceased to exist after Belgium's occupation by the Germans during the First World War.

21. *'Civil peace'* or *Burgfrieden* in Germany, 'sacred unity' in France, 'industrial peace' in Great Britain, were the slogans put forward by the bourgeoisie during the First World War and taken up by the 2nd International. They aimed at putting an end to the class struggle during the war. The Left-Wing Socialists, unlike the Right-Wing Socialists, continue to fight against the bourgeoisie and the war, and in the Bulgarian National Assembly voted against the war credits.

22. *Luxemburg, Rosa* (1871–1919) – prominent revolutionary, one of the leaders of the Polish and German proletariat and organizer of the German Communist Party, representing like Lenin the left-wing in the 2nd International at the Congresses of Paris (1900) and Amsterdam (1903). At the Stuttgart Congress (1907) Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg introduced in the anti-war resolution the famous amendment on turning an imperialist war into a civil war. Rosa Luxemburg spent almost all the war years in prison and during the January 1919 rising she and Liebknecht were brutally murdered.

23. *Liebknecht Karl* (1871–1919) – one of the leaders of the German proletariat, tribune of the German Revolution, took an active part in the youth conference in Stuttgart (1907), which laid the foundations of the political organization of Germany's working youth. After the first Russian Revolution, he advocated the Russian methods of struggle – a general political strike. On December 2, 1914, Liebknecht was the only Reichstag member to vote against the war credits, after which he became the banner of internationalism and of the revolutionary anti-war struggle. In 1915 he wrote his famous leaflet *The Main Enemy Is within Our Own Country*, rising the slogan *Not civil peace, but civil war!* On May 1, 1916, he addressed a meeting in Berlin, spreading leaflets with the slogans 'Down with the War!', 'Down with the Government!' Arrested, he was sentenced to four years of forced labour. In 1917 and 1918, in letters sent from the prison, Liebknecht addressed ardent appeals to the German workers in defence of the Russian Revolution. On December 30, 1918, he co-chaired with Rosa Luxemburg a conference of the Spartacus Union, turning it into a constituent congress of the German Communist Party. As leader of the January Rising (1919) in Berlin, Liebknecht, together with Rosa Luxemburg, was brutally murdered on

January 19, 1919 by the police gangs of the Social Democrats Eberts, Scheidemann, and Noske.

24. Referring to the *Entente* between France, Russia and Great Britain and in 1915 joined by Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance in prewar days.

25. *Asquith, Herbert Henry* (1858–1928) – British statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, barrister, Minister of Home Affairs (1892–95) in the Gladstone Government. Prime Minister 1908–1916. On his orders the policy shot down the striking miners in Featherstone. On the eve of the First World War he submitted a bill on granting self-government to Ireland, which was twice rejected by the House of Lords. In 1916 he was replaced by Lloyd George, after which Asquith became a Lord and ceased to play a political role.

26. On April 23, 1916, revolutionary workers and nationalists organized in the Irish Civil Army and the Irish Volunteers (later the Irish Republican Army), captured Dublin and proclaimed an Irish Republic. Dublin held out for five days, but the expected general rising failed to break out owing to the betrayal of the national bourgeoisie, and the rising, known as 'Bloody Easter' was crushed. All leaders were executed. According to Lenin, it was the misfortune of the Irish that they rose when conditions were not yet ripe for a European proletarian revolution.

27. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* – written by Marx and Engels on the order of the Union of Communists, the first international organization of the revolutionary proletariat, founded in London in 1847. 'This little book is worth many volumes. The entire organized and militant proletariat in the civilized world has been living to this day in its spirit.' (Lenin, Works, Vol. 2, pp. 10–11)

28. *International*, or *International Workers' Association*, headed by Karl Marx, was founded in 1864. In the declaration of its principles, which became known under the name of Constitutive Manifesto, Marx developed the ideas which had already been expounded in the Communist Manifesto: the International was to be a class organization of the proletariat, fighting for the victory of socialism by wresting political power from the ruling classes.

29. A General Trade Union Congress was called in Halberstadt on March 14–18, 1892 after the repeal of the exceptional laws against the German socialists. There a general trade union committee under the presidency of Karl Legien was elected, which became the centre of the German trade union movement, as well as a focus of opportunism. The German trade unions pursued a policy of so-called neutrality and were called 'free' trade unions.

30. *Wilhelm II* (1858–1914) – the last German Emperor and Prussian King, a mediocre and narrow-minded politician, known for his pompous and megalomaniacal speeches reflecting the aggressive foreign policy of German imperialism. Compelled to abdicate and flee to Holland (November 9, 1918) after the November Revolution in Germany, Wilhelm II later expressed his solidarity with the nazis and in 1940 hailed the invasion of Holland by Hitler's armies.

31. See note 14.

32. *Anarcho-syndicalism* or *self-syndicalism* – an anarchistic current sprung up in the '80s, which considered trade unions as the only real class organizations, believed solely in the strike weapon as the natural form of class struggle, and was opposed to the political struggle of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Flourishing at the turn of the century, especially in France, Italy and Spain, this current began to decline after the Russian Revolution.

33. After the defeat of Kolchak and Denikin, the Entente staked its hopes on Pilsudski, a reactionary nationalist and the strong man of bourgeois Poland, on the one hand, and on White-Russian General Wrangel, on the other. In April 1920 the Polish forces invaded the Ukraine and captured Kiev, while Wrangel advanced from the south and threatened the Donbas. The Red Army launched a counter-offensive, liberated Kiev and advanced to the gates of Warsaw, whereupon Poland concluded a peace treaty with the Soviets (October 20, 1920).

34. *The International Labour Organization* (I. L. O.) was set up at the League of Nations in 1919. Its functions included the international codification of social legislation, scientific research and information on labour conditions. Its executive organ, the International Labour Office, was subordinated to the administrative council. Subsidized by the League of Nations, I. L. O. was closely linked in its work with the Amsterdam International and served the interests of the capitalists.

35. *The Second Profintern (Red Trade Unions) Congress* was held in Moscow from November 19 to December 22, 1922, under the slogan of a united workers' front. The period between the first and second congresses was characterized by the world-wide offensive of capitalism. The 8-hour working day was repealed in many countries and wages were reduced almost everywhere. As early as 1921 the Profintern approached the Amsterdam International on three occasions with proposals for joint action against the offensive of capitalism and against reaction in Spain and Yugoslavia, but received no reply.

In its resolution the Second Congress indicated the necessity of setting up a united front. It also examined organizational problems, with G. Dimitrov taking part in the discussions.

36. *A Workers' Government* was set up in Saxony on October 11, 1923, following the mass revolutionary movement which spread throughout Germany as a reaction to the Ruhr occupation by French and Belgian forces. It included five Social Democrats and two Communists; the latter, pursuing a weak-kneed policy of compromises, together with the left-wing Social Democrats, impeded the arming of the proletariat and put a brake on revolutionary developments in Germany. On October 30, 1923, German army units overthrew the Workers' government.

37. On the eve of June 9, 1923, a fascist *coup d'état*, headed by the National Union *(Naroden Sgovor)* and the Military League, and supported by the Army and Macedonian armed detachments, was carried out in Bulgaria. In many provincial districts the masses, headed by local com-

munist and Agrarian leaders, spontaneously put up an armed struggle against it, but, deprived of a unified command, lost out. The main reason for the success of the coup was the existing dissension between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Communist Party, with the latter officially adopting a neutral position in what it erroneously defined as a clash between two bourgeois camps.

38. *The Law on Land Ownership* was passed by the 19th National Assembly on April 25, 1921. According to its stipulations, landless peasants were granted land on a 20-year payment basis from a fund constituted by purchasing the lands of the big landowners in excess of 30 hectares.

39. *Lyapchev, Andrei* (1866–1933) – bourgeois politician, a leader of the Democratic Party, after World War I one of the leaders of the Constitutional Bloc and, after the *coup d'état* of 1923, a leader of the Democratic Union, (the former expanded National Union).

40. *Narod* (People) – a daily organ of the Social Democratic Party, published from November 15, 1911 to June 30, 1934, purveyor of chauvinism and anti-Soviet slander.

41. *Epoha* (Epoch) – Social Democratic daily, edited by Grigor Cheshmedjiev, published in Sofia from 1923 to 1925.

42. *Genadiev, Nikola* (1866–1923) – bourgeois politician and journalist; Minister of Justice, then Minister of Trade and Agriculture in the Liberal governments (1903–08); Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Radoslavov Government (1913–15).

43. *Daskalov, Raiko* (1886–1923) – a leader of the Agrarian Union and Minister of the Stamboliiski Government, murdered in 1923 by fascist mercenaries after the 1923 *coup d'état*.

44. *Koubrat Military League* – fascist organization set up in 1922; its constitution was patterned after that of the Italian Fascist Party.

45. *Adler, Friedrich* – one of the leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and of the 2nd International.

46. *Tseretelli, I. G.* – Russian Social Democrat, Menshevik, one of the foremost enemies of the Soviet Union.

47. *Osvobozhdenié (Liberation) Workers' Co-operative Society* was founded in 1919. Its construction department did all the construction work for the Party and the trade unions; its department for the import and export of consumer goods developed a varied activity, including the collection, storing, transport and export of grain, gathered by the working people, to succour the famine-stricken Volga region in the USSR in 1921; its publishing department and printing house financed and published all Party newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books.

48. After June 9, 1923, the Communist Party was not immediately banned, although actually it was driven underground. In February 1924 the Constituent Congress decided to set up the Labour Party as a legal manifestation of the Communist Party with its own organ, the *Labour Banner*.

49. Referring to the Vitosha Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held on May 17 and 18, 1924.

50. The Fifth Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from June 17 to July 8, 1924.

51. Referring to the establishment of a new national government in Canton (July 1925) which headed the national-liberation movement in China. This movement assumed an anti-imperialistic and more particularly anti-British character and marked the beginning of the 1926–27 revolutionary struggle against imperialist oppression and for national independence.

52. Referring to the uprising of the Riff tribes under Abd-el Krim in Northern Morocco against Spanish rule, which broke out in the spring of 1921 and was crushed by the combined military forces of Spain and France.

53. *Ebert, Friedrich* (1871–1925) – leader of the German Social Democratic Party, elected first President of the German Republic at the Weimar Constituent Assembly in February 1919.

54. *Hindenburg, Paul von* (1847–1934) – German Feldmarschall, typical representative of the Prussian military cast, elected German President (1925–1934) after Ebert's death, and facilitated Hitler's advent to power.

55. *Kenner, Dr. Karl* – a leader of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Republic after the 1918 revolution.

56. *Seipel, Ignaz* (1876–1932) – Austrian politician, leader of the Christian Social Party in the Constituent Assembly.

57. Referring to the 50-day transport workers' strike from December 27, 1919 to February 19, 1920 which, although supported by a one-week general strike proclaimed by the BCP on December 29, 1919, ended in failure.

Georgi Dimitrov took an immediate part in heading this historic strike.

58. Referring to the Reichstag vote of the German Social-Democratic Parliamentary faction in favour of military credits.

59. Referring to the Spartakus Revolt in Berlin in early 1919, headed by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, which was ruthlessly crushed by the Social Democratic Government, headed by Noske, Scheidemann and others, as well as to the alliance of the Austrian Social Democratic leaders with the bourgeoisie in 1919, leaving the state apparatus in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners and preserving the reactionary laws of the monarchy.

Both in Germany and in Austria, the Social Democrats turned the workers' councils *(soviets)* which were then formed into tools of the counter-revolution.

60. Referring to the strikes in September 1920, when the workers occupied the factories and plants in Milan, Genoa and Turin. The reformist leadership of the General Confederation of Labour hastened to conclude a compromise with the left wing of the Liberal Party, compelling the workers to evacuate the occupied factories and plants.

61. The 'independent Social Democrats' on April 13, 1919 proclaimed a *Bavarian Soviet Republic*, but did nothing to defend the

people's interests, and on May 1, 1919 it was overthrown by the counter-revolutionary forces of Hoffmann and Noske.

62. The Social Democrats in Hungary also played a double-faced role during the short existence of the Soviet Republic proclaimed on March 22, 1919. After merging with the Communist Party, they undermined the alliance between workers and peasants, thus allowing the extreme reactionary and fascist Horthy to assume power.

63. Yugoslavia was swept by peasant revolts and proletariat mass action throughout 1920. The general strike of the transport workers (April 16 to 19), was followed by that of the miners in Slovenia (July 17) and later (December 21) in Bosnia as well. In 1921 the Government issued a law on the mobilization of railwaymen and miners and another one on the defence of the state known as *Obznana*, banning the Communist Party, the youth communist organization and the trade unions.

64. *International Anti-imperialist League* — founded in 1925 by progressive West-European intellectuals headed by Barbusse, Romain Rolland and others in defence of the victims of terror in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the Balkans. On its initiative, Barbusse toured those countries and wrote his well-known book *The Hangmen*, and in 1929 an international conference against fascism, presided over by Barbusse, was called in Berlin.

65. A fire broke out in the German Reichstag building on February 27, 1933. Late at night, the official German radio announced that the incendiary, the 'Dutch communist' van der Lubbe, had been arrested in the Reichstag building with a Communist Party membership card in his pocket.

On the next day a communiqué inspired by the Prime-Minister of Prussia, Goering, was published, stating that the Reichstag fire was started by the German Communist Party as a signal for an armed uprising. It was immediately followed by an extraordinary decree on crushing 'communist acts of terror'; a number of articles of the Weimar Constitution were repealed and the Communist and Social Democratic newspapers were banned. By virtue of Goering's order, the police arrested many militants of the German Communist Party. The Nazis exploited the Reichstag fire to launch a crusade against the Communist Party, the workers' movement and democracy in Germany. On March 9, 1933, Georgi Dimitrov was arrested in Berlin with two other Bulgarians. When Torgler, chairman of the communist parliamentary faction, without the Party's permission, appeared at the police 'to rehabilitate himself', he too was arrested. The depositions of a restaurant waiter, the Nazi party member Hellmer, served as a pretext for Georgi Dimitrov's arrest. Hellmer claimed that he had seen Georgi Dimitrov and van der Lubbe together.

The inquiry was held by the Commissar of the Berlin Polizeipresidium. Georgi Dimitrov, kept arrested at the Polizeipresidium prison, refused to sign the records of the inquiry, protesting against the accusation of being an accomplice of van der Lubbe and stating that he had no confidence in the German police and in any police for that matter and that anything he might have to say would be written down by him.

On March 20, 1933 this document (shown here) was written and delivered to the police authorities. It is the only one written in Bulgarian; all the other documents were written by Georgi Dimitrov in German.

66. After several months of preparations, on September 21 the session of the 4th Penal Department of the Imperial Court in Leipzig was opened. The court sittings were attended by 82 foreign correspondents and 42 German newsmen; correspondents of communist, social democratic and even of leftist bourgeois papers were barred from the court sessions. At first Soviet press representatives were also excluded, but after the Soviet Government took retaliatory measures, they were allowed to attend the second part of the trial.

The Nazi authorities, which had intended to exploit the trial as an attack on communism and the workers' movement with themselves posing as the saviours of the bourgeois system from the 'Bolshevik incendiaries', at first broadcast the court sittings over the radio. But after September 23, when Georgi Dimitrov made his statements and asked pertinent questions, the broadcasts were discontinued.

At the opening of the court session, violating the generally accepted practice, Court President Bünger pronounced an introductory speech, in which he attempted to refute the allegations of the international inquiry commission and of the foreign press to the effect that the Nazi authorities had trumped up false charges and were staging a bogus trial. Torgler's Nazi lawyer, Sack, then made a long statement, attacking the Brown Book. From the very start the Nazis were driven into the defensive by the broad anti-fascist campaign which had been launched abroad against the flagrant Reichstag fire provocation. An international inquiry commission had been set up and the so-called Brown Book, containing many documents exposing Nazism and its provocation in connexion with the burning of the Reichstag, had been published.

Periodicals in many countries were also devoting much space to this question. The court started the trial by summoning four witnesses, whose task it was to disprove some of the assertions of the Brown Book.

The Nazi authorities triumphantly proclaimed the failure of the anti-fascist campaign which was carried on abroad, but September 23 marked a sharp turn in the course of the trial. On that day Georgi Dimitrov started making his depositions, assuming the offensive from the very first start by attacking the court, the Nazi authorities and the whole Nazi regime.

The *Pravda* then wrote about the trial:

'Thus two days elapsed but on the third the trial suffered a reverberating fiasco. There are no more beaten paths. Gone is the cast of *dramatis personae*, with its oddly written parts studied by heart in advance. The Court President Bünger and the Bulgarian communist Dimitrov appeared before the whole world, each representing his own class, his own outlook, his own party, his own moral code... Dimitrov's moral courage produced a tremendous impression not only on the millions of proletarian masses in all countries where his voice can be

heard, but also in Germany itself where the press and the hangmen are powerless to stifle this voice. This moral courage rests on the political force and purposeful behaviour of a proletariat revolutionary.

'Six months of torture have failed to crush the revolutionary and communist, have left no visible trace on his disposition ...

'... Comrade Georgi Dimitrov has a big audience in front of him, and the international proletariat follows his every word with bated breath. Like every fighting communist caught by the enemy, Dimitrov does not think about his own self, his life and his safety. He continues to perform his Party task, for he knows that not only with his speech but also with his entire conduct he will serve as an example in the revolutionary struggle to millions of proletarians. Dimitrov does not even bother to clear himself of the charge of having set the Reichstag on fire. He accuses the Nazi authorities...'

Even the German press had to admit the tremendous impact produced upon world public opinion by Georgi Dimitrov's conduct.

67. The court trial was taken down in shorthand and recorded on gramophone discs. The shorthand minutes comprise several thousand typewritten pages.

The shorthand records of the sittings were placed at the disposal of the members of the court, the public prosecutor and the lawyers. The defendants did not get any copies of these records. After a stubborn struggle, Georgi Dimitrov managed to obtain the shorthand records of a few sittings. He took excerpts from these shorthand records in his notebook.

Some sittings were taken down in shorthand by the correspondents present at court and published at the time in the international progressive press.

The shorthand records published in this volume are excerpts from the court records. Still, they give a vivid picture of the court sittings, convey the general set-up and reveal Dimitrov's fight at the trial.

68. In reply to Georgi Dimitrov's depositions made at the trial, the court resorted to various reprisals against him. On October 6, 1933, he was removed from the courtroom after revealing the illegal methods used in conducting the preliminary inquest by the police officers and the organs of investigation, impeaching them before the court of having divulged false information. On October 11, Dimitrov was again removed from the court sitting.

In this connexion, Georgi Dimitrov sent a letter protesting against the court's illegal measures, defending his rights as a political prisoner and unmasking those who were responsible for the Reichstag fire.

69. *Count Helldorf* – leader of the Berlin storm-troopers, police president of Berlin.

70. To consolidate the fascist dictatorship and prepare Germany for war a terrorist apparatus was set up, in which the storm troops (SA) played a key role up to the middle of 1934. Later its fighting battalions (SS) assumed this role. The *Gestapo* (Secret Police) and the State Security were also subordinated to the supreme command of the SS. The leading nucleus of the Nazi party also formed part of this terrorist apparatus.

71. *Schleicher, Kurt von* – German general and statesman, Minister of Defence in the von Papen Government in 1932, then shortlived Reichskanzler.

72. *NSDAP* – National Socialist German Workers' Party – the Party of Hitler.

73. *Erzberger, Mathias* (1875–1921) – German statesman, leader of the left wing of the Centre Party.

74. *Rathenau, Walter* (1867–1922) – outstanding German democratic politician, favoured a compromise with the Entente and a rapprochement with the USSR, signed the Rapallo Treaty with the Soviet Union at the Genoa Conference (1922), murdered by the fascists, in June, 1922.

75. *Schopenhauer, Arthur* (1788–1860) – reactionary German idealist philosopher, ideologist of the Prussian *Junkers*, whose hatred of mankind is one of the sources of the predatory 'ideology' of German nazism.

76. The Nazis launched a monstrous campaign against the Communist Party. Dimitrov's proposal that Thaelmann, whom the Nazis had arrested and imprisoned, as well as other communist functionaries, be summoned, aimed at turning the court into a public tribune to refute the slanderous concoctions of the Nazis and to expound the true line of the German Communist Party. It was overruled by the court.

77. The ultra-left group of Katz-Ruth Fischer – Maslow was elected to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party at the Frankfurt Congress (1924) after the rightist opportunist group of Brandler and Talheimer had proved a failure. Late in 1925 Ruth Fischer, Maslow, and their adherents were removed from their posts for anti-party activity, and in 1926 they were expelled from the Party as agents of the class enemy. Ernst Thaelmann then assumed the leadership of the Party.

78. Georgi Dimitrov's heroic struggle at the trial and the powerful campaign of anti-fascist solidarity which was developed abroad, exposed the nazi incendiaries of the Reichstag and saved the life of the innocent defendants.

On December 23 the Leipzig court acquitted the three Bulgarians and Torgler for 'lack of evidence.' The nazi tool, van der Lubbe, was sentenced to death.

The nazis trying to save face, formulated the sentence in a such manner as to lay the blame for the Reichstag fire on the German Communist Party, insinuating that the culprits should be sought within its ranks.

Georgi Dimitrov dealt a telling blow at this manoeuvre. After the announcement of the sentence and the Court President's speech, he asked for the floor. Upset by this new speech, which threatened to further expose nazism, the panic-stricken President gathered his papers and, without uttering a word, hastened out of the courtroom.

79. Georgi Dimitrov's re-imprisonment after his acquittal aroused a storm of indignation among world public opinion. His intrepid struggle at the court had given great impetus to the campaign which had been

launched on the eve of the trial. Letters from all parts of the world, by various organizations and individuals, were sent to the German government, demanding the release of the anti-fascist fighter, whom even the supreme court of nazi Germany had been compelled to acquit.

Georgi Dimitrov, too, insisted on his immediate release. Since he was still a Bulgarian citizen he probed the possibility of being sent to Bulgaria or some other country. The Bulgarian government, however, unwilling to help extricate him from the clutches of German fascism, hastened to state that it did not consider Georgi Dimitrov a Bulgarian citizen.

On February 15, 1934, the Soviet government decided to grant Georgi Dimitrov Soviet citizenship and asked the German authorities for his release. This settled the issue. Legalistically the nazis, still cowed by the Leipzig boomerang, were cornered and had to accede to this demand.

On February 27, the prison authorities asked Georgi Dimitrov to pack his belongings, and then he was hurried off to the airport, where he was informed that he was being sent to the USSR. Everything was done in great secrecy and haste, lest the masses should hear about Georgi Dimitrov's release and departure and turn the latter into an impressive anti-fascist demonstration.

On February 27, Georgi Dimitrov left Berlin by special plane and landed the same evening in Moscow, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by representatives of the Communist International and by delegations of workers who had heard about his arrival.

Georgi Dimitrov's release from fascist captivity was a triumph of proletarian international solidarity and a clear demonstration of the force of the working class and the masses, who opposed fascism in a united front.

Georgi Dimitrov immediately resumed his struggle against fascism. 'I am a soldier of the proletarian revolution, a soldier of the Comintern... I am resolved to do my duty here to the last minute of my life,' he declared in his interview with press representatives on the evening of his arrival in Moscow. The next day Georgi Dimitrov spoke before the Association of Old Bolsheviks. Three days later, a speech of his was published in *Pravda*. He then made several statements and had talks on the Reichstag Fire Trial.

80. *Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstantinovna* (1869–1939) – an old member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and an eminent educator in the USSR, doctor of pedagogical sciences. From 1891 to 1896 she worked at a Sunday school and evening courses for workers, while also conducting social-democratic propaganda and participating in the organization of the Petersburg Union for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At that time she met Lenin and later became his wife. During the Petersburg strikes (1896) she was arrested and, after spending six months in prison, was exiled to Shushenskoé, Minusinsk district, where Lenin was also in exile. In 1901, she went abroad, where she worked as secretary of the old *Iskra*, and after the Third Congress of the Party as secretary of the central organ and the foreign section of the Cen-

tral Committee. In 1905 she returned to Petersburg and worked as secretary of the Central Committee, but in 1908 she was forced to leave the country again, returning together with Lenin in 1917.

After the October Revolution she became one of the leading workers of the People's commissariat of Education of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic, took part in the re-organization of Soviet schools, and worked in the field of extra-curricular education and political education. From 1934 on she was head of the library department of the People's Commissariat of Education. She was a member of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Supreme Central Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic. Besides her *Recollections of Lenin* she has written a number of articles and pamphlets on problems of education.

81. Reffering to the proclamation of a fascist 'authoritarian form of government' in Austria on April 1, 1933, when the freedom of the press and of meetings was suppressed, parliament was dissolved, and the Social Democratic para-military organization *Schutzbund* was disbanded. The Communist Party was outlawed on May 26.

In 1933–34 Austria became the arena of a violent struggle for power between the followers of Italian fascism and the Austrian nazis. The Dollfuss' Government suppressed the National-Socialist Party and set out to crush the workers' movement. On February 12, 1934, fascist bands of the Heimwehr started occupying the 'workers' homes (the centres of Social Democratic organizations). Bloody battles were waged in Vienna, Linz and elsewhere for three days. The underground Communist Party called on the workers to start a general strike and an armed offensive. But the leaders of the Social Democratic Party refused to back the masses' mobilization for struggle and sabotaged the general strike.

82. *Bauer, Otto* (1882–1938) – a leader of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and of the Second International, a founder of the 2 1/2 International and Minister of Foreign Affairs after World War I.

83. See note 60.

84. Referring to the Berlin events of January 1919, when 150,000 workers came out into the streets to demonstrate against the Scheidemann Government. The general strike affected all the city's enterprises. But the 'Independent' Social Democrats sought a compromise with the Government, thereby enabling Noske, Minister of War, to organize counter-revolutionary 'volunteer' detachments and to route the army of the proletariat. Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other leaders were killed in those days.

85. See note 45.

86. On July 15, 1927, the working people of Vienna organized a big demonstration in protest against the provocative acquittal of the fascists who had fired on a workers' demonstration in the provinces and killed several workers. The police opened fire against the demonstrators, the workers stormed the police stations and the Ministry of Justice. Some 140 workers were killed and more than 1,500 were wounded in the street fighting. The Social Democratic leaders refused to satisfy the workers' demand to be armed and thus checked their struggle. The Com-

munist Party was too weak to exercise a decisive influence on the course of events.

87. *Radoslavov, Vassil* (1854–1929) – bourgeois politician of the Liberal Party, Prime Minister (1913–1918) when he involved Bulgaria in World War I on the side of German imperialism, and fled to Germany during the Soldiers' Insurrection of September 1918, fearing the wrath of the people.

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THE FASCIST OFFENSIVE AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM*

Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International delivered on August 2, 1935

FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, as early as the Sixth Congress, the Communist International warned the world proletariat that a new fascist offensive was under way and called for a struggle against it. The Congress pointed out that 'in a more or less developed form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere.'

With the development of the very deep economic crisis with the general crisis of capitalism becoming sharply accentuated and the mass of working people becoming revolutionized, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie more and more seeks salvation in fascism, with the object of taking exceptional predatory measures against the working people, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

The imperialist circles are trying to shift the *whole* burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

* Slightly abridged

They are striving to *forestall* the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union – the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses had decisively turned towards revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat, and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But it is characteristic of the victory of fascism that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive policy of Social-Democracy, by its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF FASCISM

Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International *as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German type* of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though it has nothing in common with socialism. German fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is fiendish chauvinism. It is a government system of political gangsterism, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations.

German fascism is acting *as the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief instigator of imperialist war, as the*

initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

Fascism is not a form of state power 'standing above both classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,' as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not 'the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state,' as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor a power of the petty bourgeoisie or the *lumpen-proletariat* over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed because in a number of countries, under cover of social demagogy, fascism has managed to gain the following of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie that has been dislocated by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism had they grasped its real character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume *different forms* in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic Parties, to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes *particularly* acute, from trying to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, trying *to combine* open

terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie – bourgeois democracy – by another form – open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to *underrate* the importance, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries* – measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself – a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries. All this, however, does not make less important the fact that, before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the gowth of fascism at these preparatory stages *is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*

The Social-Democratic leaders glossed over and con-

cealed from the masses the true class nature of fascism, and did not call them to the struggle against the increasingly reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie. They bear great *historical responsibility* for the fact that, at the decisive moment of the fascist offensive, a large section of the working people of Germany and of a number of other fascist countries failed to recognize in fascism bloodthirsty, rapacious finance capital, their most vicious enemy, and that these masses were not prepared to resist it.

What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as 'Socialists,' and depict their accession to power as a 'revolution'? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution and the urge towards socialism that lives in the hearts of the mass of working people in Germany.

Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of a wronged nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments, as German fascism did, for instance, when it won the support of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie by the slogan 'Down with the Versailles Treaty.'

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it approaches them with the most artful anticapitalist demagogy, taking advantage of the deep hatred of the working people against the predatory bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and financial magnates, and advancing those slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany – 'The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual,' in Italy – 'Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state,' in Japan – 'For Japan without exploitation,' in the United States – 'Share the wealth,' and so forth.

Fascism places the people at the mercy of the most corrupt and venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for 'an honest and incorruptible government.' Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption (for instance, the Barmat and Sklarek affairs in Germany, the Stavisky affair in France, and numerous others).

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the *vehemence of its attacks* on the bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude to the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagogy to the national *peculiarities* of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagogy of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a party of attack on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the mass of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a 'revolutionary' movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of 'the whole nation' and for the 'salvation' of the nation. One recalls Mussolini's 'march' on Rome, Pilsudski's 'march' on Warsaw, Hitler's National-Socialist 'revolution' in Germany, and so forth.

But whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways by which it comes to power –

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people.

WHAT DOES FASCIST VICTORY BRING TO THE MASSES?

Fascism promised the workers 'a fair wage,' but actually it has brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but actually it has brought them even more painful forments of starvation and forced servile labour. In practice it converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights; destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working-class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalist reigns.

Fascism promised the working youth a broad highway to a brilliant future. But actually it has brought wholesale dismissals of young workers, labour camps and incessant military drilling for a predatory war.

Fascism promised to guarantee *office workers, petty officials* and *intellectuals* security of existence, to destroy the omnipotence of the trusts and wipe out profiteering by bank capital. But actually it has brought them an ever greater degree of despair and uncertainty as to the morrow; it is subjecting them to a new bureaucracy made up of the most submissive of its followers, it is setting up an intolerable dictatorship of the trusts and spreading corruption and degeneration to an unprecedented extent.

Fascism promised the ruined and impoverished *peasants* to put an end to debt bondage, to abolish rent and even to expropriate the landed estates without compensation, in the interests of the landless and ruined peasants. But actually it is placing the labouring peasants in a state of unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus,and pushes to the utmost limit the exploitation of the great mass of the peasantry by the big landowners, the banks and the usurers.

'Germany will be a peasant country, or will not be at all,' Hitler solemnly declared. And what did the peasants of Germany get under Hitler? The moratorium[1], which has already been cancelled? Or the law on the inheritance of

peasant property, which leads to millions of sons and daughters of peasants being squeezed out of the villages and reduced to paupers? Farm labourers have been transformed into semi-serfs, deprived even of the elementary right of free movement. The working peasants have been deprived of the opportunity of selling the produce of their farms in the market.

And in Poland?

> The Polish peasant, says the Polish newspaper *Czas*, employs methods and means which were used perhaps only in the Middle Ages; he nurses the fire in his stove and lends it to his neighbour; he splits matches into several parts; he lends dirty soapwater to others; he boils herring barrels in order to obtain salt water. This is not a fable, but the actual state of affairs in the countryside, of the truth of which anybody may convince himself.

And it is not Communists who write this, Comrades, but a Polish reactionary newspaper.

But this is by no means all.

Every day, in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the cellars of the Gestapo (German secret police), in the torture chambers of Poland, in the cells of the Bulgarian and Finnish secret police, in the *Glavnyacha* in Belgrade, in the Romanian *Siguranza* and on the Italian islands, the best sons of the working class, revolutionary peasants, fighters for the splendid future of mankind, are being subjected to revolting tortures and indignities, before which pale the most abominable acts of the tsarist *Okhranka*[2]. The blackguardly German fascists beat husbands to a bloody pulp in the presence of their wives, and send the ashes of murdered sons by parcel post to their mothers. Sterilization has been made a method of political warfare. In the torture chambers, imprisoned anti-fascists are given injections of poison, their arms are broken, their eyes gouged out; they are strung up and have water pumped into them; the fascist *swastika* is carved in their living flesh.

I have before me a statistical summary drawn up by the International Red Aid regarding the number of killed, wounded, arrested, maimed and tortured to death in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In

Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals – Communists, Social Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations – have been murdered, 317, 800 arrested, 218,600 injured and subjected to torture. In Austria, since the battles of February last year the 'Christian' fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and injured 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, Comrades, is far from complete.

Words fail me in describing the indignation which seizes us at the thought of the torment which the working people are now undergoing in a number of fascist countries. The facts and figures we quote do not reflect *one hundredth part of the true picture* of the exploitation and tortures inflicted by the White terror and forming part of the daily life of the working class in many capitalist countries. Volumes cannot give a just picture of the countless brutalities inflicted by fascism on the working people.

With feelings of profound emotion and hatred for the fascist butchers, we dip the banners of the Communist International before the unforgettable memory of Jonn Scheer, Fiete Schulze and Luetgens in Germany, Koloman Wallisch and Muenichreiter in Austria, Sallai and Fuerst in Hungary, Kofardjiev, Lyutibrodski and Voykov in Bulgaria – before the memory of thousands and thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and non-party workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who have laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

From this platform we greet the leader of the German proletariat and the honorary chairman of our Congress – Comrade Thaelmann. We greet Comrades Rakosi, Gramsci, Antikainen. We greet Tom Mooney, who has been languishing in prison for eighteen years, and the thousands of other prisoners of capitalism and fascism, and we say to them: 'Brothers in the fight, brothers in arms, you are not forgotten. We are with you. We shall give every hour of our lives, every drop of our blood, for your liberation, and for

the liberation of all working people from the shameful regime of fascism.'

Comrades, it was Lenin who warned us that the bourgeoisie may succeed in overwhelming the working people by savage terror, in checking the growing forces of revolution for brief periods of time, but that, nevertheless, this would not save it from its doom.

> Life will assert itself, Lenin wrote. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them; therefore we can and must combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.*

Ay, if we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything.

IS THE VICTORY OF FASCISM INEVITABLE?

Why was it that fascism could triumph, and how?

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and working people, who constitute nine-tenths of the German people, nine-tenths of the Austrian people, nine-tenths of the people in other fascist countries. How, in what way, could this vicious enemy triumph?

Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, apart from and in opposition to the Social-Democrats, *were not strong enough* to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism.

* V.I. Lenin. *Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 81 (Russian edition); 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder (English edition).*

And, indeed, let the millions of Social-Democratic workers, who together with their Communist brothers are now experiencing the horrors of fascist barbarism, seriously reflect on the following: If, in 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany and Austria, the Austrian and German proletariat had not followed the Social Democratic leadership of Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Karl Renner in Austria and Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, but had followed the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, the road of Lenin, there would now be no fascism in Austria or Germany, in Italy or Hungary, in Poland or in the Balkans. Not the bourgeoisie, but the working class would long ago have been the master of the situation in Europe.

Take, for example, the *Austrian* Social Democratic Party. The revolution of 1918 raised it to a tremendous height. It held the power in its hands, it held strong positions in the army and in the state apparatus. Relying on these positions, it could have nipped fascism in the bud. But it surrendered one position of the working class after another without resistance. It allowed the bourgeoisie to strengthen its power, annul the constitution, purge the state apparatus, army and police force of Social Democratic functionaries, and take the arsenals away from the workers. It allowed the fascist bandits to murder Social Democratic workers with impunity and accepted the terms of the Hüttenberg Pact[3], which gave the fascist elements entry to the factories. At the same time the Social Democratic leaders fooled the workers with the Linz programme[4], which contained the alternative possibility of using armed force against the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, assuring them that in the event of the ruling class using force against the working class, the Party would reply by a call for general strike and for armed struggle. As though the whole policy of preparation for a fascist attack on the working class were not one chain of acts of violence against the working class masked by constitutional forms. Even on the eve and in the course of the February battles the Austrian Social Democratic leaders left the heroically fighting Schutzbund[5] isolated

from the broad masses, and doomed the Austrian proletariat to defeat.

Was the victory of fascism inevitable in *Germany?* No, the German working class could have prevented it.

But in order to do so, it should have achieved a united anti-fascist proletarian front, and forced the Social Democratic leaders to discontinue their campaign against the Communists and to accept the repeated proposals of the Communist Party for united action against fascism.

When fascism was on the offensive and the bourgeois-democratic liberties were being progressively abolished by the bourgeoisie, it should not have contented itself with the verbal resolutions of the Social Democrats, but should have replied by a genuine mass struggle, which would have made the fulfilment of the fascist plans of the German bourgeoisie more difficult.

It should not have allowed the prohibition of the League of Red Front Fighters by the government of Braun and Severing[6], and should have established fighting contact between the League and the Reichsbanner[7], with its nearly one million members, and should have compelled Braun and Severing to arm both these organizations in order to resist and smash the fascist bands.

It should have compelled the Social Democratic leaders who headed the Prussian government to adopt measures of defence against fascism, arrest the fascist leaders, close down their press, confiscate their material resources and the resources of the capitalists who were financing the fascist movement, dissolve the fascist organizations, deprive them of their weapons, and so forth.

Furthermore, it should have secured the re-establishment and extension of all forms of social assistance and the introduction of a moratorium and crisis benefits for the peasants – who were being ruined under the impact of crisis – by taxing the banks and the trusts, in this way winning the support of the working peasants. It was the fault of the Social Democrats of Germany that this was not done, and that is why fascism *was able* to triumph.

Was it inevitable that the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy should have triumphed in Spain, a country

where the forces of proletarian revolt are so advantageously combined with a peasant war?

The Spanish Socialists were in the government from the first days of the revolution. Did they establish fighting contact between the working class organizations of every political opinion, including the Communists and the Anarchists, and did they weld the working class into a united trade union organization? Did they demand the confiscation of all lands of the landlords, the church and the monasteries in favour of the peasants in order to win over the latter to the side of the revolution? Did they attempt to fight for national self-determination for the Catalonians and the Basques, and for the liberation of Morocco? Did they purge the army of monarchist and fascist elements and prepare it for passing over to the side of the workers and peasants? Did they dissolve the Civil Guard, so detested by the people, the executioner of every movement of the people? Did they strike at the fascist party of Gil Robles and at the might of the Catholic church? No, they did none of these things. They rejected the frequent proposals of the Communists for united action against the offensive of the bourgeois-landlord reaction and fascism; they passed election laws which enabled the reactionaries to gain a majority in the Cortes (parliament), laws which penalized the popular movement, laws under which the heroic miners of Asturias are now being tried. They had peasants who were fighting for land shot by the Civil Guard, and so on.

This is the way in which the Social Democrats, by disorganizing and splitting the ranks of the working class, cleared the path to power for fascism in Germany, Austria and Spain.

Comrades, fascism *also attained power* for the reason that the proletariat found itself isolated from its natural allies. Fascism attained power because it was able to win over *large masses of the peasantry*, owing to the fact that the Social Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued what was in fact an anti-peasant policy. The peasant saw in power a number of Social Democratic governments, which in his eyes were an embodiment of the power of the

working class: but not one of them put an end to peasant want, none of them gave land to the peasantry. In Germany, the Social Democrats did not touch the landlords; they combated the strikes of the farm labourers, with the result that long before Hitler came to power the farm labourers of Germany were deserting the reformist trade unions and in the majority of cases were going over to the Stahlhelm and to the National Socialists.

Fascism also attained power for the reason that it was able to penetrate into the ranks of the *youth*, whereas the Social Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the youth and did not pay enough attention to the struggle for its specific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need of the youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the youth into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men and women has not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the full weight of the economic crisis, unemployment and the disintegration of bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large sections of the youth proved to be particularly receptive to fascist demagogy, which depicted for them an alluring future should fascism succeed.

In this connection, we cannot avoid referring also to a number of *mistakes made by the Communist Parties*, mistakes that hampered our struggle against fascism.

In our ranks there was an impermissible underestimation of the fascist danger, a tendency which to this day has not everywhere been overcome. A case in point is the opinion formerly to be met with in our Parties that 'Germany is not Italy,' meaning that fascism may have succeeded in Italy, but that its success in Germany was out of the question, because the latter is an industrially and culturally highly developed country, with forty years of traditions of the working-class movement, in which fascism was impossible. Or the kind of opinion which is to be met with nowadays, to the effect that in countries of 'classical' bourgeois democracy the soil for fascism does not exist.

Such opinions have served and may serve to relax vigilance towards the fascist danger, and to render the mobilization of the proletariat in the struggle against fascism more difficult.

One might also cite quite a few instances where Communists were taken unawares by the fascist coup. Remember Bulgaria, where the leadership of our Party, took up a 'neutral,' but in fact opportunist, position with regard to the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923; Poland, where in May 1926 the leadership of the Communist Party, making a wrong estimate of the motive forces of the Polish revolution, did not realize the fascist nature of Pilsudski's *coup*, and trailed in the rear of events; Finland, where our Party based itself on a false conception of slow and gradual fascization and overlooked the fascist coup which was being prepared by the leading group of the bourgeoisie and which took the Party and the working class unawares.

When National Socialism had already become a menacing mass movement in Germany, there were comrades who regarded the Bruening government as already a government of fascist dictatorship, and who boastfully declared: 'If Hitler's Third Reich ever comes about, it will be six feet underground, and above it will be the victorious power of the workers.'

Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to fully reckon with the wounded national sentiments and the indignation of the masses against the Versailles Treaty; they treated as of little account the waverings of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie; they were late in drawing up their programme of social and national emancipation, and when they did put it forward they were unable to adapt it to the concrete demands and to the level of the masses. They were even unable to popularize it widely among the masses.

In a number of countries, the necessary development of a mass fight against fascism was replaced by *barren debates* on the nature of fascism 'in general' and by a narrow sectarian attitude in formulating and solving the immediate political tasks of the Party.

Comrades, it is not simply because we want to dig up

the past that we speak of the causes of the victory of fascism, that we point to the historical responsibility of the Social Democrats for the defeat of the working class, and that we also point out our own mistakes in the fight against fascism. We are not historians divorced from living reality; we, active fighters of the working class, are obliged to answer the question that is tormenting millions of workers: *Can the victory of fascism be prevented, and how?* And we reply to these millions of workers: Yes, Comrades, the road to fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves – on the workers, the peasants and all working people.

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *first and foremost* on the militant activity of the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combating the offensive of capitalism and fascism. By establishing its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section of them and win over the other section.

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions is doomed to lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on a correct policy of the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and waverings. It is only by a patient attitude towards their inevitable waverings, it is only by the political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on the vigilance and timely action of the revolutionary proletariat. The latter must not allow fascism to take it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, but must inflict decisive blows on it

before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it rears its head, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions. This is what the French proletariat is so successfully trying to do.

These are the main conditions for preventing the growth of fascism and its accession to power.

FASCISM – A FEROCIOUS BUT UNSTABLE POWER

The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious power, but an unstable one.

What are the chief causes of the instability of fascist dictatorship?

Fascism undertakes to overcome the differences and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, but it makes these antagonisms even more acute.

Fascism tries to establish its political monopoly by violently destroying other political parties. But the existence of the capitalist system, the existence of various classes and the accentuation of class contradictions inevitably tend to undermine and explode the political monopoly of fascism. This is not the case of a Soviet country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is also realized by a party with a political monopoly, but where this political monopoly accords with the interests of millions of working people and is increasingly being based on the construction of a classless society. In a fascist country the party of the fascists cannot set itself the aim of abolishing classes and class contradictions. It puts an end to the legal existence of bourgeois parties. But a number of them continue to maintain an illegal existence, while the Communist Party even in conditions of illegality continues to make progress, becomes steeled and tempered and leads the struggle of the proletariat against the fascist dictatorship. Hence, under the blows of class contradictions, the political monopoly of fascism is bound to explode

Another reason for the instability of the fascist dictatorship is that the contrast between the anti-capitalist

demagogy of fascism and its policy of enriching the monopolist bourgeoisie in the most piratical fashion makes it easier to expose the class nature of fascism and tends to shake and narrow its mass basis.

Furthermore, the victory of fascism arouses the deep hatred and indignation of the masses, helps to revolutionize them, and provides a powerful stimulus for a united front of the proletariat against fascism.

By pursuing a policy of economic nationalism (autarchy) and by seizing the greater part of the national income for the purpose of preparing for war, fascism undermines the whole economic life of the country and accentuates the economic war between the capitalist states. To the conflicts that arise among the bourgeoisie it lends the character of sharp and at times bloody collisions that undermine the stability of the fascist state power in the eyes of the people. A government which murders its own followers, as happened in Germany of June 30[8] of last year, a fascist government against which another section of the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting an armed fight (the National Socialist putsch in Austria and the violent attacks of individual fascist groups on the fascist government in Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and other countries) – a government of this character cannot for long maintain its authority in the eyes of the broad mass of the petty bourgeoisie.

The working class must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, but it must not cherish the illusion that fascism will exhaust itself of its own accord. Fascism will not collapse automatically. Only the revolutionary activity of the working class can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow it.

By destroying the relics of bourgeois democracy, by elevating open violence to a system of government, fascism shakes democratic illusions and undermines the authority of the law in the eyes of the working people. This is particularly true in countries such as Austria and Spain, where the workers have taken up arms against fascism. In Austria, the heroic struggle of the Schutzbund and the

Communists, in spite of its defeat, shook the stability of the fascist dictatorship from the very outset.

In Spain, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in putting the fascist muzzle on the working people. The armed struggles in Austria and Spain have resulted in ever wider masses of the working class coming to realize the necessity for a revolutionary class struggle.

Only such monstrous philistines, such lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as the superannuated theoretician of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, are capable of casting reproaches at the workers, to the effect that they should not have taken up arms in Austria and Spain. What would the working class movement in Austria and Spain look like today if the working class of these countries were guided by the treacherous counsels of the Kautskys? The working class would be experiencing profound demoralization in its ranks.

'The school of civil war,' Lenin says, 'does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum *inevitably* includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only downright pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred which is always harboured by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greatest historic exploits.'*

The triumph of fascism in Germany has, as we know, been followed by a new wave of the fascist offensive, which in Austria led to the provocation by Dollfuss, in Spain to the new onslaughts of counter-revolution on the revolutionary conquests of the masses, in Poland to the fascist reform of the constitution, while in France it spurred the armed detachments of the fascists to attempt a coup d'état in February 1934. But this victory, and the frenzy of the fascist dictatorship, called forth a counter-movement

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Vol. 15, p. 160*

for a united proletarian front against fascism on an international scale.

The burning of the Reichstag, which served as a signal for the general attack of fascism on the working class, the seizure and spoliation of the trade unions and the other working class organizations, the groans of the tortured anti-fascists rising from the vaults of the fascist barracks and concentration camps, are making clear to the masses what has been the outcome of the reactionary, disruptive role played by the German Social Democratic leaders, who rejected the proposal made by the Communists for a joint struggle against advancing fascism. These things are convincing the masses of the necessity of uniting all forces of the working class for the overthrow of fascism.

Hitler's victory also provided a decisive stimulus for the creation of a united front of the working class against fascism in France. Hitler's victory not only aroused in the workers a fear of the fate that befell the German workers, not only kindled hatred for the executioners of their German class brothers, but also strengthened in them the determination never in any circumstances to allow in their country what happened to the working class in Germany.

The powerful urge towards a united front in all the capitalist countries shows that the lessons of defeat have not been in vain. The working class is beginning to act in a *new way*. The initiative shown by the Communist Parties in the organization of a united front and the supreme self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists, by the revolutionary workers in the struggle against fascism, have resulted in an unprecedented increase in the prestige of the Communist International. At the same time, the Second International is undergoing a profound crisis, a crisis which is particularly noticeable and has particularly accentuated since the bankruptcy of German Social Democracy. With ever greater ease the Social Democratic workers are able to convince themselves that fascist Germany, with all its horrors and barbarities, is in the final analysis *the result of the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie*. These masses are coming ever more clearly to realize that the path along which the German Social

Democratic leaders led the proletariat must not be traversed again. Never has there been such ideological dissension in the camp of the Second International as at the present time. A process of differentiation is taking place in all Social Democratic Parties. Within their ranks *two principal camps* are forming: side by side with the existing camp of reactionary elements, who are trying in every way to preserve the bloc between the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie, and who rabidly reject a united front with the Communists, *there is beginning to emerge a camp of revolutionary elements who entertain doubts as to the correctness of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who are in favour of the creation of a united front with the Communists, and who are increasingly coming to adopt the position of the revolutionary class struggle.*

Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor in its *further disintegration.* Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further *development of the forces* that are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism.

II. UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Comrades, millions of workers and working people of the capitalist countries are asking the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has attained power? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-attack against fascism, against the class enemy.*

Is it not clear that joint action by the supporters of the parties and organizations of the two Internationals, the Communist and the Second International, would make it easier for the masses to repulse the fascist onslaught, and would heighten the political importance of the working class?

Joint action by the parties of both Internationals against fascism, however, would not be confined in its effects to influencing their present adherents, the Communists and Social Democrats; it would also exert a powerful impact on the ranks of the *Catholic, Anarchist and unorganized workers, even upon those who have temporarily become the victims of fascist demagogy.*

Moreover, a powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on *all other strata of the working people,* on the peasantry, on the urban petty bourgeoisie, on the intelligentsia. A united front would inspire the wavering groups with faith in the strength of the working class.

But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the working people of its own countries, but also in the *oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies.* Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the colonies and semi-colonies, a barrier is put between the working class and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the world anti-imperialist front is weakened. Every step by the proletariat of the imperialist countries on the road to unity of action in the direction of supporting the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples means transforming the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

If, finally, we bear in mind that international unity of action by the proletariat relies on the steadily growing strength of the proletarian state, the land of socialism, the

Soviet Union, we see what broad perspectives are revealed by the realization of proletarian unity of action on a national and international scale.

The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organization to which they belong, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.*

Is it possible to realize this unity of action of the proletariat in the individual countries and throughout the whole world? Yes, it is. And it is possible at this very moment. The Communist International *puts no conditions for unity of action except one, and at that an elementary condition acceptable to all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.* This is our condition.

THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS OE THE OPPONENTS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What objections can the opponents of the united front have, and what objections do they voice?

Some say: 'The Communists use the slogan of the united front merely as a manoeuvre.' But if this is the case, we reply, why don't you expose this 'Communist manoeuvre' by your honest participation in the united front? We declare frankly: We want unity of action by the working class so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may reach a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation.

'The Communists attack us,' say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: We shall not attack anyone, whether persons, organizations or parties, standing for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, organizations and parties that hinder unity of action by the workers.

'We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different programme,' says a third group. But you yourselves say that your programme differs from the programme of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties.

'The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists,' say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social Democrats form a bloc with those 'better' allies? And what were the results?

'If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the "Red danger" and will desert to the fascists,' we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, small traders, artisans, working intellectuals? No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the junkers and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata.

'Social Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists,' say some of the Social Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal now.

'Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defence; then we shall be ready for a united front.' To this we reply: We are the adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the working people, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties, which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate.

'But can the tiny Communist Parties contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labour Party,' say, for instance, the Labour leaders of Great Britain. Remember how the Austrian Social Democratic leaders said the same thing with reference to the

small Austrian Communist Party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party headed by Otto Bauer and Renner that proved right, but the small Austrian Communist Party which signalled the fascist danger in Austria at the right moment and called upon the workers to struggle. The whole experience of the labour movement has shown that the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers, are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are adherents of the Party, but are parts of the world Communist movement, are *Sections of the Communist International, whose leading Party* is the Party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth of the globe..

'But the united front did not prevent fascism from being victorious in the Saar,' is another objection advanced by the opponents of the united front. Strange is the logic of these gentlemen. First they leave no stone unturned to ensure the victory of fascism and then they rejoice with malicious glee because the united front which they entered into only at the last moment did not lead to the victory of the workers.

'If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government,' say the Social Democratic leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well. Was not the German Social Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party in office? Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were. Did the participation of the Social Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social Democratic ministers in bourgeois governments is *not* a barrier to fascism.

'The Communists act like dictators, they want to

prescribe and dictate everything to us.' No. We prescribe nothing and dictate nothing. We only put forward our proposals, being convinced that if realized they will meet the interests of the working people. This is not only the right but the duty of all those acting in the name of the workers. You are afraid of the 'dictatorship' of the Communists? Let us jointly submit to the workers all proposals, both your and ours, jointly discuss them together with all the workers, and choose those proposals which are most useful to the cause of the working class.

Thus all these arguments against a united front *will not stand the slightest criticism.* They are rather the flimsy excuses of the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy, who prefer their united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front of the proletariat.

No. These excuses will not hold water. The international proletariat has experienced the suffering caused by the split in the working class, and becomes more and more convinced that *the united front, the unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale, is at once necessary and perfectly possible.*

CONTENT AND FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defence of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class,the defence of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point* and *main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We must find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of the masses, from the level of their fighting capacity at the present stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do *today* to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different

trends for the defence of the vital interests of the labouring masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists and landlords – in a word, onto the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defence of the gains and the rights of the working people, against the abolition of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of an imperialist war, a struggle that will make the preparation of such a war more difficult.

We must tirelessly prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital,* steering towards the *organization of a mass political strike.* It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the countries concerned.

Communists, of course, cannot and must not for a moment abandon their own *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, to ensure that the workers find the road of unity of action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements that provide for *joint action with Social Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the working people* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action,* locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements. While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements – and such attempts may possibly be made – we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing

untiringly to struggle for restoration of the broken unity of action.

It goes without saying that the practical realization of a united front will take *various* forms in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labour movement, etc.

These forms may include, for instance: co-ordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; co-ordinated actions in *individual enterprises or by whole industries;* co-ordinated actions on a *local, regional, national* or *international scale;* co-ordinated actions for the organization of the *economic* struggle of the workers, for carrying out mass *political* actions, for the organization of joint *self-defence* against fascist attacks, coordinated actions in rendering *aid to political prisoners and their families,* in the field of struggle against *social reaction;* joint actions in the defence of the *interests of the youth and women,* in the field of the *co-operative movement, cultural activity, sport,* etc.

It would be insufficient to rest content with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees from the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means for obtaining joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the widest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elected (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship – selected from among the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *nonparty class bodies of the united front,* at the *factories,* among the *unemployed,* in the *working class districts,* among

the small *towns-folk* and in the *villages*. Only such bodies will be able to include also the vast masses of unorganized working people in the united front movement, and will be able to assist in developing mass initiative in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and reaction, and on this basis create the necessary *broad active rank-and-file of the united front* and train hundreds and thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries.

Joint action of the *organized* workers is the beginning, the foundation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses constitute the vast majority of workers. Thus, in *France* the number of organized workers – Communists, Socialists, trade union members of various trends – is altogether *about one million*, while the total number of workers is eleven million. In *Great Britain* there are approximately *five million* members of trade unions and parties of various trends. At the same time the total number of workers is *fourteen million*. In the *United States of America* about *five million* workers are organized, while altogether there are *thirty eight million* workers in that country. About the same ratio holds good for a number of other countries. In 'normal' times this mass in the main does not participate in political life. But now this gigantic mass is getting into motion more and more, is being brought into political life, comes out onto the political arena.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carrying out, extending and strengthening a united front among the rank-and-file of the masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against any attempt of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the growing unity of action of the working class.

THE ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT

In mobilizing the mass of working people for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a *wide anti-fascist Popular Front* on the basis of the *proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the whole struggle of the proletariat is closely bound up with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat,

on the one hand, and the labouring peasantry and basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie who together form the majority of the population even in industrially developed countries, on the other.

In its agitation fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own side, tries to set the mass of the working people in town and countryside against the revolutionary proletariat, frightening the petty bourgeoisie with the bogey of the 'Red peril'. We must *turn this weapon against those who wield it* and show the working peasants, artisans and intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must show concretely who it is that piles the burden of taxes and imposts onto the peasant and squeezes usurious interest out of him; who it is that, while owning the best land and every form of wealth, drives the peasant and his family from their plot of land and dooms them to unemployment and poverty. We must explain concretely, patiently and persistently who it is that ruins the artisans and handicraftsmen with taxes, imposts, high rents, and competition impossible for them to withstand; who it is that throws into the street and deprives of employment the wide masses of the working intelligentsia. But this is *not enough.*

The fundamental, the most decisive thing in establishing an anti-fascist Popular Front is *resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defence of the demands of these sections of the people, particularly the working peasantry – demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat – and in the process of struggle combining the demands of the working class with these demands.

In forming an anti-fascist Popular Front, a correct approach to those organizations and parties whose membership comprises a considerable number of the working peasantry and the mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie is of great importance.

In the capitalist countries the majority of these parties and organizations, political as well as economic, are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie and follow it. The

social composition of these parties and organizations is heterogeneous. They include rich peasants side by side with landless peasants, big businessmen alongside petty shopkeepers; but control is in the hands of the former, the agents of big capital. This obliges us to *approach the different organizations in different ways*, remembering that often the bulk of the membership ignores the real political character of its leadership. Under certain conditions we can and must try to draw these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist Popular Front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party, in the United States with various farmers' organizations, in Poland with the 'Stronnictwo Ludowe,[9] in Yugoslavia with the Croatian Peasants' Party, in Bulgaria with the Agrarian Union, in Greece with the Agrarians, etc. But regardless of whether or not there is any chance of attracting these parties and organizations as a whole to the Popular Front, our tactics must *under all circumstances* be directed towards drawing the small peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, etc., among their members into an anti-fascist Popular Front.

Hence, you see that in this field we must all along the line put an end to what has not infrequently occurred in our work – neglect or contempt of the various organizations and parties of the peasants, artisans and the mass of petty bourgeoisie in the towns.

KEY QUESTIONS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

In every country there are certain *key questions*, which at the present stage are agitating vast masses of the population and around which the struggle for the establishment of a united front must be developed. If these key points, of key questions, are properly grasped it will ensure and accelerate the establishment of a united front.

Let us take, for example, so important a country in the capitalist world as *the United States of America*. There millions of people have been set into motion by the crisis. The programme for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeois parties and are at present at the crossroads.

Embryo American fascism is trying to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it comes forward principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an 'un-American' trend imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy.' It does not as yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating the wide masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

And what would the victory of fascism in the United States involve? For the mass of working people it would, of course, involve the unprecedented strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this victory of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, nor Finland, nor Bulgaria, nor Latvia. The victory of fascism in the United States would vitally change the whole international situation.

Under these circumstances, can the American proletariat content itself with organizing only its calss conscious vanguard, which is prepared to follow the revolutionary path? No.

It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must find in good time ways and suitable forms to prevent fascism from winning over the wide mass of discontented working peo-

ple. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of the working people, a *Workers' and Farmers' Party*, might serve as such suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass Popular Front in America* and should be put in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither* Socialist *nor* Communist. But it *must be* an anti-fascist party and *must not be* an anti-Communist party. The programme of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people, who are gambling on the woes of the latter. Such a party will justify its name only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class; only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from debt burdens; only if it tries to secure the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for an equal status for Negroes; only if it defends the demands of the war veterans and the interests of members of the liberal professions, small businessmen and artisans. And so on.

It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local government, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative in the setting up of such a party. But they still have to take effective measures in order to make the creation of such a party the cause of the masses themselves. The question of forming a Workers' and Farmers' Party, and its programme should be discussed at mass meetings of the people. We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirious of utilizing the discontent of the millions who have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a 'third party' in the United States as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement.

In *Great Britain*, as a result of the mass action of the British workers, Mosley's fascist organization has for the time being been pushed into the background. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that the so-called 'National Government' is passing a number of reactionary measures directed against the working class, as a result of which conditions are being created in Great Britain, too, which will make it easier for the bourgeoisie, if necessary, to pass to a fascist regime.

At the present stage, fighting the fascist danger in Great Britain means primarily fighting the 'National Government' and its reactionary measures, fighting the offensive of capital, fighting for the demands of the unemployed, fighting against wage cuts and for the repeal of all those laws with the help of which the British bourgeoisie is lowering the standard of living of the masses.

But the growing hatred of the working class for the 'National Government' is uniting increasingly large number under the slogan of the formation of a *new Labour Government* in Great Britain. Can the Communists ignore this frame of mind of the masses, who still retain faith in a Labour Government? No, Comrades. We must find a way of approaching these masses. We tell them openly, as did the Thirteenth Congress of the British Communist Party, that we Communists are in favour of a Soviet government as the only form of government capable of emancipating the workers from the yoke of capital. But you want a Labour Government? Very well. We have been and are fighting hand in hand with you for the defeat of the 'National Government'. We are prepared to support your fight for the formation of a new Labour government, in spite of the fact that both the previous Labour governments failed to fulfil the promises made to the working class by the Labour Party. We do not expect this government to carry out socialist measures. But *we shall present it with the demand*, in the name of millions of workers, that it defend the most essential economic and political interests of the working class and of all working people. Let us jointly discuss a

common programme of such demands, and let us achieve that unity of action which the proletariat requires in order to repel the reactionary offensive of the 'National Government', the attack of capital and fascism and the preparations for a new war. On this basis, the British comrades are prepared at the forthcoming parliamentary elections to co-operate with branches of the Labour Party against the 'National Government', and also against Lloyd George who is trying in his own way in the interests of the British bourgeoisie to lure the masses into following him against the cause of the working class.

The position of the British Communists is a correct one. It will help them to set up a militant united front with the millions of members of the British trade unions and Labour Party. While always remaining in the front ranks of the fighting proletariat, and pointing out to the masses the only right path – the path of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a Soviet government – the Communists, in defining their immediate political aims, must not attempt to leap over those necessary stages of the mass movement in the course of which the working class by its own experience outlives its illusions and passes over to Communism.

France

France, as we know, is a country in which the working class is setting an example to the whole international proletariat of how to fight fascism. The French Communist Party is setting an example to all the Sections of the Communist International of how the tactics of the united front should be applied; the Socialist workers are setting an example of what the Social Democratic workers of other capitalist countries should now be doing in the fight against fascism.

The significance of the anti-fascist demonstration attended by half a million people in Paris on July 14 of this

year, and of the numerous demonstrations in other French cities, is tremendous.

This is not merely a United Front movement of the workers; it is the beginning of a wide general Popular Front against fascism in France. This united front movement enhances the confidence of the working class in its own forces; it strengthens its consciousness of the leading role it is playing in relation to the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia; it extends the influence of the Communist Party among the mass of the working class and therefore makes the proletariat stronger in the fight against fascism. It is arousing in good time the vigilance of the masses in regard to the fascist danger. And it will serve as a contagious example for the development of the anti-fascist struggle in other capitalist countries, and will exercise a heartening influence on the proletarians of Germany, oppressed by the fascist dictatorship.

The victory, needless to say, is a big one; but still it does not decide the issue of the anti-fascist struggle. The overwhelming majority of the French people are undoubtedly opposed to fascism. But the bourgeoisie is able by armed force to violate the popular will. The fascist movement is continuing to develop absolutely freely, with the active support of monopoly capital, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the general staff of the French army, and the reactionary leaders of the Catholic Church – that stronghold of all reaction. The most powerful fascist organization, the *Croix de Feu*, now commands 300, 000 armed men, the backbone of which consists of 60,000 officers of the reserve. It holds strong positions in the police, the gendarmerie, the army, the air force and in all government offices. The recent municipal elections have shown that in France it is not only the revolutionary forces that are growing, but also the forces of fascism. If fascism succeeds in penetrating widely among the peasantry and in securing the support of one section of the army, while the other section remains neutral, the masses of the French working people will not be able to prevent the fascists from coming to power. Comrades, do not forget the organizational weakness of the French labour movement

which facilitates a fascist offensive. The working class and all anti-fascists in France have no grounds for resting content with the results achieved so far.

What are the tasks facing the working class in France?

First, to establish a united front not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic sphere, in order to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and by its pressure to smash the resistance offered to the united front by the leaders of the reformist Confederation of Labour.

Second, to achieve trade union unity in France – united trade unions based on the class struggle.

Third, to enlist the broad mass of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie in the anti-fascist movement, devoting special attention to their urgent demands in the programme of the anti-fascist Popular Front.

Fourth, to strengthen organizationally and extend further the anti-fascist movement which has already developed, by the widespread creation of non-partisan elected bodies of the anti-fascist Popular Front, whose influence will extend to wider masses than those in the present parties and organizations of the working people in France.

Fifth, to force the disbanding and disarming of the fascist organizations, as being organizations of conspirators agains the republic and agents of Hitler in France.

Sixth, to secure that the state apparatus, army and police shall be purged of the conspirators who are preparing a fascist coup.

Seventh, to develop the struggle against the leaders of the reactionary cliques of the Catholic Church, as one of the most important strongholds of French fascism.

Eighth, to link up the army with the anti-fascist movement by creating in its ranks committees for the defence of the republic and the constitution, directed against those who want to utilize the army for an anti-constitutional coup d'état; to prevent the reactionary forces in France from wrecking the Franco-Soviet pact, which defends the cause of peace against the aggression of German fascism.

And if in France the anti-fascist movement leads to the formation of a government which will carry on a real

struggle against French fascism – not in words but in deeds – and which will carry out the programme of demands of the antifascist Popular Front, the Communists, while remaining the irreconcilable foes of every bourgeois government and supporters of a Soviet government, will nevertheless, in face of the growing fascist danger, be prepared to support such a government.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE FASCIST MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Comrades, the fight for the establishment of a united front in countries where the fascists are in power is perhaps the most important problem facing us. In such countries, of course, the fight is carried on under far more difficult conditions than in countries with a legal labour movement. Nevertheless, all the conditions exist in fascist countries for the development of a real anti-fascist Popular Front in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship since the Social-Democratic, Catholic and other workers, in Germany for instance, are able to realize more directly the need for a joint struggle with the Communists against the fascist dictatorship. Wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, having already tasted the bitter fruits of fascist rule, are growing increasingly discontented and disillusioned which makes it easier to enlist them in the antifascist Popular Front.

The principal task in fascist countries, particularly in Germany and Italy, where fascism has managed to gain a mass basis and has forced the workers and other working people into its organizations, consists in skilfully combining the fight against the fascist dictatorship from without with the undermining of it from within, inside the fascist mass organizations and bodies. Special methods and means of approach, suited to the concrete conditions prevailing in these countries, must be learned, mastered and applied, so as to facilitate the rapid disintegration of the mass base of fascism and to prepare the way for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We must learn, master and apply this, and not only shout 'Down with

Hitler' and 'Down with Mussolini.' Yes, learn, master and apply.

This is a difficult and complex task. It is all the more difficult in that our experience in successfully combating a fascist dictatorship is extremely limited. Our Italian comrades, for instance, have already been fighting under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship for about thirteen years. Nevertheless, they have not yet succeeded in developing a real mass struggle against fascism, and therefore they have unfortunately been little able in this respect to help the Communist Parties in other fascist countries by their positive experience.

The German and Italian Communists, and the Communists in other fascist countries, as well as the Communist youth, have displayed prodigious valour; they have made and are daily making tremendous sacrifices. We all bow our heads in honour of such heroism and sacrifices. But heroism alone is not enough. Heroism must be combined with day-to-day work among the masses, with concrete struggle against fascism, so as to achieve the most tangible results in this sphere. In our struggle against fascist dictatorship is particularly dangerous to confuse the wish with fact. We must base ourselves on the facts, on the actual concrete situation.

What is now the actual situation in Germany, for instance?

The masses are becoming increasingly restless and disillusioned with the policy of the fascist dictatorship, and this even assumes the form of partial strikes and other actions. In spite of all its efforts, fascism has failed to win over politically the basic masses of the workers; it is losing even its former supporters, and will lose them more and more in the future. Nevertheless, we must realize that the workers who are convinced of the possibility of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, and who are already prepared to fight for it actively, are still in the minority – they consist of us, the Communists, and the revolutionary section of the Social Democratic workers. But the majority of the working people have not yet become aware of the real, concrete possibilities and methods of overthrowing this

dictatorship, and still adopt a waiting attitude. This we must bear in mind when we outline our tasks in the struggle against fascism in Germany, and when we seek, study and apply special methods of approach for the undermining and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

In order to be able to strike a telling blow at the fascist dictatorship, we must first find out what is its most vulnerable point. What is the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship? Its social basis. The latter is extremely heterogeneous. It is made up of various strata of society. Fascism has proclaimed itself the sole representative of all classes and strata of the population: the manufacturer and the worker, the millionaire and the unemployed, the Junker and the small peasant, the big businessman and the artisan. It pretends to defend the interests of all these strata, the interests of the nation. But since it is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, fascism must inevitably come into conflict with its mass social basis, all the more since, under the fascist dictatorship, the class contradictions between the pack of financial magnates and the overwhelming majority of the people are brought out in greatest relief.

We can lead the masses to a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship only by getting the workers who have been forced into the fascist organizations, or have joined them through ignorance, to take part in *the most elementary movements* for the defence of their economic, political and cultural interests. It is for this reason that the Communists must work in these organizations, as the best champions of the day-to-day interests, of the mass of members bearing in mind that as the workers belonging to these organizations begin more and more frequently to demand their rights and defend their interests, they inevitably come into conflict with the fascist dictatorship.

In defending the urgent and at first the most elementary interests of the working people in town and countryside, it is comparatively easier to find a common language not only with the conscious anti-fascists, but also with those of the working people who are still supporters

of fascism, but are disillusioned and dissatisfied with its policy, and are grumbling and seeking an occasion for expressing their discontent. In general, we must realize that all our tactics in countries with a fascist dictatorship must be of such a character as not to repulse the rank-and-file supporters of fascism, not to throw them once more into the arms of fascism, but to deepen the gulf between the fascist leaders and the mass of disillusioned rank-and-file followers of fascism drawn from the working sections of society.

We need not be dismayed, Comrades, if the people mobilized around these day-to-day interests consider themselves either indifferent to politics or even followers of fascism. The important thing for us is to draw them into the movement, which, although it may not at first proceed openly under the slogans of the struggle against fascism, is already objectively an anti-fascist movement putting these masses into opposition to the fascist dictatorship.

Experience teaches us that the view that it is *generally impossible*, in countries with a fascist dictatorship, to come out legally or semi-legally, is harmful and incorrect. To insist on this point of view means to fall into passivity, and to renounce real mass work altogether. True, under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship, to find forms and methods of legal or semi-legal action is a difficult and complex problem. But, as in many other questions, the path is indicated by life itself and by the initiative of the masses themselves, who have already provided us with a number of examples that must be generalized and applied in an organized and effective manner.

We must very resolutely put an end to the tendency to underestimate work in the fascist mass organizations. In Italy, in Germany and in a number of other fascist countries, our comrades tried to conceal their passivity, and frequently even their direct refusal to work in the fascist mass organizations, by putting forward work in the factories as against work in the fascist mass organiztions. In reality however, it was just this mechanical distinction which led to work being conducted very feebly, and

sometimes not at all, both in the fascist mass organizations and in the factories.

Yet it is particularly important that Communists in the fascist countries should be wherever the masses are to be found. Fascism has deprived the workers of their own legal organizations. It has forced the fascist organizations upon them, and it is *there that the masses are* – by compulsion, or to some extent voluntarily. These mass fascist organizations can and must be made our legal or semi-legal field of action we can meet the masses. They can and must be made our legal or semi-legal starting point for the defence of the day-to-day interests of the masses. To utilize these possibilities, Communists must win elected positions in the fascist mass organizations, for contact with the masses, and must rid themselves once and for all of the prejudice that such activity is unseemly and unworthy of a revolutionary worker.

In Germany, for instance, there is a system of so-called 'shop stewards.' But where is it stated that we must leave the fascists a monopoly in these organizations? Cannot we try to unite the Communist, Social Democratic, Catholic and other anti-fascist workers in the factories so that when the list of 'shop stewards' is voted upon, the known agents of the employers may be struck off and other candidates, enjoying the confidence of the workers, inserted in their stead? Practice has already shown that this is possible.

And does not practice also go to show that it is possible, jointly with the Social Democratic and other discontented workers, to demand that the 'shop stewards' really defend the interests of the workers?

Take the *Labour Front* in Germany, or the fascist trade unions in Italy. Is it not possible to demand that the functionaries of the Labour Front be elected, and not appointed, to insist that the leading bodies of the local groups report to meetings of the members of the organizations; to address these demands, following a decision by the group, to the employer, to the 'labour trustee,' to higher bodies of the Labour Front? This is possible, provided the revolutionary workers actually work within the Labour Front and try to obtain posts in it.

Similar methods of work are possible and essential in other mass fascist organizations also – in the Hitler Youth Leagues, in the sports organizations, in the *Kraft durch Freude*[10] organizations, in the *Dopo lavoro*[11] in Italy, in the cooperatives and so forth.

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

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

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

The mass movement for a united front, starting with the defence of the most elementary needs, and changing its forms and watchwords of struggle as the latter extends and grows, is growing up outside and inside the fascist organizations in Germany, Italy, and the other countries in which fascism has a mass basis. It will be the battering ram which will shatter the fortress of the fascist dictatorship that at present seems impregnable to many.

THE UNITED FRONT IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE IN OFFICE

The struggle for the establishment of a united front raises another very important problem, the problem of a united front in countries where Social Democratic governments, or coalition governments in which Socialists

participate, are in power, as, for instance, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Our attitude of absolute opposition to Social Democratic governments, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie, is well known. But this notwithstanding, we do not regard the existence of a *Social Democratic government* or of a government coalition with bourgeois parties as an *insurmountable* obstacle to establishing a united front with the Social Democrats on certain issues.

We believe that in such a case too a united front in defence of the vital interests of the working people and in the struggle against fascism is quite *possible* and *necessary*. It stands to reason that in countries where representatives of Social Democratic parties take part in the government the Social Democratic leadership offers the strongest *resistance* to the proletarian united front. This is quite comprehensible. After all, they want to show the bourgeoisie that they, better and more skilfully than anyone else, can keep the discontented working masses under control and prevent them from falling under the influence of Communism.

The fact, however, that Social Democratic ministers are opposed to proletarian united front can by no means justify a situation in which *the Communists do nothing to establish a united front of the proletariat.*

Our comrades in the Scandinavian countries often follow the line of least resistance, *confining themselves to propaganda exposing the Social Democratic governments.* This is a mistake.In *Denmark*, for example, the Social Democratic leaders have been in the government for the past ten years, and for ten years, day in and day out, the Communists have been reiterating that it is a bourgeois capitalist government. We have to assume that the Danish workers are acquainted with this propaganda. The fact that a considerable majority nevertheless vote for the Social Democratic government party only goes to show that the Communists' exposure of the government by means of propaganda is *insufficient*. It does *not* prove, however, that these hundreds of thousands of workers are satisfied with all the government measures of the Social Democratic

ministers. No, they are *not satisfied* with the fact that by its so-called crisis 'agreement' the Social Democratic government assists *the big capitalists and landlords* and not the workers and poor peasants. They are not satisfied with the decree issued by the government in January 1933, which deprived the workers of the *right to strike*. They are not satisfied with the project of the Social Democratic leadership for a dangerous *anti-democratic electoral reform* (which would considerably reduce the number of deputies). I shall hardly be in error, Comrades, if I state that 99 per cent of the Danish workers *do not approve* of these political steps taken by the Social Democratic leaders and ministers.

Is it not possible for the Communists to call upon the trade unions and Social Democratic organizatons of Denmark to discuss some of these burning issues, to express their opinions on them and come out jointly for a proletarian united front with the object of obtaining the workers' demands? In October of last year, when our Danish comrades appealed to the trade unions to act against the reduction of unemployment relief and for the democratic rights of the trade unions, about 100 local trade union organiztions joined the united front.

In *Sweden* a Social Democratic government is in power for the third time, but the Swedish Communists have for a long time abstained from applying the united front tactics in practice. Why? Was it because they were opposed to the united front? Of course not; they were in principle for a united front, for a united front *in general*, but they failed to understand in what circumstances, on what questions, in defence of what demands a proletarian united front could be successfully established, where and how to 'hook on.' A few months before the formation of the Social Democrtic government, the Social Democratic Party advanced during the elections a platform containing a number of demands which would have been the very thing to include in the platform of the proletarian united front. For example, the slogans *Against custom duties, Against militarization, Put an end to the policy of delay in the question of unemployment insurance, Grant adequate old age pensions, Prohibit organizations like the 'Munch' corps* (a fascist organization), *Down with*

class legislation against the unions demanded by the bourgeois parties.

Over a million of the working people of Sweden voted in 1932 for these demands advanced by the Social Democrats, and welcomed in 1933 the formation of a Social Democratic government in the hope that now these demands would be realized. What could have been more natural in such a situation and what would have better suited the mass of the workers than an appeal of the Communist Party to all Social Democratic and trade union organizations to take joint action to *secure these demands advanced by the Social Democratic Party?*

If we has succeeded in really mobilizing wide masses and in welding the Social Democratic and Communist workers' organizations into a united front to secure these demands of the Social Democrats themselves, there is no doubt that the *working class of Sweden* would have gained thereby. The Social Democratic ministers of Sweden, of course, would not have been very happy over it, for in that case the government would have been compelled to meet at least some of these demands. At any rate, what has happened now, when the government instead of abolishing has *raised* some of the duties, instead of restricting militarism has enlarged the military budget,and instead of rejecting all legislation directed against the trade unions has *itself* introduced such a bill in Parliament, would not have happened. True, on the last issue the Communist Party of Sweden carried through a good mass campaign in the spirit of the proletarian united front, with the result that in the end even the Social Democratic parliamentary faction felt constrained to vote against the government bill, and for the time being it has been voted down.

The *Norwegian* Communists were right in calling upon the organizations of the Labour Party to organize joint May Day demonstrations and in putting forward a number of demands which in the main coincided with the demands contained in the election platform of the Norwegian Labour Party. Although this step in favour of a united front was poorly prepared and the leadership of the

Norwegian Labour Party opposed it, *united front demonstrations* took place in thirty localities.

Formerly many Communists used to be afraid it would be opportunism on their part if they did not counter *every* partial demand of the Social Democrats by demands of their own which were twice as radical. That was a naïve mistake. If Social Democrats, for instance, demanded the dissolution of the fascist organizations, there was no reason why we should add: 'and the disbanding of the state police' (a demand which would be expedient under different circumstances). We should rather tell the Social Democratic workers: We are ready to accept these demands of your Party as demands of the proletarian united front and are ready to fight to the end for their realization. Let us join hands for the battle.

In *Czechoslovakia* also certain demands advanced by the Czech and German Social Democrats, and by the reformist trade unions, can and should be utilized for establishing a united front of the working class. When the Social Democrats, for instance, demand work for the unemployed or the abolition of the laws restricting municipal self-government, as they have done ever since 1927, these demands should be made concrete in each locality, in each district, and a fight should be carried on hand in hand with the Social Democratic organizations for their actual realization. Or, when the Social Democratic Parties thunder 'in general terms' against the agents of fascism in the state apparatus, the proper thing to do is in each particular district to drag into the light of day *the particular* local fascist spokesmen, and together with the Social Democratic workers demand their removal from government employ.

In *Belgium* the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, with Emile Vandervelde at their head, have entered a coalition government. This 'success' they achieved thanks to their lengthy and extensive campaigns for two main demands: *1) abolition of the emergency decrees*, and *2) realization of the de Man*[12] *Plan*. The first issue is very important. The preceding government issued 150 reactionary emergency decrees, which are an extremely heavy burden on the working people. They were expected to be repealed at

once. This was the demand of the Socialist Party. But have many of these emergency decrees been repealed by the new government? It has not repealed a single one. It has only mollified somewhat a few of the emergency decrees in order to make a sort of 'token payment' in settlement of the generous promises of the Belgian Socialist leaders (like that 'token dollar' which some European powers proffered the USA in payment of the millions due as war debts).

As regards the realization of the widely advertized de Man Plan, the matter has taken a turn quite unexpected by the Social Democratic masses. The Socialist ministers announced that *the economic crisis must be overcome first,* and only those provisions of the de Man Plan should be carried into effect which improve the position of the industrial capitalists and the banks; only afterwards would it be possible to adopt measures to improve the condition of the workers. But *how long* must the workers wait for their *share* in the 'benefits' promised them in the de Man Plan? The Belgian bankers have already had their veritable *shower of gold.* The Belgian franc has been devalued 28 per cent; by this manipulation the bankers were able to pocket 4,500 million francs as their spoils at the expense of the wage earners and the savings of the small depositors. But how does this tally with the contents of the de Man Plan? Why, if we are to believe the letter of the plan, it promises to '*prosecute* monopolist abuses and speculative manipulations.'

On the basis of the de Man Plan, the government has appointed a commission to supervise the banks. But the commission *consists of bankers* who can now gaily and lightheartedly supervise themselves.

The de Man Plan also promises a number of other good things, such as a *shorter working day, standardization of wages, a minimum wage, organization of an all-embracing system of social insurance,* 'greater convenience in living conditions through new *housing construction,*' and so forth. These are all demands which we Communists can support. We should go to the labour organizations of Belgium and say to them: The capitalists have already received enough and even too much. Let us demand that the Social Democratic

ministers now carry out the promises they made to the workers. Let us get together in *a united front for the successful defence* of our interests. Minister Vandervelde, we support the demands on behalf of the workers contained in *your* platform; but we tell you frankly that we take these demands *seriously*, that we want action and not empty words, and therefore are rallying hundreds of thousands of workers to *struggle* for these demands.

Thus, in countries having Social Democratic governments, the Communists, by utilizing appropriate individual demands taken from the platforms of the Social Democratic ministers as a starting point for achieving joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations, can afterwards more easily develop a campaign for the establishment of a united front on the basis of other mass demands in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the threat of war.

It must further be borne in mind that, in general, joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations requires from Communists serious and substantiated criticism of Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiring, comradely explanation to the Social Democratic workers of the programme and slogans of Communism. In countries having Social Democratic governments this task is of particular importance in the struggle for a united front.

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

Comrades, a most important stage in the consolidation of the united front must be the establishment of national and international trade union unity.

As you know, the splitting tactics of the reformist leaders were applied most virulently in the trade unions. The reason for this is clear. Here their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie found its practical culmination directly in the factories, to the detriment of the vital interests of the working class. This, of course, gave rise

to sharp criticism and resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communists. That is why the struggle between communism and reformism raged most fiercely in the trade unions.

The more difficult and complicated the situation became for capitalism, the more reactionary was the policy of the leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, and the more aggressive their measures against all opposition elements within the trade unions. Even the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and the intensified capitalist offensive in all capitalist countries failed to diminish this aggressiveness. Is it not a characteristic fact that in 1933 alone most disgraceful circulars were issued for the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Sweden? In Great Britain a circular was issued in 1933, prohibiting the local branches of the trade unions from joining anti-war or other revolutionary organizations. That was a prelude to the notorious 'Black Circular' of the Trade Union Congress General Council, which outlawed any trade councils admitting delegates 'directly or indirectly associated with Communist organizations.' What is there left to be said of the leadership of the German trade unions, which applied unprecedented repressive measures against the revolutionary elements in the trade unions?

Yet we must base our tactics, not on the behaviour of individual leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, no matter what difficulties their behaviour may cause the class struggle, but primarily on the question of *where the masses of workers are to be found.* And here we must openly declare that work in the trade unions is the most vital question in the work of all the Communist Parties. We must bring about a real change for the better in trade union work and make the question of struggle for trade union unity the central issue.

Ignoring the urge of the workers to join the trade unions, and faced with the difficulties of working within the Amsterdam unions, many of our comrades decided to pass by this complicated task. They invariably spoke of an organizational crisis in the Amsterdam unions, of the

workers deserting the unions, but failed to notice that after some decline at the beginning of the world economic crisis, these unions later began to grow again. A peculiarity of the trade union movement has been precisely the fact that the attacks of the bourgeoisie on trade union rights, the attempts in a number of countries to 'coordinate' the trade unions (Poland, Hungary, etc.), the curtailment of social insurance, and the cutting of wages forced the workers, notwithstanding the lack of resistance on the part of the reformist trade union leaders, to rally still more closely around these unions, because the workers wanted and still want to see in the trade unions the militant champions of their vital class interests. This explains the fact that most of the Amsterdam unions – in France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, etc. – have grown in membership during the last few years. The American Federation of Labour has also considerably increased its membership in the past two years.

Had the German comrades better understood the problem of trade union work of which Comrade *Thaelmann* spoke on many occasions, there would undoubtedly have been a better situation in the trade unions than was the case at the time the fascist dictatorship was established. At the end of 1932 only about ten per cent of the Party members belonged to the free trade unions. This in spite of the fact that after the Sixth Congress of the Commintern the Communists took the lead in quite a number of strikes. Our comrades used to write in the press of the need to assign 90 per cent of our forces to work in the trade unions, but in reality activity was concentrated exclusively around the revolutionary trade union opposition, which actually sought to replace the trade unions. And how about the period after Hitler's seizure of power? For two years many of our comrades stubbornly and systematically opposed the correct slogan of fighting for the re-establishment of the free unions.

I could cite similar examples about almost every other capitalist country.

But we already have the first serious achievements to our credit in the struggle for trade union unity in European

countries. I have in mind little Austria, where on the initiative of the Communist Party a basis has been created for an illegal trade union movement. After the February battles the Social Democrats, with Otto Bauer at their head, issued the watchword: 'The free unions can be re-established only after the downfall of fascism.' The Communists applied themselves to the *task of re-establishing the trade unions.* Every phase of that work was a bit of the living united front of the Austrian proletariat. The successful re-establishment of the free trade unions in underground conditions was a serious blow to fascism. The Social Democrats were at the parting of the ways. Some of them tried to negotiate with the government. Others, seeing our successes, created their own parallel illegal trade unions. But there could be only one road: *either capitulation to fascism, or towards trade union unity through joint struggle against fascism.* Under mass pressure, the wavering leadership of the parallel unions created by the former trade union leaders decided to agree to amalgamation. The basis of this amalgamation is irreconcilable struggle against the offensive of capitalism and fascism and the guarantee of trade union democracy. We welcome this fact of the amalgamation of the trade unions, which is the first of its kind since the formal split of the trade unions after the war and which is therefore of *international importance.*

In *France* the united front has unquestionably served as a mighty impetus for achieving trade union unity. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labour have hampered and still hamper in every way the realization of unity, countering the main issue of the class policy of the trade unions by raising issues of a subordinate and secondary or formal character. An unquestionable success in the struggle for trade union unity has been the establishment of *single unions* on a local scale embracing, in the case of the railroad workers,. for instance, approximaely three-quarters of the membership of both trade unions.

We are definitely for the re-establishment of *trade union unity in every country and on an international scale.*

We are for one union in every industry. We are for one federation of trade unions in every country.

We are for single international federations of trade unions organized by industries.

We stand for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working dass against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: *Struggle against capital, against fascism and for internal trade union democracy.*

Time does not wait. To us the question of trade union unity on a national as well as international scale is a question of the great task of uniting our class in mighty, single trade union organizations against the class enemy. We welcome the fact that on the eve of May Day of this year the Red International of Labour Unions approached the Amsterdam Interntional with the proposal to consider jointly the question of the terms, methods and forms of uniting the world trade union movement. The leaders of the Amsterdam International rejected that proposal, using the outworn pretext that unity in the trade union movement is possible only within the Amsterdam International, which, by the way, includes trade unions in only a part of the European countries.

But the Communists working in the trade unions must continue to struggle tirelessly for the unity of the trade union movement. The task of the Red Trade Unions and the Profintern is to do all in their power to hasten the achievement of a joint struggle of all trade unions against the offensive of capital and fascism, and to bring about unity in the trade union movement, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Red Trade Unions and the Profintern must receive our instinted support along this line.

In countries where small Red Trade Unions exist, we recommend working for their inclusion in the big reformist unions, but demanding the right to defend their views and the resintatement of expelled members. But in countries where big Red Trade Unions exist parallel with big reformist trade unions, we must work for the convening of *unity congresses* on the basis of a platform of struggle against the

capitalist offensive and the guarantee of *trade union democracy*.

It should be stated categorically that any Communist worker, any revolutionary worker who does not belong to the mass trade union of his industry, who does not fight to transform the reformist trade union into a real class trade union organization, who does not fight for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle, such a Communist worker, such a revolutionary worker, does not discharge his elementary proletarian duty.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE YOUTH

Comrades, I have already pointed out the role played in the victory of fascism by the enlistment of the youth in the fascist organizations. In speaking of the youth, we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the working youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected this task in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken into account the special economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to the revolutionary education of the youth.

All this has been utilized very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth onto the anti-proletarian road. It should be borne in mind that it is not only by the glamour of militarism that fascism entices the youth. It feeds and clothes some of them in its detachments, gives work to others, and even sets up so-called cultural institutions for the youth, trying in this way to imbue them with the idea that it really can and wants to feed, clothe, teach and provide work for the mass of the working youth.

In a number of capitalist countries our Young Communist Leagues are still mainly sectarian organizations

divorced from the masses. Their fundamental weakness is that they still try to copy the Communist Parties, to copy their forms and methods of work, forgetting that the YCL is *not a Communist Party of the youth.* They do not take sufficient account of the fact that it is an organization with its own special tasks. Its methods and forms of work, education and struggle must be adapted to the actual level and needs of the youth.

Our Young Communists have shown memorable examples of heroism in the fight against fascist violence and bourgeois reaction. But they still lack the ability to win the masses of the youth away from hostile influences by dint of stubborn concrete work, as is evident from the fact that they have not yet overcome their opposition to work in the fascist mass organizations, and that their approach to the Socialist youth and other non-Communist youth is not always correct.

A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the YCL in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a YCL problem. *It is a problem for the whole Communist movement.* In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the YCL organizations must effect a genuine decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about a *united* front along the path of organizing and rallying the young generation of working people. The tremendous influence that even the first steps taken in this direction exert on the revolutionary movement of the youth is shown by the examples of *France* and the *United States* during the recent past. It was sufficient in these countries to proceed to apply the united front for considerable successes to be immediately achieved. In the sphere of the international united front, the successful initiative of the Committee against War and Fascism in Paris in bringing about the international co-operation of all *non-fascist* youth organizations is also worthy of note in this connection.

These recent successful steps in the united front movement of the youth also show that the forms which the unit-

ted front of the youth should assume must not be stereotype, nor necessarily be the same as those met with in the practice of the Communist Parties. The Young Communist Leagues must strive in every way to unite the forces of all non-fascist mass organizations of the youth, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth and for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, in order to draw these young workers over to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they may be – in the factories, the forced labour camps, the labour exchanges, the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the various sports, cultural or other organizations.

In developing and strengthening the YCL, our YCL members must work for the formation of anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues on a platform of class struggle.

THE UNITED FRONT AND WOMEN

Comrades, work among working women – among women workers, unemployed women, peasant women and housewives – has been underestimated no less than work among the youth. While fascism exacts most of all from youth, it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the innermost feelings of the mother, housewife, the single working woman, uncertain of the morrow. Fascism, posing as a benefactor, throws the starving family a few beggarly scarps, trying in this way to stifle the bitterness aroused, particularly among the labouring women by the unprecendented slavery which fascism brings them. It drives working women out of industry, forcibly sends needy girls into the country, dooming them to the position of unpaid servants of rich farmers and landlords. While promising women a happy home and

family life, it drives women to prostitution more than any other capitalist regime.

Communists, above all our women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the wide masses of women are drawn into the struggle. Agitation alone will not accomplish this. Taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, we must find a way of mobilizing the mass of women by' work around their vital interests and demands – in a fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women and against fascist enslavement.

In endeavouring to draw women who work into the revolutionary movement, we must not be afraid of forming separate women's organizations for this purpose, wherever necessary. The preconceived notion that the women's organizations under Communist Party leadership in the capitalist countries should be liquidated, as part of the struggle against 'women's separatism' in the labour movement, has often done great harm.

The simplest and most flexible forms should be sought to establish contact and a joint struggle between the revolutionary, Social Democratic and progressive anti-war and anti-fascist women's organizations. We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and working women in general fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist Popular Front.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

The changed international and internal situation lends exceptional importance to the question of *the anti-imperialist united front* in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In forming a broad anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the masses.

In Brazil the problem differs that in India, China and other countries.

In *Brazil* the Communist Party, having laid a correct foundation for the development of the united anti-imperialist front by the establishment of the National Liberation Alliance[13], must make every effort to extend this front by drawing into it first and foremost the many millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units of a people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution and to the establishment of a government of the National Liberation Alliance.

In *India* the Communists must support, extend and participate in all anti-imperialist mass activities, not excluding those which are under national reformist leadership. While maintaining their political and organizational independence, they must carry on active work inside the organizations which take part in the Indian National Congress, facilitating the process of crystallization of a national revolutionary wing among them, for the purpose of further developing the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In *China*, where the people's movement has already led to the formation of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory offensive of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people. The Chinese Soviets act as a unifying centre in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying centre which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defence of the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative taken by our

courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinse agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people.

I am sure that I express the sentiments and thoughts of our entire Congress in saying that we send our warmest fraternal greetings, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, to all the Soviets in China, to the Chinese revolutionary people. We send our ardent fraternal greetings to the heroic Red Army of China, tried in a thousand battles. And we assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support its struggle for its complete liberation from all imperialist robbers and their Chinese agents.

A UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

Comrades, we have taken a bold, resolute course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the fight for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a government on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of an *anti-fascist Popular Front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interest of the proletariat. And in that case we shall advocate for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking here of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course, that in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie,

there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis of a government bloc of the Communist Party with a certain party (or its left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October Revolution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, included representatives of the Left 'Essers' Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Soviet Government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet government after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible formation of a united front government on the eve of and before the victory of the Soviet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could there be any question of such a government?

It is primarily a *government of struggle against fascism and reaction.* It must be a government arising as the result of the united front movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the working class, but on the contrary, taking resolute measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front movement, the Communist Party of a given country will advocate the formation of such a government on the basis of a well-defined anti-fascist platform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a government? In the most general terms, one can reply to this question as follows: under conditions of a *political crisis,* when the ruling classes are no longer able to cope with the powerful rise of the mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, without which it will scarcely be possible in practice to form a united front government. Only the existence of certain *special prerequisites* can put on the agenda the question of forming such a government as a politically essential task. It seems to me that the following prerequisites deserve the greatest attention in this connection:

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be sufficiently *disorganized and paralyzed.* so the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction and fascism.

Second, the widest masses of working people, particularly the mass trade unions, must be in a state of vehement revolt *against fascism and reaction*, though *not ready* to rise in insurrection so as to *fight under Communist Party leadership for the establishment of a Soviet government.*

Third, the differentiation and radicalization in the ranks of Social Democracy and other parties participating in the united front must already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of them demand *ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries*, fight together with the Communists against fascism and openly oppose the reactionary section of their own party which is hostile to communism.

When and in what countries a situation will actually arise in which these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But as such a possibility *is not to be ruled out in any of the capitalist countries*, we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves, but also orientate the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our estimate of the situation and immediate prospects, as well as with the actual growth of the united front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries was such that it was not necessary for the Communist International to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, Comrades, that at our Fourth Congress in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers', or a workers' and peasant's government* was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost comparable to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International around this question, and in particular the political *errors* which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviations to the Right or 'Left'* from *the Bolshevik line* on this question. Therefore I shall

breifly point out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

The first series of mistakes arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly bound up with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this, *the Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party, in any, so to speak, 'normal' situation. *The ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, recognized only a workers' government formed by an armed insurrection after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong. In order, therefore, to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now *lay great stress on the exact consideration* of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

The second series of errors arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not bound up with the development of a militant mass *united front movement of the proletariat*. Thus *the Right opportunists* were able to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming blocs with Social Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary combinations.

The ultra-Lefts, on the contrary, shrieked: 'No coalitions with counter-revolutionary social democracy!', considering all social democrats as essentially counter-revolutionary.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for a 'workers' government' that would be nothing more nor less than an enlarged Social Democratic government. We even prefer not to use the term 'workers' governments,' and *speak of a united front government*, which in political character is something absolutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social Democratic governments which usually call themselves 'workers' (or labour) governments.' While the Social Democratic government is an instrument of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interests of the

preservation of the capitalist order, *a united front government* is an instrument of the collaboration of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat with other anti-fascist parties, in the interests of the entire working population, a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously there is a *radical difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we stress the need to see *the difference between the two different camps of Social Democracy.* As I have already pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social Democracy, but alonside with it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left Social Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are becoming revolutionary. In practice the decisive difference between them consists in their attitude towards the united front of the working class. The reactionary Social Democrats are *against* the united front; they slander the united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it undermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left Social Democrats are *for the united front*; they defend, develop and strengthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front movement is a militant movement against fascism and reaction, it will be a constant driving force, impelling the united front government to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerful this mass movement, the greater the force with which it can back the government in combating the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement will be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-party class organs of the united front in the factories*, among *the unemployed*, in *the workers' districts* among *the small people of town and country*, the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration of the policy of the united front government.

The third series of mistaken views which came to light during our former debates touched precisely on the practical policy of the 'workers' government'. The right opportunists considered that a 'workers' government' ought to keep 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy,' and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this framework. *The ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, in practice

refused to make any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 *Saxony* and *Thuringia* presented a clear picture of a Right opportunist 'workers' government' in action. The entry of the Communists into the Workers' Government of Saxony jointly with the Left Social Democrats (Zeigner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary, the revolutionary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But in taking part in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily *for the purpose of arming the proletariat.* This they did not do. They did not even requisition a single apartment of the rich, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great that many of them with their wives and children were still without a roof over their heads. They also did *nothing* to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved in general like *ordinary* parliamentary ministers 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy.' As you know, this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The result was such bankruptcy that to this day we have to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries *should not behave* when in office.

Comrades, we demand an entirely different policy from a united front government. We demand that it should carry out *definite and fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on 'searching out forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletariat revolution.' It may be that in a number of countries *the united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important transitional forms. 'Left' doctrinaires have always avoided this precept of Lenin's. Like the narrow-minded propagandists that they were, they spoke only of 'aims,' without ever worrying about 'forms of transition.' The Right opportunists, on the other hand, have tried to establish a *special democratic intermediate stage* lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the

dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary passage from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious 'intermediate stage' they have also called 'transitional form,' and even quoted Lenin's words. But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose: for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to *the proletarian revolution*, that is, to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attach such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he had in mind *the fundamental law of all great revolutions*, the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the the working people to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a 'Leftist' character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to put forth the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are by no means always ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help *the millions* to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, and what Party is worthy of their confidence – these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special 'forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletarian revolution' are necessary. Otherwise the great mass of the people, who are under the influence of petty bourgeois democratic illusions and traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, may procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution – and then come under the axe of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming an anti-fascist united front government in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really

prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, an give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place *in the first line of fire*. But we state frankly to the masses: *Final salvation* this government cannot bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally remove the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently *it is necessary to prepare for the socialist revolution.* Soviet power and only Soviet power can bring salvation.

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we see that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. This makes a firm decision by our Congress on the question of a united front government a matter of great urgency and importance.

If our parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government and of waging the struggle for the formation and maintenance in power of such a government, *for the revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be *the best political justification* of our policy in favour of the formation of united front governments.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our Parties is that *they react inadequately and too slowly to the demagogy of fascism*, and to this day continue to neglect the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a brand of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity requently reaches the point of lunacy, would be able to gain any mass influence. This was a serious mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of wide masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

Under no circumstances must we underrate fascism's power of ideological infection. On the contrary, we for our part must develop an extensive ideological struggle based on clear, popular arguments and a correct, well thought out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany with only one aim – to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion. The new-baked National Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the past two thousand years, by virtue of some historical law, a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread, leading to the appearance on the historical scene of a national 'saviour', a 'Messiah' of the *German* people, a certain 'Corporal' of *Austrian* extraction. In these books the greatest figures of the German people of the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini does his utmost to make capital for himself out of the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national-liberation movement of the seventies and its heroes beloved by the people, Vassil Levski, Stefan Karadja and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to the masses on the past of their people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist spirit, who do nothing *to link up the present struggle with the people's revolutionary traditions and past* – voluntarily hand

over to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, so that they may dupe the masses.

No, Comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatests class of modern society – the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited, toiling strata, that is, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, in principle,* of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But *we are not supporters of national nihilism,* and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But anyone who thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad masses of working people is far from being a genuine Bolshevik, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin on the national question.

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem of national sentiments in his article 'On the National Pride of the Great Russians' written in 1914. He wrote:

> Are we class-conscious Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise its labouring masses (i.e., nine-tenths of its population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful

motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those act of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great Russians; that this midst brought forth Radishchev, the Decembrists, the intellectuals revolutionaries of the 'seventies; that in 1905 the Great Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses...

We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class, that it, *too*, has proved capable of giving humanity great example of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, severe famines and abject servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate our slavish past... and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskis, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity.*

This is what Lenin wrote in national pride.

I think, Comrades, that when at the Reichstag Fire Trial the fascists tried to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarous people, I was not wrong in taking up the defence of the national honour of the working masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist the real barbarians and savages, nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class.

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, 'acclimatize itself' in each country in order to strike deep roots in its native land. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that *the international interests of the proletariat* can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that is is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its

*V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Vol. 21*, pp. 85-86

selfish policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But *we must not confine ourselves to this.* We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are not in contradiction to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify *the salvation of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the *very fact* of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism, which is laying violent hands on it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture and raise it to its highest flowering as a truly national culture – *national in form and socialist in content* – which is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes.

Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures *the support* that is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in the closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The *sole* road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies

through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they do not *at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the working masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their 'own' bourgeoisie, for the right of complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the working people of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the jingo demagogy of the fascists.

That is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *unquestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism – this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses.

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in the struggle to establish a united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class.

The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of working people for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital *only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect,* if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the actual situation and alignement of class forces.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congress, our Parties in the capitalist countries have undoubtedly *grown in stature and have been considerably steeled.* But it would be a most dangerous mistake to rest content with this achievement. The more the united front of the working class extends, the more will new, complex problems arise before us and the more will it be necessary for us to work in the political and organizational consolidation of our Parties. The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers who will be able to carry out their mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can *only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party.*

If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way and increase their membership *for the very reason that* we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern but the concern of the entire working class.

The unity, revolutionary solidarity and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties constitute a most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the whole working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bour-

geoisie, and consequently also against *any penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, *a successful struggle was waged in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions.* Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful, and frequently entirely lacking, was the fight against *sectarianism*. Sectarianism no longer manifested itself in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy. In our day this is often no longer an 'infantile disorder,' as Lenin wrote, but *a deeply rooted vice*, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front: sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness*, its divorce from the real life of the masses, satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotype schemes; sectarianism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labour movement; in short, sectarianism, to which as they say, mountains are mere stepping stones. Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party does not come of itself. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working

class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but *to earn and win the confidence of the working masses* by everyday mass work and a correct policy. This will be possible only if in our political work we Communists seriously take into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the actual situation, not on the basis of our wishes but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the broad masses to come over to the Communist position. We ought never to forget the words of Lenin, who warns us as strongly as possible:

> ... This is the whole point – we must not regard that which is obsolete for us, is obsolete for the class, is obsolete for the masses*.

Is it not a fact, Comrades, that in our ranks there are still quite a few such doctrinaire elements, who at all times and places sense nothing but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades the whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian 'sticking to principle' is nothing but political helplessness in face of the difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism find expression *particularly* in overestimating the revolution of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, and in attempting to leap over difficult stages and the complicated tasks of the movement. In practice, methods of leading the masses have frequently been replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group. The strength of the traditional tie-up between the masses and their organizations and leaders was underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these connections, immediately the attitude taken toward them was just as harsh as that adopted toward their reactionary leaders. Tactics and slogans have tended to become stereotype for all countries, the special features of the actual situation in each individual country being left out of ac-

*. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 40* (Russian edition)' *'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (English edition)

count. The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst of the masses themselves to win their confidence has been ignored, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations have been neglected. The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced by bare appeals and abstract propaganda.

In no less a degree have sectarian views hindered the correct selection of people, the training and developing of *cadres connected* with the masses, *enjoying* the confidence of the masses, cadres *whose revolutionary mettle has been tried and tested* in class battles, cadres capable of combining *the practical experience of mass* work with a *Bolshevik staunchness of principle.*

Thus sectarianism has to a considerable extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult to carry out a real mass policy, prevented our taking advantage of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary movement, and hindered the winning over of the broad masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While fighting most resolutely to overcome and exterminate the last remnants of self-satisfied sectarianism, we must increase in every way our vigilance toward *Right opportunism* and the struggle against it and against every one of its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the danger of Right opportunism will increase in proportion as the broad united front develops. Already there are tendencies to reduce the role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the united front and to effect a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology. Nor must we loose sight of the fact that the tactics of the united front are a method of clearly convincing the Social Democratic workers of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and that they are *not a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology and practice.* A successful struggle to establish the united front imperatively demands constant struggle in our ranks againsttendencies to *depreciate the role of the Party,* against *legalist illusions,* against reliance on

spontaneity and *automatism*, both in liquidating fascism and in implementing the united front against *the slightest vacillation at the moment of decisive action.*

POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, the development of the united front of joint struggle of the Communist and Social Democratic workers against fascism and the offensive of capital also brings to the fore the question of *political unity*, of a *single political mass party of the working class.* The Social Democratic workers are becoming more and more convinced by experience that the struggle against the class enemy demands unity of political leadership, inasmuch as *duality in leadership* impedes the further development and reinforcement of the joint struggle of the working class.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that there be *a single party of the proletariat* in each country. Of course, it is not so easy or simple to achieve this. It requires stubborn work and struggle and is bound to be a more or less lengthy process. The Communist Parties, basing themselves on the growing urge of the workers for a unification of the Social Democratic Parties or of individual organizations with the Communist Parties, must firmly and confidently take the initiative in this unification. The cause of amalgamating the forces of the working class in a single revolutionary proletarian party at time when the international labour movement is entering the period of closing the split in its ranks, *is our cause*, is the cause of the Communist International.

But while it is sufficient for the establishment of the united front of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties to have an agreement to fight against fascism, the offensive of capital and war, the achievement of political unity is possible only on the basis of a number of certain conditions involving principles.

This unification is possible only on the following conditions:

First, complete independence from the bourgeoisie and dissolution of the bloc of Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie;

Second, preliminary unity of action;

Third, recognition of *the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie* and the establishment of the dictatorship *of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* a sine qua non;

Fourth, refusal to support one's own bourgeoisie in an *imperialist war;*

Fifth, building up the Party on the basis of *democratic centralism,* which ensures unity of purpose and action, and which has been tested by the *experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.*

We must explain to the Social Democratic workers, patienly and in comradely fashion, why political unity of the working class is impossible without these conditions. We must discuss together with them the sense and significance of these conditions.

Why is it necessary for the realization of the political unity of the proletariat that there be complete independence from the bourgeoisie and a rupture of the bloc of Social Democrats with the bourgeoisie?

Because the whole experience of the labour movement, particularly the experience of the fifteen years of coalition policy in Germany, has shown that the policy of class collaboration, the policy of dependence on the bourgeoisie, leads to the defeat of the working class and to the victory of fascism. And the only true road to victory is the road of irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the road of the Bolsheviks.

Why must unity of action be first established as a preliminary condition of political unity?

Because unity of action to repel the offensive of capital and of fascism is possible and necessary even before the majority of the workers are united on a common political platform for the overthrow of capitalism, while the working out of unity of views on the main lines and aims of the struggle of the proletariat, without which a unification of the parties is impossible, requires a more or less extended period of time. And unity of views is worked out

best of all in joint struggle against the class enemy already today. To propose to unite at once instead of forming a united front means to place the cart before the horse and to imagine that the cart will then move ahead. Precisely for the reason that for us the question of political unity is not a manoeuvre, as it is for many Social Democratic leaders, we insist on the realization of unity of action as one of the most important stages in the struggle for political unity.

Why is it necessary to recognize the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power?

Because the experience of the victory of the great October Revolution, on the one hand and, on the other, the bitter lessons learned in Germany, Austria and Spain during the entire post-war period have confirmed once more that the victory of the proletariat is possible only by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie would rather drown the labour movement in a sea of blood than allow the proletariat to establish socialism by peaceful means. The experience of the October Revolution has demonstrated patently that the basic content of the proletarian revolution is the question of the proletarian dictatorship, which is called upon to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for the struggle against imperialism and to lead the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. To achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the vast majority over an insignificant minority, over the exploiters – and only as such can it be brought about – for this Soviets are needed embracing all sections of the working class, the basic masses of the peasantry and the rest of the working people, without whose awakening, without whose inclusion in the front of the revolutionary struggle, the victory of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Why is the refusal of support to the bourgeoisie in an imperialist war a condition of political unity?

Because the bourgeoisie wages imperialist wars for its predatory purposes, against the interests of the vast majori-

ty of the peoples, under whatever guise this war may be waged. Because all imperialists combine their feverish preparations for war with extremely intensified exploitation and oppression of the working people in their own country. Support of the bourgeoisie in such a war means treson to the country and the international working class.

Why, finally, is the building of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism a condition of unity?

Because only a party built on the basis of democratic centralism can ensure unity of purpose and action, can lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal so powerful a weapon as the centralized state apparatus. The application of the principle of democratic centralism has stood the splendid historical test of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin.

This explains why it is necessary to strive for political unity on the basis of the conditions indicated.

We are for the political unity of the working class. Therefore, we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unity on the above-mentioned principles.

But precisely because we are for unity, we shall struggle resolutely against all 'Left' demagogues who try to make use of the disillusionment of the Social Democratic workers to create new Socialist Parties or Internationals directed against the Communist movement, and thus keep deepening the split in the working class.

We welcome the growing efforts among Social Democratic workers for a united front with the Communists. In this fact we see a growth of their revolutionary consciousness and a beginning of the healing of the split in the working class. Being of the opinion that unity of action is a pressing necessity and the truest road to the establishment of the political unity of the proletariat as well, we declare that *the Communist International and its Sections are ready to enter into negotiations with the Second International and its Sections for the establishment of the unity of working class in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the menace of an imperialist war.*

CONCLUSION

Comrades, I am concluding my report. As you see, taking into account the change in the situation since the Sixth Congress and the lessons of our struggle, and relying on the degree of consolidation already achieved in our Parties, we are raising a number of questions today in a new way, primarily the question of the united front and of the approach to Social Democracy, the reformist trade unions and other mass organizations.

There are wiseacres who will sense in all this a digression from our basic positions, some sort of turn to the Right from the straight line of Bolshevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry hen always dreams of millet. Let those political hens think so.

This interests us little. For us it is important that our own Parties and the broad masses throughout the world should correctly understand what we are striving for.

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists, worthy pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin, if we did not suitably *reconstruct* our policies and tactics in accordance with the changing situation and the changes occurring in the world labour movement.

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our own experience and the experience of the masses.

We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class*, to become in actual fact a *political factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times *an active Bolshevik mass policy and not confine themselves to propaganda and criticism, and bare appeals to struggle for a proletarian dictatorship.*

We are *enemies of all cut-and-dried schemes.* We want to take into account the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not act according to *a fixed, stereotyped form* anywhere and everywhere, not to forget that in *varying* circumstances the position of the Communists cannot be *identical.*

We want soberly to take into account all stages in the

development of the class struggle and in the growth of the class consciousness of the masses themselves, to be able to locate and solve at each stage the *concrete* problems of the revolutionary movement corresponding to this stage.

We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for the purpose of struggling against the class enemy, to find ways of finally overcoming *the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all other working people, as well as of overcoming the fatal *isolation of the working class itself* from its natural allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to the proletarian revolution *proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis.*

Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine *the revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists with *genuine revolutionary realism,* and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the highly complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their *theoretical level,* to train them in the spirit of living Marxism-Leninism and not fossilized doctrinairism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism,* which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy.

We want to intensify in every way the struggle against concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism,* bearing in mind that the danger from this side will arise precisely in the course of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communists of every country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how*

to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather.

This is what we want.

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the working people, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International, be able to fulfil its historical mission with certainty – to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, togehter with it, capitalism.

All stand up and cheer Comrade Dimitrov heartily.

From all sides are heard shouts from the delegates in different languages: 'Long live Comrade Dimitrov!'

The mighty sounds of the International ring out in all languages. Renewed stormy applause.

The delegates sing the revolutionary songs of their countries. The Italians strike up *Bandera Rossa,* the Poles *On the Barricades,* the French – *Carmagnole,* the Germans *Red Wedding,* the Chinese – *March of the Red Army of China).*

G. Dimitrov. Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 27-131
Puslished by the BCP, 1954

UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, August 13, 1935

Comrades, the very full discussion on my report bear witness to the immense interest taken by the Congress in the fundamental tactical problems and tasks of the struggle of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism, and against the threat of an imperialist war.

Summing up the eight-day discussion, we can state that all the principal propositions contained in the report have met with the unanimous approval of the Congress. None of the speakers objected to the tactical line we have proposed or to the resolution which has been submitted.

I venture to say that at none of the previous Congresses of the Communist International has such ideological and political solidarity been revealed as at the present Congress. The complete unanimity displayed at the Congress indicates that the necessity of revising our policy and tactics in accordance with the changed conditions and on the basis of the extremely abundant and instructive experience of the past few years, has come to be fully recognized in our ranks.

This unanimity may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most important conditions for success in solving the paramount immediate problem of the international proletarian movement, namely, *establishing unity of action of all sections of the working class in the struggle against fascism.*

The successful solution of this problem requires, first, that Communists, skilfully wield the weapon of *Marxist-Leninist analysis,* while carefully studying the actual situa-

tion and the alignment of class forces as these develop and that they plan their activity and struggle accordingly. We must mercilessly root out the weakness not infrequently observed among our comrades, for cut-and-dried schemes, lifeless formulas and ready-made patterns. We must put an end to the state of affairs in which Communists, when lacking the knowledge or ability for Marxist-Leninist analysis, substitute for it general phrases and slogans such as 'the revolutionary way out of the crisis,' without making the slightest serious attempt to explain what must be the conditions, the relationship of class forces, the degree of revolutionary maturity of the proletariat and mass of working people, and the level of influence of the Communist Party for making possible such a revolutionary way out of the crisis. Without such an analysis all these catchwords become dud shells, empty phrases which only obscure out tasks of the day. Without a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis we shall never be able correctly to present and solve the problem of fascism, the problems of the proletarian united front and the Popular Front, the problem of our attitude to bourgeois democracy, the problem of a united front government, the problem of the processes going on within the working class, particularly among the Social Democratic workers, or any of the numerous other new and complex problems with which life itself and the development of the class struggle confront us now and will confront us in the future.

Second, we need *live people* – people who have grown up from the masses of the workers, have sprung from their every-day struggle, people of militant action, wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of the proletariat, people whose brains and hands will give effect to the decisions of our Congress. Without Bolshevik, Leninist cadres we shall be unable to solve the enormous problems that confront the working people in the fight against fascism.

Third, we need people equipped *with the compass of Marxist-Leninist theory*, without the skilful use of which they turn into narrow-minded and shortsighted practicians, unable to look ahead, who take decisions only from case to case, and lose the broad perspective of the struggle which

shows the masses where we are going and whither we are leading the working people.

Fourth, we need *the organization of the masses* in order to put our decisions into practice. Our ideological and political influence alone is not enough. We must put a stop to reliance on the hope that *the movement will develop of its own accord*, which is one of our fundamental weaknesses. We must remember that without persistent, prolonged, patient, and sometimes seemingly thankless organizational work on our part the masses will never make for the Communist shore. In order to be able to organize the masses we must acquire the Leninist art of making our decisions the property not only of the Communists but also of the widest masses of working people. We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters for the cause of the masses, whose every word and every idea reflect the innermost thoughts and sentiments of millions.

It is primarily with these problems that I should like to deal in my reply to the discussion.

Comrades, the Congress has welcomed the new tactical lines with great enthusiasm and unanimity. Enthusiasm and unanimity are excellent things of course, but it is still better when these are combined with a deeply considered and critical approach to the tasks that confront us, with a proper mastery of the decisions adopted and a real understanding of the means and methods by which these decisions are to be applied to the particular circumstances of each country.

After all, we have unanimously adopted good resolutions before now, but the trouble was that we not infrequently adopted these decisions in a formal manner, and at best made them the property of only the small vanguard of the working class. Our decisions did not become flesh and blood for millions of people, nor a guide to their actions.

Can we assert that we have already finally abandoned this formal approach to adopted decisions? No. It must be said that even at this Congress the speeches of some of the comrades gave indication of vestiges of formalism, a desire

made itself felt at times to substitute for the concrete analysis of reality and living experience some sort of new scheme, some sort of new, over-simplified, lifeless formula, to represent as *actually existing* what we *desire*, but what does *not* yet exist.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM MUST BE CONCRETE

No general characterization of fascism, however correct in itself, can relieve us of the need to study and take into the special features of the development of fascism and the various forms of fascist dictatorship in the individual countries and at its various stages. It is necessary in each country to investigate, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific national features of fascism and to map out accordingly effective methods and forms of struggle against fascism.

Lenin persistently warned us against such 'stereotyped methods, such mechanical levelling and identification of tactical rules, of rules of struggle.' This warning is particularly to the point when it is a question of fighting at enemy who so subtly and Jesuitically exploits the national sentiments and prejudices of the masses and the anti-capitalist inclinations in the interests of big capital. *Such an enemy must be known to perfection, from every angle.* We must, without any delay whatever, react to his various manoeuvres, discover his hidden moves, be prepared to repel him in any arena and at any moment. We must not hesitate even *to learn* from the enemy if that will help us more quickly and more effectively *to wring his neck.*

It would be a gross mistake to lay down any sort of universal scheme of the development of fascism, valid for all countries and all peoples. Such a scheme would not help but would hamper us in carrying on a real struggle. Apart from everything else, it would result in indiscriminately thrusting into the camp of fascism those sections of the population which, if properly approached, could at a certain stage of development be brought into the struggle against fascism or could at least be neutralized.

Let us take, for example, the development of fascism in France and in Germany. Some comrades believe that, generally speaking, fascism cannot develop as easily in France as in Germany. What is true and what is false in this contention? It is true that there were no such deep-seated democratic traditions in Germany as there are in France, which went through several revolutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is true that France is a country which won the war and imposed the Versailles treaty on other countries, that the national sentiments of the French people have not been hurt as they have been in Germany, where this factor played such a great part. It is true that in France the basic masses of the peasantry are pro-republic and anti-fascist, especially in the south, in contrast to Germany where even before fascism came to power a considerable section of the peasantry was under the influence of reactionary parties.

But, Comrades, notwithstanding the existing differences in the development of the fascist movement in France and in Germany, notwithstanding the factors which impede the onslaught of fascism in France, it would be shortsighted not to notice the uninterrupted growth there of the fascist peril or to underestimate the possibility of a fascist *coup d'état*. Moreover, a number of factors in France favour the development of fascism. One must not forget that the economic crisis, which began later in France than in other capitalist countries, continues to become deeper and more acute, and that this greatly encourages the orgy of fascist demagogy. French fascism holds strong positions in the army, among the officers, such as the National Socialists did not have in the Reichswehr before their advent to power. Furthermore, in no other country, perhaps, has the parliamentary regime been corrupted to such an enormous extent and caused such indignation among the masses as in France, and the French fascists, as we know, use this demagogically in their fight against bourgeois democracy. Nor must it be forgotten that the development of fascism is furthered by the French bourgeoisie's keen fear of losing its political and military hegemony in Europe.

Hence it follows that the successes scored by the an-

tifascist movement in France, of which Comrades Thorez and Chachin have spoken here and over which we so heartily rejoice, are still far from indicating that the working masses have definitely succeeded in blocking the road to fascism. We must emphatically stress once more the great importance of the tasks of the French working class in the struggle against fascism, of which I have already spoken in my report.

It would likewise be dangerous to cherish illusions regarding the weakness of fascism in other countries where it does not have a broad mass base.We have the example of such countries as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Finland, where fascism, although it had no broad base, came to power, relying on the armed forces of the state and then sought to broaden its base by making use of the state apparatus.

Comrade Dutt was right in his contention that there has been a tendency among us to contemplate fascism in general, without taking into account the specific features of the fascist movement in the various countries, erroneously classifying all reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie as fascism and going so far as calling the entire non-Communist camp fascist. The struggle against fascism was not strengthened but rather weakened in consequence.

Even now we still have survivals of a stereotyped approach to the question of fascism. When some comrades assert that Roosevelt's 'New Deal' represents an even clearer and more pronounced form of the development of the bourgeoisie towards fascism than the 'National Government' in Great Britain, for exemple, is this not a manifestation of such a stereotyped approach to the question? One must be very partial to hackneyed schemes not to see that the most reactionary circles of American finance capital, which are attacking Roosevelt, are above all the very force which is stimulating and organizing the fascist movement in the United States. Not to see the beginnings of real fascism in the United States behind the hypocritical outpourings of these circles 'in defence of the democratic rights of the American citizen' is tantamount to misleading the working class in the struggle against its worst enemy.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries also, as was mentioned in the discussion, certain fascist groups are developing, but of course there can be no question of the kind of fascism that we are accustomed to see in Germany, Italy and other capitalist countries. Here we must study and take into account the quite special economic, political and historical conditions in accordance with which fascism is assuming and will continue to assume peculiar forms of its own.

Unable to approach the phenomena of real life concretely, some comrades who suffer from mental laziness substitute general, *non-committal formulas* for a careful and *concrete* study of the actual situation and the relationship of class forces. They remind us, not of *sharpshooters* who shoot with unerring aim, but of those 'crack' riflemen who regularly and unfailingly *miss the target*, shooting either too high or too low, too near or too far. But, we, Comrades, as Communist fighters in the labour movement, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, want to be sharpshooters who unfailingly hit the target.

UNITED PROLETARIAN FRONT OR ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT

Some comrades are quite needlessly racking their brains over the problem of *what to begin with – the united proletarian front or the anti-fascist Popular Front.*

Some say that we cannot start forming the anti-fascist Popular Front until we have organized a solid united front of the proletariat.

Others argue that, since the establishment of the united proletarian front meets in a number of countries with the resistance of the reactionary part of Social Democracy, it is better to start at once with building up the Popular Front, and then develop the united working class front on this basis.

Evidently both groups fail to understand that the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist Popular Front are connected by *the living dialectics of struggle;* that they are interwoven , the one passing into the other in the process of

the practical struggle against fascism, and that there is certainly no Chinese wall to them apart.

For it cannot be seriously supposed that it is possible to establish a genuine anti-fascist Popular Front without securing the unity of action of the working class itself, *the leading force* of this anti-fascist Popular Front. At the same time, the further development of the united proletarian front depends, to a considerable degree, upon its transformation into a Popular Front against fascism.

Comrades, just picture to yourselves a devotee of cut-and-dried theories of this kind, gazing upon our resolution and contriving his pet scheme with the zeal of a true pedant:

First, local united proletarian front from below;

Then, regional united front from below;

Thereafter, united front from above, passing through the same stages;

Then, unity in the trade union movement;

After that, the enlistment of other anti-fascist parties;

This to be followed by the extended Popular Front, from above and from below.

After which the movement must be raised to a higher level, politicized, revolutionized, and so on and so forth.

You will say, Comrades, that this is sheer nonsense. I agree with you. But the unfortunate thing is that in some form or other this kind of sectarian nonsense is still to be found quite frequently in our ranks.

How does the matter really stand? Of course, we must strive everywhere for a wide Popular Front of struggle against fascism. But in a number of countries we shall not get beyond general talk about the Popular Front unless we succeed in mobilizing the masses of the workers for the purpose of breaking down the resistance of the reactionarysection of Social Democracy to the proletarian united front of struggle. Primarily this is how the matter stands in Great Britain, where the working class comprises the majority of the population and where the bulk of the working class follows the lead of the trade unions and the Labour Party. That is how matters stand in Belgium and

in the Scandinavian countries, where the numerically small Communist Parties must face strong mass trade unions and numerically large Social Democratic Parties.

In these countries the Communists would commit a very serious political mistake if they shirked the struggle to establish a united proletarian front, under cover of general talk about the Popular Front, which cannot be formed without the participation of the mass working class organizations. In order to bring about a genuine Popular Front in these countries, the Communists must carry out an enormous amount of political and organizational work among the masses of the workers. They must overcome the preconceived ideas of these masses, who regard their large reformist organizations as already the embodiment of proletarian unity. They must convince these masses that the establishment of a united front with the Communists means a shift on the part of those masses to the position of the class struggle, and that only this shift guarantees success in the struggle against the offensive of capital and fascism. We shall not overcome our difficulties by setting ourselves much wider tasks here. On the contrary, in fighting to remove these difficulties we shall, in fact and not in words alone, prepare the ground for the creation of a genuine Popular Front of struggle against fascism, against the capitalist offensive and against the threat of imperialist war.

The problem is different in countries like Poland, where a strong peasant movement is developing alongside the labour movement, where the peasant masses have their own organizations, which are becoming radicalized as a result of the agrarian crisis, and where national oppression evokes indignation among the national minorities. Here the development of the Popular Front of struggle will proceed parallel with the development of the united proletarian front, and at times in this type of country the movement for a general Popular Front may even outstrip the movement for a working-class front.

Take a country like Spain, which is in the process of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Can it be said that because the proletariat is split up into numerous small

organizations, complete fighting unityof the working class must first be established here before a workers' and peasants' front against Lerroux[14] and Gil Robles[15] is created? By tackling the question in this way we would isolate the proletariat from the peasantry, we would in effect be withdrawing the slogan of the agrarian revolution, and we would make it easier for the enemies of the people to disunite the proletariat and the peasantry and set the peasantry in opposition to the working class. Yet this, Comrades, as is well known, was one of the main reasons why the working class was defeated in the October events of 1934 in the Asturias.

However, one thing must not be forgotten in all countries, where the proletariat is comparatively small in numbers, where the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeois strata predominate, it is all the more necessary to make every effort to set up a firm united front of the working class itself, so that it may be able to take its place as the leading factor in relation to all the working people.

Thus, Comrades, in attacking the problem of the proletarian front and the Popular Front, there can be no general panacea suitable for all cases, all countries, all peoples. In this matter universalism, the application of one and the same recipe to all countries, is equivalent, if, you will allow me to say so, to ignorance, and ignorance should be flogged, even when it stalks about, nay, particularly when it stalks about in the cloak of universal cut-and-dried schemes.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED FRONT OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in view of the tactical problems confronting us, it is very important to give a correct reply to question of whether Social Democracy at the present time is still the principal bulwark of the bourgeoisie, and if so, where?

Some of the comrades who participated in the discussion (Comrades Florin, Dutt) touched upon this question but in view of its importance a fuller reply must be given to it, for it is a question which workers of all trends, par-

ticularly Social Democratic workers, are asking and cannot help asking.

It must be borne in mind that in a number of countries the position of Social Democracy in the bourgeois state, and its attitude towards the bourgeoisie, has been undergoing a change.

In the first place, the crisis has severely shaken the position of even the most secure sections of the working class, the so-called aristocracy of labour which, as we know, is the main support of Social Democracy. These sections, too, are beginning more and more to revise their views as to the expediency of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Second, as I pointed out in my report, the bourgeoisie in a number of countries is itself compelled to abandon bourgeois democracy and resort to the terroristic form of dictatorship, depriving Social Democracy not only of its previous position in the state system of finance capital, but also, under certain conditions, of its legal status, persecuting and even suppressing it.

Third, under the influence of the lessons learned from the defeat of the workers in Germany, Austria and Spain[16], a defeat which was largely due to the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, under the influence of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as a result of Bolshevik policy and the application of revolutionary Marxism, the Social Democratic workers are becoming revolutionized and are beginning to turn to the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The combined effect of this has been to make it increasingly difficult, and in some countries actually impossible, for Social Democracy to preserve its former role of a bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

Failure to understand this is particularly harmful in those countries where the fascist dictatorship has deprived Social Democracy of its legal status. From this point of view the self-criticism of those German comrades who in their speeches mentioned the necessity of ceasing to cling to the letter of obsolete formulas and decisions concerning Social

Democracy, of ceasing to ignore the changes that have taken place in its position, was correct. It is clear that if we ignore these changes, it will lead to a distortion of our policy for bringing about the unity of the working class, and will make it easier for the reactionary elements of the Social Democratic Parties to sabotage the united front.

The process of revolutionization in the ranks of the Social Democratic Parties, now going on in all countries, is developing unevenly. It must not be imagined that the Social Democratic workers who are becoming revolutionized will *at once* and on a mass scale pass over to the position of consistent class struggle and will *straightway* unite with the Communists without any intermediate stages. In a number of countries this will be a more or less difficult, complicated and prolonged process, essentially dependent, at any rate, on the correctness of our policy and tactics. We must even reckon with the possibility that, in passing from the position of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, some Social Democratic Parties and organizations will continue to exist for a time as independent organizations or parties. In such an event there can, of course, be no thought of such Social Democratic organizations or parties being regarded as a bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

It cannot be expected that those Social Democratic workers who are under the influence of the ideology of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which has been instilled in them for decades, will break with this ideology of their own accord, by the action of objective causes alone. No. It is our business, the business of Communists, to help them free themselves from the hold of reformist ideology. The work of explaining the principles and programme of Communism must be carried on patiently, in a comradely fashion, and must be adapted to the degree of development of the individual Social Democratic workers. Our criticism of Social Democracy must become more concrete and systematic, and must be based on the experience of the Social Democratic masses themselves. It must be borne in mind that primarily by utilizing their experience in the joint struggle with the Communists against the class enemy

will it be possible and necessary to facilitate and speed up the revolutionary development of the Social Democratic workers. There is no more effective way for overcoming the doubts and hesitations of the Social Democratic workers than by their participation in the proletarian united front.

We shall do all in our power to make it easier, not only for the Social Democratic workers, but also for those leading members of the Social Democratic Parties and organizations who sincerely desire to adopt the revolutionary class position, to work and fight with us against the class enemy. At the same time we declare that any Social Democratic functionary, lower official or worker who continues to uphold the disruptive tactics of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders, who comes out against the united front and thus directly or indirectly aids the class enemy, will thereby incur at least equal guilt before the working class as those who are historically responsible for having supported the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration, the policy which in a number of European countries doomed the revolution in 1918 and cleared the way for fascism.

The attitude to the united front marks the watershed between the reactionary sections of Social Democracy and the sections that are becoming revolutionary. Our assistance to the latter will be the more effective the more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social Democracy that takes part in a bloc with the bourgeoisie. And within the Left camp the self-determination of its various elements will take place the sooner, the more determinedly the Communists fight for a united front with the Social Democratic Parties. The experience of the class struggle and the participation of the Social Democrats in the united front movement will show who in that camp will prove to be 'Left' in words and who is really Left.

THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

While the attitude of Social Democracy towards the practical realization of the proletarian united front is, generally speaking, the chief sign in every country of whether

the previous role in the bourgeois state of the Social-Democratic Party or of its individual parts has changed, and if so, to what extent – *the attitude of Social Democracy on the issue of a united front government will be a particularly clear test in this respect.*

When a situation arises in which the question of creating a united front government becomes an immediate practical problem, this issue will become a decisive test of the policy of Social Democracy in the given country: either jointly with the bourgeoisie, that is moving towards fascism, against the working class, or jointly with the revolutionary proletariat against fascism and reaction, not merely in words but in deeds. That is how the question will inevitably present itself at the time the united front government is formed as well as while it is in power.

With regard to the character and conditions for the formation of the united front government, or anti-fascist Popular Front government, I think that my report gave what was necessary for general tactical direction. To expect us over and above this to indicate all possible forms and all conditions under which such governments may be formed would mean to lose oneself in barren conjecture.

I would like to utter a note of warning against oversimplification or the application of cut-and-dried schemes in this question. Life is more complex than any scheme. For example, it would be wrong to imagine that the united front government's *an indispensable stage* on the road to the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. That is just as wrong as the former assertion that there will be *no intermediary stages* in the fascist countries and that fascist dictatorship is *certain* to be *immediately superseded* by proletarian dictatorship.

The whole question boils down to this: Will the proletariat itself be prepared at the decisive moment for the direct overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment its own power, and will it be able in that event to ensure the support of its allies? Or will the movement of the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist Popular Front at the particular stage be in a position only to suppress or overthrow fascism, without directly proceeding to abolish

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? In the latter case it would be an intolerable piece of political shortsightedness, and not serious revolutionary politics, on this ground alone to refuse to create and support a united front or a Popular Front government.

It is likewise not difficult to understand that the establishment of a united front government in countries where fascism is not yet in power is something *different* from the creation of such a government in countries where the fascist dictatorship holds sway. In the latter countries a united front government can be created *only in the process of overthrowing fascist rule.* In countries where *the bourgeois democratic revolution is developing,* a Popular Front government may become the government of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry.

As I have already pointed out in my report, the Communists will do all in their power to support a united front government to the extent that the latter will really fight against the enemies of the people and grant freedom of action to the Communist Party and to the working class. The question of whether Communists will take part in the government will be determined entirely by the actual situation prevailing at the time. Such questions will be settled as they arise. No ready-made recipes can be prescribed in advance.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

In his speech Comrade Lenski pointed out that while mobilizing the masses to repel the onslaught of fascism against the rights of the working people, the Polish Party at the same time 'had its misgivings about formulating positive democratic demands lest this would create democratic illusions among the masses.' The Polish Party is, of course, not the only one in which such fear of formulating positive democratic demands exists in one form or another.

Where does this fear stem from, Comrades? It comes from an incorrect, non-dialectical conception of our attitude towards bourgeois democracy. We Communists are unswerving upholders of Soviet democracy, the great example of which is the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, where the introduction of equal suffrage and the direct and secret ballot has been proclaimed by resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets, at the very time when the last vestiges of bourgeois democracy are being wiped out in the capitalist countries. This Soviet democracy presupposes the victory of the proletarian revolution, the conversion of private ownership of the means of production into public ownership, the adoption of the road to socialism by the overwhelming majority of the people. This democracy does not represent a final form; it develops and will continue to develop, depending on the further achievements of socialist construction, in the creation of a classless society and in the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of the people.

But today the millions of working people living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of deciding their attitude to *those forms* in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries. We are not Anarchists, and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. While being upholders of Soviet democracy, *we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*

How great were the sacrifices of the British working class before it secured the right to strike, a legal status for its trade unions, the right of assembly and freedom of the press, extension of the franchise, and other rights. How many tens of thousands of workers gave their lives in the revolutionary battles fought in France in the nineteenth century to obtain the elementary rights and the lawful op-

portunity of organizing their forces for the struggle against the exploiters. The proletariat of all countries has shed much of its blood to win bourgeois-democratic liberties and will naturally fight with all its strength to retain them.

Our attitude to bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all those political parties which, under the slogan of the defence of bourgeois democracy, opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all counter-revolutionary forces mobilized to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish the most barbarous regime of exploitation and suppression of the working masses. Now the working masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Besides, we have now a situation which differs from that which existed, for example, in the epoch of capitalist stabilization. At that time the fascist danger was not as acute as it is today. At that time it was bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy that the revolutionary workers were facing in a number of countries and it was against bourgeois democracy that they were concentrating their fire. In Germany, they fought against the Weimar Republic, not because it was a republic, but because it was a *bourgeois* republic that was engaged in crushing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, especially in 1918-20 and in 1923.

But could the Communists retain the same position also when the fascist movement began to raise its head, when, for instance, in 1932 the fascists in Germany were organizing and arming hundreds of thousands of storm troopers against the working class? Of course not. It was

the mistake of the Communists in a number of countries, particularly in Germany, that they failed to take account of the changes that had taken place, but continued to repeat the slogans and maintain the tactical positions that had been correct a few years before, especially when the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship was an immediate issue, and when the entire German counter-revolution was rallying under the banner of the Weimar Republic, as it did in 1918-20.

And the circumstance that even today we can still notice in our ranks a fear of launching positive democratic slogans indicates how little our comrades have mastered the Marxist-Leninist method of approaching such important problems of our tactics. Some say that the struggle for democratic rights may divert the workers from the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. It may not be amiss to recall what Lenin said on this question:

> It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc.On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.*

These words should be firmly fixed in the memories of all our comrades, bearing in mind that in history great revolutions have grown out of small movements for the defence of the elementary rights of the working class. But in order to be able to link up the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle of the working class for socialism, it is necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of defence of bourgeois democracy.

* *V.I.Lenin. Collected Works, Vol. 22, p. 133.*

Comrades, it is clear, of course, that for the Communist International and each of its Sections the fundamental thing is to work out a correct line. But a correct line alone is not enough for concrete leadership in the class struggle.

For that, a number of conditions must be fulfilled, above all the following:

First, *organizational guarantees* that adopted decisions will be carried out in practice and that all obstacles in the way will be resolutely overcome. What comrade Stalin said at the 12th Congress of the CPSU (b) about the conditions necessary to carry out the Party line, can and must be applied fully to the decisions taken by our Congress.

Comrade Stalin said:

> Some people imagine that it is quite sufficient to map out a correct Party line, to proclaim it so as to bring it to everyone's attention, to set it forth in general theses and resolutions and to vote it unanimously, and victory will come by itself, so to say of its own accord. Of course this is quite wrong. This is a big illusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats are capable of such reasoning... Fine resolutions and declarations in favour of the general policy of the Party are just the beginning, because they only indicate a desire for victory, not victory itself. After the correct policy has been outlined, and the correct solution indicated, success depends on organizational work, on the organization of the struggle to implement the Party line, and the proper selection of workers, on the control over the implementation of the decisions on the part of the leading organs. If these are lacking, the correct Party line and correct decisions stand a great risk of being seriously impaired. What is more, after the correct policy has been hammered out, everything depends on organizational work, including the political line itself – its implementation or its failure.

It is hardly necessary to add anything to these words, which must become a guiding principle in the whole work of our Party.

Another condition is the ability to convert decisions of the Communist International and its Sections into decisions of the widest masses themselves. This is all the more necessary now, when we are faced with the task of organizing a united

front of the proletariat and drawing very wide masses of the people into an anti-fascist Popular Front. The political and tactical genius of *Lenin* stands out most clearly and vividly in his masterly ability to get the masses to understand the correct line and the slogans of the Party through their own experience. If we trace the history of Bolshevism, that greatest of treasure houses of the political strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers' movement, we shall see that the Bolsheviks never substituted methods of leading the Party for methods of leading the masses.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that one of the particular features of the tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks on the eve of the October Revolution resided in the fact that they were able to find the roads and turns which led the masses to the slogans of the Party, and to the very 'threshold of the revolution' in a natural way, helping them to feel, check and recognize the correctness of these slogans through their own experience; that they did not confuse Party leadership with leadership of the masses, but clearly saw the difference between the former and the latter, thus elaborating tactics not merely as a science of Party leadership, but of the leadership of millions of working people.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that *the masses cannot assimilate our decisions unless we learn to speak a language which they understand.* We do not always know how to speak simply, concretely, in images which are familiar and intelligible to the masses. We are still unable to refrain from abstract formulas which we have learnt by rote. As a matter of fact, if you look through our leaflets, newspapers, resolutions and theses, you will find that they are often written in a language and style so heavy that they are difficult for even our Party functionaries to understand, let alone the rank-and-file workers.

If we consider, Comrades, that the workers, especially in fascist countries, who distribute or only read these leaflets risk their very lives by doing so, we shall realize still more clearly the need of writing for the masses in a

language which they understand,so that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

The same applies in no less degree to our oral agitation and propaganda. We must admit quite frankly that in this respect the fascists have often proved more dexterous and flexible than many of our comrades.

I recall, for example, a meeting of unemployed in Berlin before Hitler's accession to power. It was at the time of the trial of those notorious swindlers and profiteers, the Sklarek brothers, which dragged on for several months. A National Socialist speaker in addressing the meeting made demagogic use of that trial to further his own ends. He referred to the swindlers, the bribery and other crimes committed by the Sklarek brothers, emphasized that the trial had been dragging on for months and figured out how many hundreds of thousands of marks it has already cost the German people. To the accompaniment of loud applause the speaker declared that such bandits as the Sklarek brothers should have been shot without any ado and the money wasted on the trial should have gone to the unemployed.

A Communist rose and asked for the floor. The chairman at first refused but under the pressure of the audience, which wanted to hear a Communist, he had to let him speak. When the Communist got up on the platform, everybody awaited with tense expectation what the Communist speaker would have to say. Well, what did he say?

'Comrades,' he began in a loud and ringing voice, 'the Plenum of the Communist International has just closed. It showed the way to the salvation of the working class. The chief task it puts before you, Comrades, is *to win the majority of the working class*... The Plenum pointed out that the unemployed movement must be *politicized*. The Plenum calls on us to raise it to a higher level... The Plenum appeals for this movement to be raised to a higher level.'

He went on in the same strain, evidently under the impression that he was explaining authentic decisions of the Plenum.

Could such a speech appeal to the unemployed? Could they find any satisfaction in the fact that first we intended

to politicize, then revolutionize and finally mobilize them in order to raise their movement to a higher level?

Sitting in a corner of the hall, I observed with chagrin how the unemployed, who had been so eager to hear a Communist in order to find out from him what to do concretely, began to yawn and display unmistakable signs of disappointment. And I was not at all suprised when towards the end the chairman rudely cut our speaker short without any protest from the meeting.

This, unfortunately, is not the only case of its kind in our agitational work. Nor were such cases confined to Germany. To agitate in such fashion means to agitate against one's own cause. It is high time to put an end once and for all to these, to say the least, childish methods of agitation.

During my report, the chairman, Comrade Kuusinen, received a characteristic letter from the floor of the Congress addressed to me. Let me read it:

> In your speech at the Congress, please take up the following question, namely, that all resolutions and decisions adopted in the future by the Communist International be written so that not only trained Communists can get the meaning, but that any working man reading the material of the Comintern might without any preliminary training be able to see at once what the Communists want, and of what service communism is to mankind. Some Party leaders forget this. They must be reminded of it, and very strongly, too. Also that agitation for communism be conducted in understandable language.

I do not know exactly who is the author of this letter, but I have no doubt that this comrade voiced in his letter the opinion and desire of millions of workers. Many of our comrades think that the more high-sounding words and the more formulas, often unintelligible to the masses, they use, the better their agitation and propaganda, forgetting that the greatest leader and theoretician of the working class of our epoch, Lenin, has always spoken and written in highly popular language, readily understood by the masses.

Every one of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

When writing or speaking, always have in mind the

rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you. You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak.

CADRES

Comrades, our best resolutions will remain scraps of paper if we lack the people who can put them into effect. Unfortunately, however, I must state that the problem of *cadres*, one of the most important questions facing us, has received almost no attention at this Congress.

The report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was discussed for seven days, there were many speakers from various countries, but only a few, and they only in passing, discussed this question, so extremely vital for the Communist Parties and the labour movement. In their practical work our Parties have not yet realize by far that *people, cadres, decide everything.*

A negligent attitude to the problem of cadres is all the more impermissible as we are constantly losing some of the most valuable of our cadres in the struggle. For we are not a learned society but a militant movement which is constantly in the firing line. Our most energetic, most courageous and most class-conscious elements are in the front ranks. It is precisely these front-line men that the enemy hunts down, murders, throws into jail and concentration camps and subjects to excruciating torture, particularly in fascist countries. This gives rise to the urgent necessity of constantly replenishing the ranks, cultivating and training new cadres as well as carefully preserving the existing cadres.

The problem of cadres is of particular urgency for the additional reason that under our influence the mass united front movement is gaining momentum and bringing forward many thousands of new working-class militants. Moreover, it is not only young revolutionary elements, not only workers just becoming revolutionary, who have never before participated in a political movement, that stream into our ranks. Very often former members and

militants of the Social Democratic Parties also join us. These new cadres require special attention, particularly in the illegal Communist Parties, the more so because in their practical work these cadres with their poor theoretical training frequently come up against very serious political problems which they have to solve for themselves.

The problem of what should be the correct policy with regard to cadres is a very serious one for our Parties, as well as for the Young Communist League and for all other mass organizations – for the entire revolutionary labour movement.

What does a correct policy with regard to cadres imply?

First, *knowing one's people*. As a rule there is no systematic study of cadres in our Parties. Only recently have the Communist Parties of France and Poland and, in the East, the Communist Party of China, achieved certain successes in this direction. The Communist Party of Germany, before its underground period, had also undertaken a study of its cadres. The experience of these Parties has shown that as soon as they began to study their people, Party workers were discovered who had remained unnoticed before. On the other hand, the Parties began to be purged of alien elements who were ideologically and politically harmful. It is sufficient to point to the example of Célor and Barbé in France who, when put under the Bolshevik microscope, turned out to be agents of the class enemy and were thrown out of the Party. In Hungary the verification of cadres made it easier to discover nests of provocateurs, agents of the enemy, who had sedulously concealed their identity.

Second, *proper promotion of cadres*. Promotion should not be something casual but one of the normal functions of the Party. It is bad when promotion is made exclusively on the basis of narrow Party considerations, without regard to whether the Communist promoted has contact with the masses or not. Promotion should take place on the basis of the ability of the various Party workers to discharge particular functions, and of their popularity among the masses. We have examples in our Parties of promotions which have

produced excellent results. For instance, we have a Spanish woman Communist, sitting in the Presidium of this Congress, Comrade Dolores. Two years ago she was still a rank-and-file Party worker. But in the very first clashes with the class enemy she proved to be an excellent agitator and fighter. Subsequently promoted to the leading body of the Party, she has proved herself a most worthy member of that body.

I could point to a number of similar cases in several other countries, but in the majority of cases promotions are made in an unorganized and haphazard manner, and therefore are not always fortunate. Sometimes moralizers, phrasemongers and chatterboxes who actually harm the cause are promoted to leading positions.

Third, *the ability to use people to the best advantage.* We must be able to ascertain and utilize the valuable qualities of every single active member. There are no ideal people; we must take them as they are and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings. We know of glaring examples in our Parties of the wrong utilization of good, honest Communists who might have been very useful had they been given work that they were better fit to do.

Fourth, *proper distribution of cadres.* First of all, we must see to it that the main links of the movement are in the hands of capable people who have contacts with the masses, who have sprung from the grassroots, who have initiative and are staunch. The more important districts should have an appropraite number of such activists. In capitalist countries it is not an easy matter to transfer cadres from one place to another. Such a task encounters a number of obstacles and difficulties, including lack of funds, family considerations, etc., difficulties which must be taken into account and properly overcome. But usually we neglect to do this altogether.

Fifth, *systematic assistance to cadres.* This assistance should consist in detailed instruction, in friendly check-up, in correction of shortcomings and errors, and in concrete day-to-day guidance of cadres.

Sixth, *care for the preservation of cadres.* We must learn promptly to withdraw Party workers to the rear whenever

circumstances so require and replace them by others. We must demand that the Party leadership, particularly in countries where the Parties are illegal, assume paramount responsibility for the preservation of cadres. The proper preservation of cadres also presupposes a highly efficient organization of secrecy in the Party. In some of our Parties many comrades think that the Parties are already prepared for the event of illegality even though they have reorganized themselves only formally, according to ready-made rules. We had to pay very dearly for having started the real work of reorganization only after the Party had gone underground under the direct heavy blows of the enemy. Remember the severe losses the Communist Party of Germany suffered during its transition to underground conditions. Its experience should serve as a serious warning to those of our Parties which today are still legal but may lose their legal status tomorrow.

Only a correct policy in regard to cadres will enable our Parties to develop and utilize all available forces to the utmost, and obtain from the enormous reservoir of the mass movement ever fresh reinforcements of new and better active workers.

What should be our main criterion in selecting cadres?

First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class, *loyalty to the Party*, tested in face of the class enemy – in battle, in prison, in court.

Second, *the closest possible contact with the masses*. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organizations should be based, first of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.

Third, ability *independently to find one's bearings* in given circumstances and not to be afraid of *assuming responsibility in making decisions*. He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: 'I will do only what I am told,' is not a Bolshevik.

Only he is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lose his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.

Fourth, *discipline* and *Bolshevik hardening* in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Bolshevik line.

We must place all the more emphasis on these conditions which determine the correct selection of cadres, because in practice preference is very often given to a comrade who, for example, is able to write well and is a good speaker, but is not a man or woman of action, and is not as suited for the struggle as some other comrade who perhaps may not be able to write or speak so well, but is staunch comrade, possessing initiative and contact with the masses, and is capable of going into battle and leading others into battle. Have there not been many cases of sectarians, doctrinaires or moralizers crowding out loyal mass workers, genuine working class leaders?

Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of what they must do with *Bolshevik stamina, revolutionary strength of character* and *the power to carry it through.*

In connection with the question of cadres, permit me, comrades, to dwell also on the very great part which the International Labour Defence is called upon to play in relation to the cadres of the labour movement. The material and moral assistance which the ILD organizations render to our prisoners and their families, to political emigrants, to persecuted revolutionaries and anti-fascists, has saved the lives and preserved the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries. Those of us who have been in jail have found out directly through our own experience the enormous significance of the activity of the ILD.

By its activity the ILD has won the affection, devotion

and deep gratitude of hundreds of thousands of proletarians and of revolutionary elements among the peasantry and intellectuals.

Under present conditions, when bourgeois reaction is growing, when fascism is raging and the class struggle is becoming more acute, the role of the ILD is increasing immensely. The task now before the ILD is to become a genuine mass organization of the working people in all capitalist countries (particularly in fascist countries, where it must adapt itself to the special conditions prevailing there). It must become, so to speak, a sort of 'Red Cross' of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist Popular Front, embracing millions of working people – the 'Red Cross' of the army of the toiling classes embattled against fascism, fighting for peace and socialism. If the ILD is to perform its part successfully, it must train thousands of its own active militants, a multitude of its own cadres, ILD cadres, answering in their character and capacity to *the special purposes* of this extremely important organization.

And here I must say as categorically and as sharply as possible that while a *bureaucratic approach* and a soulless attitude towards people is harmful in the labour movement taken in general, in the sphere of activity of the ILD such an attitude is an evil bordering on *the criminal*. The fighters of the working class, the victims of reaction and fascism who are suffering agony in torture chambers and concentration camps, political emigrants and their families, should all meet with the most sympathetic care and solicitude on the part of the organizations and functionaries of the ILD. The ILD must still better appreciate and discharge its duty of assisting the fighters in the proletarian and anti-fascist movement, particularly in physically and morally preserving the cadres of the workers' movement. The Communist and revolutionary workers who are active in the ILD organizations must realize at every step the enormous responsibility they have before the working class and the Communist International for the successful fulfilment of the role and tasks of the ILD.

Comrades, as you know, cadres receive their best training in the *process of struggle*, in surmounting difficulties

and withstanding tests, and also *from favourable and unfavourable examples of conduct.* We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations, in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of faint-heartedness, lack of firmness and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them *what* should be emulated and *what* rejected. We must study the conduct of our comrades and militant workers during class conflicts, under police interrogation, in the jails and concentration camps, in court, etc. The good examples should be brought to light and held up as models to be followed, and all that is rotten, non-Bolshevik and philistine should be cast aside. Since the Reichstag Fire Trial we have had quite a few comrades whose statements before bourgeois and fascist courts show that numerous cadres are growing up with an excellent understanding of *what* really constitutes Bolshevik conduct in court.

But how many even of you, delegates to the Congress, know the details of the trial of the railwaymen in Romania, know about the trial of Fiete Schulze, who was subsequently beheaded by the fascists in Germany, the trial of our valiant Japanese comrade Itsikawa, the trial of the Bulgarian revolutionary soldiers, and many other trials at which admirable examples of proletarian heroism were displayed?

Such worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularized, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faint-heartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rottenness and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the workers' movement.

Comrades, our Party leaders often complain that there are no *people*, that they are short of people for agitational and propaganda work, for the newspapers, the trade unions, for work among the youth, among women. Not enough, not enough – that is the cry. We simply haven't got the people. To this we could reply in the old yet eternally new words of Lenin:

There are no people – yet there are enormous numbers of people. There are enormous numbers of people, because the working class and ever more diverse strata of society, year after year, throw up from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest... At the same time we have no people, because we have... no talented organizers capable of organizing extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all forces, even the most inconsiderable.*

These words of Lenin must be thoroughly grasped by our Parties and applied by them as a guide in their everyday work. There are plenty of people. They need only to be discovered in our own organizations, during strikes and demonstrations, in various mass organizations of the workers, in united front bodies. They must be helped to grow in the course of their work and struggle, they must be put in a situation where they can really be useful to the workers cause.

Comrades, we Communists are people of action. Ours is the problem of practical struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is precisely this *practical* task that obliges Communist cadres to equip themselves with *revolutionary theory,* for theory gives those engaged in practical work the power of orientation, clarity of vision, assurance in work, belief in the triumph of our cause.

But real revolutionary theory is irreconcilably hostile to all emasculated theorizing, all barren play with abstract definitions. *Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action;* Lenin used to say. It is *such a theory* that our cadres need, and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air or water.

Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, cut-and-dried schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must burn them out with a red-hot iron, both by *practical,* active struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses, and *by untiring effort* to master the mighty, fertile, all-powerful teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

In this connection I consider it particularly necessary to

* V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 436-437*

draw your attention to the work of our *Party schools*. It is not pedants, moralizers or adepts at quoting that our schools must train. No. It is practical front-rank fighters in the cause of the working class that should graduate from there, people who are front-rank fighters not only because of their boldness and readiness for self-sacrifice, but also because they see further than rank-and-file workers and know better than they the path that leads to the emancipation of the working people. All sections of the Communist International must without any dilly-dallying seriously take up the question of the proper organization of Party schools, in order to turn them into *smithies* where these fighting cadres are forged.

The principal task of our Party schools, it seems to me, is to teach the Party and Young Communist League members there how to apply the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation in particular countries, to definite conditions, not the struggle against an enemy 'in general,' but against a particular, definite enemy. This makes necessary a study of not merely the letter of Leninism, but its living revolutionary spirit.

There are two ways of training cadres in our Party schools:

First method: teaching people abstract theory, trying to give them the greatest possible dose of dry learning, coaching them how to write theses and resolutions in a literary style, and only incidentally touching upon the problems of the particular country, of the particular labour movement, its history and traditions, and the experience of the Communist Party in question.

Second method: theoretical training in which mastering the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is based on practical study by the student of the key problems of the struggle of the proletariat in his own country. On returning to his practical work, the student will then be able to find his bearings by himself, and *become an independent practical organizer and leader capable of leading the masses in battle against the class enemy.*

Not all graduates of our Party schools prove to be suitable. There are many phrases, abstractions, a good

deal of book knowledge and show of learning. But we need real truly Bolshevik organizers and leaders of the masses. And we need them badly this very day. It does not matter if such students cannot write good theses (though we need that very much, too), but they must know how to organize and lead, undaunted by difficulties, capable of surmounting them.

Revolutionary theory is the generalized, *summarized experience* of the revolutionary movement. Communists must carefully utilize in their countries not only the experience of the past but also the experience of the present struggle of other detachments of the international workers' movement. However, correct utilization of experience does not by any means denote *mechanical transposition* of ready-made forms and methods of struggle from one set of conditions to another, from one country to another, as so often happens in our Parties. Bare imitation, simple copying of methods and forms of work, even of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in countries where capitalism is still supreme, may with the best of intentions result in harm rather than good, as has so often actually been the case. It is precisely from the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks that we must learn to apply effectually, to the specific conditions of life in each country, *the single international line;* in the struggle against capitalism we must learn pitilessly to cast aside, pillory and hold up to general ridicule all *phrase-mongering, use of hackneyed formulas, pedantry and dogmatism.*

It is necessary to learn, Comrades, to learn always, at every step, in the course of the struggle, at liberty and in jail. To learn and to fight, to fight and to learn.

*

Comrades, never has any international congress of Communists aroused such keen interest on the part of world public opinion as we witness now in regard to our present Congress. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that there is not a single serious newspaper, not a single political party, not a single more or less serious newspaper, not a single political party, not a more or less

serious political or social leader that is not following the course of our Congress with the closest attention.

The eyes of millions of workers, peasants, small townspeople, office workers and intellectuals, of colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities are turned towards Moscow, the great capital of the *first* but *not the last* state of the international proletariat. In this we see a confirmation of the enormous importance and urgency of the questions discussed at the Congress and of its decisions.

The frenzied howling of the fascists of all countries, particularly of rabid German fascism, only confirms us in the belief that our decisions have indeed hit the mark.

In the dark night of bourgeois reaction and fascism in which the class enemy is endeavouring to keep the working masses of the capitalist countries, the Communist International, the international Party of the Bolsheviks, stands out like a beacon, showing all mankind the one way to emancipation from the yoke capitalism, from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

The establishment of unity of action of the working class is *the decisive* stage on that road. Yes, unity of action by the organizations of the working class of every trend, the consolidation of its forces in all spheres of its activity and in all sectors of the class struggle.

The working class must achieve *the unity of its trade unions.* In vain do some reformist trade union leaders attempt to frighten the workers with the spectre of a trade union democracy destroyed by the interference of the Communist Parties in the affairs of the united trade unions, by the existence of Communist factions within the trade unions. To depict us Communists as opponents of trade union democracy is sheer nonsense. We advocate and consistently uphold the right of the trade unions to decise their problems for themselves. We are even prepared to forego the creation of Communist factions in the trade unions if that is necessary in the interests of trade union unity. We are prepared to come to an agreement on the independence of the united trade unions from all political parties. But we are decidedly opposed to any *dependence* of the trade unions on the bourgeoisie, and do not give up our

basic point of view that it is impermissible for trade unions to adopt a neutral position in regard to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The working class must strive to secure *the union* of all forces of the working class youth and of all organizations of the anti-fascist youth, and win over that section of the working youth which has come under the demoralizing influence of fascism and other enemies of the people.

The working class must and will achieve unity of action in all fields of the labour movement. This will come about the sooner, the more firmly and resolutely we Communists and revolutionary workers of all capitalist countries apply in practice the new tactical line adopted by our Congress in relation to the most important urgent questions of the international workers' movement.

We know that there are many difficulties ahead. Our path is not a smooth asphalt road, our path is not strewn with roses. The working class will have to overcome many an obstacle, including obstacles in its own midst; it faces the task above all of reducing to naught the disruptive machinations of the reactionary elements of Social Democracy. Many are the sacrifices that will be exacted under the hammer blows of bourgeois reaction and fascism. The revolutionary ship of the proletariat will have to steer its course through a multitude of submerged rocks before it reaches its port.

But the working class in the capitalist countries is today no longer what it was in 1914, at the beginning of the imperialist war, nor what it was in 1918, at the end of the war. The working class has behind it twenty years of rich experience and revolutionary trials, bitter lessons of a number of defeats, especially in Germany, Austria and Spain.

The working class has before it the inspiring example of the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism, an example of how the class enemy can be defeated, how the working class can establish its own government and build a socialist society.

The bourgeoisie no longer holds *undivided* dominion over the whole expanse of the world. Now *the victorious*

working class rules over one sixth of the globe. Soviets rule over a vast part of the great China.

The working class possesses a firm, well-knit revolutionary vanguard, the Communist International.

The whole course of historical development, Comrades, favours the cause of the working class. In vain are the efforts of the reactionaries, the fascists of every hue, the entire world bourgeoisie, to turn back the wheel of history. No, that wheel is turning forward and will continue to turn forward towards a worldwide Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, until the final victory of socialism throughout the world.

There is but one thing that the working class of the capitalist countries still lacks – unity in its own ranks.

So let the battle cry of the Communist International, the clarion call of Marx, Engels and Lenin ring out all the more loudly from this platform to the whole world.

Workers of all countries, unite...

Prolonged and stormy applause. Ovations and cheers. Shouts of 'Rot Front!' 'Banswel!' All sing the International.

Shouts in different languages: 'Long Live Comrade Dimitrov!'

The delegations of different countries sing militant songs.

During a momentary lull in the ovations, Comrade Manuilsky exclaims: 'Long live the helmsman of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitrov!'

The loud and stormy applause, ovations and cheers continue for 15 to 20 minutes.

Georgi Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 132-176
Published by the BCP, 1954

LET US UNITE ALL THE FORCES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH

Speech delivered at the opening of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Youth International on September 25, 1935.

Comrades,

I convey to you the ardent militant greetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

No dangers along your long and difficult journey, no fascist and police cordons were able to prevent you from gathering in the red proletarian capital to discuss the tasks of uniting the forces of the young generation of working people in the international fraternal and friendly family.

You are a Congress of revolutionary youth, of strength and energy. How many of the best and most exemplary fighters for the cause of working youth have gathered at your Congress.

With pride and affection, on behalf of the older revolutionary generation I greet in your person the glorious young guard of working classes of all countries in the world!

Comrades, one month ago, in this hall in which you have now gathered, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International completed its work.

Guided by the teaching of genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Congress of the Comintern thoroughly discussed all the main problems of the International Workers' Movement, and mapped out the road for overcoming its division, and uniting the forces of the working people in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors, against fascism and war. The Congress of the Communist International paid special attention to the movement of youth.

as one of the most important problems of the international revolutionary movement, fully realizing that the victory of the working people depends upon the correct and successful development of the youth movement, and its mass scope.

In bestially destroying the best fighters of revolutionary youth, fascism is simultaneously trying in every way to adapt its rotten demagogy to the moods of the wide mass of youth, and to take advantage of the growing militant activity of the young people for its own reactionary aims, in order to turn them into the support of moribund capitalism.

Depriving the young generation of working people of all rights, fascist power is fully militarizing the entire youth, and trying to train them into becoming obedient slaves of financial capital, both for a civil and an imperialist war.

What can we oppose to fascism and the danger of imperialist war, which has become particularly acute in connection with the attack which Italian fascism is preparing against Abyssinia, and with the growing aggressiveness of German fascism?

We can and we must oppose to them the union of all anti-fascist forces, and first and foremost the union of the forces of the young generation of working people, raising a thousand times higher the role and activity of the young people in the struggle of the working class for its interest, for its cause.

Let all the activity of the Congress of the Communist Youth International be devoted to the realization of this, the most urgent, the fundamental aim.

We expect that on the basis of the experience you already have, and also basing yourselves upon the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, you will succeed in finding the correct roads for the solution of the most important tasks of your movement, a task connected with uniting the forces of the entire non-fascist youth, and of those of working class youth in the first place, the task of achieving unity with socialist youth.

But you will be unable to do this if the Young Com-

munist Leagues try, as in the past, to organize their ranks as Communist Youth *Parties*, if, as they did before, they confine themselves to a sectarian life, isolated from the masses.

The whole of the anti-fascist youth is interested in uniting and organizing their forces. That is why, Comrades, you must find such ways, such forms and methods of work as will ensure the creation of a *new type* of mass youth organizations in the capitalist countries to which the vital interests of the working youth will not be alien: the creation of organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for *all* the interests of youth, and educate it in the spirit of the class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

This demands of the Congress the most serious *check-up* and *re-appraisal* of the work of the Young Communist Leagues so that they might be reconstructed *in actual fact*, and that all that hinders the development of mass work and the creation of a united front and the unity of youth might be fearlessly removed.

We expect that the Communist Youth International will construct its entire activity in such a way, as to rally and unite all the professional, cultural, educational and sports organizations of working youth, all the revolutionary and anti-fascist youth organizations for the struggle against fascism and war, for the rights of the young generation.

We note with great joy that our young comrades in France and the United States of America have actively joined the successfully developing mass movement of the united front of youth, and have already achieved very promising successes in this field. All the sections of the Communist Youth International should learn from this experience of the French and American comrades.

In many countries the communist and the socialist youth are already drawing ever closer to each other, a striking example of which is the presence at the present Congress of the Communist Youth International of representatives not only of the communist but of the socialist youth of Spain as well.

And thus, Comrades, advance fearlessly along the

road of unity with socialist youth, and create together with it common and united organizations. Advance fearlessly along the road of unity with all the forces of anti-fascist youth.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International will with all its forces encourage and support your initiative and activity in the struggle for unity, in the struggle for the vital interests of working youth.

The millions of young men and women for whom capitalist society has created impossible conditions of existence, who are either outside any kind of organization or in such organizations as are guided by the class enemy, are your brothers and sisters, whom you can and *must* draw to the side of socialism by persistent work.

Do not wait for unity to set in between the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties and the other organizations of the working class.

Be fearless and independent and take the initiative!

You are a Congress of the most active the most self-sacrificing part of the present young generation. You cannot stand aside from the movement in favour of unity, which is growing ever stronger in the ranks of the working class. You must not wait like the Socialist Youth International for permission 'from above' in order to support the movement for a united front and the merging of working youth in one organization.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare that the youth who are united in the ranks of the Communist Youth International have and will have full opportunities of *independently* developing their own revolutionary movements and solving the problems of this movement.

The communists in the ranks of the youth organizations should know how to work in such a way as to influence the decisions of the organization by convincing members, and not by commanding them on behalf of the Party.

I shall recall the words of the great Lenin, on which the relations of the Communist International to youth and its organization are founded:

It frequently occurs that representatives of the generation of the elderly and the old *do not know* how to behave as they should towards youth, who are of necessity forced to approach socialism in *another* way, not along *the same* road, *not in the same form, not under the same conditions* as their fathers. That is why, among other things, we are bound unconditionally to stand for the *organizational independence* of the youth union, and *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but also because of the very essence of the work, because without full independence youth *will be unable* either to produce good specialists from among themselves or to get ready to lead socialism *forward*.

Comrades, we must learn, we must learn by fighting!

Link all your daily practical activity with a thorough study of the primary sources of Marxism-Leninism, because without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

Be exemplary, firm and fearless fighters against fascism, against capitalism.

Hold aloft the banner of the liberation of mankind from capitalist bondage, the banner of the Communist International!

Rally the young generation of working people the world over around that banner! This banner of the greatest victories is already unfurled over one sixth of the globe, and it will triumph all over the world. (All rise. Stormy applause. Shouts: 'Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov!' 'Long live the Communist International!' Cheers. The audience sing Bandera Rossa and the International).

Georgi Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10 pp. 196-202.
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THE 'LEGAL SYSTEM' OF GERMAN FASCISM

Reply to Mr. Ribbentrop
Interview given to the press representatives on January 8, 1936

In its issue of December 18, 1935, the fascist newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* published a letter by Hitler's 'special plenipotentiary' on foreign affairs, von Ribbentrop, to the British politician Lord Allen of Hartwood, in reply to the demand of British jurists addressed through the latter personally to Hitler, for the release of the German lawyer Hans Litten.

In this letter Ribbentrop raises a number of theses: 1) that the present German regime represents a peculiar legal system, corresponding to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people; 2) that the advent to power of the German fascists on January 30, 1933, was a 'revolution'; 3) that the historic mission of German fascism was to save human civilization, and finally 4) that he, Ribbentrop, has been instrumental in the release of Dimitrov, something which he now bitterly regretted.

Ribbentrop expresses his regret in connection with the 'magnanimity' displayed by the German Government in releasing Dimitrov at that time.

Basing himself on Comrade Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which he distorts in a disgusting manner, Ribbentrop writes: 'This carefully elaborated programme is the result of Dimitrov's release, i.e. the result of the liberal British outlook and of German kindness and magnanimity!'

Below we publish the replies of Comrade Dimitrov to questions put to him by the representatives of the press.

Question: What is your opinion about the letter of Hitler's dipolomat Ribbentrop to the British Lord Allen, published in the official organ of the German Government *Völkischer Beobachter* on December 18 in reply to the demand of British jurists for the release of the German lawyer Litten.

Dimitrov: Mr. Ribbentrop is not speaking personally on his own behalf. Ribbentrop's personal opinions are of little importance. Ribbentrop's letter is an official statement of the German Government, trying to justify the monstrous crimes which roused a wave of protest throughout the civilized world. It is unbridled German fascism which is speaking through Ribbentrop's mouth in its attempt to win the support of public opinion in Great Britain for its handling of the political opponents of fascism as well as for its reckless military plans. It is no accident that this letter has been published at a moment when all honest people in the world are gripped with indignation at the base execution of the German communist Klaus, and when, confronted with the disaster of starvation into which fascism has plunged the masses in Germany, the German fascists are singularly intensifying their terror over the whole country. Openly proclaiming his defence of the butchers who are swinging the axe, their accomplice with the white-gloved hands of a diplomat, in his letter actually launches an attack on world public opinion.

Question: What do you think of Ribbentrop's assertion that the present German regime represents a 'peculiar legal' system, corresponding to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people?

Dimitrov: Ribbentrop's assertion is most insulting to the great German people. Indeed how cynical must a man be and with what Nietzschean contempt must he treat the people to whom Ribbentrop's letter is directly addressed, to make such an assertion! Fascism and legal system are two quite incompatible things. Fascism is the negation of any legal order. Fascism is actually arbitrary rule. It is the arbitrariness of an armed gang of hirelings of big business who have enslaved the bulk of the people in the interest not inly of the exploiter minority in general, but above all in the interest of the most rapacious exploiters.

What is that legal system which supposedly corresponds to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people and which has deprived nine-tenths of the people of the most elementary political rights? What is that legal system which destroys the flower of the German peo-

ple in prisons and concentration camps? What is that legal system under which quite innocent men, such as Litten, are kept in prison merely because, in Ribbentrop's own words, their 'spiritual viewpoint' happens to differ from that of Ribbentrop? Ribbentrop justifies the necessity of repealing the old legal system in Germany on the basis that, in his own words, 'Adolf Hitler, too, like any other common mortal, could be tried under the same paragraphs of the Penal Law.' But a system under which no fascist murderer is liable to any court action and falls under any paragraphs for his crimes – that is precisely a system of arbitrary rule. It is a regime headed by criminals.

It is no exaggeration to say that Ribbentrop's 'peculiar legal system' is closer to the 'system' of the American gangsters who terrorize the population of the United States than to any other existing legal system. Under what legal system, for instance, can the provocative setting on fire of the Reichstag by the German fascists be brought? Let the unified German Law Academy, whose materials Mr. Ribbentrop admonishingly promises to forward to Lord Allen, try to adduce legal arguments in justification of this provocative act, which served, according to the plan of its instigators, as a pretext for a whole series of St. Bartholomew's nights. There is no 'legal system' that would enable the Ribbentrops to justify such an action as the arrest of quite innocent persons and their trial on the charge of having set the Reichstag on fire, when the whole world knows that the Reichstag was set on fire at the order and instructions of the fascist rulers.

Let the German Law Academy try to legally justify the murders from ambush or the numerous cases of murder during so-called 'attempt at escape' so frequently practised by the fascists, or the death sentences against anti-fascists based on false documents and witnesses. Let it try to justify the system of tortures and inquisitions to which the fascist butchers subject imprisoned Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists. Let Mr. Ribbentrop explain by what norms of the legal system such acts can be covered as the assassination of the German professor Lessing by a fascist on Czechoslovak soil, the bloody

massacre on June 30, the murder of General Schleicher and his wife, the execution of scores of storm-troopers? And how about the anti-Semitic pogroms and the persecutions of Catholics, recalling the worst pages from the times of the inquisition and of the Huguenots. And how about sterilization? Under what legal system are such disgusting actions admissible? And how about the orgy of the public burning of the immortal works of human thought and human genius?

Yes, this 'peculiar legal system' has its precedents in history in the Dark Middle Ages. To this day the hearts of those who study the history of tortures, the stakes, the autodafés, the burning of Giordano Bruno and the ghastly 'diba'*, on which the unfortunate wretches were put at the time of Ivan Grozni, are filled with horror. At that time, too, there were butchers with axes at the place of execution, who chooped off heads, and there were also Ribbentrops to extol that 'peculiar legal system'. It is well known, however, that the people smashed this system to smithereens and that they mercilessly eliminated the representatives of that system. The spiritual degeneration of bourgeois society had to set in and the rottennees of decaying capitalism had to become manifest to resurrect this system and to put to shame the nation which gave to the world Marx and Engels, Goethe and Schillet, Wagner and Heine. The judgment of history will be no less lenient towards those who raised the gallows and the axe as symbols of modern mediaevalism at a time when one sixth of the globe is illumined by the five-pointed star with the emblem of the hammer and sickle.

Question: What do you think of Ribbentrop's statement that 'revolutions are not judged by judicial organs and according to ordinary legal norms?'

Dimitrov: It is quite true that revolutions are not judged in the court rooms or according to ordinary legal norms. But Mr. Ribbentrop, believing to have found herein the key to justifying the crimes of German fascism, has forgotten a 'minor detail'. As a matter of fact, the coming to

* *diba – a chair on which prisoners were tortured*

power of the German fasists of January 30, 1933, was no revolution at all. It is a well-known fact that every genuine revolution means the passing over of power from one class to another. In Germany the bourgeoisie was and remains in power. The capitalist system remains unaffected. What has changed is that the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic circles of finance capital, who intensified capitalist exploitation and oppression to the utmost, have become absolute rulers. Political forgery will not avail Ribbentrop. He thinks that he can justify fascist terror merely by labelling the fascist reactionary frenzy a 'national socialist revolution'. The fascist diplomat has not the slightest idea that genuine revolutions, no matter how harsh they may be, require no justification, because they elevate the people who carry them out and hence mankind as a whole to a higher stage of human civilization. The bloody fascist bacchanalia can have no justification, because it reduces the great German people to barbarity.

The fascist legend about a national socialist revolution has been so far primarily for home consumption, for the purpose of deceiving the masses and covering up the shortage of fats, meat and eggs. Now Ribbentrop, the nazi travelling agent, is trying to dump these rotten wares on the European market. He quite seriously recommends the fascist frenzy as a 'model revolution' for all people.

One cannot help smiling when reading such assertions of Ribbentrop as that the notorious methods of the national socialist revolution 'had nothing like them in history' and were 'in glaring contradiction with the cruel and barbarous methods' by means of which revolutions had been carried out in other nations of the civilized world and that they served the cause of 'preserving the ethical and moral foundations of the nation'. All this is such a spate of shameless lies that it does not even call for a reply. It is indeed a fascist 'sample' of boundless insolence.

Question: What is your reaction to Ribbentrop's statement that the historical mission of German fascism was to save civilization?

Dimitrov: The same as it would be to a declaration of the American gangsters if they were to assume upon

themselves the mission to save humanity from banditism. As is well known, the German fascists strike their blows at every thing bearing the seal of human progress, of free thought, of independent creative initiative, against all who are not fascists. Nor can it be otherwise, for fascism is the most ruthless enemy of human progress and civilization, it is the incarnation of the most savage and unbridled obscurantism. It directs its blows primarily at the labour movement and, in particular, at communism, because communism constitutes the vanguard of the world labour movement, and because it is the bearer of a new civilization.

This role of communism is brought into particular relief in the light of the great achievements of socialist construction in the USSR. Million of men in the capitalist world – workers, peasants and intellectuals, scientists, engineers and technicians – are increasingly realizing that socialism in the USSR means a mighty increase in the forces of production, a steady rise in the living standards of the broad masses, an unprecedented flowering of their culture, an all-round development of man's personality, the birth of a new man, of a new way of life and of a new psychology. Socialism means peace and fraternity among nations. And it is precisely for this reason that all honest, independent and free men on earth, despite all difficulties, are rallying with the working class in a united front against fascism, that plague of modern mankind.

Question: What do you have to say about Ribbentrop's assertion that he was instrumental in bringing about your release?

Dimitrov: In making this statement, Ribbentrop, to put it mildly, is exaggerating his personal role in history. As you all know, I was freed because even a fascist court could not help acquitting me. And it acquitted me because at the Reichstag Fire Trial it was proved beyond doubt that the Reichstag was set on fire not by the German communists, but by the German fascists. We were released, because the wave of indignation against German fascism rose so high throughout the world, and fascism was so discredited and

put to shame at Leipzig, that it had no other alternative but to set us free. But what does Mr. Ribbentrop have in common with all this? If the Ribbentrops has been able to tear me to pieces in Leipzig, they would have done so with the greatest of pleasure, but they were powerless. The bandit who releases his victim, because those who have come to the victim's aid are twisting his arms, can least boast of his magnanimity.

Ribbentrop tries to present the programme of the united front in the struggle against the offensive of capital, fascism and war, which was developed at the Seventh Congress openly before the whole world, as a universal terrorist conspiracy not only against fascist Germany, but also against all of Europe and more particularly against the British Empire. It seems that this terrible calamity was made possible by 'the English liberal world outlook and German kindness and magnanimity', which, as Ribbentrop assures us, led to my release. All this false rigmarole is necessary to Ribbentrop to persuade British public opinion not to repeat such 'errors' as was my release; he needs it to give a free hand to German fascism to deal with Thaelmann and the other prisoners in the German prisons.

He consciously distorts the decisions of the Seventh Congress so as to divert attention from the real conspirators and terrorists, who are trying to plunge the world into the holocaust of a new imperialist war. The shorthand record of my report has been published, workers in all countries have read it, and the British lords can now read it, too. In my report, in accordance with the programme and tactics of the Communist International, far from advocating individual terror, I fought, with all the passion of a fighter for communism, against those who turn political individual terror into a major means of achieving their anti-popular goals. And I have, above all, the German fascists in mind.

There is no doubt that the life of Thaelmann and scores of thousands of Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists, thrown into German prisons and concentration camps, is exposed more than at any other time to

serious danger. Fresh crimes of fascism are on the agenda. The hand of the fascist butchers has to be removed. The millions of workers and all honest people now have their say.

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 214-223
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UNITED FRONT OF THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

I

Never since 1914 has the menace of a world war been so great as it is now. And never has it been so necessary to mobilize all forces to avert this calamity which threatens all mankind. But to do this, one must first of all realize from where the danger is arising, who is responsible for it,and against which countries the attack is being directed.

It would not be correct to think that the war which is approaching threatens the Soviet Union alone or even the Soviet Union in the first place. As a matter of fact, the occupation of the Rhineland by Hitler's armies is a direct threat to France, Belgium and other European countries. It is also a fact that Hitler's immediate plans of conquest are directed toward the seizure of territories in neighbouring countries where there is a German population.

Whereas today Hitler talks about the 'sovereignty of Germany', tomorrow he will talk about the 'sovereignty of all the Germans.' Under this slogal he will try to carry out the annexation of Austria, the destruction of Czechoslovakia as an independent state, the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, the southern part of Denmark, Memel, etc. And this is quite easy to understand. It is much easier for German fascism to send an army first of all to seize the territory of neighbouring countries, under the slogal of the 'national unity of all the Germans,' and only later to fight against the powerful land of the Soviets. German fascism, in strengthening its positions on the Rhine, also threatens the independence of the Polish people, in spite of the fact that the present rulers of Poland are its allies.

As far as the Far East is concerned, there can be no doubt that a *direct* blow is aimed at the Chinese people, although the fascist military clique of Japan is preparing for war against the Soviet Union and has an agreement with Berlin for this eventuality. Japan has already occupied Manchuria and is now occupying one province of China after another. Japanese imperialism is striving by this means to subject all the peoples of Asia, including India, and to seize the Philippines and Australia. It is preparing for a decisive encounter with the United States and Great Britain.

Hence it is clear that the peoples of the West would commit a fatal error if they allowed themselves to be lulled by the illusion that the fascist warmongers in Europe and the Far East do not threaten them. In particular, the people of the countries neighbouring on Germany have food for serious thought regarding the defence of their independence and liberty.

As is well known, the fundamental cause of imperialist wars lies in capitalism itself, in its predatory efforts. But in the existing international situation, the instigator of the approaching war is *fascism*, this mailed first of the most aggressive and warlike forces of imperialism.

The war danger has become so immediately threatening because the road to power was not barred to German fascism at the proper moment. Having obtained power by means of an internal war against the mass of the people of its own country, fascism has grown into a direct war menace to the countries of the whole world. Having enslaved its own people, it is advancing with the torch of war in its hand to attack other peoples.

The war danger has become extremely menacing for the further reason that the fascist aggressor has been allowed to enjoy a position of impunity. The war preparations of German fascism (the introduction of universal military service, the air and naval armaments) were carried out with the systematic connivance of the capitalist states and the direct assistance of the British ruling cricles. The passivity and wavering of the League of Nations in regard to Japanese attack on China and the

Italian aggression in Ethiopia encouraged the impudence of the aggressor.

But the growing aggressiveness of German fascism and of the Japanese military clique is first and foremost the result of the fact that *the international proletariat did not succeed in acting unanimously with all the power of its gigantic forces, did not rally around itself all the working people and all the friends of peace into a mighty front against war.* The resistance of the reactionary section of the leaders of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions to the united front of struggle has not yet been broken. Yet is it the refusal of these reactionary leaders (supporting the imperialist policy of their own bourgeoisie) to undertake united independent proletarian action against war, lulling the masses to sleep with the illusion that the League of Nations would do everything necessary for the maintenance of peace, which has hindered the struggle of the proletariat against war and paralyzed its pressure on the capitalist governments.

In addition to the openly reactionary leaders who disrupt the unity of action of the international proletariat in defence of peace, there are also 'left' phrasemongers who propagate fatalistic views to the effect that war is *inevitable* and the maintenance of peace *impossible*. Since the fundamental cause of war is capitalism, then, they say, so long as the latter exists, it is impossible to avoid war and it is hopeless and useless to fight for the preservation of peace. Such people are out-and-out doctrinaries, if not simply impostors. They see everywhere around them the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors making for peace.

The Soviet Union, the country of the victorious proletariat, with its consistent and resolute peace policy, is such a factor for peace. Another factor for peace is the proletariat of the capitalist countries. These are the leading forces in defending peace against the warmongers. The mass of the peasants, all working people, and the mass of the people in all capitalist countries, are also for the preservation of peace. A number of capitalist countries at present are interested in the preservation of peace. In the countries

where fascism rules, as well as in the countries where the rulers abet the instigators of a new slaughter, the peoples do not want war.

Phrasemongering doctrinaires, such as those from the British Independent Labour Party, depict matters as if the question of war and peace depended only on the capitalist governments. Yes, this would be the case if the mass of the people were simply pawns in the hands of the governments and *did not fight* to maintain peace in spite of their governments. But this is just the point; it is radically wrong to regard the mass of the people as puppets in the hands of the government. If these masses, without whom war could not be carried on, were to act *resolutely and promptly* against the war plans of the governments, they could force them to desist from war and from abetting the war plotters. *All that is required is to organize the struggle of the peoples for the preservation of peace in good time and to wage it every day and everywhere against the fascist warmongers and their backers.*

A united peace front is required which would include not only the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals and other working people, but also the oppressed nations and the peoples of countries whose independence is threatened by the warmongers. A peace front is required extending to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, acting in coordination against the warmongers, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese military clique in the Far East. And this peace front will become powerful and invincible if it organizes practical mass actions, not confining itself to protests, resolutions and declarations.

Economic and political measures are necessary, which will put the warmongers in *a state of siege*. They should be cornered in such a way as to be incapable of carrying out their criminal plans. The globe should be encircled with such a network of organizations of the friends of peace, such a mighty movement of international solidarity and such effective measures of a united international policy of the proletariat for the preservation of peace, as will effectively shackle the dastardly hands of the warmongers.

The fascist aggressor must be made to feel most emphatically that his every step is vigilantly watched by millions of people and that any attempt to attack other peoples will meet with the determined resistance of the proletariat and the working people all over the world.

None other but the proletariat, closing its ranks, can organize such a peace front, can be its driving force, its backbone. This is now *the central task* of the international proletariat as a whole. The success of the fight against fascism depends on its successful solution.

II

It is not enough to *want* peace. It is necessary to *fight* for peace. General propaganda against war will not do at all. Propaganda against war 'in general' does not in the slightest degree hinder the conspirators sitting in Berlin or Tokyo from carrying out their dastardly work. They would be quite satisfied if the working class were to go no further than such general propaganda.

A successful struggle to maintain peace absolutely requires that the joint activity of the proletariat and the widest masses of the people be directed against *the specific instigators of war* and against those forces inside the country which help them directly or indirectly. From this point of view it is extremely important in every country to work out a definite and correct tactical line in the struggle for the preservation of peace, taking into account the situation of the Party and the working class movement of the given nation and also its internal and international situation.

In the countries where fascism is in power, the working class, putting in the forefront of its struggle against the fascist dictatorship exposure of chauvinist demagogy and war preparations, must rally all its forces to overt the disaster into which fascism is preparing to plunge the people. When the proletariat and the masses of the people of Germany, Italy and other fascist countries fight against the rule of fascism and its military aggression, they are acting

not only for their own salvation, but in the interests of peace, in the interests of all peoples, of all mankind.

A particularly important question in the tactics of the working class, especially in the countries which are directly in danger of an attack, is today the attitude which should be adopted toward the foreign policy of the government and the defence of the country. It is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class and all the working people what foreign policy the government pursues towards the fascist enemies of peace; whether this policy helps to strengthen collective security or to hinder it; whether the government protects the agents of the fascist aggressor or takes effective steps against them; how it treats the sons of the people in the ranks of the army, in what spirit they are trained, what elements the officers of the army are composed of, whether these are reliable in the fight against the fascist enemy or population is to be protected against the horrors of war, etc.

To adopt an attitude of indifference to the question of the defence of the nation, to leave this question without control in the hands of a bourgeois government, will certainly not help the cause of the defence of peace. It is no accident that the ruling section of the bourgeoisie has always looked upon this sphere as its monopoly, regarding it as a kind of 'holy of holies.' This monopoly of the bourgeoisie must be demolished once and for all.

The proletariat cannot get along without a policy of its own on these questions. Without on any condition permitting itself to slip into adopting the position of the bourgeoisie, the Party of the proletariat must actively interfere in foreign policy and in questions of national defence, advancing its own platform and its own demands.

As the supreme supporter of the active defence of its own people and country from fascist enslavement, the working class must closely link up the question of the defence of the country with the demands for the extension of the democratic rights of the workers and peasants and the defence of their vital interests, taking as its starting point the fact that only the democratization of the regime, the democratization of the army, its cleansing from fascist

and other reactionary elements, and the satisfaction of the urgent demands of the workers and peasants, can strengthen the defensive capacity of the nation against a fascist attack.

In every concrete situation, the representatives of the working class must support proposals and must seek to secure the implementation of measures as will offer the greatest possibilities for bringing to bear on the widest scale the pressure of the masses of the people upon the foreign policy of the government in questions of national defence. They must also support all those measures which hinder the capitulation of the bourgeois governments to the fascist aggressor and the betrayal of the independence and liberty of the people by these governments.

In case of a direct threat of war by a fascist aggressor, the Communists – emphasizing that only the proletarian power is able to ensure the reliable defence of the country and its independence, as is plainly shown by the example of the Soviet Union – will seek to bring about the formation of a *Popular Front government*. Such a government, taking determined steps against fascism and the reactionary elements in the country, against the agents and backers of the enemies of peace, and ensuring the control of the organized masses over the defence of the country, will assist in raising the capacity of the people for defence against a fascist aggressor.

Since today the power is in the hands of bourgeois governments, which are no guarantee for the genuine defence of the country and which use the armed forces of the state against the working people, the party of the working class cannot take any political responsibility for the defensive measures of these governments, and therefore opposes the war policy of the government and the military budget as a whole. This does not exclude abstention from voting in particular cases, giving the reason for doing so, on those various measures of a defensive character which are necessary to hinder the attack of a fascist aggressor (e. g., the fortification of frontiers), from voting and speaking in favour of measures dictated by the

interests of the defence of the population against the horrors of war (shelters, gas masks, Red Cross work, etc.).

The time has gone by when the working class did not participate *independently and actively* in deciding such vital questions as war and peace. The difference between Communists and reformists, between revolutionary and reactionary leaders of the working class movement, does not at all consist in the latters, participation in deciding these issues while we revolutionaries are supposedly to remain aloof. No! The difference is that on these, as on other issues, reformists defend the interests of the capitalists, while revolutionaries defend the interests of the working people, the interests of the nation.

These flexible Bolshevik tactics, which are the application of the general tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to a specific question, arise of necessity from the whole present-day international situation, particularly from the existence of definite fascist aggressors.

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

But now the situation is different. Now we have: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in the preservation of peace. It is,

therefore, completely wrong now to depict *all* countries as aggressors. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors can distort the facts in such a manner.

III

The peace which exists at present is a bad peace. But in any case this bad peace is better than war. And every consistent supporter of peace will understand at once the need to support all measures which assist in maintaining it, including the measures of the League of Nations, particularly sanctions.Sanctions can be made into an effective means against an aggressor.

If the sanctions taken by the League of Nations did not prevent Italy from continuing the war against Ethiopia, this is not an argument against sanctions but against the powers which undermined their application.

And if German fascism today is flinging a challenge to the nations of the whole world, this is precisely because it reckons on freedom from punishment, because sanctions were not applied to Japan, because the sanctions against Italy were frustrated by the capitalist states, because, finally, when Hitler sent his troops to the frontiers of France and Belgium he was convinced in advance that sanctions against him would be frustrated by the British bourgeoisie.

It is said the application of sanctions increases the war danger and will lead to war. This is not true. Quite the contrary, *the impunity of the aggressor* increases the danger of war. The more resolutely sanctions of an economic and financial character are applied to a fascist aggressor (complete refusal of credits, stopping commerce and the supply of raw material), the less will German fascism be inclined to start a war, because the greater the risk which it will run.

The League of Nations must be ruthlessly criticized for its irresoluteness, passivity, inconsistency. The working class wages an irreconcilable struggle against the governments of those imperialist countries, members of the League of Nations, which help the aggressor for the sake of their own selfish interests, disrupt measures for preserving

peace and sacrifice the interests of small nations to the interests of the big imperialist powers. But it does not follow that we should in general adopt a negative position toward the League of Nations. What interest has the proletariat in playing into the hands of the warmongers, all of whom are at present against the League of Nations? The League of Nations has been deserted by the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan. The League of Nations includes the Soviet Union, which throws all its international weight into the scales on the side of peace and collective security. In the League of Nations there are also other states that do not want to give the fascist aggressors an opportunity to attack other nations. Those who cannot distinguish between the League of Nations in the past and the League of Nations at present, those who cannot vary their approach to the different members of the League of Nations, those who refuse to bring mass pressure to bear on the League of Nations and the various capitalist governments to secure the adoption of measures to maintain peace, such people are windbags and not revolutionaries or proletarian politicians.

The working class must support those measures of the League of Nations and various states which are really directed toward the preservation of peace (non-aggression pacts, pacts of mutual aid against the aggressor, pacts of collective security, financial and economic sanctions). And not only must it support these measures, but by a mighty mass anti-war movement it must force the League of Nations and the governments of the various capitalist states to take serious steps in defence of peace.

It is not true that the policy of constantly yielding to the demands of the fascist warmongers by the League of Nations and by various countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, etc.) will help to maintain peace. The workers have not forgotten that at the time, in the internal policy of Germany, if was precisely the appeasement of and capitulation to attacking fascism which paved the latter's way to power. In the international arena a similar policy of appeasement frees the hands of militant fascism for attack.

Nor is it true that the cause of peace will gain from attempting at the present moment to raise the question of a redistribution of the sources of raw materials, colonies and mandated territories, as the reactionary Social Democratic leaders are doing. In reality this is done with the aim of distracting the attention of the masses from a concrete struggle against the warmongers. On the other hand, such proposals conceal the desire to give colonies to German fascism, which is bound to strengthen still more the military position of German fascism. It is not the business of the proletariat to advocate any particular division of colonies and mandates among the imperialists. Its task is to support the struggle of the colonial peoples for their interests and their rights and for their final liberation from the imperialist yoke.

IV

While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the bourgeois governments against the aggressiveness of the fascist firebrands, the proletariat must not overlook for a moment that *the chief, fundamental and decisive thing* in the preservation of peace is the *independent action of the masses in defence of peace against the actual war incendiaries.*

There cannot be the slightest doubt that if the international proletariat, with its mass organizations, especially the trade unions, had acted in unison, and by strikes and other measures had prevented a single ship or a single train from going to or from Italy, Italian fascism would long since have been forced to stop its war of plunder against the Ethiopian people.

But the formation of a really wide Popular Front for peace, strong enough to carry on such a struggle against military fascism, is possible only if there exist *unity of action of the proletariat itself.* It was precisely the establishment of the unity of action of the working class which made it possible for the French and Spanish proletariat to build up a mighty anti-fascist Popular Front.

Rent by internal contradictions, the London Conference of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, under the pressure of the reactionary wing, evaded the question of the necessity of immediately bringing about unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale. This conference did not call upon the working masses for independent action, but confined itself to an appeal to rely wholly on the League of Nations. It did not take a stand in defence of the Chinese people, who are being attacked by Japan. It did not condemn in the slightest degree those labour leaders and Social Democratic leaders who defend the aggressive policy of German fascism, masking this by phrases about the 'preservation of peace.'

But, at the same time, a movement for a united front of the working class has been rapidly developing of late in the ranks of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions. The basic interests of the whole international proletariat require that these forces gain the upper hand and overcome the resistance of the opponents to the united front.

The fact that fascism, taking advantage of the discord in the parties and organizations of the working class in various countries, has gone over to a military offensive, insistently demands *a single international policy of the working class for the purpose of maintaining peace.*

To sum up, this single international policy of the proletariat can be brought about on the following basis:

1. The restoration and strengthening of real international proletarian solidarity in defence of the interests of the broad masses of working people. The Social Democratic Parties must make a decisive break with the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie.

2. Every possible support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the proletarian state that stands unswervingly in defence of peace among peoples. And this presupposes in the first place a determined struggle by the working class parties against the counter-revolutionary attempts to depict the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as identical with the policy of the imperialist states and to represent the

Red Army, that bulwark of peace, as being the same as the armies of imperialist states – attempts which play into the hands of the fascist warmongers.

3. The blow against the fascist aggressor must be directed with a definite purpose and with concentrated force at every moment; the attitude taken toward the aggressor must be different from that attitude taken toward the victims of his attack; any attempt to gloss over the difference between fascist and non-fascist countries must be exposed.

4. An independent struggle by the proletariat for the preservation of peace, independent of the capitalist governments and the League of Nations, making it impossible for the working class movement to be subordinated to the behind-the-scenes designs of the imperialist governments in the League of Nations.

Under present conditions, the fight to maintain peace is a *fight against fascism*, and this fight is in essence *revolutionary*.

The maintenance of peace is a deadly danger for fascism, because, by increasing its internal difficulties, it leads to the undermining of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The maintenance of peace helps the growth of the forces of the proletariat, the forces of revolution, helps to heal the split in the ranks of the working class movement. It helps the proletariat to become the leading class in the struggle of all the working people against capitalism. It undermines the foundations of the capitalist system and hastens the victory of socialism.

*

'War may break out quite unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared, they just begin' (Stalin). And this places communists under the obligation to realize quite clearly the scope and character of the war danger, and the ways and means of warding it off.

A decisive step at present toward the establishment of unity of action of the international proletariat against the warmongers is for the Communist Parties of each

separate country to develop in all fields of social and political life the most active, persistent and extensive campaign for the maintenance of peace. The Communists must carry on this campaign, not postponing it until pacts for joint activity have been signed with the leaders of the Social Democratic Parties, but they must unfailingly carry it on from the point of view of the struggle for the establishment of unity of action between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. Communists must exert every effort to overcome the resistance of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders to the united front and to strengthen in every way the bonds of joint struggle against the common enemy between the Communist and Social Democratic workers.

Such a campaign, helping to draw the Communist and Social Democratic workers closer together, will help to activate and rally all forces of the proletariat, not only on a national but on an international scale. This will greatly assist the setting into motion of other strata of the working people of town and country, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and intellectuals, all friends of peace. All this will hasten the formation of an invincible front of struggle of the international proletariat, of all toiling people, of all peoples, for the preservation of peace.

The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!

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THE POPULAR FRONT AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR*

I

The policy of the Popular Front against fascism and war, proclaimed at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, found a strong echo amid the working people of all countries. The practical implementation of this policy in France and Spain has given ample proof of the *real possibilities* of the Popular Front, and increased still further its popularity.

There is not a single country in the world today, where the idea of a popular front is not winning new followers among those who cherish democracy and liberty, among all those who stand for peace between all nations. The trend towards forging a popular front is growing even in countries like Japan, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet had its final say, where fascist-feudal militarism, with its adventurous policy, its conquest of Chinese territories and its provocative actions along the boundaries of the great Soviet Union, is driving the Japanese people into the chasm of dreadful calamities. This trend is also growing in the so-called classical countries of bourgeois democracy such as Great Britain, where the two parties of monopoly capital, the Liberals and Tories, which by their reactionary domestic and foreign policy are about to bury democracy and peace, have been traditionally in charge of the fortunes of the nation.

The great historical importance, the correctness and timeliness of the popular front policy are, as a matter of fact, particularly vividly brought out by the attitude adopted toward it by the enemies of the proletariat, the

* Abridged

enemies of democracy and peace, the fascist instigators of war, in short, by the whole of international reaction. The governments of the capitalist states, the bourgeois parties, the statesmen and politicians, and the bourgeois press have been greatly alarmed by the resolutions that were taken at our Seventh Congress. The reactionaries of all countries have launched an unprecedented campaign of slander and instigation against the Communist International and against all of the followers of the popular front. Fascist Germany went even so far as to set up a special organization, the 'Anti-Comintern', for international propaganda against the Communist International and for combating the policy of the popular front. At the National Socialist Congress in Nürenberg Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg set off a particularly virulent cannonade against the peril of the popular front, which threatens their fascist dictatorship, and against democracy in general. In aiming the darts of their attacks at the existing Popular Front in France and Spain, they therby revealed their alarm and fear of the popular front movement that is springing up in Germany herself. The Pope in Rome and his 'holy' bishops in various countries hastened to come forth with epistles and sermons so as to protect their flock from the 'dreadful Bolshevik danger' – the popular front. The question of the popular front has not left the pages of the capitalist press and continues to be a topic of lively commentaries.

Our class enemy was quick to sense and realize the great danger which the popular front, the unification of all anti-fascist forces, spelled out for him. As long as the proletariat remains divided, as long as it is isolated from the other working strata of society in town and village, as long as it has not established proper mutual relations and collaboration with the other democratic forces in its own country, the handful of financial and industrial magnates, the fascist bourgeoisie will not experience particular difficulties – as was shown by the example of Italy, Germany and Austria – in crushing the labour movement, in coping with the different strata of the nation one by one, and in burying democracy. The fascists have been successful in

applying the well-known perfidious axiom of 'divide and rule'.

But when the disunited proletarian detachments, on the initiative of the Communists, begin to join hands in the struggle against their common enemy, when the united working class begins to act in common with the peasants, with the petty bourgeoisie and with all the democratic elements on the basis of the popular front programme, the offensive of the fascist bourgeoisie runs up against insuperable barriers. A force now emerges, capable of putting up a decisive resistance to fascism, of preventing its advent to power in countries of bourgeois democracy, and of overthrowing its barbarous domination wherever it has already been established.

The formation of the popular front marks, as can be seen from the examples of France and Spain, a *turning-point* in the balance of power between the proletariat, on the one hand, and the fascist bourgeoisie, on the other, in favour of the millions of working people. The popular front offers an opportunity to the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the democratic intellectuals not only to oppose the rule and oppression of big business, but also to rise against it in defence of their vital interests and rights, relying on the militant cooperation with the working class on a national and international scale. The popular front points the way out of a situation which seemed hopeless to the petty bourgeois strata, who considered themselves doomed to fall under the heel of fascism. The popular front helps the working class to avoid the political isolation into which it is deliberately being driven by the bourgeoisie; it creates optimum conditions for the proletariat to fulfil its historical mission – to head the struggle of its people against the handful of financial magnates, big capitalists and landowners, to become the vanguard of the unfinished democratic revolutions and of all movements for progress and culture. The class struggle between the exploited and the exploiters thus assumes an incommensurably broader scope and powerful *élan*.

While disunity in the ranks of the working class, the lack of unity of action between the proletariat and the

other working sections of the nation pave the way for the advent to power of fascism, unity in the ranks of the proletariat and the establishment of a popular front ensures the victory of democracy over fascism, protects the world from the fascist warmongers and in the long run paves the way to victory of labour over capital.

It is difficult to imagine a greater political stupidity than to oppose the principles of the class struggle to the policy of the popular front, as certain not too brilliant and zealous critics on the 'left' seem to be doing now with respect to the resolutions taken at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. We often observe the characteristic phenomenon that a number of left-wing Socialists, disappointed by the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, when moving away from the positions of reformism are often inclined to pass over to another extreme and become the victims of sectarianism and ultra-leftist deviations. Incorrectly identifying the policy of the popular front with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, they come out for a 'pure class policy' of the proletariat and define the joint anti-fascist struggle of the working class and the democratic strata of the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and intellectuals as a surrender of the positions of the class struggle. This, however, does not prove in the least that the policy of the popular front is identical with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but only that it is necessary to explain patiently to the honest left-wing socialists the class meaning of the popular front policy, and to help them get rid of their political shortsightedness which only plays into the hands of fascism and of reaction in general.

II

As was already stated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the popular front in the different countries will have to be formed differently, depending on their historical, social and political peculiarities, and on the concrete situation in every given country. The uncritical

limitation and mechanical transfer of popular front forms and methods from one country to another will only hamper its establishment, extension and consolidation.

However, as experience has shown, for most of the capitalist countries, it is equally true that:

First – the establishment of a popular front is possible only in the course of an actual struggle against fascism.

Second – the popular front will the sooner become a reality and will be the broader in character, the more decisively the working class itself begins to act as one man and the sooner its organizations and, above all, the mass trade unions, the Communist and Social Democratic Parties achieve unity of action in their struggle against fascism.

Third – the popular front will further expand and consolidate, depending on the fulfilment of its programme for the defence of the interests of the working people, for the defence of democracy and peace against fascism and the fascist war-instigators.

Fourth – the success of the popular front will fully depend on the unity in its ranks, on the political and organizational training of the masses and organizations participating in it, which should be ready to parry at once every blow on the part of fascism, without waiting for its general offensive.

In view of the battle raging between the Spanish people and the fascist insurgents, now that fascism is rearing its ugly head everywhere in the capitalist countries and primarily in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, it is the supreme duty of the working class by all means to speed up the formation and consolidation of the popular front, by establishing unity of action on a national and international scale. It is the duty of all Communists to do everything necessary, proceeding from the conditions of their own country, to help the working class to fulfil this historical obligation.

If we are to formulate in brief the foremost immediate tasks that the present situation poses before the international proletariat, we shall see that they boil down to the following:

to help with might and main the Spanish people to crush the fascist insurgents;

not to allow the popular front in France to be discredited or upset;

thoroughly to speed up the formation of a world-wide popular front against fascism and war.

All these tasks are closely interwoven. The most urgent and pressing one at this moment is, however, to organize a campaign of international aid to the Spanish people for their victory over fascism.

The course of events in all capitalist countries in the near future will depend, in many ways, on the outcome of the Spanish people's struggle against the fascist oppressors. The actions of fascism in Spain have shown once again that it is not only the worst enemy of the proletariat, of the Soviet Union, but also an enemy of freedom, of any democratic country, even though its economic and political system does not transcend the limits of bourgeois society.

Fascism brings with it the liquidation of all democratic gains of the peoples, it establishes a rule of obscurantism and destruction of culture, of racial inanities, and a gospel of hatred of man, for the purpose of fomenting aggressive war. The riff-raff of the Foreign Legion, the betrayed Moroccans, fighting under the command of fascist generals and armed by the fascist rulers of Germany, Italy and Portugal, and the troops sent by Germany and Italy are now sowing death and destruction in Spain. The soldiers of the Republican Army before the walls of Madrid, in Catolonia, in the mountains of Asturia and in the whole Peninsula, are defending not only the freedom and independence of Republican Spain, but also the democratic gains of all peoples and the cause of peace against the fascist firebrands.

The Spanish events are of particular importance because they have revealed the great force of united proletarian action, the force of the popular front in the fight against fascism. Now everybody realizes that in Spain the fascist generals would long ago have set up a dictatorship had it not been for the united action between the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist workers, for the broad

fighting front of the Spanish people from the Communists to the left Republicans. They would have butchered the workers, the working people and all the democratic elements all over Spain. They would have subjected the country to orgies of mediaeval reaction and inquisition, they would have placed it under the arbitrary sway of the German and Italian fascists, they would have ceded to them the most important strategic Mediterranean points and would have turned Spain into a bridgehead for the implementation of their criminal military plans.

But in Spain the fascist rebels and their instigators in Berlin and Rome met a force which blocked their way. They ran into the *armed resistance of the popular front.* With their heroic fight the Spanish people are now giving an example of how democracy should be defended against fascism. All those who do not wish to see their own country falling prey to fascist barbarity are interested in the victory of the Spanish people. Their victory will be the victory of the entire international democracy, the victory of progress and culture over fascist reaction, the victory of the front of peace over the fascist fomentors of war. It will consolidate the popular front in France and will deal a heavy blow to fascism in all countries. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people is a clear and convincing warning to the dark powers of fascism in the countries, which are feverishly preparing fascist coups d'états, that the times have passed now when fascism was able to exploit the disunity in the ranks of the working class and the working people, to catch the people unawares, deceive the politically backward elements and seize power in the country. This struggle shows that, given a solid popular front and concerted actions of the working class on an international scale, it is impossible to establish fascist rule over a nation ready to defend its freedom and independence. In this way the cause of democracy and peace in Europe, the cause of the struggle against fascism and war in all countries is indissolubly linked through a thousand fibres with the interests of the popular front in Spain, whose valiant fighters are now up in arms in defence of the Republic to ensure the victory of the Spanish Revolution.

III

The most recent developments and, in first place, the lessons that can be drawn from the Spanish situation show that the time has come when democracy must be defended against fascist aggression by all possible means, including an armed struggle. This should be grasped and remembered by all workers and working people, by all those who do not wish to fall victim to fascist slavery and brutal violence.

It is not a question that the adherents of democracy and peace have become in general admirers of the armed struggle, but the fact is that fascism fans civil war against the democratic regime in every country, sows destruction and death and compels the people to defend their life, freedom and independence arms in hand.

It must be understood that the question now is not about some distant threat on the part of fascism but that fascism, having already established a terrorist dictatorship in such big countries as Germany and Italy and, in its endeavour to do the same thing in Spain, is from day to day preparing to crush the workers' movement and wipe out democracy in the other countries and is fanning a world imperialist war.

It should not be assumed that the war waged against the Spanish people is an accidental, isolated act. No. This war is a link in the chain of aggressive actions of fascism on the world arena. We should not cherish the illusion that the war launched by fascism against the Spanish people will be the last one. Fascism is getting ready to deal blows to democracy in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, to democracy in Great Britain, Switzerland, the Scandinavian and other countries. The fascist reactionaries, both within and outside the country, are preparing fascist revolts and coups d'état and biding their time to perpetrate them at the opportune moment. The crushing of the workers' movement and the wiping out of European democracy is indispensable to fascism like water and air, in order to prepare a new imperialist war, to grab alien territories and subject foreign peoples to its sway, to secure the unbridled

domination of the most reactionary predatory elements of finance capital and to organize a crusade against the Soviet Union.

The adherents of democracy should never forget that the destiny of anti-fascist democracy in Europe is indissolubly linked with the destiny of the working class, with the establishment of a popular front. Democracy is bound to perish under the blows of advancing fascism unless it is supported by the working class and the broad masses and unless it is ready to defend itself with might and main against fascism.

The policy of retreat before fascism, both on a national and international scale, is bringing grist to the mill of fascism, ruin to the people, death to democracy. This policy is equally harmful both to those who retreat before fascism inside the country, and to nations as a whole which retreat before it on the world arena.

The fascist rulers in Germany are systematically blackmailing the bourgeois democratic countries and the present rulers of those countries are lending themselves to this blackmail. It should be clear, however, that the more concessions are made to the fascists without resisting their onslaught, the more insolent they become. The fascists act by means of their tried method – provocation. In Germany they set fire to the Reichstag and raised a hue and cry that it was the Communists who had done it. In Spain they staged a rebellion against the parliamentary regime, against the lawful republican government and are clamouring that the popular front is to blame for the civil war. The fascists threaten spineless liberals and jelly-bodied democrats, while the democratic businessmen who tremble for their profits, the ministers, politicians and leaders of the various liberal and democratic parties who cling to cushy jobs, as well as quite a few people from the ranks of the Socialist and the Amsterdam International, succumb to these threats and are looking for ways and means to appease fascism. They try to convince the masses of the possibility of pursuing a 'middle of the road' policy, when Paul could be paid without robbing Peter. *But you cannot feed the fascist wolves with concessions, you will not stop*

them with such a policy. Actually this policy leads to demobilizing the forces and the will of the toiling masses.

The events in Spain are again a striking case in point.

It is now quite clear to everybody that the fascists, and in the first place the German and Italian fascists who used the Spanish generals to start an insurrection, counted on it that the young Republican Government of Spain would be unable to put up a stiff resistance and that they would find no difficulty in subjugating the country, plundering its natural resources and occupying its islands of strategic importance. The fascists decided on military operations in Spain because in the recent past they got away with their crimes. The introduction of compulsory military service in Germany, the militarization of the Rhineland, the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy and the earlier conquest of parts of China by Japan, tacitly allowed by the bourgeois democratic countries and the League of Nations, has whetted the appetites of the brazen-faced fascists and encouraged them to undertake other brigand acts of aggression. The fascists would never have dared to fan civil war in other countries, to send arms, planes, tanks, flotillas and finally military units, if they had in time been earnestly rapped on the knuckles. They would have been compelled to give way if at the very start of the fascist rebellion in Spain they had met the powerful force of the international workers' movement, acting in a united front, if resistance had been put up against them on the part of the governments of bourgeois democracy, if those governments had not maintained the blockade against the Spanish Republic by their treacherous policy of non-intervention.

We often hear assertions made by people who claim to be supporters of democracy to the effect that the establishment of a popular front leads only to intensifying fascist aggression, to accelerating armed action on the part of fascism. Hence the conclusion: if you wish to avert the barbarous rule of fascism, do not set up a popular front, but try to come to terms peacefully with Hitler and Mussolini and with your own Hitlers and Mussolinis at home. But there is nothing more erroneous and harmful to the proletariat and

the whole people in the countries of bourgeois democracy than the sheepish wisdom of such would-be democrats. It boils down to the dull, ugly and decadent maxim: 'Do not irritate the beast if you wish it not to attack you.' And this monstrous moral maxim is being served to the Social Democratic workers precisely after the cruel defeat of the working people in Germany and Austria! It is a well-known fact that in Germany and Austria the leaders of the Social Democratic parties and trade unions firmly rejected any joint action with the Communists, justifying their policy on the ground that a united front with the Communist Party would repel the middle classes from the working class, would strengthen fascism's positions and aggression, accelerate its general offensive and lead to its victory and the destruction of democracy. The heavy defeats, followed by countlesshorrors and disasters, that befell the German and Austrian peoples were the result of precisely this policy. On the other hand, we see that the popular front in France blocked the road of fascism, and that it isprecisely thanks to the popular front that the Spanish people have now for five months been fighting heroically for their freedom and independence. In this hard struggle the greater will be its chance of success, the more the Spanish working class succeeds in fully preserving the monolithic unity of the popular front, the more it succeeds in subordinating the historically existing differences between Communists, Socialists and Anarchists to the nation's supreme interest – the crushing of the fascist rebellion, the more determined a resistance it puts up against the attempts at skipping the inevitable stages of the revolution by some short-sighted sectarians, light-minded day-dreamers and Trotskyite*agents provocateurs*. And finally, the more quickly and decisively the Spanish people are assisted by the international proletariat and by all progressive mankind, the sooner they will be able to make short work of the fascist rebels.

Analogy is, of course, no proof, but it often illustrates a given situation vividly. It can safely be asserted that if at the time of the Leipzig trial, when the sword of beastly nazism hung over the heads of the accused Communists,

the anti-fascists in all countries as well as we in the court-room had followed this 'sage' policy – not to irritate the beast, German fascism would not have suffered such a moral and political defeat, the heads of the innocently accused Communists would not have remained on their shoulders, and the Saint Bartholomew's night planned by the bloodthirsty fascists against the thousands of fascist prisoners, kept in prisons and concentration camps, would not have been averted.

No, the policy of 'do not irritate the beast' is a futile policy. This policy is under all conditions fatal for the working class, democracy and peace. On the contrary, *the fascist beast must be bridled. The mighty, organized fist of the popular front must be opposed to it. An iron muzzle must be put on it, so as to prevent it from biting. It must be hit and destroyed, in order to save the democratic gains of the peoples and save peace.*

This, of course, does not mean that we should allow ourselves to fall under the influence of the provocations on the part of the fascists who, fanning civil war inside the country and imperialist war beyond its boundaries, with all possible means would like to deceive the masses and present matters in such a way as to make them believe that it is the parties of the popular front and the nations that support peace which lead us to civil war and military complications.

In the most recent political history of Europe we have two instructive examples of reactions to fascism which have produced diametrically opposite results.

If in Germany the Social Democratic leaders refused to establish unity of action among the working class and thereby facilitated the coming to power of the fascists, France offers a different example.

As a result of the joint battles fought by the Communist and Socialist Parties and the policy of relentless struggle against the fascistdanger pursued onthe basis of the popular front, the French proletariat succeeded in putting up a firm resistance to fascism's advent to power in Germany this is the greatest victory of the proletariat and democracy in Europe. The working people in the other capitalist coun-

tries can and should draw important lessons from the French proletariat. But these successes in France are only initial successes. They must be consolidated and followed up by a further offensive against fascism. Every attempt to discredit of frustrate the popular front must meet with the firmest resistance on the part of all workers, all anti-fascists. The rallying of the fascist forces in a country, the growing fascist aggressiveness in the neighbouring countries, and the rich lessons that can be drawn from the developments in Spain eloquently prove to the proletariat and all anti-fascists that they have to invest ten times greater efforts in the struggle against fascism, to forge a united popular front still more resolutely and strongly.

There is no reason to doubt that this policy will be persistently and firmly pursued as the only correct one in the struggle against growing fascist aggression. But the preservation of the popular front in France does not at all mean that the working class will under all circumstances support the present government. The composition of the government can change, but the popular front must continue to exist and grow ever stronger. If the present government proves for some reason not to be in a position to implement the programme of the popular front, if it embarks on the road of retreat before the inner and external enemy, or if its policy leads to discrediting the popular front and in this way weakens the resistance against the fascist offensive, the working class, while continuing to strengthen the links of the popular front, will strive to replace this government by a government steadily pursuing the programme of the popular front and capable of coping with the fascist danger and of securing the democratic liberties of the French people and their defence against external fascist aggression.

Side by side with the preservation and consolidation of the popular front in France, the development of united action on the part of all detachments of the British working class against fascism and war deserves special attention. We all know that Great Britain plays a prime role in international affairs. Its position exercises a pronounced influence on quite a few bourgeois democratic countries as

well as on the general international situation. The whole present set-up raises with particular emphasis the question about the part played by the working class in Great Britain on a national and international scale. This imposes on it exceptionally important obligations in the struggle against fascism and for the preservation of peace as well as for setting up unity in the international workers' movement. The British working class won democratic rights earlier than the working people in the other countries. The democratic regime which it succeeded in establishing enables it to exercise a still greater influence on the nation's policy than the proletariat in a number of other countries. The workers of Great Britain possess powerful means of fighting for democracy, the preservation of peace, against fascism and more particularly against the fascist rebels in Spain and the German, Italian and Portuguese interventionists.

There is no doubt that the British working class, which has inherited the glorious traditions of the Chartist movement, that working class in whose midst the First International of *Marx* and *Engels* was founded and which established powerful unified trade union organizations, will be able to generate sufficient forces and will to overcome all obstacles along the road to setting up a united popular front for fighting fascism and war, and will fulfil with honour its international obligations in the defence of democracy, civilization and peace.

The working class is called upon to play a decisive role in setting up a powerful popular front. It can and must rally around itself all working people, all forces of democracy, all anti-fascists. At the present moment in an atmosphere of rabid fascist aggression, directed, as was particularly vividly demonstrated by the Nürenberg Congress of the raging German fascists, *against every democracy*, when everything must be done to save the Spanish Democratic Republic, when the sinister threat of a new imperialists world war is impending, not only the *splitting of the forces of the proletariat is impermissible but every delay in setting up a united front is also impermissible and criminal.* This delay plays into the hands of fascism, it may result in new heavy blows against the proletariat and democracy.

The working class should no longer tolerate a situation in which leaders of the Second Socialist International are going out of their way to deepen the split in the proletarian ranks at a moment when Socialist and Communist workers in Spain are fighting and dying side by side at the front in defending not only the freedom and democracy of the Spanish people against fascist barbarity, but also the democracy and culture of all Europe.

At the moment when the fascist rebels are killing Socialist and Communist workers in Spain fighting shoulder to shoulder at the fronts and are dooming the whole country to havoc and destruction, the leadership of the Socialist International stubbornly refuses to render organized assistance to the Spanish people together with the Communist International.

In many countries there are Socialist governments or coalition governments with the participation of Social Democratic Ministers, leaders of the Socialist parties and the Socialist International. But these governments not only do not endorse the standpoint of the Soviet Union on the Spanish question, which is in full accord with the interests of the Spanish people. The responsibility for this policy, which is exceedingly harmful to the interests of the world proletariat, will of course be borne by the Socialist leaders who pursue it. *But it would be denying a historical truth if we were to pass over in silence that part of responsibility which falls on all leaders of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals.* Their leaders speak and act on their behalf, as their representatives. If they allow the implementation of such a policy, *they cannot evade their responsibility.* They must realize that it is their common historical duty, together with the communists, to do their best to bar the way of fascism and to preserve peace.

The united front of the working class itself in the big capitalist countries, the joint action of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, as well as of the trade unions of various political trends, are assuming exceptionally great importance in the establishment and broadening of a popular front for fighting fascism and war and on an international scale – the joint action of the Communist, Socialist

and Amsterdam Internationals. All obstacles blocking the path to such joint action should be cleared away as soon as possible. To achieve this, the Communist Parties, as well as all those who stand for proletarian unity and a popular front in the ranks of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals should put in a tremendous amount of strenuous day-to-day work.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International took into consideration the fact that it was not at all easy to overcome the split in the working class. All that the class enemies and their agents and lackeys have done in the course of many decades for the purpose of splitting the forces of the working people cannot be undone by a mere wave of the hand and by wishful thinking. Our whole experience after the Congress showed still more clearly that the path to united action of the working class on a national and international scale *was no straight, smooth, asphalt road.* It is quite a difficult zig-zag road, which is often thorny and steep.

The overt and covert enemies of unity persist in putting up various obstacles and barriers. Every step has to be won with great efforts, with stubborn work and struggle. Those that have been misled must be enlightened and convinced with great patience. The doubters and waverers must be constantly heartened. The saboteurs and double dealers must be ruthlessly unmasked. It is necessary to wage a stubborn struggle against a number of sly sophists, clever politicans and skilful demagogues who try by all means to suggest to the simple and politically inexperienced worker that *two and two makes three instead of four,* that the united front of the working class does not increase its strength, but allegedly leads only to promoting fascist aggression. At the same time, we must not yield to the provocative manoeuvres of the opponents of unity, but constantly lend a fraternal helping hand for a joint struggle to all organizations of the working people – even when they are headed by known opponents of this unity. Every Communist, every conscientious worker should not forget for a minute that all opponents of the unity of the international proletariat, the Citrines or whatever other names

they might have, would be exceedingly pleased if, as a result of their sabotage and provocation, the Communists were to give up the struggle for unity and abandon their persistent pursuit of the popular front policy. This would only facilitate the disruptive role of these leaders and would temporarily save them from the stern judgement issued by the court of the proletariat and history. We should know how to wage a relentless ideological fight against reformism and the other anti-Marxist trends in the ranks of the workers' movement and, at the same time, constantly fight to build up a united popular front, assidously avoiding the frustration of joint action in our daily struggle against fascism and war.

Twenty-two years ago, on the eve of the imperialist world war, the great *Lenin*, while mobilizing the forces of the working class for the approaching struggle for socialism, stressed the immense importance of unity in the ranks of the proletariat in these words:

> Unity is indeed necessary for the workers. And it is most necessary to realize that but for the workers themselves, *no one* will 'give' them unity, *no one* is in a position to help them achieve their unity. Unity cannot be 'promised' – this would be an empty boast, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' by 'agreement' between small intellectual groups – this is the most lamentable, naïve and ignorant delusion.
>
> *Unity must be won*, and only the workers themselves, the class-conscious workers are in a position to obtain it – through persistent and stubborn efforts.
>
> There is nothing easier than to write the word 'unity' in big letters, to promise it, to 'proclaim' yourself as its champion. But only the vanguard workers, all class-conscious workers, can actually propel unity by their own efforts and organization.
>
> ... This is no easy task. It requires the efforts, perseverance and rallying of all class-conscious workers. But without such efforts, it is useless even to speak about working class unity.*

These remarkable words of *Lenin* are in the present period a particularly valuable instruction for the working class in all capitalist countries.

* V.I.Lenin, *On Unity, Complete Works, Vol. 20, pp. 328-329 (Russian edition)*

The entire course of events after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International irrefutably confirms the vital necessity of fulfilling most rapidly its historical slogans for working class unity and for a popular front against the most vicious enemy of humanity – fascism. The Communist International and the Communist Parties in the different countries, relying on the support of the working people, will not cease even for a minute to fight with all their forces for the achievement of this unity. They will not yield to any provocations aimed at deepening the split within the working class and at foiling the popular front. And in spite of all counteraction on the part of the saboteurs from the Socialist and the Amsterdam Internationals, the international proletariat will achieve its militant unity.

What is needed against fascism and war is not empty words or platonic wishes, but actions. For these actions it is necessary to unity all forces of the working class and unwaveringly to carry through the policy of the Popular Front.

November 1936
G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 280-302
Published by the BCP, 1954

* V.I.Lenin, *On Unity, Complete Works, Vol. 20, pp. 328-329 (Russian edition)*

SUPREME BEHEST AT PRESENT

I

The whole international situation at present is characterized by fascism's feverish preparations for a repartition of the world by means of an aggressive war and, at the same time, by the growing unity of the international proletariat and the gathering of the forces of the working people, the adherents of democracy and peace, for the struggle against fascism and war.

The fascist aggressors in the West and the East are in a hurry to reach agreement on the ways, means and objects of their aggression at all cost. Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are concluding various pacts and military agreements with one another. There can be no doubt that Hitler's and Mussolini's intervention in Spain, their war against the Spanish people, as well as the aggressive actions of the Japanese militarists in China, are just stages in the preparation for a major war.

Even though there exist differences between the interests of these war-incendiaries, they jointly pursue a subversive activity in the non-fascist countries, which wish to preserve the peace, by supporting reactionary parties and groups in those countries in every way possible, by organizing coups d'état against the governments and regimes that do not suit them and their aims, and by sowing counter-revolutionary anarchy everywhere. Their criminal hand can be seen in the treacherous activity of De la Roque and Doriot in France, of Degrelle in Belgium, of Henlein in Czechoslovakia, in the fascist intrigues in the

Scandinavian and the Balkan countries, in Hungary and Austria, in Poland and in the Baltic states, in the policy of the pro-Japanese elements in China, and in the actions of the Hearst circles in the United States of America.

The fascist aggressors, who are vitally interested in the utmost weakening of the nations' defensive capacity with regard to fascist aggression, in disorganizing the labour movement and in foiling the now emerging popular front, everywhere use the Trotskyites as their agents for these purposes. They have taken under their protection the Fourth International – this riff-raff of renegades and traitors of the working class and secret police agents. The fasicst rage is chiefly aimed at the Soviet Union, against the great land of socialism, the mainstay of peace, freedom and progress of mankind, the foremost obstacle on the road of fascist aggression.

There can be no doubt whatever that the fascist rulers of Germany and Italy and the fascist military clique in Japan would already have kindled the fire of another world war, if there were no such mighty guard of peace as the Soviet Union, if there were not a powerful movement in the ranks of the international proletariat to intensify the fight against fascism and to set up a united popular front, if the Spanish people had not succeeded in so heroically repelling all fascist attacks, if the French proletariat had not forged an anti-fascist popular front, and if the Chinese people had not set out to rally their forces in an all-national front against the Japanese conquerors.

All this, however, merely obstructs the fulfilment of the perfidious schemes of the fascist war-incendiaries: they have not desisted and never will desist from their schemes of their own free will. After Mussolini's hordes were routed at Guadalajara, the foreign interventionists are now throwing new armed forces into battle against the Spanish people. Uttering peaceful statements before Landsbury, the Labour Party leader, who is as naïve as a child and suffers from political blindness, Hitler is strenuously preparing a blow against Czechoslovakia, whose extinction as an independent state, according to the fascist concention, is necessary for the 'pacification of Europe'. German fascism

is getting set to gobble up Austria and is fomenting fascist coups d'état in a number of other countries. On its part, the Japanese military clique is trying, by hook or by crook, to crush the democratic opposition in its own country, so as to be able with so much more aggressiveness to attack the Chinese people.

From long experience it has become clear that no admonitions can stop the fascist war-incendiaries. The only effective way of checking them is the relentless united struggle of the masses against fascism in the different countries and on an international scale. Only the unity of action of the international proletariat, rallying around it all strata of the working people, all progressive, democratic elements, all true adherents of peace is in a position to check the insolent fascists who have become too big for their boots and to bury their piratic schemes for ever.

All recent events show that wherever the proletariat is fighting fascism as one man and firmly, wherever the working masses are united in a common anti-fascist front, fascism is unable to enslave the working class, and to enthrall the people who are ready to defend their rights, freedoms and independence selflessly and by all means.

The nine-month long struggle of the Spanish people who firmly repulsed the armed attacks of fascism, the successes of the popular front in France and the growing anti-Japanese movement in China have already led to results which indisputably confirm this truth, as well as the whole historical significance of the united popular front for the cause of the fight against fascism and war. Everyone can now see clearly for himself from the glaring examples in a number of countries that where there is a popular front, where the masses are resisting fascism and not following the rotten policy of 'not irritating the fascist beast', fascism is suffering defeat. The successes of the popular front in non-fascist countries not only bars the way to fascism in those countries, but also exerts a powerful influence over the masses in the countries under fascist dictatorship and undermines the latter's foundations. The very first serious defeats inflicted on the fascist interventionists in Spain especially at Guadalajara, raised the curtain which

conceal's the inherent rottenness, the contradictions and instability of the fascist regime, and led to a stengthening of anit-fascist sentiments in Italy and Germany.

II

At the present moment history has entrusted a great mission to the international proletariat – to save mankind from the barbarity of fascism, from the horrors of the new imperialist slaughter it is now preparing.

To help the Spanish people to free themselves from the fascist oppressors; to help the German and Italian peoples to break the chains of the fascist regime; to help the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese conquerors; to help the small nations to defend their freedom and independence; to create an impassable barrier against fascist aggression to the West and to the East – such is the concrete road to fulfilling the international proletariat's historical mission at the given stage. And the fulfilment of this mission is entirely within the scope of its forces if it acts in a united and organized way.

The foremost detachment of the international proletariat – the working class of the Soviet Union – is a force organized by the state. It heads a powerful state, which is a land of peace and freedom for all peoples. Over one-sixth of the globe the working class of the USSR under the leadership of Lenin's great Party, after overthrowing the landowners and the capitalists, and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, has won the victory for socialism and realized true democracy, consolidated in the new Constitution of the USSR.

Another heroic detachment of the International proletariat – the working class in Spain – is fighting on front positions against fascism, rallying its ranks ever more closely and the ranks of the Spanish people in the popular anti-fascist front. As the guiding force of the armed people, united around the government of the popular front, the Spanish proletariat is defending not only the

freedom and independence of its country, but also the interests of the entire international proletariat, the common cause of democracy and peace.

The working class in France, which has begun to implement a united front in its ranks, has united the trade unions in a Single Confederation of Labour, which already includes over five million workers. The working class in France has formed a popular front, against which all the intrigues of French fascism dash in vain. The successes of the popular front in France are giving a strong impetus to the movement for a popular front in the other countries.

The working class in the United States, for the first time in the history of America, is manifesting its independence as a class, uniting its forces in the mass trade unions, and fighting actively in the front ranks of the democratic and progressive forces in the country against reaction and fascism.

In Great Britain the working class, which forms the overwhelming majority of the population and which has at its disposal powerful organizations, represents a tremendous force by itself, whose relative weight in the international workers' movement is increasing owing to the special situation which Great Britain occupies in world politics. On condition that militant unity of action is established among all the forces of the labour and communist movement, the British proletariat is in a condition not only to repel any reaction in its country but also to play an important role in the international struggle against fascism and war.

Without reviewing in detail all the other countries, we may state without exaggeration that the movement for the unity of the working class is growing, although not at the same rate everywhere, not only in the countries which are threatened by fascism and the aggression of the fascist states, but also in the countries in which there is a fascist dictatorship.

The main thing now consists in further cementing the unity of the working class on a national scale, in finding a common language, a common platform which will enable the proletariat to act in a united front on an international

scale and to concentrate in due time its main forces on those sectors of the anti-fascist struggle, which at a given moment happen to be the most important.

The establishment of unity of action of the international proletariat against the common foe, the deadly enemy of all mankind – fascism, is *the principal urgent task of the workers' organizations throughout the world, a supreme behest at present.*

It is a difficult and a big task, transcending the ordinary current tasks of the labour movement. But the resolution of this task will radically change the political course of events, will give them a new bent in the interests of the working people, will turn the working class and its organizations into a force which will influence most the destiny of its own country, as well as the destiny of mankind as a whole.

What is the first prerequisite for the fulfilment of this task of immense historical significances?

First, all workers' organizations must realize the necessity of concentrating the fight on the *main enemy*, on the striking force of the most reactionary section of the big bourgeoisie – *fascism*. All workers' organizations, when determining their policy, must proceed from *the defence of their own class interests*, and must not act in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Proceeding from their own class interests, the working class and its organizations thereby defend the interests of all exploited men, of the whole nation. An end must be put to the policy of reconciling the interests of the exploited and the exploiters. You cannot be at the same time on the side of big business and on the side of the working people. You cannot serve, as it is said, both God and mammon. You cannot go both with the insurgent generals and with the Spanish people. You cannot be for the victory of the Spanish people and seek a compromise with General Franco. You cannot pledge allegiance to the Spanish Republic in words, and in practice refuse her all means of defence so as to please the British Tories. You cannot express your readiness to fight fascism and at the same time incite people against the Communists, the most consistent fighters against the fascist oppressors.

Second, it is neccessary to *curb the enemies of the united*

front inside the ranks of the labour movement. The workers crave for unity of action, but an uncritical attitude towards the 'big names' and an ill-understood loyalty to one's own organization often prevent the workers from coming out against those leaders who, by their dishonest manoeuvres, foil the establishment of a united front. Since those leaders refuse to obey the supreme will of the working class, since they prefer to serve the bourgeoisie, placing their personal careerist interests above those of the working class, it is the elementary duty of every workers' organization to muster sufficient courage and to find the necessary ways and means of realizing its will towards unity, notwithstanding all obstacles.

Third, it is necessary to *oppose most resolutely all those who indulge in a slanderous campaign against the USSR.* To fight the USSR means to fight socialism, the great aim of the working class, set down in the programme of the overwhelming majority of workers' organizations throughout the world. To fight the USSR means to fight against the working class' greatest victory in history, a victory which multiplies the forces of the entire international proletariat and the working people. To fight the USSR – that is the most important part of the fiendish scheme of the fascists, aimed at splitting the forces of the international proletariat, so as to smash them separately more easily, to crush the workers' movement, to put the working class and all working people in the capitalist countries under the yoke of a fascist dictatorship. You cannot be an enemy of fascism and at the same time fight the USSR, this vanguard of the international anti-fascist movement. You cannot be a Socialist and even an honest democrat, without resolutely and wholeheartedly siding with the Soviet Union – the great land of socialism and of genuine national democracy. The *touchstone* of fidelity to the interests of the working class, of loyalty to socialism for every labour militant and for every workers' organization is, as a matter of fact, one's attitude to the Soviet Union.

Fourth, it is necessary, while fighting fascism, to beat most mercilessly its *Trotskyite agents*, who represent a gang of spies, wreckers, terrorists and provocateurs in the service

of German fascism and the Japanese military clique. By order of the fascist intelligence service, the Trotskyite monsters engage in subversive activities against the land of socialism, do all they can to deepen the split and to prevent the unity of the workers' movement in other countries, and seek to sap the popular front movement from within. Everywhere they prove to be saboteurs of the labour movement, disorganizers of the struggle of the masses against fascism. The unity of the international proletariat against fascism and war is inconceivable and impossible without combating the Trotskyite gents of fascism.

These are the *most elementary conditions* for the achievement of unity of action of the international proletariat against fascism and war. But precisely the activity of those leaders, who have a decisive say in determining the policy of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, runs counter to the realization of these elementary conditions. They not only systematically reject the proposals of the Communist Party and the Communist International for joint action in defence of the Spanish people, but also stifle the initiative of those organizations of the Second International which act in a common front with the Communists against fascism, against the German and Italian interventionists in Spain. At the London Conference of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals the delegates of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals the delegates of the Socialist Party and of the General Workers' Union in Spain tried in vain to pierce the wall of cool indifference towards the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. In vain did they appeal to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals for support in the struggle of Republican Spain by means of joint actions of all the working class organizations. The delegates of Spain left the Conference profoundly disappointed. In their decisions the two Internationals did not go byond the bounds of declarations and resolutions acceptable to the British Tories.

The enemies of the unity of the working class, the reactionary leaders in the ranks of these Internationals, not only sabotaged the cause of the decisive all-round help, for the Spanish people, but went even further. They are taking

all measures to split the popular front within Spain itself, intriguing, sowing mistrust, egging the Socialist leaders on against the Communist Party, thereby weakening both the bastion of the popular front and the defensive capacity of the Spanish Republic. At the same time, today, when the example of the French proletariat, which has achieved united action and offered resistance to fascism by means of the popular front, is inspiring the workers of all countries, the reactionary leaders are weaving a web of intrigues, with a view to fanning mistrust between the Socialist and the Communist Parties in France, to undermining the popular front, and to preparing conditions for the creation of a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the right-wing elements in the Socialist Party, directed against the Communists and the popular front movement. In this way, they are sacrificing the interests of the working class to please the most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie. For these leaders, not fascism but communism is the principal enemy. For Citrine, Bevin and Adler, the principal enemy is not Franco but Dolores Ibarruri, the heroine of the Spanish people, not De la Roque and Hitler, but Thorez and Thaelmann.

III

It would be naïve to assume that proletarian unity of action can be achieved by persuading, exhorting or conjuring the reactionary leaders. International proletarian unity cannot be achieved without a stubborn struggle on the part of all its adherents against the overt and the covert enemies of that unity.

Sometimes voices rise from the ranks of the Socialists, asserting that the Communists impede the creation of a united front by their frank and sincere criticism of the conduct of the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. Yet, can the creation of a united front be achieved without criticizing in the most resolute manner those who want to impede it in every way? What kind of militants of the labour movement would we be if we did

not frankly state the whole truth on a matter of such importance for the entire working class?

Whoever passes over in silence or covers up the harmful actions of the reactionary leaders in the ranks of the labour movement does not help the cause of working class unity. Whoever, allegedly in the interest of a united proletarian front, desists from combiting its enemies and from criticizing reformism, subordinating the workers' movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie, is doing the working class an ill service.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, proclaiming the policy of a united proletarian popular front in its resolution, *The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Working Class Unity against Fascism*, particularly indicates:

> Joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations, far from excluding, on the contrary, *makes it all the more necessary* to subject social-democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, to serious and well-founded criticism reformism, and patiently to explain the principles and the programme of Communism to the social-democratic workers.*

Whoever fails to follow this instruction of the Seventh Congress is a poor fighter for working class unity and for the popular front against fascism and war. Whoever thinks that the struggle for a popular front relieves us of the necessity to fight for the principles and the radical interests of the workers' movement, against the theories and views hostile to the working class, is making a great error. The cause of the united front will not suffer from such a struggle; it can only profit from it. Moreover, a struggle of this kind is a premise for actually developing and consolidating the united popular front against fascism and war.

It should never be forgotten that in fighting consistently and stubbornly for a united popular front, the Communists are pursuing not a policy of unprincipled coalition, but a policy of principle.

* Resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

When we fight resolutely in defence of democratic rights and freedoms, against reaction and fascism, we do this as Marxists, as consistent proletarian revolutionaries, and not as bourgeois democrats or reformists. When we proclaim our defence of the national interests of our people, of their independence and freedom, we do not turn into nationalists or bourgeois patriots, but do this as proletarian revolutionaries and true sons of our people. When we proclaim our defence of religious freedom, against the fascist persecution of believers, we do not retreat from our Marxist world outlook which is devoid of all religious prejudices.

Pursuing the policy of a popular front against fascism and war, engaging in joint actions with other parties and organizations of the working people against the common enemy, fighting for their daily interests and democratic rights, for peace and freedom, the Communists always bear in mind the historical necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, which has outlived its time, and of the realization of socialism, which brings liberation to the working class and all mankind.

Let us correctly combine the pursuit of the popular front policy with Marxist propaganda, with raising the theoretical level of the cadres of the working class movement, with mastering the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin as a guide to action – that is what we must learn to do and daily teach our cadres and the masses. We must beware of failing to see the forest for the trees. We must not permit the divorce of practice from theory, opposition between the fulfilment of urgent day-by-day tasks and the long-range prospects and aims of the struggle of the working class. We must not forget that the more the popular front movement broadens, the more complex the tactical problems of the movement become, the more necessary a real Marxist analysis of the situation and the balance of contending forces becomes, the more necessary it is to have the reliable compass of Marxist-Leninist theory in our hands.

*

The proletariat is the most consistent fighter for the creation and consolidation of the united popular front against fascism on a national and an international scale. Without the proletariat the popular front is quite inconceivable. The proletariat is the principal motive force of every anti-fascist popular movement, of every mass movement in defence of democracy and peace. It fights jointly with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the intelligentsia against their common enemy. But the proletariat must rely first and foremost on its own forces, on unity within the ranks of the workers' movement in every country and on unity within the world workers' movement. For, the more united and the more organized the proletariat is, the more truly it will be able to defend its class interests and the better it will be able to fulfil its leading role in the ranks of the united popular front.

For the Communists and all class-consious workers the task ensuing from this is not to spare any efforts, not to be daunted by difficulties, not to leave the slightest possibility unutilized to thrust forward the cause of unity of action of the working class on a national and an international scale. This cause must be furthered until full unity of the trade union movement is achieved, and until a single mass Party of the proletariat is created. Here too it should be clearly stated that the unity of the proletariat will be the more rapidly realized, that the successes in setting up and consolidating a united popular front will be the greater, the stronger the Communist Parties are numerically, organizationally and ideologically, the more they enjoy the confidence and support of the best and most progressive elements of the working class and the masses. For the Communists are the most resolute and consistent fighters for the realization of the unity of the working class.

At the very dawn of the international Communist movement, Marx and Engels, defining the historical role of the Communists in the ranks of the international proletariat, stated in the Communist Manifesto:

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole...

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

True sons of their class, defenders of their people's interests, free of all ties with and dependence on the bourgeoisie, thoroughly consistent internationalists, the Communists best of all will be able to play the role of a *unifying link* in the ranks of the proletariat, as well as between all anti-fascist parties, organizations and groups of the working people, of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, of the peasants and the intelligentsia in their fight against fascism and war.

Consequently, in order to achieve success in the struggle for unity of the working class, for a united popular front, it is necessary every day and untiringly to work for the strengthening and consolidation of the ranks of the Communist parties and the entire Communist International. This is dictated by the vital interests both of the international proletariat and of all progressive mankind.

May Day, 1937.

G. Dimitrov, Collected Works,
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FASCISM IS WAR

Two years ago, in August 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in analyzing the international situation and seeking ways and means whereby the working class could carry on the struggle against the offensive of fascism, pointed to the indissoluble connection between the struggle against fascism and the struggle for peace. *Fascism is war*, declared the Congress. Coming to power against the will and interests of its own countrymen, fascism seeks a way out of its growing domestic difficulties in aggression against other countries and peoples, in a new redivision of the globe by unleashing a world war. As far as fascism is concerned, peace is certain ruin. The preservation of international peace renders it possible for the enslaved masses in the fascist countries to gather their forces together and to prepare for the overthrow of the hated fascist dictatorship, and to enable the international proletariat to win time for the establishment of unity in its ranks, to rally together the supporters of peace, and to establish an insurmountable barrier against the outbreak of war.

When the Seventh Congress characterized fascism as the firebrand of war, when it pointed to the growing danger of a new imperialist war and to the need for establishing a powerful united fighting front against fascism, there were very few people even in the labour movement who did not hesitate to accuse us Communists of deliberately ascribing this role to fascism, for purely propagandist purposes and of exaggerating the war danger. Some did this consciously, in the interests of the ruling classes, while others did so out of political shortsightedness. The past two years, however, have provided a sufficiently clear demonstration of the complete absurdity of such accusations. Now both the friends

and foes of peace are openly speaking of the menace of a new world war which has come upon us. And it would be difficult to find serious-minded people who at all doubt that it is precisely the fascist governments that are foremost in the desire for war. In actual fact, war is already raging in a number of countries. For one year now, both the Italian and the German interventionists have been carrying on a war against the Spanish people before the eyes of the whole world. After having accomplished the seizure of Manchuria, the Japanese fascist militarists are now again attacking the Chinese people and are waging a new war in North China.

Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, North China – these are stages towards the new great robber war of fascism. These are not isolated acts. There exists a bloc of fascist aggressors and warmongers – Berlin, Rome, Tokyo. The German-Japanese 'anti-Comintern' Pact, an agreement which, as is well known, is of a military nature and to which Mussolini has in fact also linked himself, is already being applied in practice. Under the flag of a struggle against the Communist International, against the 'Red menace', the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors are trying by means of partial wars to seize military-strategic positions, key positions on land and naval routes, and sources of raw materials for their war supplies with a view to the further unleashing of an imperialist war.

There is no need to be under any illusions, there is no need to wait for *a formal* declaration of war, to see that war is now on. As far back as March 1936, Comrade Stalin, in his interview with Roy Howard, said:

'War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply break out.'

All events of recent years serve as a glaring confirmation of this thesis. Without officially declaring war, Japan started military operations against China and seized Manchuria, Italy attacked the Ethiopian people and seized Ethiopia, and Germany and Italy are waging a war against the Spanish Republic.

It is well known that the people have no desire for war, and that a number of non-fascist states are, in the present

conditions, interested in maintaining peace. On what, then, do the fascist war-makers base their calculations? The entire experience following the robber drive by the Japanese imperialists into Manchuria and by Italian fascism into Ethiopia shows unquestionably that the bandit bloc of the rulers of Germany, Japan and Italy, in order to carry out their military plans in practice, are striving:

first of all to hinder *united action* by the states interested in the maintenance of peace,

secondly, to prevent *unity of action* by the international labour movement, the establishment of a mighty united world front against fascism and war;

thirdly, to carry on *undermining* diversionist and espionage work in the Soviet Union, which is *the foremost bulwark of peace.*

It is on this chiefly that the fascists base their calculations.

And in actual fact the fascist aggressors and warmongers are working strenuously and jointly in these three directions. They are blackmailing the Western European states by threatening their territorial interests. They are preparing an onslaught on the USSR. They are making extensive use of the appeasement of the ruling circles of Britain, France and the United States. While making proposals for an agreement on the plundering of the small countries, Spain and China, they are striving in every possible way to win the good graces of the British Tories and a number of Liberal and Labour leaders, so as to wean Britain away from France and other democratic countries.

Holding out a similar lure, the fascists are exerting incredible efforts to come to an agreement with the French reactionaries so as to induce France to renounce the Franco-Soviet pact, thus isolating it from the Soviet Union. The fascist states left the League of Nations to get a free hand for their aggression. They terrorize the weak states by threatening attacks from outside, and by organizing conspiracies and rebellions within these countries. The fascist war-mongers make use of traitors, and particularly of the Trotskyites, to carry on disruptive, disorganizing work in the ranks of the labour movement, to disrupt the People's

Front in Spain and France. The recent putsh in Barcelona gave a particularly clear demonstration of how the fascists make use of Trotskyist organizations to stab the People's Front in the back. The fascist firebrands also make splendid use of the work of the opponents of international proletarian unity in the ranks of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and assiduously recruit their agents everywhere.

On more than one occasion the Soviet Union has upset the war plans of the fascist aggressors by its consistent and resolute peace policy. It can be asserted without any exaggeration that mankind would long ago have been plunged into the most terrible war in history had not the Soviet Union been insistent and unswering in carrying through its peace policy, had there been no glorious Red Army in existence.

But while the fascist aggressors meet with necessary rebuffs from the Soviet Union, which is acting in the interests not only of the Soviet people but also of the whole of toiling mankind, this cannot be said of the countries of bourgeois democracy. Here, as is being demonstrated with particular clearness by the examples of Spain and China, we meet with the overt and concealed assistance being given to the fascist bloc by the ruling circles of the most important Western non-fascist states.

Was it not support for the fascist warmongers when the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese militarists was met with appeasement? Was not the lacks of resolute resistance to the bloody campaign of Mussolini against the people of Ethiopia encouragement to the fascist aggressor? Take the entire farce of non-intervention in Spanish affairs, which has already been carried on for a year under the leadership of the British government, and the negotiations going on regarding the recognition of Franco as a 'belligerent' – are they not in fact an encouragement to the war being waged by the fascist states against the Spanish Republic? Is not the present complacent attitude towards the brazen marauders in North China the most scandalous encouragement to the unbridled Japanese militarists, who wish to eslave the great Chinese people? How can the peoples of

Great Britain, France, the United States and the people of other non-fascist countries look on calmly at these things? How can they put up with this systematic appeasement and encouragement of fascist aggression, which facilitates the foul work of the fascist firebrands of a new world war?

In the face of these things, it becomes still clearer how great is the historic responsibility which lies on those circles and leaders of the Socialist Labour International and the International Federation of Trade Unions which are stubbornly resisting the establishment of united action by the international proletariat, of action by its organization on the basis of a united, co-ordinated policy against the fascist warmakers, of the establishment of a mighty international front of peace.

When the Japanese militarists seized Manchuria, there were people claiming to be leading lights in the labour movement who assured the workers in their organizations *that Manchuria was a long way off and the Japanese invasion* did not touch on the interests of the international labour movement. When Mussolini's fascist hordes crushed the Ethiopian people, these functionaries asserted that the events in Ethiopia were a local colonial conflict and that the international proletariat ought not to interfere. When later on the fascist aggressors brazenly attacked the Spanish Republic and started a war within Europe itself, it was only after many months of tormenting vacillations that the leaders of the Second International agreed to a joint conference with the delegation of the Communist International at Annemasse, and yet not for the purpose of actually bringing about united action between the international workers' organizations, but only to recognize the advisability of joint action 'wherever possible.'

Since then the fascist intervention in Spain has been considerably intensified. And now there has been added the new aggression of the Japanese militarists in North China which, according to Japanese plans, is to become a second Manchukuo and the basis for a further amputation of China.

Is it not clear that at this moment, when the Spanish

people are exerting all their efforts to beat off the onslaught of the fascist interventionists, when the Chinese people are rising up against the Japanese militarists who have attacked them, the international workers' organizations should at last unite their efforts and come to the defence of international peace, resolutely and fully prepared for action?

The situation is now developing in such a way that to maintain peace throughout the world means first and foremost to bring about the defeat of the fascist invaders of Spain and China. They must be taught a good lesson, they must be really made to feel that the international proletariat and all progressive and civilized mankind will not tolerate their military aggression and acts of robbery, and are ready to do everything to prevent them from fulfilling their plans of igniting the flames of a new world war.

Can it be that the Socialist Labour International and the International Federation of Trade Unions will rest content now with general wordy declarations and incantations in favour of peace, while in deeds they shun joint action by all organizations of the international labour movement which is so vitally needed? Surely it is clear that joint action by the international workers' organizations in each separate country and on an international scale is alone capable of mobilizing the forces of progressive mankind for a struggle against war, to bar the road to the warmongers, and also to exert pressure on the official policy of the most important non-fascist states so as to curb the fascist aggressors who have thrown off all restraint.

It is impossible to wage a serious struggle for the preservation of world peace unless first and foremost all necessary steps are taken to establish a united front of the working class in each country and united action by the international workers' organizations. It is impossible to carry on a serious fight for peace unless the forces of the labour movement and of the wide masses of the people are mobilized to drive the fascist usurpers out of Spain and China as rapidly as possible.

The balance of the forces of war and the forces of peace is not

what it was in 1914. Major world-historic changes have taken place since that time. The imperialists succeeded in hurling millions of people into the inferno of a world slaughter under circumstances when neither a powerful proletarian state nor its Red Army existed, when there was no Popular Front in France and Spain, when the Chinese people were not in a position to defend their national independence, when the masses of the people had not had the experience of an imperialist war and a great proletarian revolution, when the international working class did not as yet possess such a world organization as the Communist International.

The international labour movement has sufficient forces and means at its disposal to bring about the cessation of the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain, the onslaught of the Japanese militarists in China, and to secure international peace.

This, however, requires that the tremendous forces and means at the disposal of the international labour movement be united and directed towards an effective and unyielding struggle against fascism and war.

July 18, 1937.

(Slighdy abridged)

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THE COUNTRY OF SOCIALISM AND THE FIGHT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT

I

This year the working class throughout the world is celebrating the 50th anniversary of May Day – the day of international proletarian solidarity.

In 1889 May Day was proclaimed as a day of fraternal solidarity among the workers of all countries, a day of a militant inspection of the proletarian forces, a day of labour's struggle against capital.

Small groups of the working class began to celebrate this day in the different countries. The number of these workers increased with every new year. The workers went on strike and out in the streets, organized demonstrations, strengthening the ties of their international solidarity.

But as time passed *the revolutionary Marxists and the reformists* began to celebrate May Day *in a different way*. The Party of the Bolsheviks, the great Party of Lenin, had proclaimed this day as a day of the revolutionary struggle. It fought to meet the everyday needs of the working class and at the same time prepared it for the future revolutionary struggle against tsarist autocracy and capitalism. In its May Day appeal of 1912 the Party of the Bolsheviks proclaimed throughout Russia, then groaning under the yoke of tsarism:

> ... And we can say today... that we swear to fight for the complete overthrow of tsarist monarchy, that we hail the advancing Russian revolution, the liberator of Russia!...
>
> *Down with capitalism!*
>
> *Long live socialism!*

Nothing could stop the Bolsheviks from introducing the revolutionary spirit in their May Day celebration: neither persecutions on the part of the tsarist police, nor the economic pressure of the capitalists, nor the furious resistance of the Mensheviks, who declared against the revolutionary character of the May Day celebration.

The reformists had an entirely different approach to the May Day celebration. They deprived this day of its revolutionary character. Instead of a day of demonstration of international proletarian solidarity and of a militant inspection of the proletarian forces, they turned May Day into a harmless petty-bourgeois holiday. Here, too, as regards the approach towards the character and contents of May Day, a profound difference of principle arose scores of years ago between the two ways in the international workers' movement – *the way of Bolshevism and the way of reformism,* which consequently led to two entirely different results.

Reformism, which splits the working class, which sows distrust in its forces and its victory, which subjects the workers' movement to the interests of the exploiting classes, enabled the bourgeoisie to save itself in the period of the greatest revolutionary perturbations, to prolong the system of capitalist oppression and pass over to an offensive against the working people. Reformism led the working class and the nations of a number of capitalist countries under the yoke of the barbarous regime of the fascist brigands.

Bolshevism, which united the forces of the working class, mobilized and headed it in an irreconcilable struggle against the exploiters ' classes, led to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class and to the victory of socialism in the USSR!

In the light of the results of these two different trends in the world workers' movement, the working class and the nations in the capitalist world are being ever more clearly convinced in the *disastrous outcome of the reformist way* and of the policy of acquiescence with the imperialist bourgeoisie, of *defeatism* in the face of the class enemy, and

of the *correctness of the way of Bolshevism*, mapped out by Lenin, the great continuator of Marxism, the leader and teacher of the international proletariat.

On the 50th anniversary of May Day, the working class and the working people of all countries mark with a feeling of pride, admiration and enthusiasm the great historic victory won by the working class, which established a socialist society in one-sixth of the globe. The victory of socialism in the USSR is a proof of the powerful creative energy of the working class. With the example of this great country in the centre of the world it proves the all-counquering power of the proletariat, called to liberate mankind from the oppression of capitalism and to create a free happy, classless, socialist society. The international proletariat considers the victory of socialism in the USSR as its greatest acquisition. This victory is a triumph of international proletarian solidarity, a basis and source of inspiration of the working class in its further struggle. The fraternal international solidarity of the workers throughout the world under the banner of which they celebrate May Day has in the USSR an indestructible material basis.

In the days of the historic Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (Bolsheviks), the country of socialism stood before all mankind in all the glory of its power, its growing wealth, and the full development of the working people's creative genius. The Soviet people and the working people the world over recorded a great advance in all spheres of industry, agriculture, culture, science and the arts.

The victory of socialism brought the Soviet people a moral and political unity unprecedented in the world. The working class, peasants and intellectuals are rallied in a powerful front, in a united army of builders of communism.

While the capitalist states are rent by the profoundest internal contradictions, in the grip of war, crises and general confusion, the Soviet Union does not know any perturbations, and stands forth as a monolithic, indestructible force. If in the capitalist world there are crises which doom millions of working people to poverty, starvation and degeneration, here in the country of socialism, there is an

unprecedented economic advance bringing general prosperity and a free and happy life to the people. If there, in the capitalist countries, owing to the capitalist structure of society, a cruel class struggle is being waged, here, in the country of socialism, the working class, peasants and intellectuals united in an indestructible union, do not know what class contradictions are.

If in the capitalist world ferocious nationalism is extolled and hatred is cultivated between nations, here in the country of socialism, there is friendship among nations and an unprecedented co-operation among a great number of nations, which is a remarkable expression of internationalism.

If out, in the capitalist world, wars are waged with much bloodshed and if the fascist robbers attack peaceful nations, here in the socialist state, the great Soviet people guard the frontiers of the country of the international proletariat, and defend the cause of peace which is in the interest of the nations. The great Soviet country, as Stalin put it declares that it supports the nations, which are victims of aggression, and are fighting for the independence of their country.

The Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (Bolsheviks) demonstrated once again before the whole world that no treachery and no intrigues of the enemies would ever succeed in shaking the indestructible power of the country of socialism and the iron solidarity of the entire Soviet people around the party of Lenin. Having brilliantly fulfilled the two-five-year plans, the Soviet people are firmly and persistently implementing the Third Five-Year Plan approved by the Congress. The Party of the Bolsheviks, which won the victory of socialism, mapped out new impressive programmes for implementation. The completion of the construction of the socialist society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism have been set as a practical task of the day. The slogan of communism which means the fulfilment of the great principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs', inspires the Soviet people to fight for new victories

and serves as a source of great enthusiasm for the working class and the working people the world over.

The workers of all countries consider the achievements of socialist construction in the USSR as a victory of their cause. They are vitally interested in these achievements and in the further consolidation and development of the socialist state. The fate of the international proletariat and the cause of its liberation is linked with it. In the growth and consolidation of the Soviet Union the working class of the capitalist countries sees a vital source which strengthens its faith in its forces and in its liberation from the oppression of capitalism.

II

The working class in the capitalist countries welcomes the *50th anniversary of May Day* in the conditions of a new imperialist war, in an economic crisis and the aggravated struggle against advancing fascism and the forces of the anti-fascist movement rallying to fight against it.

The imperialist war is raging on three continents for the second year now, sowing death and destruction in the fields of China and Spain, Abyssinia and Albania, in Central Europe and distant Asia. The ruling circles of Great Britain and France which, on the basis of collective security, have the necessary forces and are in a position firmly to resist the fascist aggressors and avert the kindling of a war, have with their policy of non-interference, with their Munich policy, thrown the peoples into the bloody vortex of a war that will annihilate millions of people. In trying to fan the most criminal, counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet war, to instigate the fascist robbers against the country of socialism, the British and French imperialists enabled the fascists to indulge in brigandage in the centre of Europe, to plunder and rob the foreign countries, to enslave the small nations, and insolently to reshape the map of Europe with the aid of brutal force. Encouraged by this policy, the appetites of the fascist aggressors are growing more and more. Having conquered Austria and

Czechoslovakia and dealt a blow to Spain, fascism conquered Memel, and occupied Albania. It is directly threatening Poland. It is stretching out its predatory hand to the Balkan countries, seeking for sources of raw materials and supplies and worming its way to the East. It is exercising pressure on Holland, Switzerland and Belgium, on the Scandinavian countries, intriguing in the Latin American countries. The fascists are building fortresses at the strategic points of the Mediterranean, preparing to seize Gibraltar, the French colonies in Africa, to capture the road to Great Britain's overseas possessions and to lay hands on its colonies.

Encouraged by the same policy of non-interference of the great imperialist states, Japanese militarism in the Far East is waging an aggressive war against the Chinese people.

The new imperialist war launched by the aggressive fascist states, and fanned owing to the criminal negligence of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, is threatening to turn into a world war.

The policy pursued by the ruling circles of the British and French bourgeoisie – a policy of kindling an imperialist war and of criminal negligence as regards the methods of highway robbery employed by the fascists in the international arena – is indissolubly linked with the pro-fascist reactionary policy pursued in their own countries.

The bourgeoisie in Britain and France saw in the rising anti-fascist movement the force which could neutralize the pro-fascist friends of German and Italian fascism and frustrate their alliance with the fascist aggressors. The successes of the popular front in France, the growing solidarity of the French proletariat, the important successes of the workers' and democratic movement in Great Britain, the USA and the other countries, the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, and the powerful campaign of international anti-fascist solidarity around this struggle, and especially the consolidation of the fraternal international solidarity and the ties between the working class of the capitalist countries and the great Soviet people

– all this aroused great anxiety in the bourgeoisie. That is why the bourgeoisie intensified its offensive against the working class and started a campaign against the social acquisitions of the proletariat and the democratic liberties. It left no stone unturned to foil the unity in the proletarian ranks, the united international campaigns of the working class, the movement of the anti-fascist popular front, and in the first place the popular front in France and Spain.

The reactionary bourgeoisie did everything possible to stifle the Spanish Republic. It did not hesitate to stab the Spanish people in the back, by organizing a counter-revolutionary plot headed by Casado[17] – Besteiro and Miaja[19] in Madrid at the most decisive moment of their fight in defence of their country. There is no crime against the people's peace, freedom and independence, to which the British and French imperialists would not resort in order to reach an agreement with the fascist aggressors, buy off their colonial claims and use them as a police force of world reaction, against the liberating struggle of the international working class and the great country of socialism.

But the British and French reactionaries miscalculated. They unleashed forces which can hardly be stopped.

It becomes clearer to all today that fascist aggression is being directed above all against the West European states. The hopes of the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie to egg on the fascist robbers against the Soviet Union have not been justified so far, not because fascism in general would give up similar plans, but because *the Soviet Union* was too hard a nut to be cracked by *fascist teeth*. Fascism is afraid that it may not only lose its teeth in this venture, but also break its neck, and that is why it prefers to direct its aggression along the lines of least resistance.

The bankruptcy of the Munich policy of appeasement[20] is so obvious and conspicuous, that no one, including its makers, dares contest it today. They try to justify their conduct by the fact that treachery, hypocrisy and deception on the part of the fascist partners were an unsuspected surprise for them.

In this way the events following after Munich show all too clear that the Munich Agreement not only failed to bring peace, but was in every way conducive to the further extension of aggression, and so, instead of overcoming the imperialist contradictions, they were further aggravated.

At the same time, the kindling of the new imperialist war, the barbarity of fascism and the criminal policy of non-interference are arousing a new wave of anti-fascist moods and hatred of fascism and its adherents in all countries in the world.

This agitation among the people is expressed in the growing resistance of the masses against the Munich policy, in the growing resistance of the working class against the offensive of bourgeois reaction on the home front, in the parliamentary elections as recently occurred in Holland and Belgium, where the fascists suffered a cruel defeat. The eyes of millions of people, who have been deceived so far, are being opened. The pacifist illusions are being destroyed. The hidden enemies and expert swindlers of the working people are being exposed. The hatred of the masses against them is growing. The masses, indifferent until yesterday, are being involved in active political life and in the struggle. The influence of those who pointed out to the people the disastrous outcome of the Munich policy is growing.

Only the fascist agents and the swindlers of the working class can spread false legends about the 'omnipotence' of fascism and only the frightened defeatists and political cowards can believe in such legends. The fierce jugglery of the fascist rulers, their infinite insolence and barbarous outrages are far from being proof of the soundness of fascism's internal forces. The bourgeoisie resorted to fascism not out of excess of forces, but because it was aware that its domination was shattered. Faced by economic perturbations and the growing storm of indignation of the working people, the bourgeoisie passed over to the regime of fascist dictatorship with the intention of solving the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

But what happened in actual fact?

Fascism boasted that it would do away with anarchy in the capitalist economy and with its crises. But this proved beyond its capacities. It succeeded by way of the cruelest exploitation and robbery of the masses to increase the profits of the big capitalist sharks. But anarchy is still corroding the capitalist economy. The trumped up 'planned' economy, which the fascists announced simply boiled down to reducing the country's economy to the rails of a military economy. This, however, cannot eliminate the rising economic crisis, but on the contrary, it is paving the way for a still deeper and more destructive crisis. The economic difficulties of the fascist countries are growing from day to day before the eyes of all.

The fascists talked as demagogues of wiping out class contradictions and establishing a 'community of the interests of the whole people.' But just the opposite happened. In its efforts to do away with the class struggle by means of cruel terror, fascism is stifling the dissatisfaction of the masses, thus further aggravating the class contradictions. Instead of 'unity of labour and capital' there is an increase of class antagonism. Not a single country has such a deep chasm between the exploiters and exploited as in the fascist countries. Fascism destroyed the legal workers' organizations, but instead underground one sprang up. In trying to shatter and crush the ranks of the working class by force, against its will it has driven the workers to join their forces in a united proletarian front. By robbing and suppressing the peasants and the petty town bourgeoisie, fascism is driving these strata towards union with the proletariat towards establishing an anti-fascist popular front.

In the fascist regime the bourgeoisie saw a factor for eradicating the communist movement and eliminating the danger of revolution. The admissions of the fascist rulers, however, and the mobilization of the whole state apparatus against 'the communist danger' and the movement of the popular front prove that the revolutionary forces are growing steadily, that the working class has not ceased its struggle and that the sympathies of the working people for communism are now stronger than ever before.

Fascism established big armies for aggressive wars, but hundreds of thousands of armed people who are also to be found in them are full of hatred for fascism. Its own rear is a terrible menace in case of military clashes.

Owing to the criminal negligence of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, fascism succeeded in occupying foreign territories, thus setting against it new millions of the peoples it had enslaved, and considerably increasing the army of its deadly enemies.

All this is an eloquent proof that behind the outer facade of fascist dictatorship, far-reaching processes of a great revolutionary force are coming to a head. All this proves the fragility and weakness of the fascist regime. The soil is burning under the feet of the fascist brigands, a volcano is smouldering, the hot lava of which will sweep away the fascist dictatorship and then capitalism itself.

III

But fascism will not fall by itself. It will not cease fanning the war. The reactionary bourgeoisie will not change its policy voluntarily. The way of fascism can only be barred, the war can only be warded off, and reaction can only be checked by the resolute struggle of the millions of the working class and working people.

Why are the fascist aggressors still advancing and committing outrages?

Because fascist aggression and the fanning of the imperialist war, now in progress owing to the criminal negligence of the ruling circles of the bourgeois democratic countries, have not yet encountered a strong enough resistance on the part of the masses. And this resistance is lacking because the working class of the capitalist countries has not succeeded in overcoming the split in its ranks, in building a united front and drawing its allies – the peasants and working people from the town to its side.

The Communist International has pointed out many

times that the lack of unity of action among the international working class is due to the fact that the reactionary leaders of the socialist parties and of the trade unions systematically spread superstitions about the soundness of the bourgeois system, about the impossibility of a successful struggle against the fascist aggressors, and sow distrust among the forces of the working class, wrecking and defeating the unity of the proletarian ranks under different pretexts. As they are indissolubly linked with the ruling classes in their countries, these reactionary leaders are not less afraid than they are of the victory of the working class, and march hand in hand with the bourgeoisie on all the main issues of international and domestic policy.

They play skilfully on the pacific moods of the masses, as well as with the legalist illusions that have sprung up in the course of many decades. They take advantage of the workers' devotion to their old organizations, threatening to split them if a united front with the communists is established.

The May Day appeal of the Second International is a striking demonstration of the splitting, defeatist policy of these leaders.

At a time when the fire of imperialist war is threatening to spread to the whole world, when fascism is preparing new attacks, new conquests, new crimes, when reaction is everywhere raising its head against the working class, the appeal of the Second International passes over in silence the question of the necessity of uniting the forces of the working class in their struggle against fascism and war.

There is not a single word in this appeal about the great achievements of the working class in all countries, about the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. But from the appeal of the Second International the startled reader will learn about the successes of socialism... in New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries. The all-fated authors of the appeal think that with this 'Scandinavian socialism', intended to make the hens laugh, they will be able to undermine the respect of the millions of workers throughout

the world towards the great country of socialism. Wretched, ridiculous people!

The working people rightly ask: *what kind of socialists are they,* if they declare themselves against genuine socialism?

What kind of functionaries of the workers' movement are they, if they not only fail to point out the USSR as an example of the great creative force and the victory of the working class, but persistently endeavour by hook or by crook, to undermine the significance of this victory in the eyes of the workers of all countries?

What kind of champions of peace, what kind of defenders are they of the interests of the people who are threatened by fascist aggression, when their actions against the Soviet Union, their wrecking of the unity of action of the working class help the fascists and their assistants in the imperialist cliques in other countries to kindle a new world war?

We communists know that the forces of the supporters of working class unity of action are growing and growing stronger in the world workers' movement, that ever wider circles of workers raise powerful voices in support of this unity.

We know also that inside the Second International far-reaching processes of differentiation are taking place, that every day the numbers of those functionaries within the ranks of the social democrats and the trade unions who express the will of the workers is increasing and that they are ever more decisively putting forward the question of establishing a united front with the communist parties.

While the executive committee of the Labour Party expels Cripps for his campaign in favour of the popular front, many members and even a number of organizations in this party and the trade unions declare themselves against the decision of the executive committee and support Cripps.

While in France the Munich group of Paul Faure in the Socialist Party defeats the united front in every possible way, the majority of the members of the same party take an ever more decisive stand in favour of the united front with

the communists and of the united popular front. Such facts are no longer isolated. Their number is constantly growing.

We are firmly convinced that the day is not far away when under the pressure of the millions of masses of the working class this united front will become an accomplished fact.

There is no power that can check this inevitable historical process. It is inevitably dictated by the entire trend of events, and first of all by the necessity of fighting against the predatory war fanned by the fascist aggressors.

Proceeding from this, the Communist International is once again turning to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions with a proposal to establish unity of action.

In its May Day appeal the executive committee of the Communist International says:

> In expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executive Committee of the Socialist[21] and Trade Union International[22] to start negotiations at once with a view to establishing a united front to fight against the instigators and fomentors of war. It proposes to the Socialist International the following platform for united action: defence of peace on the basis of a decisive fight against the fascist aggressors, organization of collective security, a fight in every separate capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie, that is seeking a compromise with the fascist aggressors at the expense of the freedom and independence of its own people. The Communist International proposes that a conference of the workers' organizations of the whole world be called to draw up a concrete plan of action, ways and means of carrying on the fight and of setting up a common organ to coordinate their joint actions.

Whoever actually defends the interests of the working class, who actually sees in blood-thirsty fascism an enemy of all working people, who does not want to see the globe turned into a bloody battlefield for the sake of bourgeois interests, cannot reject the proposal of the Communist International.

Communists, progressive workers and all supporters of the united front will make of this proposal of the Communist Inter-

national the starting points of a powerful campaign in favour of united action and an extensive mobilization of the masses to fight against fascism and war.

The organizational, ideological and political stabilization of the communist parties themselves is first and foremost a decisive condition for the successful implementation of the tasks facing the working class in the capitalist countries.

Since the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International[23], the Communist Parties in a number of capitalist countries, after overcoming sectarianism in their ranks and stubbornly pursuing the tactics of a united front, have moved substantially forward, increasing their influence on the masses, and becoming a serious political factor in the life of their country and in the life of their people. But it is one of our shortcomings that the communists do not always consolidate their organizations and their ideological and political influence. It is also a shortcoming that the Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres of the Communist Parties and of the workers' movement shows a lag. This lag is favourable soil for the penetration of hostile influences into the ranks of the communist parties, for all kinds of opportunist distortions to make their way into the policy and tactics of the parties, distortions which are exceedingly harmful particularly under the rapidly changing conditions and the sharp about-turns taking place in world events.

For the communist parties, the fighting vanguard of the working class, it is as necessary as bread, air and water constantly to study Marxism-Leninism, the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We should as soon as possible put an end to the negligent attitude towards theory, to the tendency towards empiricism.

Every communist, every progressive worker, every honest functionary of the workers' movement should clearly realize that the fundamental condition for the fulfilment of the historic tasks of the working class is, above all, the acquisition and the practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory by the vanguard of this class, the arming of

the fighters of the world workers' anti-fascist movement with the powerful victorious weapon of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

May 1, 1939

From Let Us Fight for a United Front against Fascism and War
Gospolitizdat, 1939
Signed: G. Dimitrov

(Slightly abridged)

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 1-20
Published by the BCP, 1954

ADDRESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS – SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

I warmly thank you for your friendly invitation to attend the Second Congress of the Student Union. Since I am not in a position to accept it, because of reasons which you will understand, I convey my cordial greetings to the students – socialists and communists.

The struggle of the students – socialists and communists, united like brothers against barbarity and obscurantism, against aggressive war, against fascism – the worst enemy of freedom, culture and science – is not only indispensable for the students in general, but is also of great significance from the viewpoint of putting an end to the split in the workers' movement and for uniting all anti-fascist forces in Europe and in the world.

The progressive students will fulfil more successfully their role of fighters for the freedom of the oppressed or threatened nations, their role of ardent fighters for peace among nations, the more soundly they are bound to the people, and in the first place to the working class, the better they are armed with the most powerful theory of our day – Marxism, the great science of Marx-Engels-Lenin, linking their own teaching and knowledge with a firm will and a militant spirit, ready for any sacrifices for the triumph of the great ideal of mankind – socialism, which has won a victory over one-sixth of the world, in the Soviet Union.

I wish your Congress the greatest success – for the cause of freedom, science, culture and peace, for the cause of socialism.

G. Dimitrov

La correspondance internationale
No. 38, July 22, 1939

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp 23-24
[illegible] 1954

ON THE OCCASION OF THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

Seventy years ago, on March 18, 1871, France and Europe were shaken by the militant slogan of the revolutionary masses in Paris: 'Long live the Commune!'

For over two months the Paris proletarians fought with unreserved heroism and self-sacrifice against the numerous home and foreign enemies for the sacred cause of the Paris Commune. With their blood the Paris Communards wrote down one of the most glorious and remarkable pages in the history of the working class's liberating struggle.

The Paris Commune was the first serious attempt of the working class to win political power for itself, to form its own government and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of a new type of state, a proletarian state, a forerunner of the Soviets.

The Paris Commune expressed the interests and most cherished aspirations of the international proletariat and became the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Paris Commune was the flesh and blood of the masses, the result of their creative initiative and of their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Paris Commune was a tremendous outburst of indignation against the treachery of the French bourgeoisie in the war 1870-1871, against the plot of the bourgeoisie to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. It was a direct result of the attempts of the reactionary bourgeois and big landowners to disarm the Paris workers, to crush the French people and make them bear the brunt of the reckless war[24], lost by Louis Buonaparte, and to pay heavy military contributions.

'The Paris proletarians,' wrote the Central Committee of the reorganized national guard in a manifesto of May 18, 'seeing the evil-doings and treachery of the ruling classes have realized that the time has come for them to save the situation, taking into their own hands the administration of public works... They have realized that this is their duty, that it is their undisputed right to become masters of their own destiny and to take the government in their own hands.'

The founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, engaging in extensive activity in defence of the Commune and rendering all-round aid to the Paris Communards after the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, highly appraised its significance for world history. Elucidating the weaknesses and errors of the Commune, Marx and Engels emphatically stressed its *positive* results. The Commune was in fact a *government of the working class*, it was a political form under which the economic liberation of labour could be effected. In April 1871 Marx wrote:

The struggle of the working class against the class of the capitalists and against the state representing its interests, entered into a new stage thanks to the Paris Commune.Whatever end the struggle will have this time a new starting point of world historical importance has nevertheless been won.

In the experience of the Paris Commune Marx found a concrete practical solution of the problem he had theoretically put forward, i.e. what would the proletarian revolution put in the place of the bourgeois state machinery, what should be the new type of state system during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The Commune proved that the working class cannot directly take possession of the existing state machinery and put it into operation for its own purpose, but must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commune was a revolution not against one form of state power on another, for the purpose of transferring this power from the hands of one part of the ruling classes to the hands of another. The Commune was a revolution which tried to shatter the state machinery of bourgeois class domination.

'And that is why,' Marx wrote, 'Whatever its destiny (the destiny of the Commune – G. D.) in Paris, it will spread *throughout the world*. The working class in Europe and the United States at once welcomed it as a magic watchword of liberation.'

After Marx's death Engels had to wage a fierce fight against the opportunists who tried together with the bourgeoisie to underrate the significance of the Paris Commune and its great lessons and to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary road. In 1891, on the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels wrote:

The Social Democratic philistines have of late begun to experience deadly fear of the words: *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Do you want to know, dear Sirs, how this dictatorship looks? Look at the Paris Commune. That was a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The talented continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, the greatest thinker and revolutionary of our time – Lenin, not only attached great importance to the Paris Commune, but also brilliantly availed himself of its experience. Vitally interested in the whole revolutionary movement of the exploited and oppressed in all countries, he made a profound study of that movement. Lenin always endeavoured and was always able to draw the necessary lessons from the revolutionary movement, so as the better to arm the Russian and international proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In 1908 Lenin wrote:

The Commune taught the European proletariat concretely to set the tasks of the socialist revolution.*

In April 1911 Lenin emphasized:

* V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 13 1951, p. 491, Bulgarian edition.

As a front-rank fighter for the social revolution, the Commune won sympathies wherever the proletariat suffered and fought. The picture of its life and death, the aspect of the workers' government which took and held in its hands the capital of the world for more than two months, the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after the defeat – all this raised the spirits of millions of workers, awoke their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism.*

While still in Zurich, on March 24, 1917, Lenin wrote:

Marching along the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 and of the Russian Revolution in 1905, the proletariat has to organize and arm *all* poor, exploited parts of the population, so that they themselves shall immediately take into their own hands the state power and shall *themselves form* the institutions of that power.**

In the middle of April 1917, Lenin pointed out:

The real essence of the Commune is not where the bourgeoisie usually looks for it, but in the setting up of a peculiar type of *state*. Such a state in Russia has *already* come into being, it is the Soviets *of* workers' and soldiers' deputies. ***

A prerequisite for the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution was its dress rehearsal – the revolution of 1905. A decisive condition for this victory, however, was the fact that the proletariat was led by the militant and consistently revolutionary party of the Bolsheviks, *the main thing* which was lacking in the Paris Commune. In critically studying and availing himself of all the lessons to be drawn from the history of the proletarian struggle in all countries and from the experience of the Paris Commune and the Soviets in 1905, in the first place, Lenin prepared the Russian proletariat for the October Revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin's glorious party, in an exceedingly brief period of history, by means of its tireless fight against

* V.I.Lenin, Works, Vol. 17, 1953, pp. 132-133, Bulgarian edition.

** V.I.Lenin,Works, Vol. 23, 1953, p. 353, Bulgarian edition

*** V.I.Lenin, Works, Vol. 24, 1953, p. 35, Bulgarian edition

its enemies and its greatest creative enthusiasm, the triumphant proletariat succeeded in overcoming the tremendous difficulties, in doing away with the exploiter classes, in building up socialist society and embarking on the road to a transition toward communism, a higher stage of this society.

What the brightest and most far-seeing minds of mankind were thinking about, which inspired the fighters of the Paris Commune, what hundreds of millions of working people are thinking and dreaming of – a society without exploitation and oppression of man by man, without oppression of one nation by another nation – has been achieved in the great country of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*

France is living through hard times at present. The French working people are experiencing indescirbable disasters. In September 1870 the bourgeois 'Government of National Defence', after usurping political power, made use of all its levers and all means, even the organization of 'national treachery', to oppress the French people. In September 1939 the bourgeois rulers of France and its masters forced the French people into a war after first depriving them of all liberties and paralyzing their will. Owing to the greed, mercenary nature, stupidity and corruption of the ruling classes, who put their class privileges and reactionary schemes above every thing else, this war led to defeat and disaster. And today and now, making use of the defeat, the successors of the people of Versailles are endeavouring to make the French people bear the brunt of the war, pay for the defeat, pay the occupation expenses and suffer the consequences of the bankrupt bourgeois regime. The rulers of France, like their Versailles predecessors, are trying to provoke the French proletariat, carry on a rabid chauvinist and anti-semitic campaign, organize shameful witch hunts of the communists – the true representatives and fighters of the French people for

social and national liberation. But the French people have gone through a great many things, they have learned much and what is most important, they have begun to understand who are their true friends and who are their enemies. The French Communist Party is a worthy successor and continuator of the work of the Communards, which has learned their lessons and avoids their mistakes; it takes advantage of the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and masters the teaching of Marxism and Leninism. In this party the French proletariat will find that force and that leader which will guarantee certain success to it in its struggle for freedom and socialism. This success is possible thanks to the help of the international solidarity of the working people. The French proletarians remember that the banner of internationalism was the banner of the Paris Communards. The decrees of the Commune, all its activity, the men of whom it was composed, its very existence, its slogans – all was imbued with the spirit of internationalism.

The Commune is immortal. The Commune which they thought was killed, the International which they thought was forever destroyed – they are in front of us, living and twenty times stronger than in 1871,' that is what Engels said in 1892 on the 21st anniversary of the Paris Commune. Today we are a hundred times more justified in saying:

The Commune is alive!

The Soviet power, which conquered 23 years ago, is a mighty socialist state with a population of almost 200 million. This *Commune* is a tremendous political, economic, military, cultural and moral force. It is a great mainstay of the working people of the whole world in their fight for freedom, peace and friendship among nations, for socialism. Millions of proletarians, peasants and working people in the capitalist countries, as well as the people in the colonies cherish the warmest sympathies for this wonderful Commune – the country of Soviets. They look with the greatest hope on the great state of triumphant socialism – the homeland of the working people of all countries.

*

It was not by chance that the International Auxiliary Organization for Assistance to Revolutionary Fighters chose March 18 for its holiday. There is a deep sense, a whole programme and a big obligation in this choice, because the International Auxiliary Organization is not an ordinary organization for humanistic and philanthropic help, but an organization for active international solidarity of the proletariat, an organization to assist the working class in its struggle against the bourgeois system of exploitation, oppression, terror and predatory imperialist wars. The Auxiliary Organization is an organization whose aim is to assist the fighters of the working class, those who are pining away in prisons and concentration camps and are prisoners of capitalism. We should never forget that the founders of scientific communism – Marx and Engels – were also at the same time tireless organizers of the *practical* material and moral assistance rendered to the Communards, organizers in all countries of the assistance rendered to the revolutionary fighters. Marx and Engels were, if I may put it so, *the first great members of the Auxilary Organization.*

In celebrating on March 18 the great memory of the Paris Communards, our glorious revolutionary predecessors, we pledge our staunch bolshevik word:

still more persistently to educate the masses in a spirit of international proletarian solidarity;

to hold still more strongly and still higher aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, the living incarnation of which is invincible Soviet patriotism;

tirelessly to close the ranks of the working people's fighters in all countries for the complete triumph of the immortal cause of the Paris Commune, of the great cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin throughout the world.

A pamphlet
Gospolitizdat, 1941
Signed: G. Dimitrov
Kommunisticheskiy International,
Vol. 3, March, 1941 *(Slightly abridged)*

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 94-102
Published by the BCP, 1954

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OF SAVING OUR PEOPLE

In declaring war on the United States and Great Britain[25] the government of Tsar Boris has once again revealed its role as lackey of bloodthirsty Hitler and its treacherous policy to the interest and future of our nation.

Obviously Bulgaria's war on the United States and Great Britain has no and cannot have any practical importance insofar as the course of military operations in the Pacific Ocean is concerned. But this adventurous act of the Tsar Boris government is of prime practical importance as regards the status and future of Bulgaria. By this act she is definitely involved in the criminal predatory war of Hitler and is turned into a tool of his rapacious plans.

The inevitable defeat of nazi Germany at the hands of the mighty anti-nazi coalition will drag Bulgaria into the abyss as well.

The declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain has a still more immediate importance. After realising the extreme hazard of sending our army against the Soviet Union, Hitler and his Bulgarian agents are now trying to use indirectly the Bulgarian army as a belligerent for nazi Germany's ends. The rout of the Germans in the South and the utter fiasco of their plans to attack the Caucasus through Rostov incite Hitler to seek other ways.

Our people are faced by the direct peril of shedding the blood of hundreds of thousands of their sons for alien ends – those of the nazi gang, which plunders and strangles its own country as it does with tens of other countries, temporarily conquered by it.

Bulgaria's existence as an independent nation is at stake.

There is only one way of saving our people from ruin and our country from disaster – that is the nation-wide

movement of the army and people against the treacherous policy of our rulers who have sold out to Hitler.

No forces or means should be spared to prevent the nazi gangs from freely disposing of Bulgaria, with her territory, foods resources and armed forces.

The pursuit of a really national, Bulgarian policy directed towards freeing the country from the German invaders and their Bulgarian Quislings, must be achieved at the cost of any efforts and sacrifices.

December 15, 1941

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol 11, pp. 105-106

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 1, pp. 347-348

THE FATHERLAND FRONT PROGRAMME

The anti-popular policy of the Government of Tsar Boris represents a veritable national peril. Today Bulgaria is actually being turned into a vassal of Hitler, and the Bulgarian people – into slaves of the German imperialists.

In view of the inevitable disaster to which Hitler's maniacal plan for world domination is doomed, any prolongation of this treacherous policy means to consciously push the Bulgarian people into the abyss and to make them lose their national independence.

The supreme duty of the Bulgarian people, of their army and patriotic intelligentsia at the present historical moment is to close their ranks in a mighty Fatherland Front for the salvation of Bulgaria.

The Fatherland Front sets itself the following urgent tasks:

1. To prevent Bulgaria from being dragged into the criminal nazi war, which would be disastrous for the Bulgarian people.

2. To withdraw at once the Bulgarian troops, sent to suppress the struggle of the fraternal Serbian people against the German and Italian yoke.

3. To tear up Bulgaria's alliance with nazi Germany and with the other axis countries, to free Bulgarian soil from the German fascist armies and the Gestapo bandits.

4. To stop the export of foods and raw materials to Germany and the other axis countries. To ensure the subsistence of the people and army and to supply the population with prime necessities at accessible prices.

5. To secure, in accordance with the Atlantic Charter[26] the national interests of the Bulgarian people by

agreements with the other Balkan nations and by close friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and the other peace-loving nations.

6. To set free at once all civil and military persons, persecuted for their struggle against fascism and nazi Germany.

7. To restore the political rights of the people, especially the freedom of the press, meetings and associations; to abolish all anti-constitutional, anti-people's and fascist laws.

8. To wrest the army from the hands of the monarcho-fascist clique and to take decisive measures so as to prevent its being used for anti-popular ends. To secure the rights of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers as full-fledged citizens.

9. To disband the fascist organizations of the Brannik, Union of Ratnik and Legion type.

To render harmless the fascist cut-throats and criminals and to see to it that they are justly punished.

10. To preserve the nation's wealth and the people's labour from alien encroachments and to create conditions for the proper economic development of Bulgaria as a free and independent country.

11. To ensure the urban and rural population a livelihood, work, income and a human existence.

12. To root out fascist obscurantism, race hatred and the abasement of the national honour of our people.

The implementation of these tasks, so vital for our people, make it imperative to create, as soon as possible, a truly national government, capable of carrying out the salutary policy of the Fatherland Front firmly and steadfastly. The Fatherland Front sets itself therefore as the first object of its struggle the overthrow of the present treacherous anti-people's fascist government and the formation of a genuinely Bulgarian national government.

Relying upon the will and support of the whole Bulgarian people, this government will also pave the way for the convocation of the Grand National Assembly, which will fix Bulgaria's future form of government and

will create the necessary constitutional and material guarantees for the freedom, independence and prosperity of our country.

July 17, 1942

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 3, pp. 12-14

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 108-110

WHITHER BULGARIA?

The sudden death of Tsar Boris aroused keen interest among world public opinion in Bulgaria's political position and her role in the present war. This is quite comprehensible, inasmuch as Bulgaria, though small in size and population, occupies an important place in the Balkans, holds favourable military and strategical positions and disposes of a fresh army 459,000 strong which has not yet taken an active part in the war. It should be remembered that just now Germany is exerting the strongest pressure on Bulgaria to involve her into active military operations.

Whither Bulgaria? What will be her policy after the death of Tsar Boris, who headed and united the Bulgarian pro-German circles? Will the Bulgarian people allow a continuance of the pro-German policy which has already landed the country in a blind alley and brought it to the brink of the abyss? Will Germany succeed in retaining Bulgaria in her predatory hands and in using her territory, army, communications, food and raw material resources? These questions now preoccupy all sincere friends of the Bulgarian people.

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Two historical facts deeply connected the people of Bulgaria and Russia. First, Bulgaria won her national liberation thanks to the Russian people. This fact engendered among the Bulgarian people deep traditions of gratitude and love towards the Russian people. Second, the Bulgarian and Russian peoples are united by a common Slav destiny in the struggle against the Teutonic drive to assimilate the Slavs. Slav kinship, linguistic and cultural

affinities and common interest in the struggle against the German peril, created and cemented unbreakable bonds of friendship between Bulgarians and Russians. All leading figures of the Bulgarian national-liberation movement during the 19th century were fervent and convinced champions of Russo-Bulgarian brotherhood. Especially after Bulgaria's liberation by the Russian army, the Bulgarian people began to see in the fraternal Russian people their liberator and great supporter of their national existence. Is it necessary to prove that after the Russian people overthrew tsarism and took their destiny into their own hands, extremely favourable conditions were created for the blossoming of the warmest friendship between the two Slav peoples?

German imperialism, striving by hook or by crook to push its way to the Orient across the Balkans, opposed this natural and nation-wide attachment of the Bulgarians to the Russian people. The penetration of German imperialism into the Balkans is closely connected with the formation of a German agency in Bulgaria, which united the most reactionary, greedy and venal elements. In the course of three decades this German agency has pursued an anti-Bulgarian policy, which resulted in a national disaster during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and in an even worse disaster in 1918, following Bulgaria's siding with Germany in World War I.

More than 150,000 killed, hundreds of thousands of invalids, widows and orphans, many hundreds of thousands of refugees, reparations to the tune of 2,500 million gold leva, loss of Bulgarian territories, plundering of the country which was brought to a state of economic ruin – this was the price the Bulgarian people had to pay for their participation in World War I on the side of imperial Germany. The national interests of the Bulgarian people were dealt an extremely heavy blow.

Tsar Ferdinand paid for this policy with his crown and fled to Germany, where his masters granted him a pension, which he continues to get to the present day. Ferdinand was gone, but the situation did not change. In 1918 the Bulgarian people were unable to do away, once and for

ever, with the German agency. The new Tsar Boris, son of Ferdinand, continued to the German policy of his father. This is one of the main causes why after a quarter of a century, Bulgaria, whose people had paid dearly for the alliance with the Germans, found herself again in the German camp and now faces the deadly peril of being plunged into a third national disaster, still more ruinous for her independence and future.

After ascending the throne, and relying upon the most reactionary elements in the country and in the army, Tsar Boris staged a coup d'état (June 9, 1923), overthrew the constitutional Stamboliiski Government, established a fascist regime in the country and pursued a policy of completely subjecting Bulgaria to the interests of Germany's imperialist policy. Bulgaria joined the Axis camp and become a vassal of Hitler – this was the result of the policy of the reactionary ruling circles in Bulgaria.

Hitler's agents in Bulgaria are now assiduously spreading the myth that in March 1941 when, behind the back of the Bulgarian people and despite their will, they let the German troops enter the country, Bulgaria had no other choice; that she had to go with Germany, because only thus could peace be preserved for Bulgaria and the Balkans. But this is a downright lie. And this lie was exposed immediately in the note of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR of March 3, 1941[27]. As regards the Bulgarian Government's statement that it agreed to let German troops enter Bulgaria for the purpose of safeguarding peace in the Balkans, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs declared:

1. The Soviet Government do not share the opinion of the Bulgarian Government as to the correctness of the latter's position on the given question, because this position, despite the will of the Bulgarian Government, does not lead to a consolidation of peace, but to an extension of the sphere of war and to Bulgaria's involvement in it;

2. True to their policy of peace, the Soviet Government cannot offer, under these circumstances, any support to the present policy of the Bulgarian Government.

There is no doubt that on the eve of the German invasion of the Balkans there existed a real possibility of

safeguarding peace in that part of Europe and with it the vital interests of Bulgaria, had the Bulgarian Government paid heed to this clear warning of the Soviet Government.

What was the situation in March 1941, when the German troops invaded Bulgaria and occupied her territory? The people of Yugoslavia were ready to defend themselves against the Germans. The Greek army was beating the Italians on Albanian territory. Relying on her army and on the unanimous will of the whole people, Bulgaria could have preserved her neutrality at that time. Did not the country's national interests dictate that neutrality should be preserved? Did not the Bulgarian people insist then on a pact of friendship with the Soviet Union as a major guarantee of Bulgaria's independence and peace in the Balkans?[28] But Bulgaria's rulers rejected this demand of the people by tying Bulgaria to the Axis bandwagon and Greece in the back, thus enabling the nazi hordes to crush the Yugoslav and Greek forces[29]. All subsequent events showed that the Bulgarian rulers precisely helped to extend the sphere of war in the Balkans and to drag Bulgaria into it.

The history of the Balkan peoples irrefutably proves that Bulgaria's national independence and prosperity are possible only in closest friendship with the neighbouring Slav nations. That is why Bulgaria's becoming a tool of Germany against the Soviet Union and the betrayal of Yugoslavia, the Slav brothers of the Bulgarian people in the Balkans – the Macedonians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Slovenes – was a major crime. In handing over Bulgaria to the nazi bandits, the Bulgarian ruling circles dealt the heaviest blow to her national interests.

As a result of this policy, Bulgaria became a bridgehead of nazi Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. Bourgas, Varna, Balchik and a number of other towns on the Black Sea coast, as well as the port of Roussé on the Danube, are now in German hands and accommodate German submarines and men-of-war. What is more, the Germans use the Bulgarian navy to transport troops and munitions against the Soviet Union. The main railway

lines in the country are actually in German hands and transport German war materials. The Germans dispose of many airfields and military depots on Bulgarian soil. All Bulgarian airports are controlled by German military authorities. The German Command is converting Bulgarian territory into an arena of nazi war, building military fortifications and strategic roads.

Today Bulgaria is subjected to German plunder on a much vaster scale than in World War I. The Government exports wholesale Bulgarian grain and farm produce to Germany through the Hranoiznos State Establishment. The export of foods and raw materials to Germany already exceeds the huge sum of 20,000 million leva. This debt of Germany to the Bulgarian National Bank will never be paid off. Bulgarian peasants are plundered not only in this way. Bulgaria is obliged to maintain at her expense German garrisons, military hospitals, many German agents and representatives, families of German military and civil personnel. The hungry German pack buys foodstuffs for a song and continuously sends them home in parcels.

Bulgaria's economy has become an appendage of Germany. More than 63 per cent of the foreign capitals invested in Bulgaria belong to Germans. The whole economic policy of the present Bulgarian ruling circles serves German ends. This means the closing down of enterprises not needed by the Germans and adapting Bulgarian farming to the needs of German industry, i.e. producing raw materials and semifinished goods for Germany. This means liquidating Bulgaria's independent industrial development and turning her into a colony of Germany, which inevitably leads to the total national enslavement of the Bulgarian people.

At the demand of Hitler, in December 1941, small Bulgaria declared war on two World Powers – Great Britain and the United States. If Bulgaria did not send troops to the Soviet-German front, it was due to the people's and army's strong opposition to such a crime. But Bulgaria is now playing the role of Hilter's policeman in the Balkans. Bulgarian troops are stationed in Yugoslavia and Greece as forces of occupation. Bulgarian divisions, which in the

Balkans replaced the German divisions sent to the Soviet-German front, were put by Tsar Boris at the disposal of the Germans.

And the present rulers of this vassal and policeman of Hitler in the Balkans now claim that Bulgaria 'realizes her national ideals.' They console the Bulgarian people with the would-be return of Thrace and Macedonia. But, in 'regaining' Thrace and Macedonia, Bulgaria lost her own national independence. German commanders not only administer Thrace and Macedonia but also lord it over Bulgaria as if she were their fief. On a geographical map, published by Goebbels in Berlin, 'Bulgarian' Macedonia and Thrace figure as German provinces, under provisional Bulgarian administration. The growing rebellion in Macadeonia and Thrace shows that the population of these regions hates not only the nazi invaders but their Bulgarian partners as well.

Tsar Boris based his plans on a rapid and easy victory of Hitler. But these plans of his came to grief. As the days passed, it became increasingly clear that Germany was losing the war, that he, Tsar Boris, had brought the country to the brink of disaster. The bankrupt monarch felt the growing people's hatred. Seeking a way out of his dilemma, he began to manœuvre, sowing around himself still greater incertainty and panic. In Berlin they kept a sharp eye on these vacillations of the Bulgarian monarch. Obviously, Berlin had a finger in the 'sudden' death of this absolutely healthy man who stood in the prime of life and was an excellent hiker.

In virtue of the Bulgarian Constitution, the Filov Government proclaimed Simeon, the six-year-old son of Boris, tsar of Bulgaria. But Bulgaria's rulers made use of the Constitution only insofar as it suited their ends. They had no intention whatever of fulfilling another stipulation of the Constitution which provides for the convocation of the Grand National Assembly to elect a Council of Regents. The reason is quite obvious. Bulgaria's rulers are afraid of the slightest expression of the people's will. Together with the German Gauleiters, they resort to

every means to continue the pro-German policy, which the people resent so much.

The death of Tsar Boris proved a most suitable pretext for a new flagrant interference of Germany in the affairs of Bulgaria. It was no accident that the German delegation, which arrived in Sofia for the funeral of Tsar Boris, was composed of Grossadmiral Raeder, Field Marshal Keitel, Colonel General Lindemann, Admiral Fricke, Colonel General of the Airforce Leer, SS General Wünnenberg, Baron von Steengracht of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Count Schulenburg, former German Ambassador to Moscow. They helped to form a Council of Regents, which would unflinchingly continue the pro-German policy. It should be said, however, that this Council of Regents, far from resolving the political crisis in the country, further deepens and sharpens it. The great majority of the Bulgarian people manifest ever more clearly their implacability towards the traitors of their country. The chasm between the people and the ruling German agents has never been deeper than now.

Never before has the criminal character of this pro-German policy been so obvious as now. Not only the Bulgarian people, all that is sane, honest and national in them, oppose this policy; no, the entire logic of events, the whole situation, which has emerged in the course of the war, runs counter to it. This summer the German troops suffered crushing defeats on the Soviet-German front. The Red Army is chasing the German hordes towards the Dnieper. The summer offensive of the Red Army, which was a prolongation of the victories it won last winter, intensified exceedingly the acute crisis of the whole fascist camp. Under the impact of this crisis the Italian ally of fascist Germany collapsed. The only European Great Power which joined Hitler, Italy, was put out of action[30]

Italy's capitulation bared the right flank of the nazis in the Balkans. The war approached the shores of the Balkan Peninsula. At any moment the Balkans may become a battlefield. The hour of doom of Germany and her satellites is approaching inexorably.

And in such a situation, when yesterday's allies and partners of the nazi clique begin to desert it, Bulgaria's confused rulers dare to force the Bulgarian people to take part in the war on the side of the bankrupt nazis. The dictum is really coming true: Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first deprive of reason.

Today two roads are facing Bulgaria: either to continue to swim in German waters, or to sever relations with Germany and to pursue an independent national policy.

The first road means to hand the Bulgarian army completely over to the German Command for the 'defence of the Balkans.' But this means nothing less than the physical extermination of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians, turning the country into a battlefield, mass airraids and destructions and, finally, complete military defeat and a new incomparably more dreadful national disaster than that of 1918. The other road means freeing Bulgaria from German tutelage, preserving her manpower and resources so as to ensure her liberty and independence. Only by following this road will Bulgaria be able to get out of the blind alley into which she has been driven by the German Coburg dynasty and the nazi agency.

Can Bulgaria take this road, salutary for the Bulgarian people? The whole internal and international situation confirms that she can do it, provided the people and the army, hand in hand, rise decisively against the ruling nazi agency and form a real Bulgarian national government. It is certainly no easy task, but it is quite feasible, if the patriotic forces in the country and in the army boldly head the already existing national movement for saving the motherland.

The agents of Germany – Filov, Zhekov, Tsankov[31] and their ilk – threaten with complete German occupation of Bulgaria, if the Bulgarians refuse to help the nazi conquerors and pursue an independent national policy.

This, however, is no longer possible.

The main forces of nazi Germany are stuck on the Eastern front. The impending danger of an invasion of

Europe by the Allies does not permit the nazis to disperse their depleted human reserves. After Italy dropped out of the war, the Italian divisions will go back home. It will be very hard for Hitler to find divisions not only to occupy the Balkans, but to smash the fresh Bulgarian army, if it rises against the Germans together with the people. There is no doubt that in such a case the people and the army would have the full military support of the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army and the Greek rebels. But even if we asume that Hitler were to start hostilities against the Bulgarian army, the people and the army would suffer considerably less casualties than those to which they are doomed by the present pro-nazi course of the Bulgarian rulers.

At any rate, Bulgaria has the full possibility, especially after Italy's capitulation and the incipient disintegration of the nazi bloc, to throw out the German conquerors and to save herself from national enslavement. Any procrastination in this respect means only aggravating the danger threatening the Bulgarian people.

In spite of the continuous hostile activity in Bulgaria, the Soviet public has manifested up to now great tolerance, being convinced that this pro-German policy is altogether alien to the Bulgarian people. The Russian people, who in the past have shed their blood for the liberation and independence of the fraternal Bulgarian people and who now bear the brunt of the struggle against the historical enemies of the Slavs – the German invaders, have the right to admonish Bulgaria that patience has its limits.

What can Bulgaria hope for, continuing to remain in a state of war with Great Britain and the United States, helping fascist Germany against the USSR and arousing the well-deserved hatred of the Balkan people, enslaved by the Germans?

The fate of the fraternal Bulgarian people has always been close to the heart of the peoples of the Soviet Union. That is why the Soviet public welcomes the endeavours of

the Bulgarian people to pull their country out of the fascist camp, to ward off a new disaster and to secure their national honour, liberty and independence.

Pravda, No. 230, September 16, 1943
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov. Works
Vol. 11, pp. 112-124

THE CRISIS IN BULGARIA

Bulgaria is undergoing a profound crisis. There is hardly any sector in the state and public life and any part in the country where the crisis is not felt. This crisis manifested itself with particular intensity in the Bulgarian Parliament – in the stormy debates on the reply to the throne speech of the regent, Prince Cyril. The present crisis has its roots in the pro-German policy pursued by the Bulgarian ruling circles against the vital interests of the nation and the will of the people. Lately, this crisis has become more acute following the crushing defeat suffered by the German troops at the hands of the victorious Red Army on the Soviet-German front. It is also sharpened by the disintegration of the predatory fascist bloc and the failure of all hopes pinned on unsurmountable dissensions among the Allies which became particularly evident after the Moscow[32] and especially after the Teheran[33] Conferences. On the other hand, the crisis is intensified by the growing movement of the Bulgarian people, manifesting itself in a broad revolutionary struggle against the hated and ruinous pro-German policy. The scope of the national movement of revolt can be gauged by the fact that the government is now compelled to speak of it, after the bloody campaign against the partisans, launched at the end of March this year and continued throughout the summer and autumn with the participation of 20,000 soldiers and officers using artillery and air-craft, did not yield the result expected by the government. The Bulgarian patriots who rose to fight, arms in hand, formed many partisan detachments, which are active in the mountains of Central and South Bulgaria. These detachments already number several thousand men and their ranks continue to grow, despite all terrorist measures taken by the Bulgarian ruling circles and the Gestapo.

Alarm and confusion prevail in the camp of the Bulgarian ruling circles. These circles are trying to avert the sharpening crisis by mass reprisals against the fighting patriots and are mobilizing the police and Gestapo apparatus to smash the popular anti-German movement. But the raging repressions only add fuel to the fire of popular indignation and lead to a still greater sharpening of the crisis. From day to day the failure and doom of the policy of alliance with nazi Germany become more evident, and the Gestapo oppression – more unbearable.

The Bulgarian ruling circles are also resorting to manoeuvres, using the methods of political camouflage in order to deceive the people and mitigate somehow the crisis which is gathering momentum. With that end in view, they are mobilizing their whole propaganda apparatus. State ministers, members of Parliament, police agents and venal journalists – all are on the move. The Government's spokemen, criss-crossing the country like hysterial persons, are trying to represent the pro-German policy as a national policy. 'Bulgaria,' they say, 'does no harm to anybody, claims nothing that does not belong to her; all she is striving to do is to achieve her national ideals.' But this manœuvre does not and cannot help to overcome the crisis, because the facts, which give the lie to that argumentation, are all too obvious.

The present Bulgarian rulers pose as 'unifiers' of the Bulgarians, as creators of a 'united Bulgaria'. But is it not true that Bulgaria, which 'regained' Macedonia and Thrace, is now losing her own national independence under the boot of the German conquerors? And is it not clear to anyone, who is not out of his mind, that after Germany's inevitable rout this so-called 'united' Bulgaria will fall apart like a house of cards? Is it not a fact that at the very time when the Bulgarian satellites of Hitler are trying to play the role of men who 'do no harm to anybody' Bulgaria continues to be a springboard and base of the Germans in their predatory war against the freedom-loving peoples and, in the first place, against the Soviet Union? Is it not a fact that the Germans, helped by the Bulgarian ruling circles, continue to fortify their positions in Bulgaria

and to exercise their sway to the detriment of the Bulgarian people, of their freedom and independence? The Bulgarian authorities servilely move the population from Varna in order to place the city with its naval base at the disposal of the Germans who, incidentally, plan to accommodate there tens of thousands of wounded German soldiers and officers, now being evacuated from the Crimea. Is it not a fact that the Germans introduce controllers in the Bulgarian army under the guise of 'specialists', but actually as commissars of Hitler? Is it not a fact that a whole Bulgarian occupation corps is stationed in Yugoslavia and that units of this corps, together with the German hordes, take part in hostilities against the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army recognized by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States as an allied army?

Finally, can the declaration of war on Great Britain and the United States by official Bulgaria be considered as dictated by Bulgarian national interests? The Bulgarian rulers are now shedding crocodile tears over the victims of their own criminal policy in connection with the allied air-raids on Sofia. But is it not universally known that on December 12, 1941, these same Bulgarian rulers noisily and solemnly declared war on the mighty powers, Great Britain and the United States, at the mere request of Hitler? Now they are complaining that the Soviet Union does not want to protect the Bulgarians from air-raids. And they have the impudence to say this, after all they have done to help Hitler in the war against the great Russian people who once liberated Bulgaria.

All these dishonest tricks are too crude to deceive the people, to win them over to the side of the ruling circles, who are trying to surmount the crisis, caused by their own pro-German, anti-national policy.

A truly national Bulgarian policy requires, to begin with, that Bulgaria cease to be a vassal of Germany and a partner in the nazi predatory war, and also that the Germans be deprived of all Bulgarian military bases, communications and assistance; further, that the state of war with Great Britain and the United States be immediate-

ly discontinued. It requires that the Bulgarian troops in Yugoslavia cease their military operations without delay and withdraw – not war in favour of Hitler against the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army, but a policy of fraternal understanding and joint struggle together with the new, democratic federal Yugoslavia against the German aggressors and, on this basis, an amicable settlement of all national and territorial issues between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's interests and future demand a national policy of loyal collaboration with her neighbours and with the Great Democracies, cordial friendship with the Russian people who freed the Bulgarians from a five-century long foreign yoke. There is not and there cannot be any sensible Bulgarian, loving his country, who is not convinced that sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is as necessary for the national independence and prosperity of Bulgaria as the sun and air are for every living creature.

The Bulgarian people cannot realize their national interests without severing the ruinous alliance with Germany, which was imposed on them. The interests of the Bulgarian people – the creation of a free, independent, strong and democratic Bulgaria and the securing of a genuine national unification of the Bulgarians – can be realized only through a friendly agreement with the Balkan peoples, in the first place with the Yugoslav people, and with the assistance of the freedom-loving United Nations.

From a domestic point of view, the national policy makes it imperative to cease police and Gestapo reprisals against the opponents of the shameful alliance with Germany, to free the thousands of patriots, civil and military, now rotting away in prisons and concentration camps because of their struggle against the pro-German policy, to reinstate the patriotic officers who were dismissed from the army, to stop the export of Bulgarian foods and raw materials to Germany and make these available to the Bulgarian population and army, to ensure democratic freedoms to the people so that they may fully display their forces in defence of their country.

This is what a genuinely national foreign and home

policy of Bulgaria would mean. This policy, however, differs from the pro-German policy of the Bulgarian ruling circles as much as heaven does from earth. These are two diametrically opposed policies, which mutually exclude one another just as fire and water.

Endeavouring to ease the atmosphere of growing popular discontent, as well as the alarm and confusion within the ranks of their own followers, the Bulgarian ruling circles are resorting to other manoeuvres as well. Secretly they whisper: 'You see, we are already so tightly bound to Germany that we can do nothing else. No other policy is possible. If we turn now against Germany, things will get worse. At the slightests attempt to break with Germany, the fate of Italy will befall us. Bulgaria will become a theatre of military operations and destruction. Let us wait until the final phase of the war, and then we shall see.'

The example of Italy is irrelevant, since that country became an arena of military operations not because she severed relations with Germany, but because she did so too late. Italy became a battlefield because Mussolini's policy completely demoralized the army, helped the German Command to split the Italian armed forces, scattering their units in North Africa, in the Balkans and on the Soviet-German front. Thus, when Italy came out of the nazi war, the Germans were able to occupy Central and North Italy with comparatively small forces and to turn the country into a battlefield. It is obvious to everyone that the Germans are trying to pursue a similar policy with respect to the Bulgarian army, insisting that new contingents of Bulgarian troops be sent to the Turkish border, to Thrace, Greece and Yugoslavia. And he who executes these German demands, is a traitor to his country and prepares total disaster to Bulgaria.

There is absolutely no truth in the allegation that it is impossible for Bulgaria to sever relations with Germany and to pursue a different policy. As is known, the great majority of the Bulgarian people is opposed to the Germans. The country has a good army, capable of coping by itself, with the support of the people, with the German armed forces in Bulgaria. Moreover, Bulgaria will be able

to rely on the most active solidarity and assistance from the National-Liberation Army of new Yugoslavia on the west, while on the south the Greeks are also fighting against the German aggressors and invaders.

It should be kept in mind too that, with the main forces of the German army pinned down on the Soviet-German front and suffering one defeat after another, and with the Allies actually preparing an invasion of Europe and powerful trusts from the east, west and south, on land, at sea and in the air, nazi Germany is not in a position to switch any substantial armed forces to the Balkans.

It should be clear to anyone, capable of seeing things in their true light, that all this creates a real possibility for Bulgaria to break off her alliance with Germany, to get out of the nazi camp and thus to solve the deep-rooted crisis which the country is now undergoing, in the interests of the Bulgarian people and their freedom and independence.

Only hopeless dunces or those who have sold out their conscience to the foreign conquerors can deny that this quite realistic possibility exists.

It is naïve to assume that if Bulgaria veers her foreign policy towards the Allies at the very last moment, at the collapse of Germany, she can count on their support. No, it would be too late then. In that case all would be in vain. Bulgaria would have to bear all the consequences of her participation in Germany's predatory war and heavy crimes. Only if she breaks off with Germany now, i. e. before Germany's complete rout, and contributes in proportion to her forces to this rout, will Bulgaria be able to avert the threatening national disaster and take a worthy place in the ranks of the freedom-loving nations in the post-war period.

The pro-German policy has brought Bulgaria to the brink of the abyss and caused a serious crisis. The utter failure of this policy is apparent. Yet strange but true, the so-called statesmen of Bulgaria are trying by force, and with the help of the Germans, to impose on the country a continuation of the present foreign policy. Of course, these statesmen cannot be suspected of any particular political

perspicacity, yet they are not such fools as not to realize the utter hopelessness and total bankruptcy of the pro-German policy. Then, why do they persevere blindly in this policy? Is it not because they are personally and materially tied to Germany and put their private interests above the national interests of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people? Does not this explain the fact that these gentlemen are in a hurry to transfer the capitals they have accumulated during the war to Swiss and other foreign banks in the hope of fleeing to some quiet place when Bulgaria collapses, just as ex-Tsar Ferdinand and his Prime Minister Radoslavov did in 1918?

But the Bulgarian people have nowhere to flee. They are and they will stay in their land. They have no intention of committing national and physical suicide, but the continuation of the brigand alliance with Germany spells such suicide.

United in the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian patriots are on the right road. They believe that Bulgaria will find a way out of the present crisis only by resolutely discarding the present pro-German policy in all its manifestations. They see Bulgaria's salvation in a steadfast national policy, a policy of collaboration with her neighbours and the great democratic powers, a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the sworn enemy of the Slav peoples and all freedom-loving nations – nazi imperialism.

To be or not to be – that is the question which history puts to the Bulgarian people and their leaders. Time is fleeting. The solution of these questions should not be protracted, if Bulgaria is to live and develop as an independent state in the community of the freedom-loving nations.

Pravda, No. 318 December 27, 1943
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 125-133,

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF BAGRYANOV

The Government of Bagryanov[34] *is a pro-German* government. The principal ministries – the War Ministry, the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, of the Railways and Public Welfare, of Industry and Trade – are in the hands of rabid pro-German agents: Bagryanov, General Roussev, Professor Stanishev, Slaveiko Vassilev. The Germans and the Regents' Council hope that with the aid of the new government they will be able more efficiently to promote a pro-German policy than Bozhilov.

The composition and nature of Bagryanov's Government doubtlesslypoint to an attempt temporarily to deceive the people and if possible the allies, in order to gain time and to paralyze the rising insurgent movement and the growing indignation against the Germans in the ranks of the army. The Government of Bagryanov is called upon to solve an insoluble task, namely to pay Peter without robbing Paul. But mainly because of this reason, it cannot exist for a long time. And it will lead to a new intensification of the crisis which Bulgaria is undergoing.

The Government of Bagryanov abviously expresses the will of the Germans and of our fascists to secure the further promotion of a pro-German policy, preserving at the same time, however, the mask of Bulgaria's neutrality towards the Soviet Union, as well as its diplomatic relations with that country. The Germans undoubtedly consider it more advantageous for themselves to promote their policy through the Bulgarian rulers, rather than repeat the Hungarian experiment, because the internal situation and the dispositon of the people and army in our country will by no means promise them success if they try to occupy Bulgaria directly.

Such are the intentions of the fascist camp in our coun-

try and of its masters. There is no doubt, however, that they are reckoning without the host. There can be no doubt that Bagryanov's Government is not only not in a position to resolve the deep crisis Bulgaria is undergoing, but is not in the least alleviating this crisis. The reasons for this crisis lie in the fact that Bulgarian rulers are pursuing an anti-popular, pro-German policy against the will of the Bulgarian people, that they have delivered our country into the hands of the Germans, despite and against its interests and future, thereby dragging Bulgaria into a new, horrible national disaster. This crisis can only be resolved by a break with nazi Germany and by the pursuit of a persistent Bulgarian national policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union and its allies. Only a truly Bulgarian national government, expressing the will of the Bulgarian people and relying on the people and army in the struggle to drive the Germans out of Bulgaria can help the solution of this crisis.

Just now, when Bagryanov and his like are trying to gain time and hamper the development of the insurgent movement against the Germans by means of fraudulent and demagogic manoeuvres within and outside the country, the Fatherland Front is unmasking all illusions as regards this government and is appealing with renewed force for strengthening the anti-Germanand the people's liberation struggle.

June 5, 1944

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 7, pp. 22-24

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 134-136
Published by the BCP, 1954

BULGARIA'S ROAD TO SALVATION

(Preface to the pamphlet under the same title)

The articles* on Bulgaria printed in this pamphlet, though published at the end of last year, retain their actuality to this day. It can be said that since then events have confirmed all basic theses and conclusions of these articles.

The rout of the German hordes at the hands of the gallant Red Army on the Soviet-German front, the successful landing of the British and American troops in Northern France[35], the obviously disastrous course the war has now taken for Germany have greatly intensified the prolonged and profound crisis in Bulgaria. Utter dismay, confusion and panic prevail among the Bulgarian satellites of Hitler. The circle of people, set on sticking it out with nazi Germany to the bitter end, is growing ever smaller. The government of the demagogue Bagryanov, which succeeded the bankrupt Bozhilov government, at first aroused in certain Bulgarian circles the illusion that it was looking for a way out of the war; now however, it has unmasked itself with its double-faced intrinsically pro-German policy. Despite the extreme demagogy and intensified terror against the patriots and the resistance movement, it failed to prevent a further sharpening of the crisis, because the latter has its roots in the disastrous and loathed pro-German policy, pursued both by the former and by the present governments. This crisis can be overcome only by severing relations with nazi Germany, by chasing the German invaders out of the country and by a firm reorientation of Bulgaria's policy towards friendship with the Soviet Union and collaboration with its allies.

If our assertion that Bulgaria had every possibility to tear up the shameful and unnatural alliance with nazi Germany and thus save herself from ruin and terrible national

* Ref. to the articles: 'Whither Bulgaria?' and 'The Crisis in Bulgaria'.

disaster was true in September and December 1943, now it is still more justified by the present situation.

The Red Army has reached the borders of Czechoslovakia and Hungary; pursuing the enemy, it has set foot on Romanian soil and is not far from the Danube; now it has launched a formidable victorious offensive all along the vast front stretching from Finland in the North to the foot of the Carpathian Mountains in the South; it is ridding Soviet territory of the last remnants of the invaders; it is inflicting crushing defeats on the German hordes in Poland and is victoriously forging ahead towards Berlin to deal the final blow to the fascist beast in its own den. The forces of the Allies are chasing the Germans from Italy and pursuing them in France. In close proximity to Bulgaria the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army is successfully freeing its land from the invaders, while in the Southern part of the Balkans, in Greece, a real popular war against the Germans is on. A mighty popular movement to throw out the German bandits is gathering momentum in all occupied countries, especially in France. Under the pressure of recent events the neutral states are pulling away from Germany, whily Turkey, which borders directly on Bulgaria, has severed diplomatic and economic relations with Germany.

Nazi Germany, playing her last cards, is faced by inevitable doom. The military defeats are undermining the nazi regime in Germany. The generals' and officers' mutiny and the recent attempt on Hitler in his Headquarters prove that clearly[36]. In the summits of the German Army a deep crack has appeared. The fascist camp is increasingly rent by internal struggles. The success of the wild terror of Himler and his Gestapo against the rebels is only temporary and paliative. Actually this terror will further intensify Germany's internal contradictions and speed up the process of disintegration within the ranks of the German fascist army. In any case, the positions of the nazi regime are radically undermined, and this is bound to affect the satellites of Hitler, especially Bulgaria.

How can Bulgaria's rulers and the Bulgarian Army Command justify their pro-German policy and servility to

Hitler before the people in the face of all these facts, at a moment when even German generals and officers denounce the bankrupt adventurer, Hitler, and openly revolt against continuing a war which Germany has already lost?

Any sober-minded Bulgarian cannot but ask himself: why should Bulgaria have to sacrifice herself, her army, her people's blood, her resources and national future for the sake of the vassal alliance with Germany, forced upon the Bulgarian people by the German agency, when in Germany herself the impending disaster spells deadly panic? Can one conceive of greater foolishness and meaner betrayal of the people under the present circumstances than that which Bulgaria's rulers are committing by continuing to stick together with the Germans?

The situation has radically changed since March 1941, when the Tsar Boris Government let the German troops into Bulgaria and Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union in June of the same year. At that time the Bulgarian fascist conquerors were firmly convinced that by hitching Bulgaria to Hitler's bandwagon and by helping him to crush Yugoslavia and Greece they would be able to conquer Macedonia and Western Thrace and to become the masters of the Balkans. They believed in an early victory of the nazi hordes, which had already overrun Czechoslovakia and Poland, grabbed Denmark and Norway, crushed Belgium, Holland and France, and attacked treacherously the Soviet Union. They were already making attractive plans how to capture the wealth and plunder the population of the occupied Balkan lands. But the Red Army upset all predatory plans of the adventurer Hitler and, with them, those of his short-sighted and greedy satellites. Thus, in their quest for easy booty, setting out on a campaign for 'Great Bulgaria' and undivided hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula, the Bulgarian lackeys of Hitler – traitors to the intersts and future of their people, let the country be ruined by the Germans, turned it into a tool of imperialist Germany and brought it to the brink of the abyss.

Any serious statesman would take into consideration the radical change in the course of the present war and would draw the corresponding conclusions for his country. Yet, experience shows that the rulers of Germany's vassal states seem incapable of doing this. The regents-usurpers, Prince Cyril and Filov, as well as the Bagryanov Government, installed in power by them, endeavour by hook or by crook to continue the pro-German policy. Secretly and hypocritically they declare to be only waiting for an opportune moment to draw away from Germany without undue perturbations and sacrifices and to be striving to establish and consolidate friendly relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union; actually, however, they are continuing to lend aid to nazi Germany in her war against the USSR and the latter's allies and are forcing the Bulgarian army to wage a fratricidal war against the National-Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

Had Bulgaria's rulers really the country's salvation at heart, is it not clear that, to begin with, they would have ceased rather than intensified the reprisals against the followers of the Fatherland Front, against the patriots in the army and the resistance movement – the most hopeful internal popular forces in the struggle to eject the Germans from the country; they would not have increased the number of prison and concentration camp inmates but would have liberated the tens of thousands of people's fighters who are now smarting there. Had Bulgaria's rulers the salvation of the country at heart, they would not send troops against the National-Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, but would withdraw the Bulgarian occupation corps from there and establish friendly relations with the new, democratic, Federative Yugoslavia. Had they Bulgaria's salvation at heart, they would refuse all material and moral aid to nazi Germany in its predatory war against the Soviet Union, against the Anglo-Soviet-American democratic coalition.

The ruling pro-German fascist clique, however, does nothing to break with Germany and to save Bulgaria. It thinks only about its own salvation, about how to safeguard, by all possible manoeuvres and even by some

temporary concessions, its usurped power over the people, hoping to be able, as the war drags out, to evade all responsibility and to reach by compromise some way out of the trap into which it has fallen as a result of its treacherous and adventurous policy.

The foremost concern of Bulgaria's rulers now is, by unbridled demagogy, to camouflage their pro-German fascist policy as best they can. To the peasants they are promising land and higher prices for farm produce, and to the civil servants and pensioners – higher salaries and pensions. They are noisily launching a drive against 'illegal enrichment' and proclaiming the introduction of a 'new era of justice' in the country. All their false promises aim at misleading the people, so that they may somehow check the growth of their struggle against the German invaders.

No one cannot expect the Bulgarian fascists, the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists to take, willingly and on their own initiative, measures to break with Germany. Trembling for their skins and dreading the impending popular retaliation, these partners of Hitler's crimes and villanies will do anything to lead Bulgaria along the road of the pro-German policy, so disastrous for the people, unless they are deprived of the last possibility to do so.

Now it is up to the Bulgarian people; it is high time for them to act and to show their readiness, arms in hand, to chase the German invaders out of the country. No matter what Bulgaria's traitorous rulers and nazi lackeys, who are using the state power now in their hands in the interests of their treacherous policy and are counting on German bayonets, may undertake, they can neither avert nor postpone for long a break with Germany, if the Bulgarian people take the task of their salvation into their own hands.

The whole problem, facing the Bulgarian people at the present moment, consists of speeding up a break with nazi Germany, participating in the rout of the nazi army, nazi state and the barbarous nazi 'New Order' to the best of their ability, saving in this way their country from ruin and national disaster and winning the right to freedom and a befitting place in the family of the freedom-loving nations.

in which the great Russian people, who freed the Bulgarian people from a five-century long foreign yoke, play the main part.

Under the conditions of the approaching final rout of nazi Germany and of the present situation in the Balkans, the Bulgarian people, their resistance movement and patriotic soldiers and officers, in collaboration with the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army and the Macedonian and Greek rebels, are quite capable of breaking immediately the prelatory alliance with nazi Germany and of ejecting the Germans from their country. They are able to disarm and render harmless the bulk of the German troops, now stationed on Bulgarian territory. This would mean saving the life of hundreds of thousands of sons of the Bulgarian people, of preserving the country from ruin and threatening disaster and, at the same time, it would be a valuable contribution on the part of the Bulgarian people to shortening the war and diminishing further sacrifices. Today the brilliant victories of the glorious Red Army, and the concerted offensives against nazi Germany from the East, West and South, will inspire further confidence in the success of Bulgaria's liberation struggle to all Bulgarian patriots who, regardless of ideology and party affiliation, are united in the Fatherland Front for the struggle to liberate their people from the German yoke and for the rebirth of Bulgaria as a free, independent, democratic and strong state, on friendly terms with the great Russian people and the Soviet Union. The anti-nazi opposition in the army is growing. The resistance movement against the German bandits is gathering momentum in the whole country. The entire fascist state machine was used against the resistance movement in Bulgaria, but in vain. Though there is much to be desired as far as organization, armament and military leadership are concerned, this movement is continuously growing, its forces are augumenting, the support the partisan detachments get from the people is extending in scope incessantly and the comradeship-in-arms between the partisans and the patriots in the army is becoming ever firmer.

Resisting the cruel repressions of the fascist punitive

detachments which often block entire partisan-held regions and in their ferocity raze whole villages to the ground, the resistance movement is developing more and more as the most reliable armed force of the Fatherland Front, without which the final liberation of the Bulgarian people from the German yoke and fascist tyranny is unthinkable. Precisely this importance of the resistance movement makes in incumbent on the leaders and militants of the Fatherland Front, at the centre and locally, to strengthen the Fatherland Front and as soon as possible to overcome the tendency in some antifascist circles to underrate the partisan armed struggle, as well as the fear of its extension with the participation of the patriotic elements in the army. Only thus will the Bulgarian patriots be able to solve Bulgaria's vital problems which confront them: to chase the German invaders out of the country and to establish a genuinely national People's Democracy, capable of leading Bulgaria definitely out of the blind alley, into which she was driven by the pro-German fascist rulers.

Of course, there still lie many obstacles ahead; extremely great efforts and bitter battles will be necessary and quite a few losses will have to be borne. But there is no doubt that the Bulgarian people, the progressive part of whom has been waging a heroic struggle against fascism for twenty years, can and will fulfil their duty to themselves, to their country, to their Slav brothers and to the entire progressive humanity.

Bulgaria's Road to Salvation, pamphlet, 1944
G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 137-146

(slightly abridged)

DIRECTIVE
TO THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE PARTISAN FORCES ON THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST PARTISAN NATIONAL LIBERATION DIVISION

August 27, 1944

Convey at once through all possible channels the following instructions to the Central Committee of the Party:

1. All democratic progressive forces of the people, all genuinely anti-German groups, workers and elements should rally around the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, as a representative of the Bulgarian people, organizer and leader of the people's struggle against the German brigands and their Bulgarian fascist agency.

2. Measures should be taken at once for the immediate disarmament of the German military units, members of the Gestapo, etc., to render them harmless by all means, as well as decisively to crush every resistance and hostile operations against the Fatherland Front and the Red Army.

3. The people, soldiers and officers should be called on to fight against the Germans and their agency, and the efforts of the National Committee to set up a Government of the Fatherland Front should in every way be supported.

4. All forces should be mobilized with a view to paralizing any attempt at carrying on military operations against the Red Army on the part of the Germans and their fascist hirelings.

5. Prompt measures should be taken to secure the free activity of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, its parties and groups, in connection with establishing uncensored press and releasing imprisoned patriots.

6. The Bulgarian people and their armed forces must resolutely pass over to the side of the Red Army, the army which liberated Bulgaria from fascist oppression, and together with it should clear the Bulgarian territory of the German brigands and their perfidious helpers.

Confirm reception of this and its conveyance to the Central Committee. Send information about what is going on promptly.

G. Dimitrov

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 208
September 7, 1947

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 147-148
Published by the BCP, 1954

ALL FOR THE FRONT

To the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

Dear Comrades,

Together with you, with all Bulgarian patriots and with our glorious youth, I am overwhelmed with joy and pride that at long last our long-suffering, militant people succeeded, by their anti-fascist uprising and the fraternal support of the victorious Red Army, in overthrowing the shameful German fascist yoke and in joining the bloc of the United Nations, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States.

The victory of the Fatherland Front is of tremendous historical importance for our country. September 9 ushered in a new era in the history of our people. The decisive break with nazi Germany, the toppling from power of the fiendish nazi agency, the traitors and grave-diggers of Bulgaria, the establishment of the Fatherland Front Government and the restoration of the people's rights and freedoms, the participation of the renovated Bulgarian army in the Patriotic War against the German predatory hordes on the side of the Great Democracies – all this constitutes a solid foundation for the building up of a new, free, independent and strong Bulgaria.

But this is only a *foundation*, just as the victory of the Fatherland Front is only a *beginning*. Now this victory has to be consolidated. We must build tenaciously and intelligently on this foundation. We are faced by various major obstacles, which have to be overcome rapidly and resolutely.

The nazi hordes are defeated *but not yet crushed*. The fascist beast is severely wounded *but not yet destroyed*.

After the damages which Bulgaria caused to our

neighbours, to our liberator – Russia, and to the liberation mission of the United Nations, through the fault of the pro-German rulers and pan-Bulgarian chauvinists, we must fully realize that our nation's future will depend, first and foremost, on that contribution which we, as a people and state, will now make to the common military efforts to crush fascist Germany as soon as possible, to bring the war to an early victorious close and to establish a new, lasting and equitable peace.

Today this task should be given priority over all other nations and secondary tasks in Bulgaria. 'All for the front, all for the final victory over fascism, the German villains and slave-drivers' – that is the supreme slogan, under the sign of which the forces of the Workers' Party, the youth, the Fatherland Front and its Government, the whole nation and its army, as well as all resources of the country, should be mobilized.

There is no doubt that the prime task under the present conditions is to consolidate the Fatherland Front as the only sound political factor in Bulgaria, as a militant alliance of all really national, popular democratic, political and social forces of our people. The victory of September 9 would not have been possible without the Fatherland Front and its resistance movement. Likewise, neither our successful participation in the victorious termination of the war, nor the securing of a lasting and equitable peace for Bulgaria would be possible without the consolidation of the Fatherland Front. The realization of the democratic programme of the Fatherland Front would not be possible, either. And without the firm and steadfast implementation of this programme in the field of foreign and home policy, in the economic, social and cultural life of the country, there can be no question of building up a new, democratic Bulgaria.

The Workers' Party (Communists) took the initiative in establishing the Fatherland Front and in organizing the resistance movement against fascism. This Party and its youth incurred the heaviest losses in the struggle for the liberation of the people from the nazi yoke. It bears, therefore, the greatest responsibility for the further strength -

ening of the Fatherland Front and for the realization of its tasks. Fulfilling honestly its obligations to its allies in the Fatherland Front and insisting on reciprocity, the Workers' Party (Communists) is called upon to play the role of a rallying factor in the Fatherland Front, to set an example of fraternal collaboration and militant friendship of all anti-fascist,patriotic parties, public groups and currents within the Fatherland Front, for the complete triumph of its cause, so salutary for the people and the country. Standing above all group and selfish interests and considerations, the Communists have the duty to pay always heed to the general, vital and lasting interests of the people in deciding internal, economic, social, cultural and international questions, affecting our country's present and future as a People's Democracy which lives in eternal friendship with our liberators, the great Russian people.

The Workers' Party (Communists) and our allies in the Fatherland Front should never forget that the complete rout of the nazi hordes and the destruction of the barbarous 'New Order' in Europe, as well as in the Balkans, are impossible without the comradeship-in-arms of the three Great Powers – the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, and that the establishment of a lasting peace after the war will depend primarily on the preservation of this collaboration of the three world powers in the post-war period. It is of vital interest for our country and its future to abstain from anything which might serve the enemies of this collaboration, to cut short in good time any provocative intrigues and manifestations aimed at giving rise to mutual suspicions and misunderstandings between the allies, no matter where they might come from.

Today it is no secret that all the national misfortunes and disasters, which befell our people during the last decades, have their main roots in jingoism, in the pan-Bulgarian ideology and policy of hegemony in the Balkans and domination over the neighbouring peoples. On this basis fascism behaved outrageously in Bulgaria for years on end. On this basis the German agency of Tsar Ferdinand and Tsar Boris handed Bulgaria over to the Germans and turned her into a tool of German imperialism

against our liberators and western and southern neighbours. In the name of 'Great Bulgaria' the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists – traitors to the nationand German agents – brought the country for the third time to the brink of disaster and nearly to its perdition. It is impossible to build up a new reborn Bulgaria, without ruthlessly destroying pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, this ulcer on the living body of our country. Parallel with hamstringing the carriers of this deadly infection, much explanatory, ideological work is necessary among the people and their intelligentsia so as to stamp out the last trace of pan-Bulgarian ideology and adventurous policy. It is necessary to cleanse the Augean stables of the dark, putrid and ignominious fascist heritage, with an iron broom, to ozonize the political air under the Bulgarian sky. This is one of the foremost tasks confronting our Party.

I do not doubt that the Bulgarian Communist Party, tempered in a long and arduous struggle against fascism, foreign agents and people's enemies, drawing continuously valuable lessons from its distant and recent past, realizing its historical responsibility at the present crucial moment, will despite all difficulties find sufficient forces within itself and support among the masses to fulfil honourably its duty to the people and country, pursuing a sober and realistic policy, always attuned to the interests of the people, which will lead our nation from the brink of the abyss, where it was pushed by the treacherous pro-nazi clique, to the broad and open avenue of freedom, progress, creative labour and prosperity.

Accept, Dear Comrades, my best regards.

Yours, *G. Dimitrov*

Moscow, September 28, 1944

Rabotnichesko Delo, No 13
October 2, 1944

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 151-156

FOR THE ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION AND INDEPENDENCE OF FATHERLAND[37] FRONT BULGARIA

Talk with Our Economic Delegation

On the utilization of the country's internal resources. Bulgaria has been cruelly robbed by the Germans, but not hopelessly ruined. We should speedily mobilize all internal resources of the country to help the country out of its grave economic situation and to consolidate it. A better organization of the country's economic life should be introduced. The most important condition is, above all, to rely on our own national resources, forces and labour, and to be able to produce most of the goods we need alone.

On national economic construction. Perfect order should be introduced into Bulgaria's industry, speedily and resolutely cutting off all possibilities of wrecking and disorganization. We should build up our own sound economy, our own viable industry, including heavy industry. We should also build blast furnaces for the processing of ores, factories for the production of automobiles and engines, and for machine-building. Our country is rich in natural resources. Countless riches are hidden in its earth. One of the important tasks of Fatherland Front Bulgaria is to tap and work out these resources. In this respect it can certainly rely on the assistance and support of the USSR. We should never forget that our own economic might is indispensable to guarantee political and national independence.

On the role and participation of the co-operative in Bulgaria's economic life. The co-operative is an organization of the masses. It should play an *important* role in the country's economic construction. One may say that the co-operative

should to a *great extent* play the same role in the population's economic and cultural interests, as the Fatherland Front is playing in Bulgaria's public and political life. The co-operative should take part in all the more important fields of the economic, everyday and public life: production, supply, housing construction, crediting improving the population's living standards by building public baths, bakeries,etc. The co-operative should therefore be based on sound democratic foundations. The co-operative cultivation of the land should be organized, by creating all possible conditions for the development of this kind of co-operative. In this way the productivity of the Bulgarian land will be increased and the well-being of the peasants and of the whole people will be improved.

On the participation of industry in the economic construction of Fatherland Front Bulgaria. Industry is an important and major sector of the national economy. Industry should serve the people and Bulgaria and not the selfish interests of a group of profiteers. The patriotic industrialists should understand that it is in their interest to drive out among their class the wreckers and parasitic elements, the profiteers who want to grow rich at the expense of the people. It will thus be possible to convince them that they will have the full opportunity of giving free rein to their initiative and enterprising spirit as industrialists. The same holds good of the business class as well.

On the relations between workers and industrialists. 1) The industrialists should maintain normal living and working conditions of the workers: good relations, good labour conditions, canteens, normal wages, etc. 2) The industrialists should be convinced that as their activity and initiative is placed at the service of the people, this will be appreciated by the workers and they will have a positive attitude towards the production initiatives of the industrialists. The workers and industrialists should have relations that will help their work and develop and increase production for the welfare of the whole country. Of course, the class contradictions will not be done away with

under the new rule either. As long as there are classes, the class struggle continues.

On the ideological and political re-education of the people. Our people need to be re-educated. Workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals also need to be re-educated to a certain degree. Our businessmen and industrialists, however, have the greatest need of re-education in a democratic, progressive spirit. The majority of the businessmen and industrialists were under the influence of the rapacious policy of big financial capital which dictated Bulgaria's economy. This re-education of businessmen and industrialists should be expressed in a change of their attitude towards the state and workers and in subjecting private interests to national interests.

On the character of the Fatherland Front Rule. In Bulgaria the government is in the hands of the Fatherland Front. This means that in Bulgaria the power is in the hands of the people for the first time. This leads Bulgaria towards a happier and brighter future. Everything will depend exclusively on the stability of the Fatherland Front. In the past there was a coalition of ruling parties. These were temporary coalitions, in which struggles were waged for a bigger participation in the government of the country, for greater advantages and profits, for a greater number of posts. The Fatherland Front is not such a coalition. The Fatherland Front is a lasting militant alliance of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals. It has and should have in it representatives of the patriotic industrialists and businessmen. All real patriots should work for the consolidation of the Fatherland Front Government. The Fatherland Front is a nation-wide movement, within the framework of which Bulgaria's political life will develop. The Fatherland Front rule is a people's democratic rule. The Fatherland Front democracy is a new type of democracy – a people's democracy, differing from pseudo-democracy, which in fact only screens the economic and political oppression of the people on the part of the people's oppressors and robbers. Under the Fatherland Front rule private property is preserved. Private initiative is also preserved, only private interest is limited in favour of the

state, of the public and national interest. The principle task now is: to consolidate the Fatherland Front with all our might, to continue the struggle for the final eradication of fascism in all its forms and manifestations and to work for building up a powerful, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

Moscow, January 14, 1945

Pamphlet To Fatherland Front Bulgaria, 1945
G. Dimitrov, Works

Vol. 11, pp. 164-167
Published by the BCP, 1954

THE FATHERLAND FRONT IS A LASTING MILITANT ALLIANCE OF ALL DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE FORCES

To the National Congress of the Fatherland Front Committees[38]

Brothers and Sisters, Young Comrades! I extend to you my warmest militant greetings and wishes for success in your work for the prosperity of your country. For the first time in Bulgaria's political history a nation-wide congress is being held. The National Congress which is called upon to strike the balance of the road traversed since the historic victory of September 9, the date of Bulgaria's liberation from fascism, and to map out the measure for the implementation of the beneficial programme of the Fatherland Front, is an exceptionally important event in the life of our people.

Many responsible tasks face the Congress. But the most important task, which stands above all tasks, is no doubt the all-round consolidation of the Fatherland Front as a lasting militant alliance of all democratic progressive forces of the country, as a living embodiment of the anti-fascist, patriotic unity of the Bulgarian people. Because everything else depends on this – the successful participation of our people in the victorious end of the Patriotic War against the nazi barbarians, the consolidation of economic life and improvement in the well-being of the masses, the favourable settlement of our country's international situation and finally, the guarantee of its freedom, independence and prosperity.

The Fatherland Front, aided most actively by the Red Army, our great liberator, saved Bulgaria from the terrible disaster to which the fascist monsters had brought it. Thanks to the Fatherland Front, our people have done

away once for all with the infamous fascist past, effacing the black stains left by the treacherous pan-Bulgarian chauvinists, and have now taken their honourable place among the ranks of the Slav peoples and of all peace-loving nations. Our country has also turned from a wretched satellite of fascist Germany into a factor of future peace and progress in the Balkans. The Fatherland Front has laid the foundations and opened up wide prospects for building a new, free and renovated Bulgaria.

That is why, enemies of the Bulgarian people at home and abroad, overt and covert, are maliciously, fiercely and treacherously trying to undermine the militant unity of the Fatherland Front and discredit its people's government. For this reason mainly, we have to strengthen to the utmost the national vigilance towards these enemies and their agents, under whatever mask they may act. The strength and future of our people lie in the militant and patriotic unity embodied now in the Fatherland Front.

There cannot be a real Bulgarian patriot who is not in the ranks of the Fatherland Front, who does not contribute his share to its consolidation according to his abilities, and who does not preserve its unity as the apple of his eye. There can be no room for the cursed fascism in new, democratic Bulgaria, for pan-Bulgarian chauvinism and hatred of man, for the people's traitors and agents of the fascist enemy.

In order to consolidate the undoubted achievements won by our people, and successfully to overcome all difficulties facing them, the Government and the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, as well as the government organs and the local Fatherland Front committees in closest co-operation must mobilize all forces of the people and their creative initiative and energy, mobilize all men, women and young people as full-fledged builders of new Bulgaria, mobilize all natural resources of the country in order to increase its economic, political, cultural, military and national might.

Our country cannot and should not tolerate the fascist conspirators, wreckers, all kinds of profiteers, parasites, politicians, dishonourable careerists, vile disseminators of

fascist poison and obscurantism if it wants to be really free, prosperous and powerful. And it should and will be such a country.

I shake your hands heartily.

Yours, *G. Dimitrov*

Moscow, March 11, 1945

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 148
March 12, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 171-173
Published by the BCP, 1954

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF GENUINE LITERATURE IN NEW BULGARIA

To the Union of Bulgarian Writers

Please accept my warm thanks for your congratulations.

Today, when the war of liberation against fascist Germany has been brought to a victorious end and the period of peace has begun, most favourable prospects are opening up for the creative efforts of our writers. I hope that the Bulgarian writers will take full advantage of these possibilities. Because our people need a genuine, people's literature, just as they need bread and air; a literature which, true to life and profoundly emotional, will help to raise the people to a higher cultural and ideological level. Its task is to develop devotion and love for the people, intensifying the general aversion to fascism and all people's enemies, to scourge everything that is rotten and noxious for the healthy people's organism (parasitism, vulgar careerism and petty egoistic political intrigues). It will thus cleanse the Bulgarian atmosphere to the stench of pan-Bulgarian chauvinism and obscurantism, inculcating love of genuine science and encouraging every kind of heroism in labour and culture, in the fight for the defence of the people's rights and liberties; it will educate our people in a feeling of Slav unity, of international solidarity and eternal friendship with our liberator, the great Soviet people.

The wonderful heroism of our people's partisans, men and women, and underground fighters in the struggle against the fascists, the brave participation of the Bulgarian Army in the final victorious defeat over fascist Germany, the courageous work in the rear in support of the front and the people – every thing should be artistically recreated by genuine, people's writers. Alongside with this,

millions of children and young people need high quality literature.

The Writers' Union is called upon to give its all-round contribution to the development of genuine literature in new Bulgaria. It has the important task of encouraging in every possible way all real talents, constantly to increase their number and help them to create the necessary conditions for their literary creative activity.

It is the duty of the Writers' Union with the aid of sound literary criticism, to clear the Bulgarian literary field of harmful weeds, to clear the ranks of the Bulgarian writers of incompetent, self-styled writers and every kind of literary hack-writers.

In this spirit I wholeheartedly wish the Bulgarian writers success in their creative work.

G. Dimitrov

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 202
May 14, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
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Dimiter Blagoev – our unforgettable Old Man – is the generally acknowledged father of Marxism and the socialist labour movement in Bulgaria, the founder of our Party. His historic merits in this respect are quite exceptional. After receiving his revolutionary tempering while still a student in Russia, where in 1884 he founded the first Social Democratic groups, young Dimiter Blagoev was expelled from that country and in 1885 returned to Bulgaria, bursting with energy and a fervent desire to propagate scientific socialism, to educate and organize the nascent working class. Although our country was then highly underdeveloped with petty property predominating, Dimiter Blagoev, through persistent, steadfast work, lighted and paved the way of the workers' movement, leading its ship between the Scylla and Charybdis[39] of the then existing ideological and political chaos.

He resolutely fought for the creation of a proletarian party and later achieved this aim, firmly opposing all who, under the banner of 'the common cause of the productive strata,' strove to place the working class under the tutelage of the predatory bourgeoisie.

Thus, under the leadership of Dimiter Blagoev, the Marxist Party of the Narrow Socialists, the forerunner of the present glorious Workers' Party, was formed in 1903.

In Bulgarian 'Narrow-Socialism', in contrast to the Left-wing trends in the Social Democratic parties of the Second International, developed as a Marxist trends kindred rather than hostile to Bolshevism (Marxism-Leninism), we owe this uniquely to our great teacher and leader Dimiter Blagoev, to his keen theoretical eye, his firm principled stand, his implacability towards all distortions of Marxism, his boundless devotion to the working

class, and to his unshakeable faith in the forces of the working people.

It was Dimiter Blagoev who laid the ideological foundations on which the Narrow-Socialist Party succeeded in growing up and, overcoming the defects and weaknesses of Narrow-Socialism, in becoming without undue internal perturbations and for the good of our people, a Marxist-Leninist Party. And if our Party, despite prolonged fascist terror and major setbacks, was able to rise on its feet again and to become stronger, more united and efficient after every setback, and to emerge now as an important political factor in the government of new Bulgaria, we and our people owe this primarily to Dimiter Blagoev. Under his wise leadership our Party developed and grew as a monolithic organization with a clear-cut programme and policy and an iron self-imposed discipline.

In the course of decades Dimiter Blagoev, assisted by his close comrades-in-arms – Georgi Kirkov and Gavril Georgiev, educated and paternally reared staunch cadres, devoted to the working class and the people. We, his pupils, are proud to have had so worthy and great a teacher. Dimiter Blagoev incarnated in his person the great theoretician, the best propagandist and the persistent organizer of the workers' movement. He distinguished himself by his principled attitude and in his actions was never guided by personal motives or momentary moods. Like Lenin, he put the interests of the Party, the only steadfast representative and defender of the interests of the working class and people, above all personal considerations and transient moments.

By his example and rich, splendid militant life, Dimiter Blagoev left to us – his pupils and followers – bequest: to be always firmly principled; to be dedicated to the working class and its historic mission to the last breath; to be implacable towards all pseudo-theories hostile to Marxism; to subordinate our personal life to the interests of the Party, to the service of the working class and our people; to preserve the fighting unity, discipline, purity and honour of our Party as the apple of our eye.

The rich scholarly and literary heritage, as well as the

whole life of Dimiter Blagoev, are an inexhaustible source of education for Party cadres and members and for all real Bulgarian patriots in the present Fatherland Front epoch, in which the future of our country is being shaped.

G. Dimitrov

Moscow, May 15, 1945

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 206
May 19, 1945

G. Dimitrov. Works
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FORWARD TO A BRILLIANT, OVERWHELMING ELECTION VICTORY

Speech Delivered on November 6, 1945 at the Sofia National Theatre on the Occasion of the 28th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Dear Countrymen!

Allow me to thank you most cordially for your friendly patriotic reception.

Twenty-two years have elapsed since I was last on Bulgarian land. I hope you will believe me when I tell you that throughout this period, wherever I have been and whatever I have been doing, I have never, not for a single moment, ceased thinking and working for my people, the Bulgarian people, for their future, happiness and prosperity. In this connection it may not be superfluous to remind you of the moment when the Reichstag Fire Trial, which you all know of, came to an end. During the tiral, and especially after the trial I sent a few official telegrams to the then Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Nikola Moushanov[40], to the then Bulgarian Government, to be allowed, as a Bulgarian, acquitted by the German Court, to return to my country and devote my efforts and abilities to the struggle in my country. The answer was also formal: 'Georgi Dimitrov is not a Bulgarian citizen!' Under the then existing conditions, dear countrymen, that meant that I and my Bulgarian co-defendants would remain in the claws of this same Goering and this same Hitler who killed millions of people later.

Nikola Moushanov and his Minister of the Interior, Girginov, are now trumpeting far and wide about democracy, but at the same time forget this shameful fact that the doors of his own country were closed to a Bulgarian, who tried as best he could to defend the

honour of the Bulgarian people. And if it were not for Moscow which saved the oppressed nations, if it were not for the Soviet Government, you would surely have today held a memorial service for Dimitrov, whom you welcomed so warmly. I remind you of this fact, because when I got off the plane in my country, the first thing I did was to have a look at the Bulgarian newspapers. I opened and read the opposition Zemedelsko Znamé[41], Svoboden Narod[42], the other 'Znamé'[43]. Tell me, Comrades, in what other country can one lie so unscrupulously, recklessly and dishonestly, and slander one's own people, one's own country and its government which enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people? They are absolutely overstepping all bounds! They build everything upon slanders, intrigues and lies. Meanwhile Bulgaria's fate and that of the Bulgarian people is being decided for long years to come.

The cause of the Fatherland Front isa historic cause, the Government of the Fatherland Front is at this moment tulfilling a historic task. And those Bulgarian men and women who now undermine the unity of the Fatherland Front, the patriotic unity of the Bulgarian people – are either misled or enemies of the freedom and independence of our people. We, Bulgarians, want to settle our internal affairs by ourselves.

We want to build up the sound patriotic unity of our people, which is necessary for the solution of our home and international tasks. And if I can do something to help, I will be very happy, if our people consider it necessary and useful, to devote the last years of my life to their service.

Dear Countrymen!

Legislative elections are ahead of us. They should and will be held on November 18.

The people must have their say freely. The elections should and will consolidate the foundations of our Bulgarian democracy. This is not Soviet socialist democracy, but it is neither the false and pseudo-democracy of Moushanov. It is, should and will be a people's Fatherland Front democracy. Our people, our electors, men and women in Sofia and throughout the country, should understand in their own interest, in the interest of the people themselves,

in the interest of the country – first: that the elections will take place; second: that this government, the government headed by Mr. Kimon Georgiev, will hold the elections; third: that changes in the government, one reconstruction or another, as far as they prove necessary, will be effected by our next National Assembly.

Brawlers and foreign town criers who play to the tune of foreign music and not of the Bulgarian national bagpipe ought to understand one more thing: that the Fatherland Front is a historic necessity for Bulgaria, not for one state leader or another, not for one party or another, but for Bulgaria, that the members, supporters and sympathizers of five parties[44] are grouped in this Fatherland Front. You know that these parties have been at loggerheads in the past, that now, too, they differ on certain questions of principle. But these parties are patriotic parties, and today they are united on the basis of a common democratic platform. The internal quarrels between them about mayors, chiefs of county police headquarters, etc., are problems which these parties will solve among themselves, relying on the people's confidence and support, on the confidence and support of the workers and peasants, men and women, of the patriotic businessmen and industrialists. It is not always easy to settle these disputes. Show me one family in which everything runs smoothly. There can be temporary disagreements even in the best families.

The Fatherland Front is composed of five parties. They can argue and can have differences. But these arguments and differences are overcome because these parties serve the common interests of the whole Bulgarian people, of the Bulgarian nation, of the Bulgarian country. This is what decides all controversial issues.

The parties of the Fatherland Front are united on the principle of a positive programme, a constructive programme and creative work. And look at the platform which unites the opposition. If there is a certain unity among them, it is on the principle of destroying the people's unity. If there is a certain unity among them, it is on the principle of negation, hatred of and hostility to the Fatherland Front, against the great historic cause of

September 9. They have no constructive programme – they have only a destructive and negative programme. If one gives them the power, which will never happen and cannot happen, because 90 per cent of the Bulgarian people, in spite of all delusions and waverings in the past, have gained enough experience not to allow this to happen, but I say, that even assuming the impossible, if they are given power, they would on the very next day seize one another by the hair and scratch out one another's eyes. In the Fatherland Front, too, there are disputes and differences of opinion, but the Fatherland Front parties do not seize one another by the hair and do not scratch out one another's eyes, but work and will work in common, because the Fatherland Front cause is a people's cause.

It is a vicious lie and slander that the communists want to take the whole power and that they have already taken the whole power and rule everywhere. It is not true that the communists want to have a one-Party government. We, our Central Committee, our whole Party, our press and I personally have many times declared that the tasks now facing our people are of such a nature, are so difficult and complex that they are not within the power of one party alone, no matter how powerful, intelligent and heroic it may be.

It is within the people's power to further this cause, which can be brought to a successful end and decided in favour of the people only with the common efforts of all patriotic strata, of all democratic forces of the people, of all democratic, progressive parties.

The Government does not consist of different governments – the government of home affairs, the government of foreign affairs, the government of national defence.... It is the Government of the Fatherland Front. If the Prime Minister is a member of the Zveno group, he is not a Prime Minister of his party, but is a Prime Minister of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front. If the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which is an important Ministry, is a member of the Zveno group, he is not a Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Zveno group, but a Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front, of

the entire people. If the War Minister, who is in charge of a very important Ministry, is also a member of the Zveno group,he is a War Minister of Bulgaria, a member of the Fatherland Front cabinet; the War Ministry is not a government in the government. If the Minister of the Interior is a communist, he is also not a Minister of the Interior of the Workers' Party, he is a Minister of the Interior of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front. The Government of the Fatherland Front is composed of representatives of the different parties which form the Fatherland Front, but all Ministers and the Government as a whole are a Government of the Fatherland Front. A collective government is responsible for the activities of the individual ministries. There are not and there cannot be any party ministries. Whoever thinks that every party should have its own sphere of activity and be in charge as a party of one or another ministry, is bitterly deceived. Communist or Radical, Social Democrat, member of the Agrarian Union or of the Zveno group – a minister should have the businesslike qualities of a minister, should enjoy the confidence of the Government, of his own party and of the Fatherland Front. One-party government and one-party leadership of state affairs are impossible in the era of the Fatherland Front. Only a collective, democratic and patriotic leadership of our state can bring Bulgaria's salutary cause to a successful end.

The opposition was given freedom and full liberty to have its own parties. It was allowed to publish newspapers in order to spread lies and slanders. But the opposition leaders abuse this freedom. This is not liberty but licence. Those who did not utter a word under the fascist dictatorship, when the partisans were perishing in the struggle against fascism, have today opened their mouths like beasts, shedding crocodile tears that there is no freedom and no democratic guarantees in Bulgaria. They are overstepping all bounds in the country. That is why a brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front in the elections is necessary, a National Assembly is necessary so that an end may be put to irresponsibility and light-mindedness in our country.

This will not be Soviet rule, but a regime of people's democracy, of order and legality, a regime of economizing means and the people's strength, of construction, the rehabilitation of our country, and guaranteeing our national indepenence and our state sovereignty.

There is much talk in the cafés, and the opposition newspapers even write that such elections will not be recognized by some of the Great Powers, that Great Britain and the United States will not recognize a government formed by the future National Assembly – a government without the participation of the opposition, who were silly enough to boycott the elections. You are intelligent and educated people, you know many examples of history: there is not a single case in which anyone has benefited from not recognizing the actual facts. If any body thinks that if he does not recognize our Fatherland Front Bulgaria, our country will be the only one to suffer, he is deceived. Not only our people are interested in recognizing our democracy, but also those circles which have hitherto had some doubts and hesitations, and perhaps in some cases they may be even more interested in signing peace with Bulgaria than we are.

My conclusion therefore is: he who has ears let him hear and he who has eyes, let him see that the Fatherland Front is proceeding to the elections fully armed. There may be some elements within the Fatherland Front who are wavering, but their spirits will also be strengthened. Or, if the chariot of the Fatherland Front gathers strength, some may fall out. If they fall out, the chariot won't suffer very much from this. There are others who say that they want to return to the Fatherland Front. These people should be told that the Fatherland Front is not an inn nor a tavern in which you can go, drink your glass of brandy and go out whenever you like, and tomorrow go back again. The Fatherland Front is a historic people's movement, and one cannot play fast and loose with it. Whoever has entered it should stay firmly in it, or if he goes out, he will not be able easily to re-enter it.

Imagine these gentlemen politicians who talk at cafés and wealthy people's houses on behalf of the people – that

the people are upset, that they do not want the Government of Kimon Georgiev, that the people want a Minister of the Interior who is not a communist! But where are these people? Big meetings take place all over the country. Not only our correspondents, but foreign ones as well, who have been witnesses are informed about them. In Karnobat, for instance, a meeting of the Fatherland Front was attended by between 60,000 and 70,000 citizens whereas the meeting of the opposition – by 2,000. This is the proportion everywhere. Where are the people then? If the opposition wanted to establish whether the people are with them or not,they ought to have taken part in the elections. Why are they running away?

The people and all our Fatherland Front parties, all of us will bring the beneficial cause of the Fatherland Front to a successful end. I, too, am ready to take part in this fight and that is the reason why I have come.

Forwards, to a brilliant and overwhelming electoral victory for the welfare of our long-suffering, but wonderful country.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 352
November 7, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
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TOWARDS A NATION-WIDE VICTORY OVER REACTION AND THE ILL-WISHERS OF NEW BULGARIA

Speech at the Pre-Election Meeting[45]

November 15, 1945

Dear Countrymen!
Brothers and Sisters!
Voters!

We are now faced by a great task – to elect a genuine National Assembly on the principle of free, democratic elections which would in a legislative way consolidate the people's victories of September 9, so that the people may remain the masters of their destiny in the future as well, and not allow return to the gloomy and disgraceful fascist past.

The Fatherland Front and its Government cameforward before the people with their democratic and progressive election programme. This programme corresponds to the vital interests of our people. It corresponds to the interests of the workers, peasants, craftsmen, intelligentsia, office workers, our people's army and our heroic youth; it also corresponds to the interests of those industrialists and businessmen who see their own welfare not in profiteering and robbery, but in the country's economic rehabilitation and advance.

This programme is entirely feasible, for it enjoys the active support of the majority of the people. It does not contain any empty, demagogic promises, as were made to us in the past by the pseudo-democratic and fascist rulers.

The election programme of the Fatherland Front is the only possible and nationally useful programme, under the present conditions.However, as is well known, no one has

so far come out before the people with a better and more feasible programme.

But the Fatherland Front and its Government headed by Mr. Kimon Georgiev come forward before the Bulgarian electors, men and women, not only with their election programme, but with positive and constructive actions, with achievements for the benefit of the people and the country from the historic September 9 to this day.

1. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Anyone who does not want to close his eyes before the facts, and is ready to call a spade a spade, cannot but acknowledge that the Fatherland Front not only saved our country from national disaster, not only safeguarded it from internecine struggles, chaos and anarchy, but in its one year rule scored a number of achievements of paramount importance, which open up a new stage in the history of our country, the period of Fatherland Front democracy.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front is pursuing a firm and consistent policy of erradicating fascism and pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, loyally fulfilling the clauses of the armistice and the decisions of the Crimean Conference[46], that it disbanded the fascist organizations, repealed the reactionary fascist laws by virtue of which the people were oppressed and robbed; it put an end to the inhuman attitude towards the Jews and the other national minorities and by means of the people's court meted out just punishment to the culprits for involving Bulgaria in the predatory nazi war, to the chief stooges and agents of fascism and German aggression?

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front restored, confirmed and extended the democratic rights and liberties of the Bulgarian people, trampled upon for 21 years by Bulgarian fascism – the right to organization, meetings, press; that it granted full equality to women, electoral rights to the youth and servicemen; that thanks to the full freedom they were given and to the possibility of develop-

ment, all mass organizations – trade unions, co-operative, cultural, women's, youth, sports, children's, etc. – marked great progress; that the people's militia is standing ever more firmly on its feet as an organized and disciplined force, as a defender of the people's rights and liberties, of the democratic laws, that it is precisely the people's militia which preserved order and security in the country despite the unbridled slanders and instigations of the vicious opposition.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front poured new blood into our army and worked energetically to make it a real people's army, politically educated, with a strong patriotic discipline, a faithful guardian of the victories of September 9, of the freedom and independence of our country; that the Fatherland Front organized and brought to a successful end our liberation struggle against the German occupiers, whereby the Bulgarian people made their contribution to the final rout of the nazi aggressors, taking their place in the ranks of the freedom-loving people fighting against fascism?

Is it not a fact that thanks to its sincere and consistent foreign policy the Fatherland Front is consolidating Bulgaria's international positions and breaking that horrible isolation to which Tsar Boris and his clique had brought it; that it won for our country the eternal friendship, fraternal aid and defence of the great Soviet Union, which was manifested in such a brilliant way during the signing of the armistice, at the Crimean, Potsdam[47] and London Conferences[48], in resuming diplomatic relations, in signing the trade agreement and in many other cases; that the Fatherland Front established most cordial friendly relations and close co-operation with new, Federative Yugoslavia; that it is systematically resuming Bulgaria's diplomatic relations with its neighbours and the European states, that it has sent a political representative to the USA and is sincerely and consistently working for the favourable settlement of the country's international situation.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front is pursuing an extensive social, public health and educational policy;

that in only a year it increased the hospitals and hospital wards from 13 to 80, the beds in maternity homes from 37 to 293, of the village health centres from 290 to 880, the village district midwives from 300 to 600, district dentists from 50 to 117, kindegartens and crèches from 2,145 to 3,067; that the number of secondary schools rose by 53, and the pupils in them by 45,000; that new universities are being opened as well as new departments and the number of students has almost doubled; that a great number of evening schools have been organized; that many new theatres have been opened and symphony orchestras founded; that a great impetus has been given to amateur artistic activity and the education of the people?

Is it not a fact that it is under the Fatherland Front Government that the schism against the Bulgarian Church was lifted, and it gained its independence and international recognition, being given full scope to develop its religious activities, as well as to take part in building new, democratic Bulgaria.

Is it not also a fact that serious steps have been taken in the field of the economy to overcome the economic crisis and revive economic life; that inflation was stopped and the liberty loan effectively floated, that wholesale prices have not been increased in the last three months, whereas retail prices have been reduced by 2 per cent; that thanks to the raw materials imported from the Soviet Union the output of big industry in September this year increased by 28 per cent as compared with the pre-war year of 1939, whereas the number of workers engaged in it rose by 43,000; that this year the population received twice as many textiles as last year; that a number of measures were implemented to alleviate the situation of those who suffered from the drought, to improve the supply of the peasants with sandals, textiles, hardware, etc.?

Is it not a fact that patriotic emulation, shock-work and the movement to introduce production quotas appeared for the first time in our country, movements which are to play an important role in increasing labour productivity; that there are no strikes in our country and almost no unemployment, and an unprecedented labour enthusiasm is

observed among the workers, peasants and all working people; that the movements of the labour cultural brigades in aid of the village was launched and developed throughout the country, embracing over 250,000 workers, craftsmen, intellectuals and servicemen, rendering assistance to the countryside to the amount of over 570,-000,000 leva; that in response to this movement, the movement of village brigades to render aid to the town sprang up, which is to involve no less a number of participants and render no less valuable assistance to the poor working people in towns, that as a result of this fraternal mutual assistance and friendly relations the link between the working people in town and village has never been so sound and indissoluble; that *there is no hostility* between workers and peasants, there are no disorders and clashes as in some neighbouring and more distant countries, although the embittered opposition and reactionaries are trying to cause such disorders and conflicts in every possible way but on the contrary, there is fraternal co-operation between workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle class?

Is it not a fact that thanks to the Fatherland Front the co-operative movement, which is to play an important role in the modernization and development of our small-scale farm and crafts production, was given a powerful impetus in all its branches; that the village co-operatives in particular, which, by preserving private ownership over the land and by strictly observing the principle of voluntariness, will make it possible to mechanize agriculture and apply the latest achievements of modern agrotechnical science, already number over 400,with more than 36,000 members and 150,000 ha of arable land?

And, finally, is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front, which in an unprecedentedly short time completed the construction of the Kroupnik-Koulata railway line and of the Beli Isker Dam, launched the building of the Topolnitsa, Rossitsa and Tashboaz Dams and laid the foundations of large-scale construction projects, which will give a strong impetus to the country's industrialization, electrification and land-improvement? All these, citizens, are

indisputable facts which are a great credit to the Fatherland Front and its Government.

Of course, we are still at the very beginning of the consolidation of the democratic regime and of the country's economic advance. The first resolute steps have been taken, however, to lead our country out of its graveeconomic and financial situation, into which the German robbers and treacherous fascist rulers had driven it, as well as to overcome the internal and international difficulties with which our people have to cope. A great deal more is to be done in this respect.

But while, with the aid of the people, the Fatherland Front and the Government are doing their utmost to steer new Bulgaria to a safe shore, reactionaries and the opposition, proceeding from their personal interests and the interests of their cliques, and availing themselves of the assistance of foreign reactionary groups, are trying by hook or by crook to check, wreck and undermine the nationally useful cause of the Fatherland Front. But for this reason mainly the indestructible patriotic unity and the constructive efforts of our whole people are all the more necessary.

II. THE FATHERLAND FRONT RULE IS A NEW, YOUTHFUL RULE

Citizens,

Pointing out these undisputed constructive actions and achievements of the Fatherland Front, we do not think that the Fatherland Front rule has not admitted errors and shortcomings. He does not err who does not work. The Fatherland Front rule is a new, youthful rule. It is a democratic rule which for the first time is wielding political power in the interests of the people. In many cases the representatives and functionaries of this rule have not yet acquired the necessary experience, but had to act in an extrarodinarily diffucult and complex situation, when the old, fascist government apparatus had been destroyed, and it was not possible to establish the new, democratic apparatus so easily and speedily. The errors, shortcoming and

exaggerations in this situation are a temporary phenomenon, a disease of infancy, of the growing and expanding Bulgarian democracy. The fact that a considerable part of them have already been successfully overcome, that their number is steadily decreasing and will soon be finally done away with is also a proof of this.

It may be said that these shortcomings and errors were allowed mainly along the three following lines:

1. Violation of democratic laws in certain places, expressed in arbitrary actions and disregard of the orders of the central government.

2. Certain sectarian manifestations on the part of communists in their relations with our allies; insufficient participation of the other Fatherland Front parties in the Fatherland Front committees or in the administration, as well as direct interference of Fatherland Front committees in the work of the Government. As is well known, on September 9 and immediately after, the only organized and active force in the country was the Workers' Party. That is why of necessity the communists predominated in the Fatherland Front committees and in the administration, but when the other fraternal parties of the Fatherland Front began to be organized, the communists themselves put forward the question of correcting this situation. It has now been corrected almost everywhere.

3. Setting the co-operatives certain tasks, which were beyond their capacity for the given moment, the Fatherland Front has encouraged, encouraged and will continue to encourage the co-operative movement in the future as well, but at the same time it tries to achieve harmony between state, co-operative and private initiative in order to guarantee a speedier rehabilitation of the national economy and the country's economic advance.

These exaggerations, as I already said, are being successfully overcome through the joint efforts of all Fatherland Front parties. The Fatherland Front stands for far-reaching criticism and self-criticism, it is not afraid of pointing out and of having pointed out to it all existing shortcomings.

III. WHAT DOES THE OPPOSITION REPRESENT

The opposition who seceded from the Fatherland Front are trying to take advantage of some of the latter's errors and shortcomings to justify their organization as an opposition. But it is clear to all that if it were a question correcting such mistakes, of doing away with shortcomings and exaggerations, it is not at all necessary to leave the ranks of the Fatherland Front. If the opposition had wished to help correct possible errors and exaggerations they would have put their proposals in a positive form, with a view to correcting and eliminating these errors and exaggerations in the general interest of the whole people. But obviously the matter is quite different. They never made any positive proposals. The oppositon have rise.n against the Fatherland Front itself, against its programme, against its cause, the cause of the Ninth of September which is beneficial for Bulgaria.

Is is clear that behind the opposition parties stand the Bulgarian reactionaries who are trying to restore the past. The restoration plans of the opposition are revealed in their ruthless struggle against the Fatherland Front, their lack of a positive programme, the rejection of September 9 and the successes of the People's Government and of the new democracy.

A disunited opposition, speaking various tongues, is pitted against the Fatherland Front, united only by the desire to negate and destroy the great cause of September 9 and the unity of the Bulgarian people.

Is it by chance, for instance, that in the appeal of Petkov and Gichev, now joining forces, not a word is said about September 9 and the Fatherland Front, while at the same time an appeal is made to fight against the democratization of our country carried out by the Fatherland Front? No, this is not mere chance. An eloquent expression of the anti-popular and anti-Bulgarian nature of the two wings of the opposition – the Moushanov and Petkov wings, is the fact that they pin all their hopes of coming power exclusively on foreign interference in our internal affairs. Their anti-popular nature

is also evident from the boycott tactics to which they resort as regards the legislative elections, whose aim is to consolidate the country's internal and international situation.

Refusing to take part in the elections, having no positive programme beneficial to the people, the opposition are embarking on the road of provocations, diversionist and terrorist acts, economic wrecking, provoking unrest and disorder in the country. This is not a serious political opposition, but a rally of political, over-ambitious persons and careerists, advocates of reaction, coveting and thirsting for power.

Can Mr. Nikola Petkov, for instance, be considered as a serious and honest political figure who in the appeal for unity, signed by him, publicly renounces the historic cause of September 9 and the Fatherland Front, and who is now trying to establish an unprincipled bloc against the Fatherland Front, when until recently he swore loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland Front and the historic cause of September 9?

Here is what Nikola Petkov declared in his speech in Pazardjik on November 26, 1944:

'... Do not, as Alexander Stamboliiski would often say, burn the quilt together with the flea. Prior to September 9 the Fatherland Front was a necessity. Today it is a historic necessity. Let us guard it as the apple of our eye. Let us all think what might become of Bulgaria, of our country if we do not hold out to the end. And we shall all understand that the sacrifices and sufferings which we shall endure are necessary for the salvation of our country, to secure the future of Bulgaria.'

And in his declaration before the Congress of the Fatherland Front (March 19, 1945) he declared:

... The Bulgarian Agrarian Union *stands for the strength and cohesion of the four political organizations in the Fatherland Front,* which is a historic necessity for Bulgaria's salvation and at the same time only political force which, for the first time since the establishment of free Bulgaria, unites in the name of a clear ideological programme all working classes in the country and the honest people's intelligentsia.

We should further strengthen the inner cohesion of the Fatherland Front. And we can most successfully achieve this by strengthening the

authority and the autonomous activity of the Fatherland Front committees which constitute a strong link between the people and the Government.

Here is one more statement by Nikola Petkov, made in connection with May Day, 1945:

... Peasants and workers will swear an oath on May Day that no one will be able to disunite them and that they will do their utmost to remove once for all obstacles along the road to their fraternity and unity, and will guard the Fatherland Front and its unity as the apple of their eye.

Compare these solemn statements by Nikola Petkov with his present-day actions and you will get an idea about the true moral image of this pretender for leadership in the Agrarian Union. If for Nikola Petkov the Fatherland Front was a real historic necessity, if he had indeed considered the programme and policy of the Fatherland Front as beneficial to Bulgaria, how could his desertion from the Fatherland Front be justified and his present rapprochement with the rabid reactionaries – the enemies of democracy? Is it not clear that Nikola Petkov is now acting prompted by reasons and considerations which have nothing in common with the people's interests, with the interests of our peasants? Or take the other pretender for leadership in the Agrarian Union – Dimiter Gichev, who was condemned by the people's court. Two hours before signing the protocal for unity with Nikola Petkov, Dimiter Gichev had declared to Comrade Vassil Kolarov that, in his opinion, Nikola Petkov was working to foreign instructions, that on the day after my speech he was visited through the back door by a prominent foreign representative, who had come to give him his instructions, and that he, Dimiter Gichev, could not work jointly with such a man, and only two hours later he signed a protocol for unity with the same Nikola Petkov, whom he considers a foreign agent, and together with him comes out with an appeal to the Bulgarian peasants to fight against the Fatherland Front.

Who can consider such hypocritical people as serious and honest political figures? One must have a very low

opinion of our peasants' common sense to admit that they can follow such a leader.

The unification of the Agrarians is indeed necessary and is in the interest of our people, but this unification is possible and will be finally carried out not on the principle of renouncing the cause of September 9 and the people's democratic achievements, which is in fact the programme of the overt reactionary opposition of Moushanov and Girginov, but on the principle of recognizing this historic act by the Agrarian Union, too, which takes part in the Fatherland Front and which has remained faithful to the main bequests of the great Bulgarian statesman and leader, *Alexander Stamboliiski*.

IV. WHAT DOES THE FATHERLAND FRONT GOVERNMENT REPRESENT?

Dear Members of the Fatherland Front from towns and villages!

What does our Fatherland Front Government represent?

The people's rising of Septembr 9, carried out under the leadership of the Fatherland Front and in the very favourable conditions created by the glorious Red Army – liberator of the nations – which routed the nazi hordes in Romania and pursued them on our territory, opened up a new era in Bulgaria's political history – the era of the Fatherland Front, of the free democratic reconstruction and development of our country.

The historic act of September 9 was prepared in the long, hard struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, in which the Bulgarian people gave big sacrifices. The Fatherland Front was born in the fire of this struggle, the brightest page of which is the glorious partisan movement. It was steeled in this struggle and grew into a powerful social and political factor, uniting all anti-fascist, national, democratic and constructive forces of our country. United in the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian people took their destiny into their own hands. That is why the Fatherland Front is for our people

a worthy leader, a leader of the new Bulgarian democratic state.

The Government formed by the Fatherland Front differs radically from all former governments. It does not represent a temporary government coalition to utilize state power for party and personal interests. The Government of the Fatherland Front is the first People's Government which unites the sound national forces of the country, relies on the people and enjoys its confidence.

The ill-wishers of our people often like to say that the Government of the Fatherland Front is a one-party government, that it represents a 'dictatorship of the communists'. It is a fact, however, that representatives of five parties take part in the Government. These parties have different platforms, but all are united on the principle of the general programme of the Fatherland Front, a programme that is democratic, progressive and anti-fascist. Moreover, it is well known that the communists have not got a majority in the Government nor a majority of candidates for national representatives in the future National Assembly. The communists have been and are in favour of a collective government and fraternal co-operation with its allies in the Fatherland Front and the Government. The communists have never exercised their 'dictatorship', do not exercise nor pretend to exercise such a dictatorship. The Fatherland Front parties have united in the Fatherland Front to rehabilitate the country economically, to cure the wounds inflicted on the people and on the country by fascism and the German highwaymen, to do away with the infamous fascist heritage and to guarantee the free, democratic development and national independence of Bulgaria. With joint efforts they are trying to solve the internal and international problems of the country in the interest of the Bulgarian people and on the principle of co-operation with all freedom-loving peoples.

Our Party and I personally have declared more than once that, standing above all group and selfish interests and considerations, the communists should always proceed from the people's vital interests in the solution of internal

economic, public, cultural and international problems concerning the present and future of our country. Our Party and I personally have always stressed that the tasks facing our country are so difficult and complex that they are not within the forces of one party or of one strata of our people. That is why all anti-fascist democratic parties and organizations should join their efforts and the people should be united.

We stand firmly on this position and shall stand firmly on it, because we are deeply convinced that this proceeds logically from the tasks of the Fatherland Front period, which our country is undergoing at present, that it is dictated by the nation's supreme interests, by the desires and hopes of our people, of all honest, courageous and progressive people in their midst.

It is a well-known fact that we, communists, consider the implementation of socialism as the only possibility for the final liberation of the peoples from the disasters which the capitalist system of management and exploitation of labour and natural resources brings them. But we think and clearly and categorically declare that under the conditions in our country the tasks set for solution by life are of a *people's democratic character only.*

The most urgent task in the present period is to lead the country out of the hard economic situation into which fascism had pushed it. The people need a speedy rehabilitation of the economy, a rapid increase in the production of goods of prime necessity. The country needs to settle its international situation, to sign an honourable and lasting peace.

The communists are not dreamers, but real politicians. They always take into consideration real conditions and the balance of social forces. In all their actions the communists proceed from the vital interests of the people and from the country's national interests at any given moment. Moreover, the communists feel bound to speak nothing but the truth before the people. They think that it is to their credit that there is full harmony between their words and their deeds.

We declare most categorically that the vital interests of

the country and the people in the present period require the consolidation of the democratic regime by a parliament freely elected by the people. We resolutely renounce the provocative concoction spread by the vicious opposition and foreign agents that after the election Bulgaria would be included in the Soviet Union as a Soviet Republic. Together with our allies in the Fatherland Front, we stand for free, democratic and independent Bulgaria.

A no less silly, provocative and simply comic concoction is that after the electons the National Assembly would proclaim Bulgaria a Soviet Republic and the President of this Republic would be no other but Georgi Dimitrov. Those who believe in similar concoctions award themselves certificates for gulibility and political paucity.

V. CAN OUR COUNTRY BE ECONOMICALLY POWERFUL?

Their freedom-loving traditions and the country's economic structure are an eloquent proof of the democratic character of our people. But the profiteers, big exporters and parasites of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie played the role of commissioners and partners of foriegn trade firms, cartels and trusts in the exploitation of the people's labour and natural resources. It was against the interests of this small group that Bulgaria should develop an industry and modern agriculture of its own. They used the money which they robbed from the people and their savings for speculation and not for the development of the country's productive forces. Thus our country remained very backward in its economic development and the people, workers and peasants were reduced to poverty.

September 9, and the Fatherland Front clipped the wings of this group of robbers. But they have not yet been completely bridled. They have raised their heads and organized a reactionary campaign against the Fatherland Front, availing themselves of the support of their political advocates within the country and of their protectors abroad. It is they who stand behind the disunited opposition, speaking many things, and use it as a tool against the

national cause of the Fatherland Front. Up to September 9 this group of profiteers formed the backbone of fascism.

This group has always tried to persuade the people that our country is small and weak and that it cannot develop its own national economy. In the mean time it is well known that there is a number of small countries, some of which even smaller than Bulgaria, like Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which are far more advanced economically than our country.

It is a lie that we cannot have a developed industry and modern agriculture. But if we are to have it, this group of profiteers must be rendered completely harmless. Its economic sabotage and its harmful activity must be ruthlessly crushed. An end must be put to the squandering of the people's resources and to the predatory exploitation of our workers' and peasants' labour. Our village must no longer be an object of robbery and speculation; its material and cultural standards must be improved and it must be led out of the poverty and darkness in which the past reactionary regimes have held it. An end must be put to this scandalous situation: when the peasants and workers, and all honest working people work hard to produce goods, in Sofia and in the other towns scores of thousands of idlers are roaming the streets and filling the cafés and bars like harmful parasites on the backs of the Bulgarian people.

We should devote all our efforts and try rationally to use our national labour, organize our economy and trade, process and utilize our national resources, and stop using the thousands of millions of people's savings and bank credits for speculation, and then our country, though a small one, will become strong and prosperous.

VI. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FATHERLAND FRONT'S FOREIGN POLICY

Allow me, Dear Citizens, to tell you a few words about the international situation and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front.

After the victorious end of the war against Germany a

new, lasting peace among the nations is to be established. There is no doubt that the main condition for securing a lasting and genuine peace is the collaboration between the great states – the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain. The peoples will never forget that, in the World War which was recently ended, the Soviet Union saved mankind and civilization from ruin and destruction. The peoples will never forget that the joint efforts of the three great states – the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain secured the final rout of the enemy. That is why they stand firmly for co-operation between these three Great Powers now, after the war.

A great deal was done along the line of post-war co-operation. This refers above all to the Crimean Conference at which it was decided, among other things, that 'the establishment of order in Europe and the reconstruction of the national economic life should be achieved in such a way as would enable the liberated nations to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to set up democratic institutions according to their own choice.' This also refers to the San Francisco conference[49] where the foundations of the United Nations Organization were laid. It also refers to the Potsdam Conference, at which the leaders of the three Great Powers came to an agreement on the most important problems in Europe and the whole world, and particularly on the problem of a united policy towards Germany. The decisions of the Crimean, San Francisco and Potsdam Conferences will no doubt exert a serious influence on the life of the nations in the future as well.

There are difficulties, however, which were stressed at the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in London. On this occasion Molotov, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in his speech held on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

'The soundness of the Anglo-American anti-nazi coalition formed during the war is being tried now. Will this coalition prove strong and capable of joint decisions under the new conditions, when new problems of the post-war

period spring up? The failure of the Five Ministers' London Conference was a warning in this respect. There were difficulties in the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition during the war, too. Though not always promptly, the coalition of the three states succeeded in finding the correct solution of the most urgent tasks in the interest of the entire anti-nazi coalition of the big and small states, taking into consideration the necessity of further strengthening co-operation between the great democratic states.'

The endeavours to preserve this co-operation, which is in the interest of the peoples, is also evident in the speeches of US Foreign Minister Burnes and of British Foreign Minister Bevin. A proof of this is also the special message to Stalin recently sent by US President Truman.

Undue importance is attached to existing differences between the Great Powers. The reaction is basing all its anti-popular plans on an eventual disintegration of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

We can boldly say that the present-day difficulties will also be overcome, because the peoples long for peace and are resolutely against the splitting of the great democratic coalition, which sustained all the trials of the war, and can also sustain the trials of the post-war period.

Another characteristic moment in the international situation is that in all European countries we witness the growing struggle of the masses to establish a firm democratic order and to rehabilitate the national economy of these countries on democratic principles.

Despite all the demagogy and intrigues of reaction, the democratic forces are growing, in some countries more speedily, in others more slowly, but the future belongs to them. The peoples by no means want to return to the situation of war. They stand firmly for democracy not only in words, but in deeds as well. They are decisively against every reaction, every aggression and preparation for new, predatory wars. This may also be seen from the results of the recent elections held in a number of countries.

In France the communists came out first as the strongest party of the French people. The other democratic parties have also recorded great success. The majority of

the French people are on the side of democracy. In Finland, where the democratic forces went underground recently, the Democratic Front has scored great success. In Denmark a left trend has set in. In Hungary, where reaction did its utmost to split the Democratic Front of Independence, it has been preserved and has formed a new government after the elections.

The Popular Front in Yugoslavia recorded a remarkable success. Over 90 per cent of the electors voted for the Popular Front, against the reactionary opposition, which in Yugoslavia as in our country, boycotted the elections.

More than all other peoples our people have reasons to enjoy the brilliant victory of the Popular Front in fraternal Yugoslavia. Its victory is our victory, too, because it will further consolidate our friendship, and strengthen democracy and peace in the Balkans.

A token of the times is the consolidation of friendship between the Slav countries – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Rallied in close friendship with the great Soviet people, the peace-loving Slav nations can and will play a considerable role in the consolidation of peace in Europe and in building up a strong barrier against a possible future aggression and encroachement upon their freedom and independence.

New Bulgaria and our people have taken their place on the side of the democratic forces in the Balkans, in Europe and in the whole world.

What is our national foreign policy? It can be formulated briefly, clearly and simply as follows:

The foreign policy of new Bulgaria is a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving, democratic nations. Bulgaria sincerely supports the international organization for guaranteeing peace and security, the foundations of which were laid in San Francisco.

The main trend in Bulgaria's foreign policy in the indestructible, sincere and lasting friendship with the Soviet Union, with the great Russian people, twice our liberators.

Our people are filled with deep and sincere feelings of gratitude to the fraternal Soviet people for Bulgaria's liberation from nazi oppression and for the tremendous

moral, political and material assistance which the Soviet Union has given for Bulgaria's economic rehabilitation and for the settlement of its international situation.

Our foreign policy is a policy of closest fraternal relations with new Federative Yugoslavia, of unity among the Slav peoples in defence of their freedom and independence, against every aggression. But alongside this, the Fatherland Front foreign policy is directed resolutely and consistently to establishing friendly relations with all our neighbours and with all peace-loving nations, with the peoples of the United States and Great Britain.

Fully conscious of my responsibility I take the liberty of stating that only the Fatherland Front is in a position to guarantee lasting, normal and friendly relations between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and the USA and Great Britain, on the other. Because it alone represents the great majority of the Bulgarian people, it alone can in the shortest possible time rehabilitate and consolidate the country's economy, it alone is pursuing a sincere and persistent foreign policy. By their nature and by their factional policy of intrigues the opposition groups are not in a position to establish lasting friendly relations between Bulgaria and foreign countries corresponding to the dignity and interests of the Bulgarian people on the principle of co-operation between the Great Powers and in the interest of peace in the Balkans, in Europe and in the whole world.

The sincerity of the Fatherland Front's foreign policy has been proved by its actions. And we are deeply convinced that the atmosphere of distrust which still exists in certain foreign cricles as regards new, democratic Bulgaria, and which is so zealously and ruthlessly maintained by our reckless opposition, can by no means last long.

VII. WHAT TASKS ARE SET BEFORE OUR PEOPLE

Dear Voters,

Many tasks have been set before our people and the future National Assembly, but the most important of them are:

1. To lead the country out of the grave economic and financial situation in which the German agents and the people's traitors have dragged it, to rehabilitate the nation's economy and ensure the country's economic advance.

2. To raise the material and cultural standard of the people, particularly of the working class, peasants, people's intelligentsia, craftsmen, office workers and our brave army men.

3. To guarante the national independence and state sovereignty of Bulgaria by settling its internal and international situation and the signing of an honourable peace.

Many people ask: can there be co-operation between the Fatherland Front and some non-fascist political groups and figures outside the Fatherland Front after the election of the National Assembly? I think that under certain conditions such a co-operation is not excluded, that it is possible. But this will depend above all on the conduct and actions of these groups and figures. Such a co-operation would be possible, for instance, under the following main conditions:

First. To recognize the anti-fascist people's rising of September 9, which saved the country from innumerable disasters, laid the foundations of the democratic regime and opened the road to the free, democratic development of Bulgaria.

Second. To recognize the historic necessity of the Fatherland Front as a unification of the anti-fascist, democratic forces of the people.

Third. To stop playing the role of a screen or a unifying centre of the fascist and other reactionary elements in the struggle against the Fatherland Front, and to sever relations with foreign reactionary groups.

Fourth. To be ready to work for the consolidation of the democratic parliamentary regime and for guaranteeing the national independence, national dignity and state sovereignty of Bulgaria against every foreign interference.

In solving the home and international problems of Bulgaria, we communists are ready to co-operate with all who sincerely and honestly wish to work for the building of new, democratic Bulgaria. But how can one ask us,

communists, to co-operate with groups which plot against the patriotic unity of the people; which do everything to destroy and undermine the historic liberating cause of September 9; which by hook or by crook are trying to check the country's economic rehabilitation; which hamper its complete normalization, which boycott the legislative elections, which think that the harder Bulgaria's internal and international situation is, the better it is for their factional aggressive plans; which have contacts with reactionary groups outside of Bulgaria and try to provoke foreign interference in our internal affairs; which unceremoniously and flagrantly trample upon the national dignity and honour of the Bulgarian people? How can we be expected to co-operate with them? You can judge for yourselves!

VIII. FORWARD TO A NATION-WIDE VICTORY!

Dear Countrymen!

Our folklore is rich in wise proverbs. Allow me to remind you of three of them, which for us, Bulgarians, are of particular significance.

The first is: *The vineyard wants work, not prayers!*

The second is: *As you make your bed, so must you lie on it!*

And the third is: *Unity is strength!*

But in modern language, in the language of the present-day internal and international situation, these proverbs have the following meaning for the Bulgarian people:

First; *Work, work and only work,* productive and socially useful work!

Second: *Confidence, firm confidence in our own people's strength!*

Third: *Indestructible people's unity against fascism,* against the ill-wishers of our country at home and abroad; sound people's unity to build a free, independent, democratic and powerful Bulgaria!

There is not and there can be no force which can deflect our people from the Fatherland Front, the only correct and beneficial road for them. Our people know that one

weak element or another, who are afraid of difficulties, can eventually drop out of the Fatherland Front, but the Fatherland Front exists and will continue to exist, and more and more honest anti-fascist patriotic forces of our nation will join its ranks. The Bulgarian people are firmly resolved to face all inevitable difficulties, privations and sacrifices *today*, but to consolidate their freedom and independence at all costs and guarantee their *future* prosperity and happiness. They know all too well that there is not and there can be no other social and political force besides the Fatherland Front which can firmly and confidently take the lead of the democratic re-organization, economic rehabilitation and development of the country and which can favourably settle its international situation. The Bulgarian people have suffered a great deal from mercenary rulers and foreign agents, and have too much bitter experience from the past to allow their destinies to slip from their sturdy and hard-working hands under any pressure. They pass over with contempt the intrigues and provocations of bankrupt politicians, avid for power and wealth, of all kinds of courtiers, servants of the tsarist personal regime and advocates of fascism and reaction, who do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that the old, fascist Bulgaria no longer exists after September 9, and that there is a new, democratic Bulgaria in which the people rule and not the royal court clique.

I wish to address a warm appeal to the electors from all over the country and particularly to the women of town and countryside, to the youth, officers and soldiers, who will vote for the first time in these elections.

Do your sacred duty with dignity, cast your ballot for the beneficial cause of the Fatherland Front for your own welfare, for the prosperity of our wonderful country!

Forward, to a nation-wide victory over reaction and the ill-wishers of new Bulgaria!

Long live the militant anti-fascist patriotic unity of our people!

Long live friendship between workers and peasants!

Long live the Fatherland Front!

Long live free, independent, powerful and democratic

Bulgaria and its brave, hard-working and freedom-loving people!

Eternal glory to the heroes fallen in the struggle for the freedom and honour of our country!

The cause of the Fatherland Front is a cause of the people. It is a just cause and will triumph in spite of everything! (Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers of approval which do not cease for a few minutes. All stand up and applaud Comrade Georgi Dimitrov for long.)

Slightly abridged

Rabotnichesko Delo, No 360
November 16, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
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THE FATHERLAND FRONT – MAINSTAY AND MOTIVE FORCE

From the Concluding Speech before the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

December 14, 1945

You are well aware that the decisions taken at our session today are of exceptionally great general political and inner Party significance. The convening of the National Assembly, the work which it has to do and the importance attached to it pose a number of questions to us in connection with the implementation of these decisions. We should not forget that as a popular movement the Fatherland Front, its National Committee and its local committees are the mainstay and the motive force of both our National Assembly and Government and of our entire democratic development. We should not allow any slackening in the work of the Fatherland Front Committees under the pretext that we now have a National Assembly, because in our present condition this would be a serious setback. This would bring grist to the mill of reaction. This would reflect on the spirit of the masses and may, if we allow it, undermine the positions of the Fatherland Front as a basic social and political leading force of our people. On the contrary, the activity of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front and all its local committees should be stepped up and they should acquire their proper meaning. The main task of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front will be to preserve, maintain and develop not only co-operation between the parties which take part in them, but also the unity of the masses, of the people in town and countryside, in factories and fields, throughout the whole country.

The first and foremost task of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front is to safeguard and consolidate the people's unity, against reaction, to secure the liberty and democracy of our country.

The second urgent task is to undertake initiatives of a practical nature, to mobilize the masses for creative work on the implementation of the Fatherland Front programme. What we set forth as tasks in our press (the question of heating, forage and a number of other concrete practical objectives) must also be the tasks of the Fatherland Front committees. We rely on the useful and fruitful work of the present National Assembly. We must not forget, however, that what we mainly rely on are the people, the Fatherland F ont and ourselves as a party of the working people. Proceeding from this we should neither under- or overestimate our work in Parliament but should always remember that the roots of the people's forces are outside the National Assembly.

The National Assembly is a representative, legislative body. It cannot assume the functions of the Fatherland Front which is the leader of our people's destinies. We should devote serious thought to the implementation of those undertakings, which would further consolidate the organs of the Fatherland Front. As a rule, these organs are still feeble and not consolidated. Even their maintenance has not yet been determined in principle. Their composition in a number of places is unsatisfactory. Of course, we cannot leave things as they are. Steps should be taken so as to stabilize not only the National Committee, but also the committees in town and countryside as people's organs , which take initiatives, mobilize, control and work. This task has not been definitely resolved. Basing ourselves on our experience and learning from our numerous errors and shortcomings, we should implement a series of practical undertakings with a view to definitely solving this task.

The second question, on which I will take the liberty of saying a few words, is the question of our relations with our allies. I am not going to repeat what has already been said here, but we all have to underscore and understand

that we are a ruling party. There are still comrades who do not take into account that fact that we, as a ruling party, which represents the working class and the working masses, bear the greatest responsibility for the destinies of our people and our country. Moreover, we are a ruling party, but not the only one. We are ruling together with other parties with which we are in alliance in the Fatherland Front. We cannot do without them, just as they cannot do without us. At the present stage collective rule is necessary and inevitable. If we have to work with our allies on the implementation of a common programme corresponding to our people's vital interests, we shall also have to learn to work reasonably with them. We should accept them as they are and not as we would wish them to be. They cannot always act and behave like us, communists. Agrarians, Zveno members, social democrats, radicals – those are all our allies in the Fatherland Front, but both their party programmes and their mentality and aspirations do not always coincide with ours. And this we should always bear in mind. There are wicked elements who undermine the unity of the Fatherland Front and are in general against co-operation with the communists. But the majority stand for this co-operation.

The attitude which we assume towards our allies depends on whether they are for the unity of the Fatherland Front and for co-operation with our party, or are people who, for one reason or another, are against it. This is the dividing line. We shall continue to work with those who stand for co-operation, regardless of all their shortcomings, and will be against those who are opposed to this co-operation and to the Fatherland Front.

It should be understood that the unity of the Fatherland Front must be guarded and consolidated to the maximum. It is necessary to establish close Fatherland Front unity in the army, in the countryside, among the intelligentsia and in the state apparatus. Only dreamers, incorrigible sectarians, anarchists, Trotskyites and other foreign elements, who have slipped into our party, can maintain the opposite. Co-operation presupposes mutual concessions, but within the framework of the implementation of the

Fatherland Front programme in a spirit of approval of our people's further advance, and not of their return to the past. Concessions cannot be made along the general line of the Fatherland Front. Co-operation presupposes mutual criticism and self-criticism. In the press and in private talks we should, of course, mainly criticize the attempts of different speculators who wish to take advantage of their official position and of the Fatherland Front Government to the detriment of the people. This criticism will not and cannot break our co-operation.

Particularly important is the role played by our Party in the Fatherland Front. It must be a party of honest elements devoted to the working class and the people.

The Party should always raise the ideological and political level of its cadres and members. It should rally its ranks more closely hitherto, because a great part of its members are new and have from now on to be united into a monolithic mass in the Party.

It is particularly important for us to devote every effort to educating cadres, to training specialists – people who are well acquainted with economic questions, others with military questions and yet others with education – efficient cadres, who wish to study and improve themselves. We have to learn to govern the state. In the past we were oppressed and never had the opportunity of acquiring this skill. We have to learn to build because in the past we were builders, to learn to organize and manage enterprises, departments, etc. We have to be able to raise our country's cultural standards, we have to have capable and developing cadres, not cadres who cannot stand any criticism when they make mistakes, but people ready to listen to friendly party criticism and who, from dawn till dusk, improve their knowledge, constantly learning and marching ahead. In our Party we cannot stand chatterboxes and phrasemongers in responsible posts. Our Party has no use for fussy and bragging people. At the present crucial moment we need men of action, constructive, diligent and thinking people. We need cadres that are loyal to the Party, devoted to their people and looking ahead to the future. In our Party we cannot stand people

who are susceptible to corruption we cannot stand them whatever post they may occupy and whatever their rank may be. We have to get rid of the rotten elements, to throw them out of the Party and deliver them to the courts. A strict, I would even say, a ruthless Bolshevik attitude is what we need in this connection, so as to safeguard our Party against harmful influences. Our enemies are sly in offering bribes, demoralizing and trying to find the weaknesses of individual comrades, in ministries, departments and elsewhere. The reactionaries flatter, directly or indirectly, offer bribes and try to demoralize. An iron barrier has to be raised in defence of the Party.

There is yet another danger for us as a ruling party. Our enemies, who are unable to attack us directly, are trying with demagogic, leftist slogans to win over stooges, to have their own agents in our country so as to undermine the Party from within.

Against this danger we have to develop and strengthen Party morals and Party discipline and to guard the honour of the Party like the apple of our eye. There is no graver crime for a Party member than that of soiling himself and the Party. Iron discipline is necessary, strict fulfilment of the Party decision and subordination of private interests to the common interests of the Party.

We must strengthen the moral and political unity of our Party. Our Party cannot suffer any anti-party factions, groups and groupings under any guise whatsoever.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 395
December 24, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 380-385

THE CAUSE OF SEPTEMBER 9 IS A HISTORIC CAUSE

Speech in the National Assembly

December 25, 1945

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives,

The first words to be spoken from this rostrum when we start the debates on the speech from the throne, cannot but express our profound, nation-wide gratitude to the countless men, women and youths who, in the course of two decades, fought bravely against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, to the glorious men and women partisans and courageous patriots in the Bulgarian Army, who won the victory of the people's uprising on September 9, 1944. Our people will never forget their heroes who fell in the struggle for our country's freedom, honour and independence. It is their bright memory and their heroic example that will inspire and teach our country's growing generations.

The September 9 uprising, as was justly pointed out in the speech from the throne, was a historic event. Organized and led by the Fatherland Front, it saved our country from an impending national disaster, and our people from irreparable calamities and sufferings. If in the first days of September those rulers, who were doing their level best to save the old, rotten regime, had remained in power, Bulgaria, as a German satellite, would have inevitably suffered the consequences of the latter's terrible defeat. The historic act of September 9 saved us from this tragic and shameful fate. With an iron broom the people swept away from the territory of Bulgaria the perfidious, anti-popular fascist government, and established their own, people's Fatherland Front rule. Bulgaria resolutely joined the side of the anti-nazi coalition and took an active part in the final destruction of the sworn Teutonic enemy of Slavdom

and of all progressive mankind. The stain left on our nation's fair name by monarcho-fascism and our fascist rulers – foreign agents and traitors to the people – was washed away at the cost of many sacrifices and much bloodshed.

September 9 ushered in a new era in our history – the era of genuine democracy and of the Fatherland Front. This new era is characterized not only by the fact that an old fascist government was replaced by a new, democratic government. Superficial people are in general inclined to see only this change. In fact, on September 9 not only a change of government was effected, but also a far reaching change in the regime.

True, our social system remained, as hitherto, a system based on the principle of private ownership, and that is why we still have the former social classes and strata with their peculiar interests. But within the framework of this social order, a new, democratic system is being established instead of the fascist regime. A radical change is being effected in the balance of social forces and the role they play in the state, as well as in our country's public, political, economic and cultural life. The most characteristic feature of this change is the fact that the people's rising wrested the state power from the hands of the profiteering, predatory and big capitalist groups united around the court and the court clique, and indissolubly linked with German imperialism, to place it in the hands of the people, of their historic Fatherland Front, i.e. in the hands of the militant alliance of the working class, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia. It is with this alliance that the progressive part of our industrialists and businessmen are marching. The helm of our government has passed into the hands of new strong and creative social forces.

New men, men of the people, are now at the head of our government. For their devoted service to the people most of these men were cruelly persecuted in the past by the former reactionary and fascist regimes. In the prisons and concentration camps, in the partisan detachments or as underground functionaries, enduring indescribable privations and sufferings, they steeled their will still

further, their patriotism and their resolve to work and fight for the prosperity of the people and the advance of Bulgaria. In the government of the state, as well as in the Fatherland Front bodies and its parties, there has been an influx of new, capable men, who hate the old incapable and anti-popular regime and are now ready to devote their energies and capacities to new, democratic Bulgaria. Many people – men, women and youths, who were stifled by the old regime, stirred to active political life, and are engaging in useful activities.

Thus, our state government now has a new, people's democratic character. Instead of being an instrument of oppression for the masses, that robs their labour, the new government is a people's government called upon to serve the people and only the people. Its task is to secure our people's rights and liberties by guaranteeing the work, bread, clothing and homes, to bring the necessary democratic changes to their logical conclusion, to act in every way for the restoration and development of the national economy along democratic lines, in favour of the people and not of individual exploiter and parastic groups, firms and trusts. Last but not least, of course, the people's government is called upon to create the necessary conditions for lasting, constructive labour on the part of the people, instead of allowing the people's energies and resources to be used for participation in predatory and adventurist wars.

It is obvious that there is a big chasm between monarcho-fascist Bulgaria and new, democratic Bulgaria, Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front. After September 9 the social and economic structure of our country was changed. Other factors, people's factors have come to the fore. Bulgaria has embarked on and developing along an entirely new road – a road of democracy, not formal and false, but actual democracy. The two great productive forces – workers and peasants, and their indissoluble friendship constitute the strong backbone of this democracy. Fascist, parasitic and reactionary elements can no longer play a decisive role in the country. It is not their will, it is not their rude, selfish interests of their protectors abroad, but

the will and the interests of the people, the country's national and state interests that have become a supreme and inviolable law in our public, political economic and cultural life, and in our national foreign policy.

At present we have a new state, which is being built up and consolidated as a people's democratic state.

Herein lies the historic significance of the Ninth of September. It is not enough to acknowledge and praise this significance: it must be properly understood, so that the respective practical conclusions may be drawn about the democratic development and prosperity of our country.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Everyone of you knows very well that many more Augean stables have to be cleaned to make our country a fully democratic state. Everything that is rotten and that has accumulated in the state apparatus and in our social, economic and cultural life in the course of decades, cannot be swept away at one go. A number of links in the state machinery are rusty and do not meet the needs of our new times and the tasks set by them. The roots of bureaucracy and corruption, inherited from the past have struck deep and they have to be cut off. Much will still have to be done so that our industrialists and businessmen should not be guided solely by their own private interests in their dealings with the state. It is also imperative for the masses definitely to overcome their former negative attitude towards the state, which was fully justified under the fascist regime, but which is quite out of place, as regards the present, non-fascist, and our own, Fatherland Front state.

The Fatherland Front has ruled the country for a bare 15 months, a term not at all long. This it has done under exceptionally difficult domestic and international conditions, which it inherited from the fascist regime. The Fatherland Front and its government also had to cope, as you know, with the constant and vicious attacks and intrigues of reactionaries both at home and abroad. In spite of all this, it is an indisputable fact that the Fatherland Front and its government have restored, consolidated and expanded the rights and liberties of the people, introduced

complete civic equality for the Bulgarian women, secured electoral rights for our youth, made possible the successful participation of our Army and our people in the great patriotic war for the rout of nazi Germany; that it prevented the country from plunging into economic ruin, saved the population from starvation, despite the criminal despoliation by the Germans of our national wealth, and despite this year's severe drought, averted the danger of disastrous inflation and stabilized the Bulgarian lev at a satisfactory level.

It is also an indisputable fact that the Fatherland Front and its government succeeded in rousing the labour enthusiasm, constructive forces and initiative of the people in town and countryside,and recorded a significant advance in the restoration of the national economy, as well as in the field of our social, public health, educational and cultural policy.

Finally, it is a big and positive achievement of the Fatherland Front and its government that they led our country out of the position of terrible international isolation, into which the fascist and pro-German regime had thrust it, broke the ice which surrounded Bulgaria on all sides, and cleared the road to a definite and favourable settlement of her international situation, so that she might take an honourable place in the family of freedom-loving nations.

Today it may be said without any exaggeration that at the hardest and most critical moments the Fatherland Front and its government succeeded in steering the Bulgarian ship between the hidden rocks of Scylla and Charybdis and that we have all grounds to believe that they will definitely bring it safely to shore.

The legislative elections of November 18, held in exemplary order, unprecedented in our political history, and without any disturbance whatsoever, enabled the Bulgarian electorate to manifest their will. And the vast majority of our people manifested their will in an indisputable and categorical manner, unreservedly approving the victory of September 9, as well as the programme and policy of the Fatherland Front. The elec-

tion of the present truly national Assembly, such as Bulgaria has never had so far, is yet another advance in consolidating our country's domestic and international situation, and the Assembly's activity in favour of the people will undoubtedly further consolidate the positions of the Fatherland Front government.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The radical renovation of our country which was started on September 9, as was correctly pointed out in the speech from the throne, has not yet been completed. And precisely with a view to consolidating and definitely clearing the road to the country's further democratic development in its economic, social and cultural policy, as well as in our international relations, a Grand National Assembly should be convened, so that the social and political changes accomplished hitherto may be sanctioned by the Bulgarian Constitution, and that the necessary constitutional and material guarantees may be created against any return to the shameful and cursed past.

In the first place, the stipulations in the present Constitution which make possible the conclusion of treaties and alliances behind the people's back and against their will, aimed at involving our country in military adventures must be done away with. The stipulations which make it possible for a minority of predatory elements and big capitalists to keep in subjection, oppress and rob the majority of the people must also be abolished. The Constitution should sanction the equality of the Bulgarian woman and the rights of our youth as well as those of servicemen. At the same time, of course, we should do away with the institution of the monarchy (Very prolonged and stormy applause. All national representatives, the ministers and members of the Bureau of the National Assembly rise and applaud continuously. Cries of 'Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!' 'Long live the Republic!' are heard from all parliamentary groups) ... we should do away with the monarchy... which has always been a centre uniting the reactionaries in order to trample underfoot the people's rights and liberties and use the people's forces for predatory and adventurist wars. This is still more justified in our con-

ditions, when we take into consideration the fact that the Coburg dynasty, headed by Tsar Ferdinand in the past and by Tsar Boris later, has always been an agency of German imperialism. The anti-popular policy pursued by this dynasty has cost our country two national disasters, and brought it to the verge of a third disaster from which the people's rising of September 9, 1944 barely managed to save it.

Which sober-minded Bulgarian who truly loves his country can now raise a voice in defence of the monarchy and the Coburg dynasty? (Applause and cries of 'No one!', 'No one!')

It will not be superfluous, in this connection, to recall the programme of the Fatherland Front published in the summer of 1942 and unanimously adopted by all anti-fascist, democratic forces in our country. In enumerating the measures, whose implementation could save Bulgaria, the programme of the Fatherland Front contained the following concluding passage:

> The implementation of these tasks which are essential for our people, calls for the establishment, as soon as possible, of a truly national government, capable of resolutely and consistently pursuing the beneficial policy of the Fatherland Front. That is why the Fatherland Front sets as the most immediate goal of its struggle the overthrow of the present treacherous and anti-popular, fascist government and the establishment of a genuine Bulgarian government. Relying on the will and support of the entire Bulgarian people, that government will also prepare the conditions for the convening of a Grand National Assembly, which will determine Bulgaria's future form of government and create the necessary constitutional and material guarantees for the freedom, independence and prosperity of our country.

Today the question of a truly people's democratic Constitution has so come to a head in our people's consciousness that the transformation of Bulgaria into a People's Republic with a parliamentary system of government can meet with no serious objection. And the future Grand National Assembly will acquit itself with honour of its historic role by proclaiming Bulgaria such a people's republic (Stormy and prolonged applause. All ministers and the Bureau of the national representatives rise to their

feet and applaud. Cheers on all sides 'Long live the People's Republic!', 'Bravo!').

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Much has been done since September 9 to do away with the fascist regime. But it would be wrong to think that the fascist danger has been definitely and irrevocably removed for our people and country. Those who maintain that after the severe but just punishment meted out by the people's court to the ring-leaders of fascism and the people's traitors, fascism in our country no longer exists, are doing our people a disservice. It is harmful to close our eyes to the fact that there are still reactionary forces inside the country which support fascism, of course, not openly, but under different, more or less disguised forms.

There are also reactionary circles abroad who are interested in the revival of fascism. The exploiter and predatory elements still hold important economic positions in their hands and are in contact with international reaction. It is precisely these elements that are again creating a political representation of their own in the different opposition groups. They recruit highly-paid lawyers in defence of their exploiter and black-market deals. With a view to exercising influence in their favour amid certain circles, and in particular on the wavering circles of the intelligentsia, they are trying in every way to take advantage of the daily difficulties in supply and in the economy in general, which our people now have to endure. They spare no effort to hinder the normalization of the country's domestic and international situation. As it lacks the people's support, reaction acts subversively, perpetrating economic wrecking, organizing terrorist gangs, preparing terrorist and diversionist actions, and acting in concert with Bulgaria's enemies abroad. The vicious, unbridled opposition press serves as its legal tribune, and is a hotbed of confusion and malignancy. That is why, what we need is not to be put to sleep, but to be vigilant, constantly vigilant and watchful so as to be able to put up a decisive resistance!

What should we do in order to eradicate the survivals of the fascist regime, to prevent the revival of fascism and

definitely to consolidate the new democratic system in our country?

First, we should rally still more closery all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive social forces in the Fatherland Front as the only social and political organization capable of guaranteeing our people the possibility of remaining in all circumstances masters of their own destinies.

Second, we should implement an economic policy which would remove profiteering and parasitic capital from our economic and public life, and would effectively encourage the patriotic industrialists and businessmen who are taking part in the rehabilitation in good faith of our economy; an economic policy of this kind, that would systematically develop and stabilize the state and co-operative sector in our national economy with a view to accelerating the country's economic development and rapidly improving the material and cultural standards of the working population in town and countryside.

To encourage healthy private initiative in the field of industry, the crafts, trade and agriculture, planning on the widest possible scale should be introduced in the development of the different branches of production, and in the processing and utilization of all surface and underground national resources. Moreover, the state should play not only the role of a regulating and controlling factor in our economy, it should also expand its own economic functions and take into its own hands all big economic initiatives of nation-wide significance, which, in their nature and scope, are obviously beyond the possibilities of private initiative.

To develop our fragmented and small-scale agriculture, the state should not only render assistance to the diligent farmers but should also see to the development, on the principle of voluntary co-operation, of producers' co-operatives which will provide ample opportunity for the introduction of modern farm machinery and the extensive application of scientific methods in agriculture. The implementation of thoroughly studied and carefully prepared agrarian reforms, as well as the securing of fair prices for agricultural produce will undoubtedly exert a favourable

influence on helping the Bulgarian villages out of the poverty and ignorance in which they were kept by the former regimes, and will also help the farmers to get rid of the despoilers and robbers of the fruits of their labour.

Third, we should firmly maintain the indissoluble link between the Fatherland Front, the Fatherland Front National Assembly and the Fatherland Front Government and their constructive practical work for the all-round consolidation of the democratic regime in the country, for a steady political education of the people and of their young generation in particular in a democratic spirit, for the satisfaction of the vital needs of the urban and rural population, for leading our country out of the economic and financial deadlock into which it was thrust by the former fascist regime and for raising new Bulgaria's economic, political and national might.

At the same time it should not be forgotten that the National Assembly, the government and the people's rule in Fatherland Front Bulgaria come from the people, rely on the people and draw their forces from the people's masses and their political parties and public organizations, united in the Fatherland Front.

At the present historical stage, no real freedom, no real democracy, no possibility for the Bulgarian people to be masters of their own destinies could ever be secured without the Fatherland Front, and our country's national independence and state sovereignty could never be guaranteed.

Without the Fatherland Front the reactionary parasitic strata in our country could take advantage of their economic position, their capital and wealth and their connections with foreign trusts and concerns, with a view to attempting to impose their rule on the people and thrusting back the country's development.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The government of the Fatherland Front, as was pointed out in the speech from the throne, has undoubtedly done much in the interest of the people and the country. It has taken steps to alleviate the situation of the working

masses in town and countryside. But their situation continues to be very grave.

We must never forget, however, that the people's rule differs and must differ from the fascist reactionary rule, mainly in that it not only guarantees the people's rights and liberties, but also constantly looks after the basic productive strata of the people – the working class, peasants and craftsmen – doing its utmost to achieve a maximum improvement of their material and cultural standards and a better life for them above all.

To this end the National Assembly, as well as the government and all Fatherland Front bodies, should undertake the most resolute, prompt and concrete measures to supply the population with coal, foodstuffs and clothing, the cattle – with forage, the farms – with seeds, fertilizers, agricultural machines, the craftsmen and industry – with raw materials; measures must be put in hand to raise the cultural standards of our countryside; to improve the public health system, to protect mothers and children, to develop education; to improve social legislation and the safety of labour.

To this end, all local possibilities and resources must be utilized, the initiative of the population, of all public and cultural organizations and trade unions must be developed, and the people's labour correctly utilized.

The material standards of industrial and office workers which continue to be poor must also be improved. A serious and lasting increase in labour productivity, which is so necessary for the rehabilitation of our national economy, is unthinkable without such an improvement.

The state services must be reorganized and all redundant and superfluous institutions and posts must be done away with. The state apparatus must be simplified and made less expensive. Some ministries as, for instance, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry must be reorganized and industry, the mines and power production should be set up as separate ministries.

A strict regime of economies must be introduced as soon as possible – economy of materials, of electric power, of funds. The existing capital and people's savings must be

used only for productive purposes useful to the people and not for speculation and the illegal accumulation of wealth.

A resolute struggle must be waged against bureaucracy which kills every initiative and hinders the rational utilization of labour and the country's resources. Profiteering and corruption of any kind should be mercilessly scourged, especially in a number of economic departments and establishments.

At the same time, strict legislative and other measures should be taken to eradicate any economic wrecking, any manifestation of disorganization in the state apparatus, in economic life, in transport and trade. A task which cannot be put off is to draw all men and women in our country into socially useful work, by clearing the towns of idlers and parasitic elements who only waste the people's means and introduce corruption in society.

We are faced with the task of drafting the budget, which must be a truly people's budget, real and corresponding to the financial possibilities of the different strata of our people and to the real needs of our national economy.

In this connection, the system of taxation has to be changed, with a view to implementing the fairest possible distribution of the burden of taxes, so that the main part of this burden may fall on the shoulders of the wealthier strata of our society.

All this is included in the Fatherland Front programme, the rapid and successful implementation of which is justly awaited by our people.

But the implementation of the Fatherland Front programme presupposes, besides everything else, the availability of trained leading cadres in all fields of state, economic and cultural development. That is one of the greatest concerns of our government, and the National Assembly will have to secure ample possibilities for the training of such cadres. Fatherland Front Bulgaria is in need of new detachments of engineers, technicians, doctors, medical orderlies, midwives, agriculturalists, teachers, judges, etc., administrative and cultural workers. And one of the foremost tasks of our general educational, trade and other special educational establishments and of our

universities is: to gear educational and teaching curricula to this purpose and to train those cadres.

Our educational establishments must turn out civil servants educated in a democratic spirit, and at the same time well-trained specialists in their respective fields. Bulgaria must have a diligent, highly qualified intelligentsia, profoundly devoted to its people. Without such an intelligentsia our country cannot march onward along the road of progress. The people value their intelligentsia highly and love it. They are proud of the tremendous role which the people's intelligentsia played in achieving the victory of September 9 and which it continues to play in the building up of new Bulgaria. They request and they are right to request of all workers in the field of science, culture and the arts not to succumb to the temptation offered by reaction, but devotedly to do their patriotic duty to our people and country.

It is particularly important to point out that in taking their decisions the National Assembly, the government and the organs of the Fatherland Front should proceed not from the selfish group interests of a minority of wealthy people, but from the interests of the vast majority of our people. If there is any contradiction between the interests of the minority and those of the vast majority of our people, a distinct preference should be shown to the interests of our people, national economy and our popular state. This guiding principle should also be followed strictly in the distribution of the existing material wealth and of all reserves which are vitally necessary for our population in town and countryside.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

In the speech from the throne due and well-deserved gratitude was expressed to all servicemen in the Bulgarian army for their efforts and sacrifices in the patriotic war, which our people waged against the German occupiers.

We bow to the memory of the heroes who fell on the battlefields for our country's honour, freedom and independence. I should add that this is the first time that our army has enjoyed the real gratitude and boundless love of our people.

In the past our army was a tool in the hands of the monarch and the court clique, and was often used by them for anti-popular purposes. It was precisely the monarch and the court clique who soiled its honour and forced it to play the role of a gendarme of the nazi gangsters in the Balkan Peninsula against our Yugoslav brothers. Our Minister of War was perfectly right in stating recently that 'one of the reasons for our national disaster was the fact that the army was only a tool in the hands of the dynasty which did not serve the Bulgarian people, but foreign interests, that our army will always march together with the Bulgarian people, and that it will serve the idea of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, to maintain fraternal relations with new Yugoslavia and good relations with its neighbouring countries and the great democratic countries.

The Fatherland Front saved the army from the shame of being subordinated to the Germans, from a fratricidal war and from being placed in the service of the dire enemies of all Slav peoples. It saved it from inevitable corruption and ruin. As is now acknowledged by all, the Fatherland Front alone was capable of reorganizing and renewing our army, and of turning it into a people's army which immediately after September 9, 1944 aimed its weapons against the German hordes. It not only succeeded in repulsing these hordes from our western boundaries but in carrying out shoulder to shoulder with the invincible Red Army important military operations for the final defeat of the common enemy.

Much was done after September 9, to renew, reorganize and politically and militarily consolidate our army. But there is still a lot of persistent work to be done so that it may turn into a genuine people's army, a steeled and unflinching defender of the Bulgarian people's freedom and national independence. It is necessary, above all, to educate our servicemen in a spirit of selfless love for our country and people, and the noble cause of the Fatherland Front. Regardless of their rank and the group which they support, there is no room in the ranks of our army for chiefs and commanders who undermine its unity

and hamper the growth of its fighting efficiency. Our army needs devoted people's commanders, constantly improving their military skill, and respected and loved by the soldiers under their command.

As is well known after September 9, 1944 many gifted officers, dismissed from the army under the former fascist regime, as well as commanders of partisan detachments joined the corps of officers in the army. It is an important task to create the necessary atmosphere of cohesion, mutual confidence, respect and co-operation between these officers and the remaining part of the corps of officers. The fighting capacity and discipline of our army greatly depend upon the patriotic unity of the corps of officers.

Much attention should also be paid to the improvement of the military and political training of the non-commissioned officers who stand closest to the mass of soldiers.

Under the guidance and with the support of the Minister of War, the officers, to whom the political education of the army has been entrusted, should engage in systematic work to educate our soldiers in a democratic spirit, in a spirit of strict observance of discipline and devotion to the art of war, also availing themselves to this end of the wealth of experience gained by the assistant commanders during the Patriotic War.

There can be no doubt that the National Assembly and the Government will spare no effort to secure material and cultural conditions for our servicemen corresponding to their lofty vocation.

Today people and army are united. There should no longer be any force against the people, as often happened in the past. The army, as a people's army, serves and must serve our democratic people. It is only then that it will be able successfully to fulfil its exceptionally important role as a loyal guardian of Bulgaria's freedom and independence.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Hitherto, Bulgaria has not had a consistent national foreign policy of her own. During our country's more recent political history, in spite of temporary deviations, the general line of Bulgaria's foreign policy was placed at the

service of German imperialism, which systematically pursued the implementation of its policy of *Drang nach Osten*. This was a line of enmity between Bulgaria and her neighbours, a line of pitting Bulgaria against her liberator – great Russia. This was an implementation of the Machiavellian principle of the Prussian barons and Junkers: divide and rule! Pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, pan-Greak chauvinism, pan-Serbian chauvinism and other chauvinistic trends in the Balkans were widely used to this end. The attempt of the great Bulgarian statesman Alexander Stamboliiski to change that line of our foreign policy, as you all know, ended in the forceful overthrow of his government and with the criminal murder of Stamboliiski himself. No more successful was also the attempt of the government of Mr. Kimon Georgiev in 1934, which was overthrown in a very short time by Tsar Boris and his clique.

Was it not the same foreign policy, alien to the Bulgarian people, a policy of Bulgarian chauvinism, which set us against our great liberator? Who can deny the fact that whenever Bulgaria moved away from great Russia she suffered only defeats and disasters? Who can deny that now again in the last World War, despite all provocations of the fascist rulers,no one but the Russian people, the Soviet Union helped us, Bulgarians, in every way to rid ourselves of the shameful and unnatural alliance with nazi Germany? Was it not the glorious Red Army which, after routing the German forces in Romania, helped us to win the historic victory of the September 9 People's Rising? The speech from the throne rightly pointed out that

> The Government of the Soviet Union first among the signatories of the cease-fire agreement established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, and at the hardest moment for our economy was the first to conclude trade agreements with Bulgaria whereby it made a great and prompt contribution in helping Bulgaria's economy and alleviating our people's hard plight.

The Fatherland Front put an end to this alien and anti-popular foreign policy.

It resolutely rejected the policy of the vicious pan-

Bulgarian chauvinism, the main reason for our national disasters.

The foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is a genuine national Bulgarian policy.

It proceeds from Bulgaria's real national interests. It takes into account the bitter experience of the past when the question of Macedonia was used by the foreign imperialists and their Balkan agents among the ruling cliques to set Bulgarians against Serbians and Serbians against Bulgarians. The Fatherland Front thinks that we must do our level best so that Macedonia should cease once and for all to be an apple of discord in the Balkans and have it become a uniting link between Bulgarians and Serbians, between new Bulgaria and new Yugoslavia. Relations between Fatherland Front Bulgaria and the Yugoslav Federative People's Republic, between these two neighbouring Slav countries are so fraternal that they have the ample opportunity of resolving by themselves, without any foreign interference, all questions affecting their national interests. Thus, the foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is radically different from the fascist foreign policy pursued prior to September 9, 1944. It is a policy of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, with the Soviet Union and a policy of indissoluble fraternal co-operation with the peoples of new Yugoslavia and the other Slav nations.

The foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is aimed at establishing most sincere and friendly relations with the great Western democracies – the United States of America and Great Britain, at doing away with all obstacles to the recognition of the Bulgarian government and to the prompt conclusion of the peace treaty. Bulgaria's foreign policy is a policy of peace and friendship with all freedom-loving democratic peoples.

This national foreign policy takes into account the necessity to strengthen the co-operation among the three great powers – theSoviet Union, the USA and Great Britain, which co-operation secured the victory in the War of Liberation and constitutes a guarantee for the establishment of a lasting peace. International reaction, which has

its agents in some of our opposition groups, will not succeed in undermining this co-operation, so strongly desired by all peoples. We have good reason to believe that the Moscow Conference[50] of the foreign ministers of the three great powers which is now in session in Moscow will still further consolidate this co-operation so badly needed.

The activity of the Fatherland Front government after September 9, and the far-reaching democratic changes effected in the spirit of the Yalta decisions of the leaders of the three great powers are a sufficiently clear proof of the new democratic road on which our country has embarked in the interest of peace, democracy and progress in the Balkans and in Europe.

Strange as it may seem, there are still politicians abroad who do not want to admit that after September 9, 1944 Bulgaria's foreign policy was throughly changed, that Bulgaria resolutely supports the allies and has manifested and continues to manifest her firm resolve to be a factor of peace and democracy in the Balkans.

There can be no doubt, however, that the efforts of new Fatherland Front Bulgaria to achieve peace and progress in postwar Europe will soon be acknowledged by all great democratic states and peace-loving nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

After long and bitter experiences the Bulgarian people have finally found the road of their development. They are marching along the correct road of the Fatherland Front. Following this road and confident in their forces, they will succeed in coping with all domestic and international difficulties. We should not forget, however, that the key to the favourable solution of these domestic and international problems is in our hands and in our people's unity.

Long live the present truly National Assembly!

Long live the Fatherland Front – organizer and leader of our people!.

Long live the Bulgarian people's patriotic unity!

Forward with might and main to the building up of

free, independent, democratic, powerful and prosperous Bulgaria!

(The Bureau, all ministers and all national representatives rise, applauding long and stormily. Cheers).

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PLACE AND ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE NEW STATE

Speech before the Plenary Session of the General Workers' Trade Union Council

January 20, 1946

Comrades,

So far as I have been able to inform myself, the General Workers' Trade Union has indeed scored remarkable achievements since its National Congress: achievements in the field of its inner organizational stabilization, achievements in its efforts to rehabilitate and develop the national economy of Fatherland Front Bulgaria, achievements also in the field of the best possible improvement of the material and cultural standards of the industrial and office workers in our country.

I am convinced that the decisions which you take at the present plenary session will help our trade union movement score still further successes.

But I want to share with you a personal impression. I may not be quite right, in which case you will correct me. I have the impression that the General Trade Union Council and its individual trade unions and their leadership have not yet drawn all concrete, practical conclusions from what has happened in our country since September 9, regarding the role which the organized workers are called upon to play in new Bulgaria. *The working class in our country is not in opposition to the state and government. On the contrary, the working class, through the Fatherland Front, takes part in the management of state affairs.* It not only takes part in it, but it – the working class – and its trade unions are and have to be one of the mainstays of the People's Fatherland Front Government. They must without fail be the fundamental factor (and not just one of the fundamen-

tal factors) for the rehabilitation and development of industry and transport in Bulgaria, upon which depend the development of our entire national economy. The trade union organizations and their General Workers' Trade Union are not and cannot be regarded as a spare wheel in the chariot of the Fatherland Front Government and in the national economy. The trade union ought to have the feeling, sense of responsibility and consciousness that they are an important social, economic, cultural and political factor in our country. We now have a people's state of our own. Unlike the past, we have a working class which is not deprived of rights nor subordinated to state authority or to the private capitalist, as was formerly the case under the fascist regimes. We no longer have a state of affairs when the chief of a state department, cabinet minister, etc., could act as he pleased, and when the private capitalist – the owner of an enterprise, factory or workshop – was its absolute master; when he was the only boss; when he was the only one to set down the order, working hours, wages – everything, and the workers had to obey: to do his will, to be exploited, oppressed, and robbed. *Today's employer – owner of an enterprise, is not and cannot be absolute master of his enterprise.* The Fatherland Front Government does not take away his enterprise. But he is obliged to take into account the interests and rights of the workers and to subordinate his private interests to the interests of the national economy and to the general interests of the people.

In the Fatherland Front era, which dawned on September 9, *employers remain masters of their enterprises, but not absolute masters.* They are limited by the conditions of this Fatherland Front era. They are limited by the existence of the trade unions and their trade union committees. They are limited by the labour laws. *The task of the trade unions is not to replace employers, but rather to help increase production supply of raw materials, expansion of the enterprise, etc. Their task is to establish strict labour discipline and increase labour productivity; their task is to take action against every sabotage and lack of order at the enterprise; their task is to defend the workers' rights and interests; their task is to teach the industrialists and all other employers to assume a new attitude*

towards our industrial and office workers, towards labour. Those who cannot learn through persuasion and explanation, will have to be taught in extreme cases also by that legal instrument which the working class and the trade unions have in their hands – the strike.

Under the conditions prevailing in Fatherland Front Bulgaria, of course, as a rule strikes can and will be avoided. But this holds good in all cases in which an employer does not want to be absolute master and does not want to conduct his work according to the old fascist pattern. Incorrigible employers, who do want to understand that they live in a new environment, in the era of the Fatherland Front, and that they have to comply strictly with the interests and rights of workers and employees, will be taught, after all normal means have been exhausted, in yet another way, i.e. through strikes. That is why the trade unions in our country do not exclude and cannot exclude strike action call *when the general conditions call for it.* The necessary normal conditions between employers and workers will thus be consolidated for the proper development and function of a given enterprise and of the entire national economy.

I said that we have a people's state of our own and that is why we have a new attitude towards it. In the past, our attitude towards the fascist state – as an oppressor, exploiter, robber and tool in the hands of the enemies of our people – was, as you know, negative. In the interest of the people, in the interest of the country, we had to resort to wrecking action, strikes, and a struggle against fascism. It is to be regretted that our working class did not develop that fight sufficiently. But the line laid down and followed by the conscious workers, the vanguard of the working class, was that of strikes, and of wrecking with a view to overthrowing the fascist rule and setting up what was set up on September 9 – the new, people's state.

But what does a people's state mean? It cannot be created all at one time. It is true that the foundations have been laid, a new course and a new road have been set. But this state must be made a people's state in the full sense of the word, through work and struggle. True, the Fatherland

Front secures the conditions and opportunities for building it up. But our trade unions are called upon to play an important role in its reconstruction. Take, for instance, the state institutions. How much old rust there is in them! How many Auguean stables have still to be cleaned! They cannot be cleaned in one or two months. An iron broom is needed here, to sweep them in a planned and systematic manner over a long period of time. That iron broom must above all be in the hands of the organizations of the working class – in the hands of the trade unions. Can our trade unions tolerate in the state institutions such a putrid and criminal bureaucracy as exists in many institutions at present? Can they tolerate the corruption, graft and waste witnessed in so many government departments? Can the trade unions stand the lack of labour discipline which we observe in almost all state institutions, where many employees and officials do not utilize working hours, but work in a slap-dash manner, loitering from office to office, hindering the proper functioning of the state apparatus, when proper functioning is necessary for the rapid rehabilitation of the country's economy. Of course not!

It is not only a question here of a purge of the fascist elements. That must be carried out and brought to an end. *The main question here is the education of many hundreds and thousands of employees and office workers, who are organized in our trade unions, but are accustomed to working in the old way,* of getting something out of the businessmen and profiteers in one way or another and who become, intentionally or unintentionally, the instruments of corruption and shady deals in the state apparatus. In other words, persistent education and re-education is needed. Pressure on the part of the trade unions and the General Trade Union Council is needed. Our country is in need of honest work and labour discipline. We need not put off for tomorrow that we are supposed to do today. We should not allow evil, criminal elements to take advantage of the insufficient experience and vigilance of honest employees and office workers and even of communists, and do their criminal and anti-popular work.

Can the trade unions, and in the first place the Rail

waymen's Trade Union, put up with the situation existing of late in our railways? What a great number of accidents take place through negligence! I am not speaking of accidents that take place as a result of wrecking, evil intent, or with a criminal end in view. Their number is not negligible. The reactionaries and die-hard opposition resort to sabotage and diversion in order to compromise the new, People's Government. But how many other accidents take place through negligence, and as a result of violations of labour discipline, lack of obedience to the respective authority, disobedience of orders and rules which must be observed in order to avoid accidents? An accident means damage to the engine, damage to wagons, to materials and goods which are transported, and very often there are victims, and not only railwaymen but also passengers. This question is of common concern to the whole working class, to the General Workers' Trade Union. It must be put forward with the utmost seriousness, so that joint efforts can bring order in the railways and transport, upon which depends the economic and cultural life of our country.

Let me not cite other examples. You probably know them better than I do. It is clear that without the active participation of the trade unions these tasks cannot be fulfilled. Yet they have to be fulfilled without fail, in the interest not only of the trade unions and the working class, but also in the interest of our people and country. *To make ourcountry a people's state we have to have a new attitudetowards it, to rid ourselves of survivals of the old, hostile attitude.* But state officials should also have a different attitude towards the working class, peasants, artisans, the people. In this respect, I underscore it once again, the trade unions are called upon to accomplish a very important task, and they have to carry it out conscientiously and successfully.

This period has marked an improvement in the material and cultural standards of the industrial and office workers. I was interested to find out what these improvements were. In places greater, in other smaller, improvement exist. But, Comrades, can we say that the trade unions have made use of all existing possibilities to improve the material and cultural standards of our industrial

and office workers? No! True, the country's situation is difficult. Ours was a poor heritage from the past: economic ruin and financial stagnation. The war was very costly. The drought was another serious handicap. We are all aware of it. At present, of course, we cannot do much to increase the wages and salaries, as we might have done under other, more favourable circumstances. But if we cast a glance at every institution, every enterprise, every separate region in our country, we shall find many localresources which have not been tapped so far. The trade unions ought not to make mere general declarations or only general decisions; they should investigate at every place, at every enterprise, what can still be done to increase not only the nominal pay (wages alone will not solve the problem) but also the real wages, for a real improvement of the material and cultural standards of industrial and office workers through organizing canteens, supply of clothing, footwear, homes, clubs, improvement of the conditions for rest and recreation at holiday houses, sanatoria, etc. In many factories more can be done that has been done so far for the workers, without burdening the calculations and raising the prices of goods, provided the trade unions and their trade union committees are at their place. Comrades, you will have to develop initiatives from below: at every factory, mine, workshop. In every town or village where there is an industrial enterprise even the last smallest possibilities should be discovered and made use of *to improve as much as possible the material and cultural standards of the working class in our country.*

You have read in the reply to the speech from the throne, which was unanimously approved by the National Assembly, that in new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria labour has to be a *fundamental fact – that it has to occupy a basic place in the state, public and political affairs.* But this remains merely a printed letter in black and white, as a mere solemn declaration, such as the Declaration of the French Revolution on the Rights of Man – liberty, fraternity, equality – if there is no organized force to implement this declaration. The organized force is the Fatherland Front through its National Committee and local committes; but the main

organized force are *the trade unions* – the trade unions in every separate branch of production and the General Workers' Trade Union for the country as a whole.

You must have greater confidence in your own strength, in the power of the organized working class. As trade unions, or as leaders of these trade unions, you ought to have greater confidence and a greater sense of responsibility for the destiny of our country and national economy; you have to get rid of that feeling of timidity inherited from the past, when the worker would come and beg the employer, when he would knock at the door of the employer and the latter would not reply. Get rid of this! Help the industrial and office workers get rid of it! This does not mean that they have to rise in revolt, to kick up rows, but it does mean that they have to be conscious of their organized force as a working class, of the power of their General Workers' Trade Union, to be conscious of the force of the Fatherland Front and of their own rule, and to implement it in practice – intelligently, methodically and firmly. Firmly!

When in the past I was myself secretary of the General Workers' Trade Union, I used to travel all over the country; I had all factories and enterprises at my finger-tips and knew almost all activists. But the past was quite different. At that time we often went on strike not only to improve the material standards of the workers, but mainly for agitation and propaganda, for developing the workers' class consciousness Now we shall no longer strike for agitation and propaganda purposes. *Now we are the builders and creators of a new, democratic Bulgaria, which we want to push forward, along the road of a normal social development, in which one day all nations will find their salvation and happiness – towards socialism.* It is not a question of empty talk about socialism, to which certain glib pseudo-socialists and demagogues are accustomed, but who in fact wish to obstruct the people's cause upheld by the Fatherland Front.

We know the Marxist laws of social development. We have been learning and shall continue to learn from our great teachers such as Lenin.

We know exactly, as a scientific conclusion, just as 2

and 2 makes 4, that the Bulgarian people will the sooner be able to achieve socialism, the more firmly the people themselves in town and country become convinced of the salutary role and historic necessity of socialism.

To be able to fulfil their role at the present moment, I repeat, their unusually important and in certain respects decisive role, the trade unions, have to educate and constantly train in the course of their work, creative efforts and struggle cadres – *devoted cadres, loyal to the working class, to our people, politically educated cadres, qualified workers' engineering and technical cadres, cadres who know whither the development of society is tending and what the prospects are, cadres learning how to govern, to govern a state, a municipality, an industry, to govern, and not simply pay lipservice.* They should not be talking through their hat, they should not think that in working for the Fatherland Front they are ruining socialism (for there are wise-acres saying it), but should step by step, day after day, raise and improve their skill, their capacities and knowledge, so that if they are in production they may become specialists, and if they are trade union workers they may learn not only how to make agitation and propaganda, which is very necessary, but also how an enterprise is managed, how calculations are made, how the unscrupulous manager of an enterprise can dupe the workers and the state, and what deceptions are perpetrated through such intricate accounting. People in our country should study these questions, so that every manager can gain greater and greater experience. This is necessary today, and will be still more necessary tomorrow. manager can gain greater and greater experience. This is necessary today, and will be still more necessary tomorrow.

One other question.Besides the GeneralWorkers' Trade Union, as you know, there is yet another union: the Farmers'Union[51].I think that the development of this union presumes very close contact, join action, mutual co-operation and mutual assistance detween the General Workers' Trade Union and the Farmers' Union. The interests of workers differ from the interests of farmers; the tasks that face you are different from the tasks which they have to face. But these interests and these tasks do not

contradict, they supplement each other. Moreover there are common questions which affect both them and you. With a view to the necessary consolidation of the militant friendship between workers and peasants; forming the backbone of Fatherland Front relations, such close fraternal co-operation in the centre and at the local organizations will be of immense help. *The Workers' Trade Unions can be very useful by co-operating with the Farmers' Union, and through the labour and cultural brigades.* and in many other ways, in raising the material and cultural standards of our village, in which the working class is vitally interested. The trade unions will not perform their historic role if they fail to understand and do not do all that is necessary for the all-round consolidation of the fraternal alliance between the working class and peasantry – the best guarantee for the establishment of a powerful, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

Finally, in conclusion, Comrades, may I say that the General Workers' Trade Union ought to act and manifest itself in the social and political life of the country as an independent organization of the working class, and I underscore the word independent. In connection with all political events in our country, the General Workers' Trade Union – which is neither a party, nor an apolitical organization, but an organization of the entire working class, in which there are and which cannot be without members of different political trends participating in the Fatherland Front, and many non-affiliated persons – must always take a stand and put forward declarations and decisions as well as certain information before its members. For instance, with regard to the Moscow decisions, which met with the support of all democratic countries as being proof of the consolidation of the co-operation so necessary and beneficient between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and America, the Government and the National Committee did take a stand. Our press came out with statements, in connection with this question. But the question is: are no the trade unions interested in this same problem? Are they not interested in the attitude of the evil-minded opposition towards this decision? Are they not in-

terested in the criminal attempts of this opposition to foil the application of this decision, in order to impede the settlement of Bulgaria's international situation? The anti-popular attacks of internal and external reaction against new Bulgaria, do they not affect the trade unions?

Ought not the General Workers' Trade Union to have taken a stand with regard to these questions, to have discussed and explained them to its organizations, to its members, to the whole working class, showing them what was to be done? *Reaction, you are aware of it, is raising its head* and it is easy to understand why. We all know who encourages it; it has its councillors abroad, who are closely linked with it. It resorts to economic wrecking and terrorist actions, to create confusion and disorder in our country. The National Committee of the Fatherland Front discussed this situation in its last sittings. Why doesn't the Workers' Trade Union, after due investigation and in its own name as an independent organization and on behalf of the entire working class, come out and have its say stating its position? It will surely not contradict the stand taken by the Fatherland Front. But it would be an independent position, a position developed and supported from the viewpoint of the trade unions themselves – with such arguments which will make the working class understand more easily and clearly why it is necessary to fight reaction, why vigilance by day and by night is necessary against the internal and external enemies of the people, and why the working class should be sure that even God could not help this reaction if God existed. Their cause is irretrievably lost, because Bulgaria, as our peasants say, is not a village unguarded by dogs, it is not a country without a loyal guard. It has its own political and social force in the person of the Fatherland Front, it has its own trade unions at the enterprises throughout the country, and that country is not alone. This small Bulgaria, small but young, viable, uncorrupted by capitalist civilization as some other countries (Bulgaria and all Slav countries have the advantage of not having been corrupted by rotten capitalist civilization to such a high degree as certain old capitalist countries), *this small, but young, viable Bulgaria, which after September 9*

opened the people's hearts, stimulated their labour enthusiasm, their patriotism, their readiness to march forward and ever forward, has many friends.

Bulgaria is under the fraternal protection of the great Soviet Union.

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THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA IS THE UNSHAKEABLE MAINSTAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Speech before the Militia Chief Officers

January 21, 1949

Comrades!

Many good things have been said of our people's militia. No doubt this was no empty praise, but well-deserved acknowledgement of its merits. The people's militia in this country, together with our army, which has been transformed from the old one into a people's democratic army, is the firm mainstay of the new, democratic government of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria. We cannot imagine the correct democratic development of Bulgaria in the social and political sphere and in the field of national economy without a strong, disciplined and well-trained people's militia.

The people's militia is called upon to maintain law and order within the country, to guarantee the peaceful creative labour of our people, and to be the guardian of its interests and rights, of its life and property, to defend the new democratic system against attempts of anti-popular elements and foreign agents, no matter under what mask they may try to disguise their appearance and actions.

With the support of the strong patriotic sections of the population, our militia is fulfilling, and is capable enough to fulfil even better in the future, this difficult and complex task for the good of the people.

Wherein lie the power and authority of the people's militia? In the first place, I think, in the fact that the officers, leading executives of the people's militia and the greatest part of the militiamen themselves, are not ordinary employers, or various good-for-nothings and rugues, as was the case with the police force of former regimes and es-

pecially that under fascist rule, but genuine fighters for democratic rights and freedoms, fighters for the freedom and welfare of our people.

Those who are now leading officers of the people's militia, are persons who, together with the people, have fought for the overthrow of the accursed monarchist and fascist dictatorship and for the liberation of our country from the barbarous German yoke. They became steeled as faithful sons of the people during the hard years of guerrilla warfare, in prisons and concentration camps, always ready to sacrifice their lives for the freedom and independence of their people. They have proved that they are real Bulgarian patriots.

The power and authority of the people's militia lie, in the second place, in the fact that its leading officers and its men are inspired by our people's ideals, by the great ideas that now determine the destinies of Bulgaria through the rule of the Fatherland Front, the idea of building a new, democratic Bulgaria, the idea of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, the idea of indestructible brotherhood with our Slav neighbours – the peoples of new Yugoslavia, the idea of securing our freedom and independence, the sovereignty of our state, against every encroachment, against every danger, no matter where it comes from.

The people's militia is powerful because it lives with the life of the people, because it advances hand in hand with it, because it has no interests, aims or tasks but the interests, tasks and aims of our people united in the Fatherland Front – saviour of the country.

Our people's militia, Comrades, has gone through great trials and difficult struggles after September 9. It did not come out of nowhere. Nor did it simply assert itself as the mainstay and defender, as the guardian of our people's government. The militia has been formed step by step, and is still being formed with the aid of the Fatherland Front committees, with the active participation of our Party.

If we are able tonight to congratulate our people's militia with such deep joy and moral gratification, if we are now able, all of us together, workers of the Fatherland

Front and of the Government, to say how rightly proud we are of the people's militia, this is thanks to the tremendous work done in the integration of its original elements into the strong and militant state organization, loyal to the people, which the people's militia is at present.

But we all must be aware, especially those working in the militia, its leading executives, its officers of every rank, that the cause, the historic task of the Fatherland Front has far from been accomplished. We, the whole nation and the whole country, are climbing a mountain, towards a high peak, perhaps higher than, say, our Moussala. We are advancing step by step, with great effort, through great hardships, as a nation, as an army, together with the militia, along steep paths leading towards the summit. But we are still far from the coveted goal. True, we have left the foot of the mountain behind us. We have probably got as far as the middle of the road. But there is still the most difficult part left to the summit which we have to reach, so as to have a really prosperous and happy Bulgaria.

Our enemies, both within the country and without, want to stop us in the middle of the way or even beat us back. They are working with furious zeal to accomplish this. They become the more furious the more fully we devote our energy to the practical realization of the Fatherland Front programme. The bills that have been passed and have yet to be passed by the National Assembly, will further infuriate the reactionaries and their agents within the opposition. We now have enough information that domestic reaction and foreign agents in our own country and in some of the neighbouring countries, are about to reinforce their subversive groups for sabotage and terrorist action. They are even planning to stage riots, so as to check the further development and strengthening of the democratic rule in this country, to obstruct the building of new, democratic Bulgaria.

Who is to defend the creative work of the people? First and foremost – the people's militia, our armed force within the country, which is the agent of the people and of the state, a mainstay of the power of the Fatherland

Front. There are few things worse than resting on one's laurels. It is necessary that the leading officers and militiamen be constantly on the lookout, so as to frustrate immediately the fiendish plans of the people's enemies.

We know from experience that there are many diseases from which people suffer and which, unfortunately, the medical sciences are still not in a position to cope with. But one of the major and most fatal diseases for a nation, party or any other organization, including the people's militia, is smugness, complacency with what has been achieved. Let us guard against this with all available means. There are people among us, as there are in the people's militia, who are apt to think naïvely that we have already crossed the Rubicon, and who tend to make light of difficulties. They do not clearly realize that now is the time to get down to work even harder than before or immediately after September 9, that precisely now we have to be even more vigilant, work more for our own improvement, try to learn more than we did before, to keep our ties with the population even closer, act more tactfully and with greater consideration than before. Everyone must be fully aware of the necessity to depend more upon the organized, disciplined, carefully considered and tactful action of the people's militia, than on the application of the material force which it commands. This is probably more difficult, but it is absolutely necessary and it is the only line of action that can bring positive results in the consolidation of the Bulgarian people's democracy. We must not adopt the line of least resistance but, on the contrary, the line of the social and historical necessity for the people and country.

The laws of Fatherland Front Bulgaria must also be observed with the utmost strictness. These laws are valid not only for the ordinary citizens, but also for the authorities, for those in whose hands the power of the people has been vested. They are obligatory for all of us, for every Bulgarian man and woman. Those who, like the malevolent members of the opposition, think that they are above the laws, that the laws cannot be applied to them, because they have high-ranking protectors outside the

country, must also be brought to comply with the laws and be given the place they properly deserve.

The people love the militia, because they are aware of the vast difference between the former fascist police, who were the butchers of the people, and the popular militia, who are their loyal protectors. They are as far apart as earth and sky. Our enemies hate the people's militia. But the more they hate it themore the people will love it.This love must be treasured, it must be strengthened and encouraged to grow. It is a tremendous capital of the people, of the government of the Fatherland Front, of the people's militia itself, and the people's militia must work for the constant increase of this capital.

It must further be borne in mind, especially by our leading officers of the people's militia, that every kind of power, including our people's power, offers many temptations, conceals a certain danger of demoralization, of corruption, of deviations from the straight and lawful road, especially in the case of officers of weaker character. The leading officer of a district, county or region may be led to abuse the power he had. This must be resisted with great moral integrity and constant watchfulness. The men of the people's militia must remain fighters, such as they were before and immediately after September 9. They must not allow themselves to be led astray by greed of promotion, by the temptation of possible personal advantage, of securing favours for their relations or countrymen. They must base their actions on the awareness of being representatives of our honest and noble people, of our people's state, of our Fatherland Front, and, in so far as the people's militia is in the charge of a communist minister, of being the representatives of the Communist Party, whose authority, reputation and future are at stake. That is why each worker of the people's militia must have a critical attitude towards himself. They must exert control over themselves and their colleagues and subordinates, and act as befits fighters for freedom and people's rights, for the noble ideals of our people, for the great historic cause of September 9.

I raise my glass to the workers in our people's militia

being, to a man, sincere, honest and upright fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front, for the prosperity and happiness of our people!

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HISTORIC MISSION OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)

Speech at the Sofia Regional Conference of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

February 26, 1946

Comrades,

Our Party, as a party of the workers, of the working people, as a party of Marxists and Communists, differs radically from many other political parties. There are parties which lead a temporary existence, they are formed to fulfil temporary tasks and aims, and when they have, in one way or another, coped with their temporary tasks and aims, they go off the stage and cease to exist. Ours is no such party; it is what we may call a *historical party*. It was born in struggle, it was formed and developed and is growing in constant struggle. Since its formation our Party has had an uninterrupted existence, legal or illegal, of half a century. It must continue to exist and will certainly exist until the time when the necessity of any political party will have died out. Until that time the Party will have to be able to cope with the tasks arising at every particular stage of social development.

But precisely because our Party's character and its historical mission are of this kind, it had to be, in its internal life, in its discipline and in its ideological and political level, different from the others, the temporary political parties. At the same time, after September 9, as you know, our Party has grown into a mass party, huge for the Bulgarian conditions; its ranks have been joined by many new elements: workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, workers of science and art. Many honest people have joined the ranks of our Party. But also, as you well know, as a ruling Party we have acquired a power of attraction

which we lacked before September 9. Members of the Party until September 9 were those who were ready to sacrifice themselves, to sacrifice material interests, their personal comfort, even their lives. After September 9, a certain number of elements, accidental or alien to the Communist Party, joined the party, some of them seeking to avoid inconveniences in connection with their activities in the past, others greedy for personal advantages, for lucrative jobs, or to secure favours for themselves or their relatives, eager to use the power to their advantage. They even declared themselves to be the most zealous, first-class communists. Shall we stage quite openly that in our Party, consisting of more than 400,000 members, there are persons who do not deserve to be in its ranks; there are elements which must be expelled as foreign and harmful elements, which compromise the Party's name.

If we want our Party to be of the type described, a *party with a historical mission*, we must purge our ranks of careerists and job-hunters, of people who put their power to wrong use. No corruption, no actions that compromise its name must be tolerated within our Party. A firm hand is needed here, Comrades! As a Party we stand to lose nothing by such methods, we can only gain by it. Let the members of the Party be 400,000 instead of 450,000 but let these be honest militants for the cause of the Bulgarian people. These 400,000 honest and upright fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front and socialism will be able to lead millions of Bulgarian men and women in the future.

In the second place, the Party must have iron discipline, though conscientious and voluntary, but none the less *iron discipline*, which is based and has to be based on our unity of purpose, on our common tasks and aims as a Party, on our Marxist science, which leads us to victories. This unity of purpose and discipline is necessary if our Party is to fulfil its historic mission. Consequently, one thing that should not be allowed is placing one's personal interests, wishes and views over and above the tasks and aims of the Party. The personal interests of all Party members, independent of the rank we hold, must be subor-

dinated to the interests of the Party, of our people. Hence, in our Party organization, in the Party as a whole, there is no room for groups or factions, or any hostile, anti-party gangs. Wherever such groups appear, they must be mercilessly removed, and if necessary, the Party lancet must be brought into play. No tolerance or liberalism must be shown towards Party elements who try to disorganize its ranks, to introduce demoralization, who become carriers of foreign, hostile ideas and influences. This attitude, Comrades, is all the more necessary when we have in mind that there are many new members of the Party who are not well acquainted with our theory, who have not fully adopted the general, Fatherland Front line of the Party, members who are liable to yield to demagoguery and deception from outside, to become victims of provocators and agents of our enemies. Enemies cannot attack our Party directly from outside, because it stands on firm, granite foundations, but they are trying to act from within, under cover of various leftist slogans and demagogic phrases and to deceive individual members of our Party, to disorganize its ranks, to undermine its discipline and its ideological and political cohesion. Such elements in the Party must be carefully watched. Ruthless action must be taken against such elements who disorganize and demoralize the Party. In a militant Party like ours there is no and there can be no room for anarchists, anarcho-tradeunionists, anarcho-communists and other similar hostile elements.

But the cohesion, discipline and fighting capacity of our Party depend, first of all, on two important factors. The first factor is *the Party cadres,* the second is *the correct understanding of the Party line and its prospects* – which way we are going, what we are fighting for, and how far we wish to go as a party, as a people.

As for the Party cadres, we often hear talk about 'old' and 'young' cadres. The division into old and young is thoroughly wrong. The Party has four basic categories of cadres, each category comprising *both old and young people.*

One category includes cadres, both old and young, who have been in the ranks of the Party before September 9, some of them even before 1923 and others later than this,

but they have been within the Party without interruption until September 9. They have worked actively, they have fough against fascism, they have worked for the historic cause of September 9, and since that day have continue to serve the Party honestly and faithfully. *This is the first category.*

Another category includes people, both young and old, members of the Party since 1923 or later, who until September 9 were not active Party workers, keeping at a certain distance, but they too have helped the Party to the best of their abilities, in towns, villages and offices. These are honest and devoted people, but they are no heroes, they were not prepared to join a guerrilla detachment, or to be thrust into prison or into concentration camp; they have kept at a distance, but they have loved sincerely the Party and its aims, and they have tried to give their moral and material aid, they have helped shelter our comrades working underground, they have assisted wounded fighters, etc. *This is the second category.*

There is a special category of Party cadres, old and young, who, under the fascist regime before September 9, drifted apart from the Party; they were passive, keeping at a distance and attended to their personal affairs (some lawyers, many teachers, clerks, etc.), but they were not hostile to the Party, they did not side with the enemy, did not help the fascists. *This is the third category of Party cadres.*

Lastly, there are some new Party cadres, both young and old, who appeared and gained prominence after September 9, when the gates to political activity were thrown wide open, when the atmosphere was cleared and an endless 'Hurrah' sounded in the streets and crossroads. It was at the time that they started their political activities in the Party and grew as new Party cadres – in the state apparatus, in the social organizations, in the Fatherland Front committees, etc. *This is the fourth category of Party cadres.*

These are the four basic categories of our Party cadres. It is in the Party's interest to employ fully all these cadres in its activities in the Party itself, as well as in the state apparatus, the public organizations, and everywhere in social

life for the building of a new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria. That is why the individual elements of all four categories must have the constant attention of the Party leadership, central, regional, and local. Our task at the present stage is to accelerate the fusion of all four categories of cadres into a united whole, into a common Party cadre, on which the unity, discipline and fighting capacity of our Party will largely depend.

But, naturally, the Party cannot have *the same* attitude towards the four categories of cadres. A difference must be made. On the leading bodies of the Party in the centre, in the districts and counties, people of the first category must predominate. *The first category of cadres now forms the backbone of the Party cadres and of the Party itself.* Precisely these cadres can be entirely relied upon for the correct leadership of the Party and the correct education of the Party membership. Then follows the second category, which was not active before September 9, but which consists of honest and loyal Party members, who have helped the Party in the struggle against fascism. The Party's attitude towards the third category cannot be free from certain reservations. This third category, which has not helped the Party, but has not sided with the enemy either, has stayed for a long time, some for as many as 20 years, apart from political life, from the Party and its struggles. This category of cadres, as a rule, has remained backward in its political and ideological development. It cannot claim a leading role in the Party at the present moment. It must be given time to find its bearings, to adopt the Party line; it must make up for what it missed over 20 or 10 years, it must catch up with the others, before it can claim a decisive role in the leadership of the Party, in resolving Party problems. This category of cadres can be extremely useful and will be useful in the machinery of the state, in the social organizations and in national economy, but always acting under Party guidance. The cadres of this category with their knowledge as lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, and other specialists, as educated people, will be useful in so far as they execute the directives of the Party, of the Par-

ty leadership in so far as they implicitly obey and observe the party discipline and morale.

There are certain comrades in this category who think that they have been wronged, and feel hurt. Some of them have been leaders of regional and county organizations before 1923, others have been members of the Central Committee, deputies or municipal councillors prior to September 23, 1923. Now that they have come to the surface again in a free political atmosphere, it seems to them that they are naturally entitled to a leading post in the Party; they feel awkward working under younger comrades, and claim leading roles in the Party, the administration, the municipalities, etc. This makes it somewhat unpleasant for them and the Party organizations. This must end. These comrades must always remember that they can have a leading role in the life of the Party, and occupy a high position in state or public life only if they get down to work, and make an effort to obey the Party leadership and Party discipline. On the other hand, the Party must help them in every way to make up as soon as possible for what they have missed in the past. Here it must be mentioned that some local Party leaders have a wrong attitude to the cadres of the third category. They say, 'we worked and sacrificed ourselves before September 9, while they attended to their lawyers' offices, or to their vineyards, anxious to preserve their comfort. They were not to be seen anywhere, and they now want to be big chiefs, district directors and county bosses, or, in Party organizations, no less than leaders. We cannot have it!' There is even a certain bitterness against such cadres. Such attitude is not in the Party's interest. It must be put an end to. On the contrary, the ability and knowledge of these cadres must be employed a hundred per cent in all suitable ways for the work of the Party and the Fatherland Front.

As for the cadres of the fourth category, i. e. the post-September cadres, they must try to assimilate the experience of the Party before September 9, they must study the basic lessons of its history, they must concentrate their attention on raising their ideological and political standards, so as to become valuable Party cadres.

Our cadres, all of us, beginning with myself, and down to the last Party member must *learn how to govern*. We have opposition; we have had occasion to criticize and to fight but not to govern, with the exception of short periods before 1923 when we had some municipalities in our hands. Since September 9 we have been gaining experience as a ruling Party. We stand in great need of such experience. Our Party cadres wherever they are, must learn. We must all learn how to govern, how to build; we must learn how to work together with our allies in the Fatherland Front. There must be emulation between us and our allies, and we must be the ones to produce the best specialists, our cadres must rank first, always able to justify the trust placed in them. This is to be achieved through hard work, knowledge and skill, not through complacency and sectarian smugness. We must not rest on our laurels, we must constantly learn, work tirelessly for our own betterment. If the communist is an engineer – let him learn further, if he is a manager – let him improve his qualification, if he is a teacher – the same thing is valid, if he is a Party worker – this is even more important. Wherever we are, whatever position we occupy, we must learn tirelessly, as without the knowledge of how to govern, how to build a new, democratic Bulgaria, we cannot secure the progress and bright future of our country and our people.

I feel certain that the problem of cadres and their education has been carefully discussed at the conference, but I want to emphasize that our Marxist-Leninist education is something about which much is said but unfortunately proportionately less done in the Party. The work for the education of Party members must always be closely linked with our practical activity, with real creative work within the Party and outside. Divorcing theory from practice, theoretical education from practical activity, is harmful. There must be full harmony between our practical work and theoretical training. Let us not think we have reached the limit of what there is to know. No one knows all that he should know in his particular sphere. One always has to know more. *We must learn while we work, as*

we learned while we fought the enemy before September 9, in the guerrilla detachments, prisons and concentration camps. Now we must learn the process of building, of creation.

The second factor on which the cohesion, discipline and fighting capacity of the Party depend, is *the correct understanding of our general line and policy.*

There are some people (usually provocateurs, but they can influence some of our comrades who are not mature enough politically) who say that our Party, the staple force of the Fatherland Front, has turned into an ordinary democratic party, has tacitly given up socialism, that there is as it were, a contradiction between the struggle and work for realizing the Fatherland Front programme and the struggle for socialism. This must be put an end to. While any single comrade has doubts concerning this basic problem, he cannot work for the Party, for the common cause of the people, for the Fatherland Front, with all his strength, energy and enthusiasm.

What, as a matter of fact, is the nature of our policy at this stage of social development, i e. under Fatherland Front rule? It can be outlined in a few words, as follows. From the point of view of our Party, as a party of the working class, as a party of the working people at present and in the future, the complete and practical realization of the programme of the Fatherland Front means the establishment of the necessary conditions for our people's transition to socialism. It is a well-known fact that the future of all nations lies ultimately in the triumph of socialism. But the struggle for socialism is to be understood now in a different way from 1917 or 1918 in tsarist Russia, when the October Revolution took place. As you know, nearly three decades have passed since then, and the Soviet Union as a socialist country has grown into a major world force. During the Patriotic War this country of socialism showed the greatest vitality, made the greatest contribution to the victory over fascism and the saving of European and world civilization. This war was a brilliant confirmation of the power, might and superiority of the socialist system. This had and is still having a tremendous impact on the entire development of world affairs. As a

result of the war and under the influence of the great cause of the Soviet Union, profound democratic changes have started in many, if not in all, countries. Among them are Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Finland, Bulgaria. Similar democratic changes, a similar development on the road of progress, against the old reactionary world regimes, the regimes of big speculative capital, of cartels and concerns, of imperialism – similar development can be witnessed also in the colonies and semi-colonies, in Indonesia, India, and in a number of other regions in the world. The existence of a great socialist state like the Soviet Union and the historic democratic changes taking place after the war, have faced many countries with the problem of establishing socialism as a problem of the collaboration of the working class with the peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals and other progressive sections of the people. When the time in Bulgaria comes for the transition of our people from the present social system to a new, socialist order, then the communists, supported by the people, will be building the new, socialist society together with the peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals, as a historical development of the whole people.

This way of social development, Comrades, may seem rather slow to some people. But it is not only possible and practicable; it is also much less painful for the people. This is why we, all communists, declare openly and are not ashamed to declare that, under the present circumstances, we prefer this road, as it is the real and painless road to socialism. The fact that all nations, both large and small, will sooner or later embrace socialism, cannot be doubted, for socialism is a historical necessity for all nations, large or small.

The truth of the matter is (and we as Marxists must be aware of it) that each nation will embrace socialism not in the same stereotype way, not necessarily in the Soviet way, but in its own way, according to its own historical, national, social, cultural and other conditions. Whoever says that there is a contradiction between our Fatherland Front policy and the fight for unity among all progressive, democratic forces in the Fatherland Front and for the

realization of its programme, on the one hand, and the fight for socialism on the other, whoever says such a thing is either no Marxist at all, or an outright provocateur. Each stage of social development raises before the people one central, basic task. At our stage of the Fatherland Front the central task is *the realization of the Fatherland Front programme, bringing to a successful end the historic victory of September 9, establishing a Bulgarian people's democracy in the social, economic and cultural life of our people.* That is why a person who does not work and fight in the ranks of the Fatherland Front for solving this great national task, no matter how loud he may talk of socialism, he actually plays the game of reaction, of the enemies of socialism.

Comrades, I want to say a few more words. We must have the noble ambition as Party-members, as communists. to be in every way good and loyal disciples of Lenin. We must learn constantly and always resolve the problems and tasks of our people and our country *not in a stereotype way* but taking into account the concrete circumstances, the balance of social forces, the inclinations of the people and their wishes. We must work and free the Bulgarian people from exploitation, misfortune and disaster by our common sense, by our creative effort. We must think, study the situation and act correctly and competently, as the vital interests of our people at any particular time should dictate. This must be done in every town, county and village, at offices, factories, workshops, mines, schools, everywhere. We must master the skill of *defining the tasks and problems* as Marxists, as bolsheviks, *in a concrete way, and resolve them in a concrete way.* Our down to-earth peasant, with his inborn sound judgement, thinks well before he sows, as he is prudent and knows exactly what he wants to reap. He is no dreamer, he is a realist. We have not learned enough from the practical experience of the people. Many of our comrades in their Party work do not take good account of the situation, but let themselves be carried away by remote plans, fantasies and vague words. The peasant will then have every right to say 'Better stop talking, let us get down to business, let us build a school, or a bridge, let us clear the road, and cart enough straw for

the cattle; let us try and create culture and education, and have our own cinema and theatre.'

The Party leaders in many places prefer to give orders instead of showing friendliness and patience in their attitude towards Party members and the population, instead of explaining, teaching and educating the masses and at the same time learning from them.

You are now having a conference; look around and see what people there are here, see how much each is worth and help those who are capable and talented. Experience shows that the more capable comrades are as a rule more modest, they often keep their distance and remain unnoticed, while great talkers manage to rise just because they know how to talk a lot. You ought to look for such comrades, modest and capable, the way Diogenes looked for Man with his lantern! Look for each new active Party worker, discover the capable people and help them make good! There are such young comrades, honest and devoted, who, when they hear better educated members reading papers before an audience, think, 'I shall never be able to reach their level'. They themselves may be capable organizers, or have natural sound judgement and strong character. In this way many capable cadres among the people and in our Party never develop. Measures must be taken for such new cadres to be given a hand, to be helped in their development. Let us always remember that *cadres decide the successful outcome of every undertaking.*

And lastly, we as Bulgarian communists must have the ambition for our Party as a ruling party to be exemplary in every way. We must be able to work together as comrades with our allies, agrarians, members of the Zveno-group, social-democrats, and radicals, for the common cause. We must be at the head of the great popular movement of the Fatherland Front. Do not forget that people cannot always do what they wish, but what circumstances force them to do. Let us create, by means of our struggle and exemplary work in the Fatherland Front, such circumstances in Bulgaria, which shall compell all of our allies, as well as

elements of the people who are now hesitating, to become staunch adherents of the historic cause of the Fatherland Front.

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THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE MUST BE A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM

*From the Talk with Members of the District and City Committee of the RMS**

March 1, 1946

I. ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

It is of great importance if the regional secretary is also the secretary of the city organization. Otherwise the committees act without the necessary co-ordination, they meet only at certain sessions,the District and the City Committee are like two individual governorships. In theParty this has been overcome, but it applies also to the RMS. Work is thus better organized, time is saved, misunderstandings are avoided and there is greater efficiency. And the times we are living through are such that we must work very efficiently.

There must be regular contact between the Central Committee, and the District and the City Committee. With you, as a rule, the Central Committee works on its own, the District Committee works on its own, the City and Sectional Committees work on their own. You should be guided in your work by the principle: strong centralization in the leadership, utmost decentralization in the work. A centralized leadership, which puts through one and the same idea, one and the same policy (here it should be like a fist), while its practical activity, organizational work, agitation and propaganda are decentralized, so that they may reach the broadest masses of youth. Once the general line is known, once the directives of the leadership are known, each one in his own place in an individual organization should manifest a maximum of creative initiative, energy and skill in putting them through.

* RMS – See Note No 34

Our cadres are very insufficient, both in the Party and in the RMS. Having spent 20 years in underground activity, passing through persecutions and prisons, we have not had the time and opportunity to create sufficient cadres. Moreover, some of the bravest, the most capable perished as partisans, prisoners or concentration camp inmates. Now that we enjoy freedom of action, now that nobody can persecute us, we should utilize this freedom and train the necessary new cadres. We should utilize the old cadres who are left, while the new ones who joined the Party and the RMS after September 9 should be given the opportunity of developing, of mastering their work in the organization and the state apparatus, so as to become useful cadres. That is why no time should be lost in discussions and talk, but serious attention and more care should be given to promoting new cadres. Boldly entrust the devoted and growing young boys and girls with responsible work. Try, particularly, to create cadres of young specialists. Let them be good engineers, good doctors, agronomists, jurists and so on. Qualified intellectuals should emerge from your League.

Another shortcoming is that much time is lost owing to disorganization. Meetings are fixed for 8 o'clock and begin at 10. That is inadmissible. The time factor is not valued. Forces and energy are criminally wasted. If you set the time for 8 o'clock, start at 8. This issue should be raised in the press and at meetings, this evil should be scourged. Moreover, the meetings are long, because usually the questions on the agenda have not been prepared. Discussions are begun at random on one question or another, and ideas are numerous, as numerous as bees in a beehive: you stir them up, the bees begin to hum and each one is ready to give ideas. The questions set are sidetracked and time is wasted futilely. Time is very precious for us. It should be valued above many other valuable things. Twenty-four hours are not enough, a day is all too short. If nature could prolong it from 24 to 48 hours, time would still not be enough for us. During these 24 hours one must work, sleep and rest. The only way is to organize our time wisely and rationally, both as leaders and ordinary

militants. You cannot work incessantly and not have time to rest, to go to the theatre, the cinema. What kind of leaders will you be if you have no culture? Culture should be added to the mastering of Marxism. You must be healthy, strong, tenacious. It is a question of work and creative activity.

The organized use of the time of the leading organs is a necessity everywhere in our work; questions should be studied beforehand, discussed concretely and solved concretely. If a certain question is not on the agenda, if it is not an exceptionally important and urgent question, it should be considered at the next meeting. Moreover, everyone need not express an opinion. If what is necessary has already been said by someone else, why should you say it again? Repetition should be avoided. There should not be the ambition to show that one knows a lot. Know-alls are not serious workers, they cannot develop. Whoever imagines that he knows much stays in one place, while life goes on, and that means that he himself lags behind.

When taking a certain decision, you must always set a time limit, determine who is to carry it out and who is to check fulfilment. If you do that, 90 per cent of your decisions will be positive. You decide to call a meeting, but who is to call it, when is it to be called and how is it to be organized, all this is usually left to the secretary to decide according to his lights. The major part of the decisions are left on paper, like unfulfilled wishes. Hours are spent arguing about these decisions, but they are not carried out. Fine decisions, but for the archives only. Archives, however, can have a certain importance only for history. A check-up on the fulfilment of the decisions taken is necessary. A check-up is necessary from above to below, to the last of your rank-and-file. This is not so easy, much work and persistence are necessary to get people used to it. A day or two before the term you should check up on what has been done by telephone or otherwise. That is how you should work if you want to achieve success. You are young and healthy and capable of introducing such a procedure. You will see then for yourselves that you get much better results that way.

Membership dues should be your main income item. It is, however, necessary to keep track of the collection of membership dues organizing it in time, and not being late in paying the membership dues established. If there is neglect, you should act in time, reminding people, and expulsion might be the last measure. Usually, after two or three months, it is noticed that a member has not paid his dues, and then he is expelled. This means that the organization is not doing the necessary education work in that respect. The leaders should be asked how they have approached those members who do not pay their dues. When a leader is in a hurry to expel somebody because he has not paid his dues, he obviously is taking the line of least resistance. Such a leader is no good. There must by all means be an active treasurer in each of your organizations; he will remind members in time, and will see to collecting dues in time, because otherwise there is neglect, a month or two go by, the debt grows bigger and it becomes difficult for the member to pay his overdue membership dues.

The regular payment of membership dues is the first indication of a member's devotion to his organization. You should not engage in business deals as a source of funds. Avoid such sources, they will harm the character of your organization. Socials are an honest means, but they should be well organized and should be serious affairs. Funds abtained from socials should come next after membership dues. Have you organized youth lotteries? Why don't you collect funds from the more well-to-do friends of the youth? There are people who can and will give money to the youth. Establish a fund at the RMS. This question should be examined by the Central Committee of the RMS. Your organization should stand on its own feet financially and only in the last resort should it seek material aid from the Party.

II. ON THE MASS CHARACTER OF THE LEAGUE

The RMS should be numerically stronger than the Party. The dicisive condition for a youth to enter the RMS is that he be honest and devoted. He may not be sufficiently

prepared, but RMS is a school for the education of youth, isn't it? You will not prepare him outside the RMS, but you will take him such as he is, with his shortcomings. The thing is that he be honest and devoted, and the RMS will work for his improvement. In this respect the doors of the RMS should stand wide open. Youth is educated in the process of work, in the process of fulfilling the tasks set before our people, before the Fatherland Front, before the Party and before the RMS. But at the same time, of course, you must not allow provocative and harmful elements to join. There can be no room in the RMS for hidden foreign agents. Maximum vigilance should be manifested with regard to such people.

The chief means which you should use to attract new members is to improve your work in the trade unions. From there you will recruit at least 50 per cent more young workers than you now have. You should check how many of the young people in each trade union are organized, how many of them are in the RMS and which of them are active. In each trade union you should check why there are young people not organized in the RMS and who they are. Your Remsists*, in each trade union should most actively work to organize trade union youth in the RMS.

There is also a Women's Union and individual women's societies. What are you doing along this line? How many girls belong to the women's societies, how many of them are organized in the RMS? Which are the active ones, why are many of these girls not organized in the RMS? The attention of the comrades should be directed to organizing these girls in the RMS. The RMS should include in its ranks the mass of girls. They can give much to the youth movement. This part of the youth is important from a general national viewpoint as well. They will be mothers, and it depends on them what kind of a generation they will give new Bulgaria as mothers. As members of the RMS, if they are honest, cultured, politically trained and physically fit they will be good mothers tomorrow. They will also be the wives of our youth, of our militants. A great

* Member of RMS. – Edit. note.

deal depends on what kind of wives they will be to their husbands in their personal family life.

Your approach to physical culture is incorrect. You have isolated yourselves from the sports organizations, you thught you should organize sports yourselves. You must reorganize your work in this field, and see what kind of young people take part in sports organizations, who is not a member of the RMS and why. From there you will get not only a certain influx into the RMS, but you will also exert a favourable influence on these important mass organizations.

In your work in the schools you will meet with greater obstacles,your road will not be so smooth. Reaction is trying to create a base for itself there, and you will have to take counter measures and put in more efforts. After September 9, 1944, almost everybody followed the Fatherland Front, the stream bore them along and carried them with it. After that, however, the second period began, the differentiation began: some for, some against, and a third group wavered. This is particularly true of the intellectuals. We are going through such a period now. The more successes the Fatherland Front has, the fewer will be the waverers. The opposition wants to utilize precisely this period of wavering on the part of the intellectuals to grow roots among the school and student youth. It particularly needs student-propagandists, that is why it will attack you most fiercely there. Sofia, as is known, is a hotbed of reaction. But you must have full faith in the forces of the people. There are young people who, when they see that the opposition has a certain influence in some circles, draw aside. Elucidation is necessary, active action on your part to strengthen the faith of youth, particularly of school youth, in the just cause of the Fatherland Front, in the forces of our people.

III. ON THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH

Marxist-Leninist education is an important question on which particularly serious measures should be taken. We usually talk a great deal about this education, but do com-

paratively little in this sphere. But the times in which we live and the conditions in which we work are such that they demand of every Remsist and Party member of ours, that he daily, constantly and uninterruptedly broaden his knowledge in the sphere of our revolutionary theory, that he master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. You should so adopt, so organize educational work as to make it accessible to a broad circle of your rank-and-file. For the school youth, who know natural history, for instance, and have a general education, it is easier to master our theory, but for the worker and peasant youth, who have no general education, and most of whom have attended school up to the third or fourth class, for this youth our theory presents certain difficulties. Education should therefore be differentiated, i.e. a different approach should be worked out for the working class and peasant youth. In our country there is no such a differentiation. It is now necessary to think of this problem concerning education. This is not so easy, of course. A certain preliminary preparation is necessary. You should re-evaluate your entire experience in that respect, and establish two kinds of educational curricula: the one for the young intellectuals, the other, a popular one, for the worker and peasant youth.

Do not forget that the foundation of the youth movement should be the worker and peasant youth. They are the mass on which you will rely. It is most important that we have an honest and capable intelligentsia , but good cadres must come mainly from the worker and peasant youth. With a view to this task you should also adapt your work, and take steps to obtain auxiliary means in this respect. Study groups should be developed to the utmost in schools, villages, enterprises, government offices and town districts; they should be voluntary, not compulsory. There should be constant interestin them. They should meet once or twice a week to read together, to elucidate current problems. They should meet wherever they can; it is not absolutely necessary that the club should be their meeting place. You should have thousands of groups of this kind, often to fifteen persons, because they are the best way to self-education. The young people will help one another

there, they will advance culturally and develop ideologically and politically.

Self-education is particularly necessary to youth. The Party and the RMS cannot include all those who should study in their courses and schools. It is therefore all the more necessary for each one to see to his own self-education. Establish whole networks of thousands of study groups to this end, give them textbooks abstracts, literature, so that they can study by themselves, and accumulate as much useful knowledge as possible. Under present-day conditions self-education is the most important means of raising the theoretical and political level of our rank-and-file. Any young person who goes to bed without thinking of what he has learnt during the day is not going ahead. Though you may be overloaded with current work, you should so organize it as to find time to consider what you have done during the day; is it to the good or to the bad. If it is to the good, very well, if it is to the bad, take steps. There is a certain sectarian complacency among us: one thinks one knows what is necessary, and even if one does not know it, one will learn it if not today, tommorow or the day after. But this sectarian complacency and self-opinion is the most dangerous disease for you, young people, against which you must guard yourselves as you do against fire. A Russian proverb says; live a century, learn a century. That should be a law for us communists, for all Remsists. Deeds, not words! Let us talk as much as is necessary, and let us work more than we talk. But let us study continuously and persistently.

Mladezhka Iskra should be your link with the Remsists and all the people's youth. The reason for its still inadequate circulation among the youth is that no energetic measures are taken to distribute it. You must have subscribers, people who have paid for the paper and are interested in getting it. Special efforts should be made to have the paper received regularly the villages, enterprises, government offices and schools. There should be people entrusted with this responsibility. A wide network of agents of the paper should be built up. Particular efforts should be made to this end, because mass circulation cannot be

achieved otherwise, Furthermore, the paper should be comprehensible for youth, it should be interesting. It should correspond to the needs, interests and cultural requirements of youth. Fifteen thousand copies for your district is a very small circulation. The circulation and reading of this paper is a barometer for the consciousness and activity of the RMS in the district. It should also be arranged that the societies have definite members who see to the distribution of the periodical *Mladezh* too.

IV. DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF YOUTH

As is known, there are many young people in the enterprises. In the tobacco factories, textile mills and elsewhere, they are the majority. The RMS should pay sufficient heed to improving the working conditions of these young people. In this respect constant solicitude should be shown. We say: 'The RMS is the defender of the material, cultural and spiritual interests of the youth.' This is written in the statute. But what do you do, as an organization, to defend the material, cultural and spiritual interests of the youth? You yourselves should realize this. This does not mean, of course, that you yourselves should start building rest homes, hostels and so on, because that is the business of the trade unions, the factory owners and the state. However, you can do a lot through the trade unions. But do it so as to have people know that it is your initiative and is done with your collaboration.

The RMS cannot be an organization confining itself to propaganda. The RMS is an organization necessary to the youth, necessary for their material, cultural and spiritual advance. That is why your work should be accompanied by practical activity in defence of youth's interests and rights. So far you have done little in defence of youth's vital interests. That seems to me to be the Achilles' heel of RMS. You should pay great attention to this, manifesting the widest initiative, even in apparently trivial matters. You may learn, for instance, that one of your members has fallen seriously ill. If your organization sees to it that he is

taken to hospital and properly treated, that will be to your credit. The whole district or enterprise will learn about it. Solicitude, an attentive attitude to youth – within the scope of material possibilities, within the scope of what the Fatherland Front rule can give – are extremely necessary in all fields. And the framework is not narrow, it can be extended in practical activity. As long as you confine yourselves to propaganda, you will only be half successful. If you do not add practical activity in defence of youth, the drawing power of the RMS will grow weaker. And the enemies will avail themselves of this.

The youth must feel that the RMS is its adviser and defender everywhere. Do not neglect even the slightest things in this direction. Make use of every wedding of a young person, send someone to congratulate the newly-married couple. If a Remsist peasant girl is getting married, the League should take part in the wedding. If a child is born, or somebody's father or mother dies, a representative of the RMS should put in an appearance and give what help he can. Do not think that these things, insignificant as they may seem, will degrade the RMS as a militant organization. You yourselves must give this serious-thought; you may find many concrete methods of work. This must become a system with you. Do not miss anything which can bind you more strongly to youth. Youth must feel that the RMS is their own organization, to which they can turn for advice and help in case of need. Of course, were you to concern yourselves only with such matters, you would turn into an ordinary charitable organization To avoid it, this work should be combined with your whole activity as a militant youth organization. At any rate, you should take an interest in your young people, because you are the responsible leaders of this youth. How many times have you gone to the factories to check for yourselves how the workers' youth work and live, and what you can do concretely to improve their situation? Yet you should constantly feel the pulse of the workers' youth.That is not solely a matter for the Workers' Youth Department. The leadership as a whole should concern itself with these vital questions and interests of the youth.

We have too much red tape. The secretary issues an order, for instance, and thinks: everything has been done therewith, everything is in order. But even in barracks one has to explain. The RMS is a voluntary youth organization: if the youth wants to, he will be a member, if not, he won't. You must create conditions which will make him feel morally gratified and proud to be a member of the RMS. Many Party leaders fail to realize this too. But for the youth this is still more necessary. They are at that age which is considered as the turning point from adolescence to maturity. During this period, youth passes through processes and experiences which may have a bad effect and can even be fatal. The leadership of the RMS should pay heed to this and keep an eye on things. Let us take the following example: falling in love is a legitimate natural feeling. But here anything may happen. Love is not always mutual, it sometimes causes suffering, emotion, and the young person may not be able to cope with these emotions. Depression sets in, melancholy... If the leader is a bureaucrat, he will notice, for instance,that this boy or girl is drooping, but he will pass them by – what does he care! But a true leader will show an attentive and comradely attitude, and find time to talk to the particular boy or girl, give them moral support and help them to find a way out of that situation. You will thus help many young people to cope with the difficulties of their daily life and to develop properly.

An attentive attitude and interest are necessary, and not indifference to the comrades, boys or girls, in the organization. This is human capital, the Party's and the RMS's capital. In a mass organization like the RMS there are unsound elements too, who abuse the trust of girls. I have received a number of letters with complaints of this kind. There are ne'er-do-wells who play at sincere love, and then cast the girl off. What measures does the RMS take? Should it act sternly and pedagogically or should it say: We are not interested in such personal matters. Such a callous, bureaucratic attitude is harmful to the development of the RMS and should be avoided at all costs. Love, as is known, is a great factor in people's lives. It can give

wings. But sound morals are needed, not hypocritical, protestant, but truly communist morals. It is very important that there should be sound mutual relations between the members of the RMS, boys and girls – relations of mutual confidence and fruitful co-operation to the advantage of our great common cause.

V. THE RMS AS A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM

The RMS should be a school of socialism for the progressive youth. Concerning itself with current problems, with putting through the Fatherland Front programme, with the fulfilment of the tasks set in the agenda, fighting against fascism and reaction, the RMS is at the same time a school of socialism. We should have a worker, peasant, and school youth, who are ready to fight for socialism, and later on for communism.

Tell your comrades to read my address to the District Party Conference and to give it some thought. You should explain a simple truth to your people: when you want to build a house, you don't begin with the roof, but first you dig and lay the foundations, build the walls, and then make your roof. The struggle for socialism is a work of this nature too. One doesn't begin with the roof, one has to lay the foundations first. In our country today this foundation is precisely the fulfilment of the Fatherland Front programme. We must build upon it and then do the roofing. How soon we get to it will depend on many objective conditions, but it will also depend on ourselves, on the subjective factor. The better we work, the sooner we shall pass on to socialism. The peasant knows that he has to sow first and weed next, and then gather in a rich harvest. It is the same with public life. As Marxists we should know this simple truth: you plough, sow, weed, and then gather in a rich harvest. Many of our comrades, particularly young people, still fail to grasp this properly.

It is very important to have a proper perspective. All peoples are marching and will continue to march towards socialism. No power can stop this development towards

socialism. When and how the peoples will reach it, is another matter. And secondly: it should be known that they will follow their own path, not everywhere will they follow one and the same pattern. An armed uprising is not inevitably necessary; in certain conditions socialism may be attained without an armed uprising. These conditions now exist: on the one hand, a great socialist country with tremendous political and moral influence – the Soviet Union, and on the other – democratic transformations being put through in a number of countries, which clear the way to socialism.

Our fundamental task now is: 1. to strengthen the Fatherland Front as a mighty union of the anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces of our nation in the front ranks of which the union of our youth should be; 2. mercilessly to uproot the remnants of fascism; 3. to curb reaction and 4. to bring to a victorious end the historic cause of September 9 – the construction of a People's Republic in our country. And the sooner we realize all this, the more surely will our people be able to pass over to socialism.

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There are people in our country who have learnt something of Marx, but have learnt it like parrots. They master Marx not creatively, as a guide to action, but dogmatically. We must be creative Marxists, however, i. e. we must see the new things which Lenin introduced after Marx. By intelligenty assimilating the new things in Marxism, we shall be able to solve the problem of the transition from capitalism to socialism properly, with due regard to the concrete situation prevailing in our country, with due regard to its economic, cultural, national and historic particularities. If we master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, this science will serve us as a guide to action and not as a prescription for all countries, all times and conditions. There is no such prescription, nor can there be any.

Mladezh magazine, No. 6, June 1946

G. Dimitrov, Collected Works
Vol. 12, pp. 68-83

THE TWO LESSONS

Speech before the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

April 5, 1946

The government's declaration, the declaration of our parliamentary group and those of the other Fatherland Front parties are well known, and it is not necessary to speak much about them. These declarations reaffirmed and manifested once again the political unity between the Fatherland Front parties, i.e., the unity between the new Government, which is the second Fatherland Front government, and the National Assembly. Although in some parliamentary groups there are certain individuals who do not seem to be completely in favour of the firm and consistent pursuit of the Fatherland Front policy, these individuals, have not had the courage to express their attitude openly either in the National Assembly or out of it, because they feel the strong support of the people for the Fatherland Front. The great majority of the deputies, as you know, have taken a firm stand in favour of the positions expressed in the government's declaration.

Nevertheless, we should draw certain lessons from all that has taken place in connection with the government's resignation and the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government.

The *first lesson* we should draw pertains to the opposition, the opposition groups. It is no secret that even in the ranks of the Fatherland Front there used to be people hoping that the leaders of the opposition groups would finally gain wisdom from the developments of events and place their self-seeking, petty party interests and considerations below the national interests of the Bulgarian people, and our country. These people sincerely believed this to be quite possible. The repeated attempt, however, to in-

clude two representatives of the opposition groups in the new Fatherland Front Government completely shattered these hopes. And this was no accident. It was no accident whatever that the opposition, on previous occasions and especially in the last attempt, displayed such intransigence, insistence, and political obstinacy. The opposition leaders behaved in this manner, because they representent precisely those elements and groups in our country which because their own selfish material interests stand against the Fatherland Front programme, against the stabilization of people's democracy in our country and against Slav solidarity in the struggle for peace and democracy would turn back the clock of history and replace the Fatherland Front as the guiding force of the fate of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, by a new bourgeois-royalist coalition, which would impose the will of big profiteering and parasitic capital against our people's and country's interests.

In our domestic policy, this opposition has not been able to reconcile itself with the fact that the people have taken their fate in their own hands through the Fatherland Front. It cannot be reconciled and will never be, for if it did, it would deny the very reasons for its existence.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the opposition is not only in ideological and political solidarity with the monarcho-fascist reaction in Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and other countries; it also maintains direct contact with the reaction outside Bulgaria. It rejoices at all and every difficulty of people's democracy in our country and the other countries. It is gratified by all and every temporary success of the reactionary circles in our neighbouring and more distant countries. It cheered the Pyrrhic victory of the Greek reactionaries – royalists and fascists – in the last pseudo-elections, although it is well aware that they are deadly enemies of our independence and freedom, that they impudently demand fantastic reparations from us and want to tear off, with foreign assistance, integral parts of Bulgaria's territory. It is profoundly embittered by the imprisonment of Drazha Mihailovic, its former ally, who is the enemy of our fraternal Yugoslavia.

The opposition in our country is, therefore, a reactionary opposition. It is anti-Soviet, anti-Yugoslav and anti-communist.Our opposition relies on the discord among the Great Powers – the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. It builds all its hopes of eventual success in Bulgaria on deteriorations of relations among the three powers and, as you have noticed in its press and propaganda throughout the country, it deliberately does all in its power to prompt and assist tension in the relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the United States, on the other. It was precisely for this purpose that the opposition leaders behaved as they did in connection with the negotiations for the formation of the government, whereby they frustrated the implementation of the Moscow decision for the second time.

All this comes to show, that it is a *political necessity* for our nation to isolate, as soon as possible, this malignant reactionary opposition from social and political life in our country and to keep it in check.

Our people can no longer tolerate to have anyone hinder the consolidation of democracy in our country, the rehabilitation of the nation's economy, the satisfaction of the vital needs of the people, favourable settlement of Bulgaria's international position and the conclusion of a just and well-deserved peace.

The fact that the two opposition groups call themselves Fatherland Front Opposition is only a mask, a means of deceiving the people. In its essence, this opposition is an anti-Fatherland Front opposition, an anti-national one. It is the duty of our Party, the task of all Fatherland Front parties,and of allprogressive forces in our country to oust these groups as soon as possible, to isolate them completely in the interest of the Bulgarian people,and their democratic development and prosperity.

The sooner all honest people misled by these opposition groups are drawn back into the ranks of the Fatherland Front, the sooner the credulous Bulgarian citizens deceived by the opposition leaders find right path to the Fatherland Front, the better it will be. The fewer will be the obstacles impending the settlement of matters facing the Fatherland Front, its National Assembly and its Government – the

speedier and more successful the building of a new, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

But there is also a *second not less important lesson* which should be drawn. It pertains to the Fatherland Front itself, to the parties which compose the Fatherland Front. We know and have stressed many times that the Fatherland Front is primarily a union of the anti-fascist, democratic progressive forces of our people, but at the same time it is also a block of the anti-fascist, democratic parties of which it is composed. The former and latter are equally necessary. These are *two aspects of one and the same thing.*

As to its role as a social and political organism, the Fatherland Front has show undoubted staunchness and vitality in connection with the change of government. But just as the healthiest organism can sometimes have boils, the bursting and cleaning of which both protects it from unnecessary sufferings and *meakes it still stronger,* so in connection with the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government, certain weaknesses, negative aspects, tendencies towards carreerism and group considerations have appeared in some circles. The unsound elements, which also existed before, were particularly manifested during the negotiations for the formation of the new government. It became clear that in some parliamentary groups there were individuals who held one foot in the Fatherland Front and the other outside it and who did not share the views the masses sup ppo orting the Fatherland Front.

This comes to show that our Party and our allies in the Fatherland Front are bound, *with joint efforts, to put an end to these unsound and harmful tendencies as soon as possible.* It is necessary to expose with facts and denounce every one who impedes the consistent pursuit of the Fatherland Front policy, everyone who weakens the unity of the Fatherland Front by his conduct and discredits the Fatherland Front Government in the eyes of the people, irrespective of the social or government post he may occupy. It would be naïve to believe that this may destroy the strong interaction and co-operation between the Fatherland Front parties. On the contrary, friendly criticism and exposure,

where necessary, will consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front and its ties with the people.

We should never forget that not by glossing over and concealing our weaknesses and shortcomings, but by confessing them openly and removing them resolutely shall we guarantee the success of our common national cause.

In the third place, we should proceed from the presumption that now, after the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government, the vicious attacks against the Fatherland Front will be intensified. We should bear in mind that its despair and bitterness the completely bankrupt political opposition will not refrain from terrorist acts and diversion to sow discord in our country, to hamper the people's constructive work, to multiply and complicate the difficulties of supplying the population with foodstuffs and clothing and the cattle with forage, of satisfying the vital needs of the country, and implementing the government's construction programme and economic plan. The opposition cliques even now count with malicious joy on the hardships we meet in food supply before the new harvest has been brought in. They see in these hardships true alies in their struggle against the people's rule.

The diabolical schemings of reaction should be nipped in the bud. There should be no kind-heartedness or complacency on our part in this respect.

What happened next door to the National Assembly during its first session after the formation of the new government – the setting of the University on fire – should be a warning to all of us, to our whole nation. It looks like a demonstration on the part of our enemies against the National Assembly, against the Fatherland Front and its Government. In connection with this, it is necessary to reinforce the guarding of enterprises, offices, warehouses, transport, and others. The actions of suspicious persons should be watched both by the people's militia and the Fatherland Front committees. The whole population should be mobilized to keep an eye on what the reaction and foreign agents are doing. All the more that the campaign against Bulgaria is evidently connected with similar

campaigns against Yugoslavia, Romania and other democratic countries – it is carried on an all-Balkan scale. We should be at our post. *The whole nation should be on the alert to avoid any dangerous surprises to our country.*

There is no need of my assuring you that the disigns of our enemies will *not succeed. The Fatherland Front has struck such strong roots in the people, that no attack from withing or without can weaken their trust, if we ourselves do not make slips for our enemies to exploit.* The Fatherland Front has all and every opportunity to consolidate itself as a democratic, anti-fascist union of our nation. The historic cause of September 9 will prevail completely and irrevocably.

Being as it is the strongest, best organized, disciplined, most coherent and active political force in the Fatherland Front, our Party *bears the greatest resposibility for our people's and the country's fate.* This role obliges us both as a party and as a parliamentary group to strengthen unrelentingly our organizations, to activate our hundreds of thousands of members and supporters in town and country for constructive work, to keep still closer to the people, to live with their needs and aspirations, to be in the vanguard of the fighters for their prosperity and well-being, in the vanguard of those who are building a new, democratic Bulgaria.

Rabotnichesko. Delo. No. 79
April 10, 1946.

G. Dimitrov. Works
Vol. 12. pp. 98-105
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OUR NATION IS SMALL, BUT HARBOURS A PRONOUNCED NATIONAL PRIDE

Speech at the Dinner in Honour of John Mack

April 12, 1946

On behalf of the Workers' Party (Communists) and on my own behalf I should like to raise this glass in honour of our welcome guest and good friend, who is now with us. John Mack[52] is the first British public figure and politician visiting new, democratic Bulgaria without any prejudices, as a friend. He was able to see for himself at the big square in front of the National Assembly today, and in this cordial atmosphere for several hours this evening, that our people – who are related to the great Russian people and our Yugoslav brothers by blood and historical ties, with all their hearts and minds – also harbour friendly feelings and gratitude towards the great British people. He has had the opportunity, and will have many other occasions in the countryside, to convince himself that even though ours is only a small nation, it harbours in its heart a pronounced national pride.

Never has this people wanted or sought alms from anyone, nor does it seek any now. For decades it fought against the cruel, savage fascist dictatorship. It gave thousands of priceless sacrifices in this struggle. It did not bow its head or fall on its knees. It bore the heavy cross of the struggle for national independence with pride and countless sufferings. Until on September 9, the historical cause of which we all regard as sacred for the Bulgarian people, with the fraternal aid of the Red Army, it broke the heavy oppressive shackles of fascist dictatorship. Since

that time our democratic people has been building a new, democratic Bulgaria in spite of great difficulties, with a grim heritage from the past, with last year's unprecedented dry season and with hostile acts of diversion from within and without. Our people continues the struggle to consolidate its independence and freedom. I am convinced that comrade John Mack will have sufficient arguments to show the British public that the refusal to recognize the Bulgarian Government, the Government of the Fatherland Front, elected at the free democratic elections on November 18 last year, is a flagrant injustice to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. We Bulgarians do not ask for mercy, we only ask for fair treatment, fair treatment from the British people, fair treatment from the Americans, fair treatment from the French, fair treatment from all the Great Powers. And when this fair treatment is given us, for we have proved worthy of it through our sacrifices, bloodshed and dedicated constructive work, there will be no misunderstanding whatever with respect to the Bulgarian people. Unfortunately, all those who have not recognized the Government of Fatherland Front Bulgaria are prejudiced against it.

I think that we should feel fortunate to have with us such an outstanding politician as comrade John Mack.

I hope that this will not be his last visit to our country. And I hope that other politicians will also come after him, to see and hear with their own eyes and ears what our people think and say, what heroic efforts they are making to save our country from prejudices, from false information and selfish group interests, detrimental to peace.

Let us drink a toast to comrade John Mack, to the Labour Party whose M.P. he is, to socialism which he serves and for which he is fighting, to the national freedom and independence of our industrious upright and valourous people, to the fact that comrade John Mack is an independent and honest politician and that he has not succumbed to the intrigues and slanders spread around, that we, Fatherland Front Bulgaria, are opposed to Britain and America. We are opposed to British and American intrigues, to foreign fabrications, but not to the British and

American people, with whom we wish to live in most friendly relations, parallel to our friendship with the great Russian people.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 83
April 15, 1946.

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 116-118
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OPEN LETTER TO HAROLD LASKY[53]

I was greatly surprised to learn that you used the speech I made at the Sofia District Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party in your dispute with British communists. Among other things, you made the following comment: 'Dimitrov states without hesitation that the aim of the communists is to stab the social-democratic parties in the back.' I wonder how you could draw such a wrong conclusion, since I have neither said nor written such a thing anywhere.

You probably know that as early as in 1933, at the Leipzig Fire Trial, I defended, with shackled hands, to the best of my ability not only the German communists, but also the German social-democrats against the enraged Nazis. I openly summoned the former and latter to fight together against fascism and to unite into a single anti-fascist workers' party. In addition, you certainly know that at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 I substantiated in detail the thesis of the necessity of joint action on the part of the communist and social-democratic parties and the formation of a powerful united international front in the fight against fascism and against the preparations of the German fascists for a war of plunder against the freedom-loving peoples. You certainly know about the repeated appeals of the Communist International to the Socialist International before the war for joint action against the common fascist enemy.

It is no secret to anyone that in my country, Bulgarian communists and social-democrats are working and fighting hand in hand, in perfect unison, in the ranks of the Fatherland Front, which has rescued our people from a terrible disaster.

I am profoundly convinced that today, after the bitter consequences of the last world war, the integration of com-

munists and social-democrats into a unified party of the working class, as a decisive factor of genuine democracy, is a historic necessity. And naturally, he who stands in the way of this integration, directly or indirectly, cannot be considered as a real friend of the working class and democracy, still less of lasting peace among nations.

Since every honest citizen, and especially every honest socialist, should respect the truth above everything else, I am inclined to believe that you yourself will find it fair to correct the error into which you have fallen with regard to my speech and will give the British working people the correct information. I trust that you will kindly inform me of it.[54]

In anticipation of your reply,

G. Dimitrov

Sofia, May 10, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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NO POWER CAN DEPOSE THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Speech before Shock-Workers of the Pernik Coal Mines

June 2, 1946

Comrades coal miners,

Allow me, on behalf of the Workers' Party (Communists) and on my own behalf to extend most heartfelt greetings to you and to all shock-workers and heroes of labour in our coal mines, who are the pride of the Bulgarian working class and the Bulgarian people. I wish you to do your job as shock-workers with still greater energy, persitence and devotion to our fatherland and with your splendid example to multiply the number of new shock-workers, who raise and set new, higher production targets, who forge the happiness of the working class, the happiness of our nation. Long live our glorious shock-workers!

It gives me particular pleasure to be among you again at the Pernik Mines. This occasion, however, has come too late, I should say. But I recall at this moment, and would also like to remind other of your colleagues and you, who are younger, what this place looked like 40 years ago. In October, 1905, I came here for the first time on behalf of our Party and the General Workers' Trade Union in Pernik, to look for miners who would join me in trying to lay the foundations of a miners' trade union. At that time I found only a few followers. It was a dark, pitch-black night. Pernik was a small domain of darkness, slavery and terrible poverty. The miners were deprived of all rights and subjected to the arbitrary will and oppression of the mine management, the reactionary-minded engineers, and the reactionary government itself. These few miners set their minds seriously on altering this state-of affairs and forging an organized force which would be capable of defending

the miners' life, rights and interests. Later on, these miners became twelve, like the apostles in the biblical legend. With great efforts, and sufferings, and surmounting countless difficulties, persecutions and sufferings, the number of organized coal miners steadily grew larger and larger.

It is to the work of this small group of pioneers that the present powerful Coal Miners' Union owes its existence.

Several months later, *in June 1906, the general strike of the Pernik coal miners was declared.* It lasted 35 days against a brutal state power (the mine was also state-owned in those days), against a government which had no respect for the interests, rights and human dignity of the Pernik coal miners. The newly organized Pernik miners fought heroically for 35 days with the aid of comrades in the neighbouring villages, who resembled the rear of an army in battle, with the aid of workers and peasants all over the country, who sent the strikers foodstuffs, bread and money and with the aid of the honest people's intelligentsia, especially that of the university students who spent 35 days with the miners, like apostles and agitators, to see to it that no traitors, no strike-breakers appeared. This strike, which will remain memorable in the history of both the miners' movement and in the entire workers' movement of our country, ended in recognition – *the first recognition on the part of the state of a trade union in Bulgaria – of the Coal Miners' Union.* The Pernik miners then won the right to settle their dispute with the mine management and the Ministry of Trade through their own organization, their own club and their own committee, with honour and dignity. This was a great success, indeed! It was a success, above all, in the sense that it raised the miners' self-confidence. They felt that now, standing united, organized and supported by the working class and the masses of working peasantry, they could fight for their rights, liberties and interests with success, and would no longer be subjected to humiliation and scorn as before. Comrades, exactly 40 years have elapsed since that time. *During these 40 years our mines have experienced a lot – both victories and defeats.* They lost many men. The greatest victim given by

the Miners' Union and the working class was the loss of Temelko Nenkov, leader of the Pernik miners, who was assassinated basely and savegely by the fascists. Let us pay tribute to his radiant, glorious memory by rising up and keeping a minute's silence!

Comrades, the Pernik miners did not bow their heads during the fascist regime, either. Digging coal in the galleries with clenched teeth and fists, they dug the grave of the fascist dictatorship side by side with the Bulgarian people. In the historic cause of September 9, the Pernik miners took a most active part as well. *September 9 was a victory, a great victory for the Pernik miners themselves.*

And now, after September 9, the Pernik miners have been working with diligence for a year and a half to rehabilitate the nation's economy. They are creating the power which, as was already mentioned here, drives the machinery of industry, drives the trains and vehicles, and supplies our country with heat and light.

If the working class, together with the peasantry, forms the basis, the granite basis of the Fatherland Front and the people's rule, established since September 9, *the miners and transport workers are the vanguard of the working class* and form the fundament of that basis of the Fatherland Front and the people's rule. Over a year and a half our People's Government has done a great deal in all sectors: consolidating the democratic rule in our country, reconstructing the state and socio-political life along democratic lines, in the economic sector, in labour protection, improving the living and cultural standards of the working class and of all working people in Bulgaria. But what has been done is far too little. The main and most important task facing working class and particularly our miners, a task which faces our whole nation, has not yet been accomplished. *We are faced with the task of creating, of building our People's Republic.* Such a people's republic, as will give us all the material, political, cultural and moral guarantees against a restoration of the dismal past; a people's republic which will leave no room for ruthless profiteering and parasitic capital; which will leave no room for loafers, profiteers, plunderers and oppressors of the

people; a people's republic which will confirm once and for all the principle that labour is the supreme and decisive factor in our country; such a people's republic, Comrades, which will translate into reality the principle that he who is able to work, but does not wish to work, does not wish to be of use to society – shall not eat! Such a people's republic, which will secure the democratic development of our country, onward and onward. All goods – material, cultural and spiritual, should go only to those who work, who create or who have created wealth for the people's well-being!

We are faced with the task of doing our utmost, of exerting all our energies and utilizing all available resources in our country, to guarantee the economic progress of the Bulgarian nation, because there can be no lasting freedom and national independence for us, if we do not possess economic power of our own. We are faced with the big task of carrying on the fight as one united nation, with the aid of our great friends, the Soviet nations, our other Slav brothers, and our numerous democratic friends in Western Europe and America *for securing a just and favourable peace for Bulgaria!*

These are great tasks, tasks of historic significance! All difficulties should be overcome. For this purpose, the people should stand united. The Fatherland Front, which guarantees the future happiness of our country, should be consolidated in every respect, especially at this moment, when side by side with reaction a number of pseudo-Fatherland Front members are raising their voices in an attempt to crush this mighty force of our nation from within.

You probably remember the fable by Krilov, the great Russian writer: an eagle, a lobster and a pike decided to drive a cart together, but the eagle pulled upwards, the lobster pulled backwards and the pike downwards, till the cart finally sank in the marsh. Our people, we, communists, and our good allies, the Fatherland Front members, will not leave our state cart in the hands of such eagle, lobster and pike. *The unity of the government, the indissoluble unity of the Fatherland Front is of vital necessity.* Uni-

ty not in word, but in deed. We all are fed up with fine declarations; the people want deeds, useful deeds, in the true spirit of the Fatherland Front!

Naïve are those who imagine and hope that when the Soviet troops leave Bulgaria, they will raise their flag and the Fatherland Front will be done for. There are such persons in the army too. They are too foolish to understand that the Fatherland Front, and the people's rule today do not owe their power to the presence of the Soviet troops. The source of power of our people's rule lies in the people themselves, in the working class, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia. The Soviet troops may go, they have not been assigned the task of staying in our country forever, but the people will stay. The Fatherland Front will stay, it has taken deep roots, and these roots cannot be severed by any force.

The rumours, however, which the people's enemies are spreading that when the Soviet troops leave Bulgaria, the Fatherland Front will be done for, are indicative. They are a signal for us and for you, for our whole people. What does this mean? It means that the reactionary forces are rallying – the legionaries, Macedonian terrorists, reactionary officers, various profiteers and other miscreant elements in our country. They are conspiring, they are preparing to take anti-national action.

There is an ill-fated writer – Trifon Kounev, or Trifonson, as he is ironically called, who has published a pamphlet of his 'Brief Anecdotes' which appear in the 'Green Banner'. The preface of this pamphlet says that this work should contribute to the victory of the 'resistance movement' in present-day Bulgaria. He let the cat out of the bag and stated openly what lay in his sinister soul. What is this resistance movement, against whom is it directed? It is against the people and the people's government, siding with those who shall go and stay in the archives of history, because they are useless and harmful. Every reasonable man in our country is aware that *there is no force which can oust the Fatherland Front, because it represents the great majority of the people, its best and strongest part*. But there are scheming people capable of performing

acts of terror,and murdering from ambush; there are monsters who can check for a while, in one way or another, the people's constructive work; there are agents of other countries, who may upset and sabotage the people's efforts to build a new Bulgaria, in the field of production, in social life and the administration. These evil and sinister circles are not slumbering, they are grouping themselves and making preparations, that is why our people should be on the alert, they should be mobilized to act any moment.

There are adventurers who want to cause civil war, who hope to come to power with foreign aid. They want it and they may try for it. If they do, the people will teach them such a lesson, which they will never forget as long as they live and breathe.But it is not in thepeople's interest, and in the interest of our normal democratic development and economic rehabilitation, to allow things to go that far. The best medicine is that which not only cures sicknesses, when they appear, but which also prevents them in time. In our case this means, speaking politically, not to cope with the agents-provocateurs and adventurers when they have risen against the people's rule, but to secure such vigilance in town and country, at offices and in the army, everywhere and right away, so as to foil the lest attempt on their part to upset the law and order in our country. *Our national spirit should be watchful, alive, mobilized.* And you, when you hew coal under the ground, when you try to provide those 10,000 tons of coal every day, which are so necessary and which do you great credit as miners, remember and be ready, if it should be necessary, to leave your instruments for a few hours and fly to Sofia!

I must warn from this rostrum all terrorist groups and organizations such as the Khan Kroum organization discovered in the army, their secret patrons and connivers, to think well before they play with this dangerous fire, because we are able to safeguard our homeland from it, but they will be burnt up without fail. *We want to have peace, law and order in our Bulgarian home!* The people want to create things peacefully and confidently, to build up new,

democratic Bulgaria. And he who stands in their constructive path, will be swept away.

Comrades, your meeting coincides with the commemorative celebrations of Hristo Botev, our great national hero, revolutionary and poet. He is without equal to this day in Bulgaria in his greatness and the important role he played for the Bulgarian National Revival, for Bulgarian freedom and independence. I would like to round off my address with the appeal: Let us serve our nation and country with the same honesty, devotion and selflessness, with which Hristo Botev served his people; let us fight the people's enemies as fearlessly as Hristo Botev, the revolutionary.

Long live our heroic working class, which stands in the vanguard of production and of the effort to improve our economy, to increase our economic power!

Long live the friendship between workers, peasants and the faithful people's intelligentisa, because this friendship forms the backbone of the Fatherland Front, of the union of the democratic, anti-fascist section and forces of our nation!

Long live our brave coal miners; especially the shock-workers! Long live those miners in particular, who regularly punch their card and who do their utmost to increase labour productivity.

Long live the Miners' Union, to which, to my great pleasure, I feel extremely close.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 121
June 4, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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It is with a sense of sincere appreciation of his exceptional services to our country that we honour the bright memory of *Alexander Stamboliiski*,[35] the great son of our people, public worker and statesman.

Alexander Stamboliiski's merit, the merit of this real democrat, republican and daring fighter for popular justice, consists above all in the fact that he was the *first* to make a serious attempt to curb the anti-popular domestic and foreign policy of the capitalist and profiteering clique clustering round the Coburg dynasty and to direct Bulgaria's policy along new, democratic lines in the interest of the people and for the country's bright future. If Alexander Stamboliiski was not able to carry out this attempt with success, this was mainly due to the fact that he and his associates succumbed to the erroneous concept that it was possible to have a purely peasant government, without the workers and even against them. It was also due to the fact that in that period the Communist Party had not yet adopted correctly and in practice the great idea of a worker-peasant alliance. As we know, on June 9 the Communist Party remained 'neutral', a blunder which it had to redeem dearly.

Hence, owing to the disunity of the working class and peasantry, of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, Stamboliiski's constitutional and parliamentary government was forcefully ousted on June 9, 1923, and Stamboliiski was meanly and savagely murdered together with dozens of his true associates by the fascist hangmen, who later did away with a large part of the leaders and members of the Communist Party as well.

Three months after this bitter lesson for the Bulgarian people, i.e. on September 23, 1923, the workers and peasants were led by the Communist Party, in fraternal militant alliance with the Agrarian Union, into a revolt against the fascist government of the bloodthirsty Tsankov

and King Boris, his protector. This first mass-scale anti-fascist people's uprising against fascism met with disaster, but the blood shed in it by communists and agrarians sealed forever the fraternal union between workers and peasants in our country. It laid the foundation upon which later, in the heroic, long struggle against fascism and the German invaders, the union of the anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces developed as the powerful Fatherland Front.

Hence, our people drew the greatest and most valuable lesson from the events of 1923 – that neither the working class nor the peasantry could get rid of fascism and reaction by acting apart from each other, that they could not secure the country's democratic development and pave the way for the people to take their fate in their own hands. Only in indissoluble fraternal union with each other could they break the chains of economic and political oppression, of all spiritual and cultural obscurantism, and join hands with the other anti-fascist and democratic forces in our country to build a new, free, independent, democratic and republican Bulgaria.

The historic date of September 9, 1944 marks primarily the triumph of the worker-peasant alliance, which is the backbone of the Fatherland Front. Precisely this alliance is the chief guarantee for the final fulfilment of the Fatherland Front programme. That is why we should keep it as the apple of our eye and strengthen it in every respect – this will be the best tribute to Alexander Stamboliiski, the glorious popular hero and martyr, and to the thousands of fighters who fell for the homeland's freedom and prosperity.

May this warning call be echoed all over the country and reach the most distant village house: let us defend the historic cause of September 9, 1944 with might and main, that we may not suffer again the tragedy which befell us on June 9, 1923!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 125
June 8, 1946
G. Dimitrov, Works
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FOR AN ACTUAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Declaration on behalf of the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) at the National Assembly

July 25, 1946

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of Parliament!

The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), true to its traditions and fundamental principles and to the will of our people, took an active part in working out the Act on Abolition of the Monarchy and Proclamation of a People's Republic and on the Convention of a Grand National Assembly. Its Parliamentary group will cast its vote unanimously for this historic law which proclaims the final liquidation of the monarchy and the forthcoming establishment of a people's republic.

By passing the Act, our National Assembly will proceed to the actual settlement of a problem which has long been ripe in our country. It will put into effect one of the basic devices of the historic date of September 9 and one of the basic points of the Fatherland Front programme. It will round off the people's long struggle against monarchy and the Coburg dynasty – the dynasty which has caused so many evils to our country and people.

On September 8 the Bulgarian people will pass as a supreme judge their final verdict on the monarchy in our country, and on the criminal foreign and anti-national Coburg dynasty.

The Referendum in favour of a people's republic will be a great triumph for our Bulgarian people's democracy.

The Grand National Assembly will fulfil the task of working out a new Constitution for Bulgaria. It will not be a reactionary, conservative, bourgeois-republican constitution, which would confirm, in one form or another, the

domination of the big capitalists and financial magnates of Bulgarian and foreign cartels and trusts over the people.

Article 12 of the draft formulates perfectly clearly, though in brief, the fundamental principles of the new Constitution. The point is not only to proclaim Bulgaria a republic, but to guarantee the popular, democratic character of this republic. We are not in favour of just any sort of republic. What our people demand is *not a republic* in general, but an actually people's republic – a kind of people's republic, which will provide the necessary material, political, cultural and moral guarantees against a restoration of the dark and disgraceful past; a kind of people's republic which will secure our country's democratic development, forward and always forward; a kind of people's republic, in which there will be no room for rapacious, profiteering and parastic capital; in which there will be no room for parasites, profiteers, plunderers and oppressors of our people. Our people demand a people's republic which will consolidate once and for all the principle that labour should be the decisive socio-economic factor in our country, that the land should belong to those who cultivate it, that all subsoil and surface resources should belong to the people, that women should have the same rights as men, and young people should enjoy ample scope for development and public activity. Our working people demand a people's republic which will put into effect the principle: he who is able to work but does not wish to do so, who does not wish to do work useful to society, should not eat – should not have access to the people's material, cultural and spiritual wealth.

The Grand National Assembly, which will embody and gurantee in the fundamental law of the country, in the new Constitution, all the political, economic, cultural and social gains of the Bulgarian people in their long struggles against foreign oppression, monarchism, fascism and reaction, will at the same time bar the way of any possible restoration, of any repetition of the past and will prepare the ground for further social developments along the line of progress and general prosperity.

There are bourgeois constitutionalist authorities in our

country, who suggest that the old Turnovo Constitution be used as the basis, with only a few alterations. These pretentious gentlemen, evidently, have not forgotten all that is old and have not learned anything new. They do not take into consideration the profound democratic changes already made in our country. They also overlook the fact that *once the people's republic has been proclaimed, the question which first comes up is not how to alter the old Constitution, but how to create a perfectly new one – a Constitution of the People's Republic.*

What is more, even the most ignorant Bulgarian knows that it would be perfectly unwise to pour new wine into old, stale barrels. New Bulgaria does not need a mended, old and threadbare state cloak, but a new and hard wearing garment. Our state system needs a new organizational basis and new forms. We are resolved to march, side by side with all young, democratic nations, along the path of a new, actual people's democracy, and not along the old path of formal, pseudo-democracy, which history itself has discarded. For this path is the only one which can secure the freedom and independence of our homeland, the progress and bright future of our nation.

We hold the firm view that the elections for the Grand National Assembly shall give prominence to the worthiest and most devoted sons and daughters of our people, representing all social sections. At the same time, we declare categorically that the elections for the Grand National Assembly will guarantee free participation both of the Fatherland Front parties and of all other legally existing political groups of the opposition.

We all know that these opposition groups were given the opportunity of participating in the elections for the 26th National Assembly, but they decided to boycott the elections, by their foolishness and faint-heartedness. It is quite natural to assume that this time, after the bitter experience of their ill-fated boycott, they will not be inclined to repeat last year's political error.

At any rate, it is in the country's interest that by means of their vote for a Grand National Assembly the people should put an end to the fallacy that the reaction in our

country has sunk serious roots in their ranks. On October 27 the world will be able to see that the Bulgarian people are really a democratic and progressive nation, which has drawn every possible lesson from its past sufferings and will never again have its forces, territory and material resources used for anti-national and anti-democratic purposes, for military adventures and predatory aggressive wars. Our nation is firmlyand steadfastly resolved, hand-in-hand with the great Soviet Union, its other Slav brothers and all democratic nations, to be henceforward a sound element of democracy, peace and fraternal international co-operation.

Death to the hateful monarchy and the accursed fascism!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

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THREE MAJOR NATIONAL TASKS

Three major national tasks confront our country today. The attention and the forces of the people, the Fatherland Front and its Government, of the Fatherland Front political parties and public organizations, as well as of all Bulgarian patriots must at present be concentrated on solving these tasks.

The first major national task is *to secure a just and honourable peace.* In addition to what has already been done in this respect, we must make it quite clear at the Paris Peace Conference that Bulgaria deserves to be treated as a belligerent nation against nazi Germany and not as her satellite.

As regards the conclusion and signing of the peace treaty, there is no doubt that this *can be done only with the Fatherland Front Government, which alone represents Bulgaria and has the sole right to speak on behalf of the Bulgarian nation and to assume any obligations and terms concerning our country.*

The second major national task is *the plebiscite on the question of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a People's Republic.* Our entire people must take a conscious and active part in this historical act. Every elector or electress, loving their country, should take part in the plebiscite with the tricolour ballot, bearing the inscription: 'For a People's Republic.' The plebiscite on September 8 must become a nation-wide victory over all vestiges of the loathed monarchy and its fascist, reactionary supporters, over all obscure, anti-popular forces, over all elements wishing to turn back the clock of history. The plebiscite campaign and the political explanatory work must clear the way for the building up of tomorrow's People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The third major national task is *the holding of elections for the Grand National Assembly,* which is to draft and adopt

a new constitution – the constitution of the People's Republic, as well as to legislate for a one-year period.

The election campaign for the Grand National Assembly should secure the election as deputies of the most loyal and worthy sons and daughters of our people, representing all their strata, as well as give the people an opportunity to discuss and express their opinion on the basic aspects of the future constitution so as to make it truly popular and democratic. In this way the Grand National Assembly will be facilitated in the final solution of the constitutional problem, which is of such crucial importance to our country.

A number of prerequisites are necessary for the successful settlement of these three major national tasks in the interestsof our nation and the future of our country. The first and foremost among them is undoubtedly the staunch anti-fascist, democratic unity of our people, embodied in the Fatherland Front. This unity must be cemented to the utmost, especially among the rank-and-file in town and countryside. Parallel with this, the mutual understanding and loyal collaboration among the five anti-fascist, democratic parties, heading the Fatherland Front and constituting the nation's government, must be secured to the full. The existing temporary misunderstandings, due mainly to the presence of pseudo-Fatherland Front and oppositionist elements within the ranks of the Fatherland Front, must be dispelled assoon as possible. The Fatherland Front parties must boldly purge their own ranks of such obnoxious guests, of men sitting on two chairs, pursuing a double-faced policy and upsetting good relations between the parties by their actions.

At the same time prompt and firm measures must be taken to rid the state apparatus of pro-fascists, saboteurs and wreckers, who hamper the pursuit of a democratic home, economic and foreign policy and deliberately cause resentment against the people's power.

As is known, by decision of the National Assembly and through a special committee, comprising representatives of all parliamentary groups, the Government undertook to

purge the army of fascist, oppositionist and anti-democratic elements and to make it a really popular and efficient army, a loyal, unflinching guardian of freedom and democracy, of our supreme national interests. This healing process, which is yet to yield its rich fruit, is not directed, of course, against the officers' corps in general. On the contrary, freeing the officers' corps from unsuitable elements, this process serves its interests. Rid of these elements, the officers' corps will acquire the necessary stability so as to be able, calmly and wholeheartedly, to perform its extremely important and responsible job. As far as the dismissed non-fascist officers are concerned, they will be offered corresponding material and other facilities to organize their civil status in such a way as to be, if they show good will, quite useful citizens.

It is, however, imperative to purge the other departments, too, particularly the economic ministries and boards, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Education. Analogically, Art. 4 of the Law on Army Direction and Control may serve as a guiding principle in this respect.

The Fatherland Front must remove resolutely all obstacles, blocking the implementation of its programme. With an iron broom it must sweep away the evil legacy of the past: all irregularities and abuses; as well as all corruption, especially in the field of food supply and distribution, delivery quotas, etc., which, unfortunately, still exist in Bulgaria on a not insignificant scale. *And this must be done regardless of the social status, rank and party affiliation of the persons concerned.*

The present moment imperatively demands of the Fatherland Front, its parties, its Government and its National Assembly to appear before the people firmly united with an untarnished reputation and a high sense of public and state responsibility, as well as with a good record benefiting our country.

Let us not forget that the working class and the toiling peasantry, as well as our own Party which occupies a

special position in the political life of our country, bear the greatest responsibility for the proper solution of the three major national tasks in question.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No 171
August 1, 1946
G. Dimitrov, Works
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THE BULGARIAN WOMAN HAS WON A PLACE OF HONOUR IN OUR COUNTRY

Speech at the Plenary Session of the Bulgarian National Women's Union

August 5, 1946

Dear Comrades,

It is my particularly pleasant duty, on behalf of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and personally, to greet your Plenary Session and, in its person, all patriotic Bulgarian women – fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian People's Democracy. At the same time I would like to publicly express our gratitude to the Bulgarian women for their great merits in the historical victory of September 9, as well as for the services they rendered, in town and countryside, in factories, offices, schools and elsewhere, to the democratic reconstruction and economic and cultural renovation of our country since September 9.

Comrades, history will never forget the heroic feats of the Bulgarian partisan women in the popular struggle against fascism and the German troops of occupation. Many thousands of women from town and countryside, women-workers and women-intellectuals, manifested rare self-denial, helping and giving shelter to partisans and underground fighters at the risk of their own and their children's life. Since September 9, tens of thousands of Bulgarian women have performed miracles of heroism and patriotism in towns and villages, in enterprises and offices for the rehabilitation of the nation's wartime economy, for the consolidation of the democratic order in Bulgaria, and in taking care of orphans – victims of fascism and the War of Liberation. Our people will never forget what

Bulgarian women have done, sending gifts and cheering letters and giving sisterly and maternal advice to the units of the First Bulgarian Army which fought nazi Germany and shed their blood for the freedom and independence of our nation.

Never will our people forget this love, devotion and self-deninal of our women. I venture to state publicly and without exaggerating that, but for this participation of the Bulgarian women, the struggle of the people and army would not have been crowned by so brilliant a victory over the enemy. The patriotic Bulgarian woman has proved worthy of her Soviet, Yugoslav and other democratic sisters. Through her work, struggle and self-denial, her maternal and sisterly love, she has won a place of honour in our country and on the international arena, respectively in the International Federation of Democratic Women. The Bulgarian National Women's Union is not at the tail-end; on the contrary – it is in the front ranks and is being held up as an example. Once our new constitution, the constitution of the future People's Republic, definitely consolidates the democratic gains of our nation and all the rights of woman, on an equal basis with man, the Bulgarian woman will be able to develop still more her forces and abilities for the good of the country.

Comrades, your Plenary Session takes place at a most important moment. You are aware of it, and it became still more clear to you from the report read here. This is the moment when a resolute struggle for a just and lasting peace is being waged.

The struggle waged by the peoples, headed by our great friend – the Soviet Union, against the remnants of fascism and the new warmongers, must be conducted with still greater intensity, because here and there doors are being opened for the rebirth of fascism and a resumption of fascist aggression. You are keeping abreast and you must keep abreast still more attentively of all information on what is going on in connection with the establishment of a new peace in the world. You should know about the great obstacles the work of establishing a lasting and just peace among peoples meets with. There are forces which

hamper the establishment of a lasting peace and are interested in a temporary and unstable peace, to be followed within a decade or two by a new, still more terrible war with atom bombs, which were unknown in the last war. That is why the cause of peace is making slow progress. That is why one foreign ministers' conference is followed by another, as you already know. That is why the Paris Peace Conference, at which the peace treaties with the former satellites of nazi Germany – Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Finland and Hungary – are negotiated, is not proceeding so smoothly. There are quite a few difficulties, as well as differences. There is, however, one encouraging, reassuring and indisputable fact: there are no people in the world who do not want an early conclusion of peace, as well as a new, democratic and lasting peace in the world. There is no army ready to fight again, to march to the battlefields. And among the millions of women in the world there are hardly a score or so, who would stand for war. Bulgaria is fully entitled to an honourable and just peace. The best guarantee of it is the fact that we are backed and protected by such a great power as the mighty Soviet Union and that ever more influential democratic circles in the world properly appraise new, democratic Bulgaria as a stable element of peace and democracy.

The Czechoslovak, Polish and certain other delegations at the Paris Peace Conference are backing us, recognizing our people's contribution to the final downfall of nazism, and are ready to defend our national cause sincerely and honestly.

The Paris Peace Conference will make it clear that Bulgaria is indeed a *new, democratic country*, having resolutely broken with the fascist past. She is a country possessing her invincible and unshakeable Fatherland Front. She is a country in which, as you know, there is great labour enthusiasm instead of strikes, so frequent in many Western countries. She is a country in which there is no economic crisis but where the people are heroically overcoming economic ruin and creating conditions for economic progress. She is a country without unemployment, where workers are in demand. She is a country in

which there is no civil war such as, for instance, is raging in our southern neighbour and in other states.

The Fatherland Front has resolutely gone over to the offensive against all remnants of fascism and reaction, which hamper the establishment of complete order and tranquillity. There are in Bulgaria panic-striken and faint-hearted people who lack faith and who are terribly upset when they see how the Fatherland Front purges its own ranks and those of the army from harmful elements and turns the latter into a real people's army, how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being cleansed of old fascist and pro-fascist civil servants and diplomats who work against the new, democratic Bulgaria. Our higher institutions of learning and their professorial staff, the Academy of Sciences and other educational establishments still harbour enemies of new Bulgaria; the Ministry of Trade and Supply and other state institutions give shelter to various saboteurs and wreckers, who hinder the proper organization of food supply and distribution to our people, with the aim of discrediting the new, the people's power. Here too, a serious purge is impending. Such panic-stricken, distrustful and faint-hearted people tremple at this purge, so necessary for the people and the country. Panic-stricken they whisper: there is a crisis in the Fatherland Front, the Fatherland Front is doomed – the Communists and the Zveno members are at loggerheads, the Communists have fallen out with the Agrarians, and similar tripe. Every sober-minded person understands that there is no crisis at all, but that it is a matter of a quite natural salutary process, of ozonizing the atmosphere in Bulgaria, of cleansing, so to say, the Augean stables of the old, fascist and reactionary filth. It is a matter of destroying miasmas and microbes, which disintegrate and sap the vital forces of our people, of the new Bulgarian state. The Fatherland Front will emerge from this salutary process tens of times stronger.

Fortified and renovated, the Fatherland Front will now, with all its forces and five parties, start a campaign for a people's republic, to be followed by a nation-wide campaign for electing a Grand National Assembly and adopting a new constitution – the Constitution of the

People's Republic. No sensible person in Bulgaria, no member of the Fatherland Front, no patriotic Bulgarian woman, no elector, man or woman, will oppose the salutary Fatherland Front, i.e. will burn the house to get rid of the mouse just because they have certain grievances and justly so, in connection with various irregularities and abuses in the sphere of food supply. On the contrary, they will help the Fatherland Front to get rid of the irregularities and abuses and the cases of arbitrary actions and violations of the Fatherand Front legality. After the purge and the self-purge, the relations among Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members, Social-Democrats and Radicals will undoubtedly be fortified and consolidated and, with common efforts, the Fatherland Front will launch the forthcoming campaigns against reaction like a well-knit company, like an iron phalanx.

I am confident that the collective mind of your Plenary Session of Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members, Social-Democrats and Radicals will take all proper decisions to secure the most active and conscious participation of the Bulgarian women from town and village in these two compaigns. We must elect the best, the most devoted and worthiest sons and daughters of our people, no matter what party they belong to, to the Grand National Assembly. We, Communists, will have the noble ambition to propose some of the best. Let the people – men, women, and youths throughout the country – freely express their will with their ballot on October 27 and elect deputies, capable of working out a popular democratic and progressive Constitution.

The participation of women in the forthcoming campaigns is very important. Women are a great force. It should be stressed quite clearly *that there cannot be real democracy, real progress and national prosperity without the active and conscious participation of women in the administration of the country, in its public, political, economic and cultural life* – a fact which some of our statesmen and public figures do not grasp sufficiently. The Women's Union, its members and all other Bulgarian patriotic women, must become tireless, day-today propagandists in the forthcoming

plebiscite campaign and in the elections for the Grand National Assembly, propagandists for a genuine People's Republic, for a truly democratic Constitution, for the salutary cause of the Fatherland Front.

As is known, women are born propagandists and orators. Even the frailest of them can be, to the best of their forces and possibilities, propagandists in the family, among neighbours and relatives, in enterprises and offices. All women can explain the real situation of our new state, the truth about the Fatherland Front, the truth about the People's Republic and People's Constitution, the truth about the fight against the people's enemies, for peace and prosperity. Each and every one of you, in towns and villages, must have the ambition to refute the slanders, intrigues and lies, spread by various circles and organized people's enemies. Let no woman or young girl of honest character be deluded not to take part in the plebiscite or in the elections for the Grand National Assembly. Refute everywhere the fallacies, intrigues and slanders of the people's enemies and deceivers. This can be done by every woman, even by the simplest peasant woman. Give them election materials in time, teach them how to explain, agitate and refute the delusions, lies and intrigues, how to defend the people's power. Thus our people will have at their disposal hundreds of thousands of women-propagandists with maternal, sisterly and patriotic love, and our people's cause will triumph the more certainly.

The Bulgarian National Women's Union is called upon to play a great role in the political, economic and cultural life of our country, particularly so in the forthcoming months.

The Women's Union has achievements which delight every patriotic heart and for which I, too, congratulate it sincerely. But there are, as you yourselves recognize weaknesses and shortcomings which, at least the worst of them, should be eliminated as soon as possible. I do not want to give mentorial advice. You know better than I do the mentality of woman and the conditions of her life in the family and outside of it. But I think that *the first thing* which should be done is to work most tenaciously for the

unity of the Bulgarian National Women's Union and not to allow any split. Keep the unity of the Women's Union as the apple of your eye, for there are enemies who want to undermine it. There are circles out to create separate women's organizations, directed against the National Women's Union. Do not allow any divisive attempts. All in unison – Communists, Zveno members, Agrarians, Social-Democrats – castigate those who would dare do this.

Secondly, it is absolutely necessary for the National Women's Union to direct its forces and undivided attention to attracting *the peasant-women* to the associations, auxiliary organizations and sections. As you know, our country is basically a rural one. There cannot be a serious, strong and efficient Women's Union without our peasant-women as active members. Bulgaria is noted for its low illiteracy, but to our shame there is still a considerable number of illiterate peasant women and girls. The National Women's Union, the Ministry of Education and the other educational establishments and organizations should take it upon themselves to eliminate illiteracy among women as soon as possible. Illiteracy is an evil enemy of all freedom and progress.

Thirdly, you must increase the number of workers in the Women's Union. Why don't the women-workers, who are organized in their trade unions, become en masse members of the National Women's Union? Apart from everything else, this will be most important because, by being together, women-workers, peasant-women, and women-intellectuals will be able to draw closer to each other and to form a democratic entity of ideas, culture, character and even mentality.

In the fourth place, more heed should be paid to housewives who do not work in factories or offices but whose condition is worse than that of all other women. These thousands of housewives are overburdened with children and household cares. Our country's future needs healthy and sturdy children. It is therefore necessary to alleviate the work of the mother-housewife and her chores, to show her the sunlight of progress and to make it penetrate into her soul.

The women-teachers at primary preparatory and secondary schools, at higher institutions of learning, as well as at various children's establishemnts, are of great importance to the National Women's Union. Women teachers are the enlighteners of the people. A teacher – that is an honorary title. But there are many women-teachers who unfortunately do not live up to their calling. They do not help either the National Women's Union or the Fatherland Front committees. They take no part in child-care and in other cultural undertakings. Some of them, striving to emulate the upper class ladies, think only of their own comfort and pleasures. The National Women's Union must influence these women-teachers and harness them into socially useful activity as popular apostles of enlightenment. If an ordinary peasant-woman, woman-worker or housewife is not sufficiently qualified for cultural activity, a woman-teacher certainly is. She has education, pedagogical experience and corresponding conditions. As a teacher she is duty-bound to take part in cultural enterprises. It is a shame for a woman-teacher under present conditions to keep aloof from the National Women's Union and the Fatherland Front.

All this, of course, is not altogether new to you. Tenacious organizational and other work is necessary so that the National Women's Union might embrace in its ranks all women of physical and intellectual labour, so that it might carry out successfully its great tasks, winning numerous new adherents and active members, so badly needed at the present moment.

I would like to say a few words on a rather delicate question, a question I touched upon by the way in the past in a congratulation of mine, addressed to your Union, and which was not to the liking of some men. If the Bulgarian woman is to take a more active part in the political, economic and cultural life of our country, *the conservatism* which still prevails in relations between man and woman will have to be overcome. The majority of men including quite a few in the Fatherland Front *have a mediaeval*, unsound attitude towards women. There are many men who in this respect only lack the Turkish turban; they have

higher education, have studied abroad, pretend to have imbibed European culture, but in their attitude to woman they are not superior to a hardened Oriental. An end should be put to this as soon as possible.

He who treats woman as an object for home use is not a worthy and cultured man. He who treats woman in an Oriental spirit and is on the same level with those Turks who had harems, is not a man of culture. It is necessary to insist constantly and everywhere – in the press, at meetings and particularly in personal relations – on a change in this attitude. A healthy, cultured attitude is necessary towards woman, as a human being, a comrade, a mother of our children – the greatest capital of the nation. I repeat: *human being, comrade, mother.* That is the attitude, the mutual respect and the relations between man and woman which should prevail in Fatherland Front Bulgaria. The struggle against the shameful legacy of the past should be waged boldly and resolutely. This struggle shall be waged with the common efforts of all leading social and political workers, of all parties and public organizations of the Fatherland Front and, *above all, by you yourselves.* Mediaeval conservatism in relations between man and woman a shame for our people, should be rooted out by all possible means.

I wish you, dear comrades, as a women's union, as patriotic Bulgarian women, to take part, with still more energy and enthusiasm, with still greater maternal and sisterly love, with a burning heart and a vigilant mind, in the forthcoming compaigns for the People's Republic and Grand National Assembly, so that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on Septembr 8 with a great triumph – the proclamation of the People's Republic, to congratulate ourselves upon a genuine Fatherland Front Grand National Assembly and upon a truly popular democratic Constitution, which will clear the way for the further progressive development of our country, together with our Yugoslav brothers, under the auspices and fraternal aid of our senior Slav brother – the great Russian people.

Rabotnichesko Delo No. 176
August 7, 1946
G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 12 pp. 249–260 (Bulgarian edition)

THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS) SHOULD LEAD THE STRUGGLE FOR A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND A GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Speech at the 10th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

August 9, 1946

Comrades!

This Plenary Session has been called to take certain pressing decisions in a grave and complicated international and domestic setting.

The central problem, related to the international situation, as you all know and feel, is the struggle for establishing the new postwar peace. It will soon be a year and a half since the end of the Second World War, but there is still no peace, the necessary peace treaties have not been concluded. Neither in the world as a whole, in Europe, nor in the Balkans in particular, has a normal state of affairs, normal international co-operation been established. The nations are longing for peace. The world needs the soonest possible conclusion of a just and lasting peace, but there is no peace yet. A number of meetings and conferences of foreign ministers of the Great Powers have been held, the Peace Conference of 21 countries is now in progress in Paris, but the difficulties in establishing the new peace have by no means been overcome. *Quite naturally, the question arises, what impedes the establishment of this peace,* and who stands in the way of a speedy liquidation of the consequences of the Second World War and of opening perspectives for peaceful, friendly and lasting co-operation among all nations?

If we wish to understand properly, to learn precisely what stands in the way and who stands in the way, we should certainly take into consideration the main results,

the far-reaching results of the Second World War, which affect the present international situation and which are connected with the difficulties in establishing the world peace.

What are these main results, these far-reaching results?

The first result no doubt, is the fact that the international role and international prestige of the Soviet Union have greatly increased. As you know, they have increased because of the leading role which the Soviet Union played in defeating fascism in the world.

The international role and international prestige of the USSR have also gone up, because a number of nations have been delivered of nazi, of fascist oppression thanks to the Red Army. The international role has also gone up and the international prestige of the USSR has been accentuated because of the fact that in its consistent struggle to defend the peace and democratic transformations in the world after the war, it has actually *taken the lead of world democracy*, the lead of all freedom-loving nations, which do not wish to live in the old way, in the way they lived before the war, but try to march forward and become the masters of their fate and future.

The second result of the World War consists in the great and profound democratic changes which have taken place in the world and in those countries in particular, which have been liberated from nazi oppression with the help and assistance, with the blood and sacrifices of the Red Army. In these countries the nations are striving to rid themselves of monopolistic, profiteering big capital, of the domination of the predatory, parasitic bourgeois-capitalist clique. These nations are striving to establish in their countries actual people's democracy, which will help them cope with their big post-war difficulties and will guarantee their further development along the line of progress and national well-being. In these aspirations the nations find greatest support in the Soviet Union – support, which is sincere and amicable.

The third big and important result is the fact that during the war for liberation from nazi Germany, the Slav nations drew close together in the general struggle, in the common

bloodshed for their freedom, independence and happiness. They did so with the help and under the leadership of their eldest Slav brother, the great Russian people. Slav unity was established and is continually gaining strength against all enemies of the Slav nations, against any possible new onslaught – the unity of the Slav nations, which continues to be an international factor of paramount importance, which in the near future will play a vast role in setting all international issues under the leadership of the USSR.

As you see, Comrades, *these three major historical results of the Second World War are a strong blow against imperialist reaction in the world and can undermine the fundamental positions of imperialism, especially in Southeastern Europe.*

This is the source of that feeling of alarm and anxiety among the reactionary imperialist circles in the big Western states. Hence their striving to make use of every means and effort, at this moment when the new peace is being established, in every way to check the consolidation and further development of these three major results when all is being done to make peace.

This also explains the desire of certain present leaders of the United States and Great Britain to dictate alone the conditions of the future peace at the Paris Peace Conference. The big disputes with respect to the procedure of the Conference, which have been in progress in the past ten days, since the Paris Peace Conference began its session, are also due to the same reason. The disputes pertain not to questions of procedure, not to ordinary technical matters, which could be settled in twenty-four hours. They actually pertain to major political issues. It is not in vain that the Anglo-Saxon representatives want the questions discussed at the Peace Conference settled by a simple majority, and not by two thirds of the votes, certainly not on the basis of mutual agreement, nor on the basis of equal rights among the great countries. They want these questions settled by a majority of one or two votes in their favour, to the detriment of the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries. In his fine speech at the Conference yesterday comrade Molotov fully exposed this anti-democratic posi-

tion, this 'play of votes' as he called it, which sets new obstacles to the establishment of a sound and lasting peace.

Against the thesis of the USSR that there can be no just and lasting peace in the world without mutual agreement, without mutual understanding, without mutual concessions to the benefit of the common cause of peace, the imperialists pose the thesis of establishing peace through dictates, as was done at the end of the First World War.

But they have forgotten the fact that there is a profound difference between the situation after the First World War and that which we have now, after the Second World War. If the nations shed so much blood in the course of four years fighting against the designs of German imperialism to impose its domination on the world, they did not do it to have another imperialist country prevail in the world today. What is more, every reasonable man understands that *the powerful Soviet Union is not a country which will submit to any imperialist dictate.*

Russia did not take part in making the peace after the First World War. The young Soviet Republic was not then in a position to exert any influence on the conditions of the peace. In those days the representatives of the imperialist countries discussed the peace terms alone in their chancelleries and secret conference rooms.

Today the Soviet Union appears at the Paris Conference powerful and invincible. It appears as the leading force of many nations in Europe and of world democracy in general. Today the conditions of the peace treaties with the former enemies of the Allied Powers are not discussed in secret chancelleries and conference rooms. The conditions of the future world peace are not discussed in secret offices and meeting rooms, but in public, before public opinion of the whole world. Today Mr. Byrnes, for example, does not speak with comrade Molotov and other state leaders in some office alone. He also speaks before the representatives of 21 countries, participating at this Conference, and, in their person, to the millions inhabiting the earth. *Today world democracy can influence the decisions to be taken with regard to future peace.*

This fact is of paramount importance.

And so the reactionaries are following a wrong track by believing that they can force the Soviet Union and the democratic nations to accept an imperialist peace, by believing that the Soviet Union, which made the greatest material and human sacrifices in the Liberation War, which shed most blood and endured the grimmest sufferings and privations, is exhausted to such a degree that it will readily accept the dictates of any imperialists whatever.

This should be borne in mind, especially by us in Bulgaria, where we still have short-sighted politicians, narrow-minded public workers and naïve people, who believe and pay attention to the writings of all those journalists who sing praise to the great power of Britain and America, deliberately belittle the power of the Soviet Union, and predict an Anglo-Soviet War in the near future.

Comrades! We do not need to exaggerate and embellish things. We know all the difficulties which face the Soviet Union and all the democratic nations in establishing the new peace. We know what dangers threaten the world at this moment, when there still are politicians like Churchill, leading a whole stream of instigators of new wars. But we should know the actual situation and the actual forces at the disposal of the camp of peace and democracy under the leadership of the Soviet Union, as well as its superiority over the warmongers.

In what does this superitory consist, briefly speaking?

In the first place, it consists in the fact that economically, politically and socially the Soviet Union has been built upon the foundations of a socialist system, that it represents a socialist state, which has placed all underground and surface resources, all creative powers, energies and abilities of the peoples of this vast country in the service of people and state, under the guidance of a unified will.

In the second place, the superiority of the Soviet Union consists in the fact that thanks to this socialist system of state government, economic organization of labour, and so on, the Soviet Union has united all its nationalities politically and morally. There is no class struggle there because there are no classes and antagonistic interests. There are no

strikes, but rather general enthusiasm for work and socialist emulation. There are no numerous parties fighting against each other, no trusts and combines to impose their will on the country's economy and its domestic and foreign policy. There is only one party, the glorious *Bolshevik Party, which governs* the Soviet Union. How could the Soviet Union repulse the terrific assault of the German military machine during the war – at the end of 1941 and the first half of 1942 – if it did not have a socialist system and unified leadership, if through the October Revolution it had not removed all the obstacles which private capital could have placed in its way?

Take as an example what happened in the Ukraine in 1941. Could it have been possible, under another system, to fulfil so precisely the slogan – 'Destroy everything, leave nothing in the enemy's hands!' – when the enemy was advancing? Could the huge power station of the Dnieper have been blown up in the air, to preven its being used by the nazi hordes, if it had belonged to capitalist companies, Russian or foreign? Or could there be another government, besides the Soviet, which as you know, transported the heavy industry of the Ukraine thousands of kilometres east to the Urals, in the bleakest winter at that, and managed to set this industry quickly in motion again for the purposes of the War of Liberation? Which capitalist country could do this? If America or Britain, for instance, had been in the same condition, the various combines, trusts and magnates, and even the members of the government themselves would have said: let the power station stay where it is, keep all its equipment in place. The enemy will use them, without doubt, but we shall find a way of coming to terms with it after the war. Private capitalist interests would have prevailed over the nation's interests and over defence against the enemy.

The immense potentialities and resources of manpower, labour enthusiasm and heroism constitute *another advantage* of the Soviet Union. You know about the new Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Reports are already coming from numerous places that this plan will be fulfilled in three years.

But the Soviet Union has a military advantage as well.

Military experts, who know well the state of affairs, unanimously affirm that in spite of the great bloodshed and millions of casualties, the Red Army is today stronger, mightier, with a much greater fighting capacity than at the beginning of the Liberation War.

The Soviet Union has another advantage as well. It consists in the fact that while the Western Powers have colonies which are constantly fighting against the metropolis, the Soviet Union has no colonies, but it has vast areas in which, as you know, new peoples with great gifts and creative energies have emerged thanks to the Soviet socialist system.

The Soviet Union is a well-knit state of many nationalities under the leadership of the great Russian people.

In Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and many other areas no question arises about the people's rights and liberties. They have them. No question arises about colonial oppression, about fighting against the metropolis, against Moscow. No such thing exists. There is unity in those areas. And what is the situation in the West? The colonial peoples are not satisfied. They want to exist independently. As you know from the news bulletings, although they are scanty, a powerful movement for national freedom and independence is developing in India, a war is in progress in Indonesia, and the struggle for independence has been gaining momentum in all colonies since the war.

Another no less important advantage of the Soviet Union is the fact that it is surrounded by numerous nations which are sincerely and deeply devoted to it, which are grateful for the assistance it gave them to liberate themselves and for the aid which it gives them at present for their economic and political rehabilitation. These nations look to Moscow for support. They consider it as being something like the sun of their land, without which nothing can grow, develop and blossom. Naturally, nothing of this kind could be said about the Western Powers, which really have 'friendly' countries by force of circumstances,

but are ready to leave them and follow their own course at the very first opportunity.

These advantages of the Soviet Union, as well as others, which the imperialists and warmongers lack, advantages which will grow stronger in the future, show plainly and clearly that the nations which are following the Soviet Union, and our nation in particular, need not be sceptical about their future. They will never have a chance to regret it. They can only gain by their sincere friendship and common struggle with the Soviet Union for establishing international peace.

There are strongly incensed American journalists who boast about the atomic bomb. They already speak of an 'atomic policy', and 'atomic diplomacy'. These words have already become common terms. What they mean to say is: the Soviet Union, as a powerful socialist country, certainly has many advantages, but we have one thing which it does not have – the atomic bomb, the most devastating weapon. We can answer them though, without fear: as to the atomic bomb – leave it to God. This Great invention cannot and will not remain an American monopoly forever.

Comrades!

In the international situation today and with these two tendencies – of the Soviet Union and the new democracies for establishing a lasting and just peace based on equal rights and co-operation among the great countries, co-operation between equals, and the other tendency towards the domination of one or another Great Power, the tendency of enforcing imperialist peace conditions, and imposing the most unfavourable living conditions upon countries which have taken the path of a new democracy, which are radically annihilating fascism, which are organizing their democratic system and which are wrenching themselves from the claws of the imperialist *vultures* – these are the two tendencies apparent during the talks at the Paris Peace Conference which is taking *place now*. Bulgaria is in favour of the first tendency.

The Bulgarian people have found their *proper* place.

We will not shut our eyes to the difficulties and unpleasantness which our delegation will meet at the Paris

Peace Conference. There will certainly be quite a few influential persons who will speak against new Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front and will try to arouse ill-feeling against our people.

Nevetheless, whatever happens, whatever may be said at the Paris Peace Conference, whatever difficulties and troubles may be engendered for our country, there can be no doubt, Comrades, that in the final account a democratic and lasting peace will be imposed for all nations, including the Bulgarian people, because the nations and armies demand peace and not a new war.

We Bulgarians, in particular, are in a much more favourable position at the present Paris Peace Conference than we were at the peace conference after the First World War. At that time Bulgaria appeared in Paris on her knees, disabled and not supported by anyone. Nobody cared to listen to her. We all know that at the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, Stamboliiski and other Bulgarian delegates knocked on the doors for weeks before they were received and heard by some of the diplomats. Finally, a humiliating and burdensome peace treaty was imposed on Bulgaria. Our situation at present is entirely different.

It is different, *first*, because of the fact that during the World War itself the Bulgarian people managed to put up such resistance, such a heroic fight against fascism and the German invaders, which has done them great credit both morally and politically before world public opinion and the Paris Peace Conference.

Second, because of the fact that after ridding themselves of fascist dictatorship with the help of the Red Army, repudiating the official nazi course in their foreign policy and taking the side of the Allied Powers, the Bulgarian people immediately threw their armed forces against nazi Germany on their own initiative, without any foreign directive, and distinguished themselves by the miraculous feats of heroism of their soldiers and officers driving the German hordes out of Greece, Macedonia and Serbia.

Third, because of the fact that thanks to the Fatherland Front, as their leader, our people put an end to the past, to

the aggressive fascist policy of the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists and turned Bulgaria into a democratic country, into a sound element and a stable factor of peace and democracy in the Balkans. New Bulgaria actually earned the right of being treated as a co-belligerent country on the side of the Allied Powers.

Furthermore, at this Paris Peace Conference we are far from being alone, far from being isolated as we were after the First World War. This time we have the valuable protection of the Soviet Union and its delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. We can also rely on the support of the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations, as well as on others, which, if not on all points of the peace treaty, will support us on a number of points of importance to us, in the interest of general world peace.

The prospects of concluding a peace treaty with Bulgaria are not dark at all. There is no serious reason for anxiety. *There are only certain difficulties, which have to be overcome.* There is a hostile campaign which has to be face staunchly by us and our friends. There is slander and intrigue which have to be shattered; there are prejudices and biases, disseminated deliberately, as you know, in an organized way by the malicious opposition and its foreign protectors. There are prejudices and biases, which have to be done away with to enable not only the participants in the Paris Peace Conference, but all real democrats and progressive-minded people outside the walls of this conference, in every corner of the world, to understand our just national cause and raise their voices in its defence.

Comrades!

Our country's international situation is, naturally, linked with our domestic state of affairs.

Without dwelling on this subject in detail, I should stress that our domestic situation is developing primarily under the sign of the resolute assault against the remnants of fascism and reaction, launched by the Fatherland Front and our Party. The referendum campaign is also to be carried out under this slogan, and so are the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

Were we justified to launch such a resolute political assault?

I don't believe that there are comrades in the ranks of our Party who doubt the need of such an assault. It can even be said that we have launched it a little too late. Too much time was wasted waiting to reach agreement between the Fatherland Front Parties and its National Committee in order to settle certain important issues without trouble. Finally we were all convinced that no positive results could be reached in this way, for it would not be possible to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of implementing the Fatherland Front programme in the economic field, in the matter of supplies for the population, in provisioning and taking certain important measures to improve the country's economy. It was also necessary to take steps against profiteers and black market operators, against wreckers and trouble-makers in the army, the state apparatus and in the Fatherland Front itself. It was necessary to act resolutely and fearlessly.

You will hear a short report by comrade Georgi Damyanov on the purge in the army and its results, and on the prospects opened by the purge. You will also have a chance to learn about the purge made at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the Ministry of Education and the higher educational institutions.

Such purge should be made in all public, state, cooperative and other organizations and offices from top to bottom. It is necessary to remove everything which impedes our democratic development and economic rehabilitation, in order to establish law, order and public security once and for all in our country.

In the ranks of our allies, especially in the Zveno, this assault caused some alarm. This happened in certain other circles as well. Some said that this meant the dissolution of the Fatherland Front, a government crisis, and the abandonment of the Fatherland Front and the Government by some parties, which would be of great harm at this moment on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference.

There are panic-stricken, faint-hearted and short-sighted politicians in our country. Even in our Party some

comrades were worried. Others, however, as I shall now explain, went to the other extreme and did more harm than good in this drive against reaction.

Is it true that the assault against the reaction in our country, which is also an assault against the opposition, because the latter serves the reaction, can cause a crisis in the Fatherland Front or even lead to its disintegration? By no means! There is no greater fallacy than this assertion. Anyone who is well aware of the state of affairs in our country and knows the motive forces of the Fatherland Front and our present political development, regards this assault of the people against their enemies and restorationist circles as a process of convalescence, which will not weaken the Fatherland Front, but will certainly strengthen it is a union of all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive circles. If we regard the Fatherland Front as an ordinary, temporary coalition of parties, as was the practice in the past, we would be justified to show certain concern, but the Fatherland Front, as you know, is and should be not merely a bloc of five anti-fascist governing parties, but is and should be a democratic and anti-fascist union of the people's forces, the democratic and progressive-minded sections of the people. And insofar as it is such a union – and it will become even more so in future – there can be no room for anxiety whatever about unrest in the Fatherland Front, still less about disintegration.

What person, possessing common sense, can now leave the Fatherland Front voluntarily, or what political group can venture to do so? Can the Zveno group venture, or the Social-Democrats, or the Radicals, not to speak of the Agrarians? Which of them could decide to abondon the Fatherland Front, knowing that if they do so, the Fatherland Front will go on existing. It will not only go on existing, but will become still more closely united, because if part of the present Zveno group quits, for example, there will certainly remain in the Fatherland Front another Zveno, which will be strong, and possibly even stronger than the present one. After all, the Fatherland Front exists with five parties in it, but it can also exist with four, and will certainly do so! They can even be three, just the same!

It all depends on the will of the people! If the people wish, this can happen. We, naturally, stand for five. We stand for unity in the Fatherland Front, but not for unity at all costs – we stand for unity in order to make of the Fatherland Front programme a living reality.

We do not stand for the Fatherland Front as a general entity. We would be opposed to a Fatherland Front which would serve as a screen of reaction, as a mechanism for robbing the people, We stand for the Fatherland Front because it is an undertaking of the whole nation, because it is of use to the people, because it will save our people and country. And in order to fulfil this task, it should be purged from pseudo-Fatherland Front elements, from wreckers and evil-doers, from evil-doers within its own parties and to the Fatherland Front state itself.

If this political assault is carried out properly and brought to a successful end, it will consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front, will strengthen its deep roots among the people and will enable the Fatherland Front to take part in the campaign for a people's republic and for a Grand National Assembly as a well-knit and coherent organization, as an iron phalanx against reaction, so as to deal a crushing blow on Bulgaria's enemies and secure their utter defeat.

In connection with this it should be noted that certain comrades in our own ranks, who were influenced by the enemies' provocations, failed to understand the proper meaning of this assault. Some of them thought: the Party has launched an attack against reaction and we are going to have something like a second September 9. You know what happened in the first days after September 9, how rightly the people's disgust against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship boiled over, and how the only lawful thing at the moment was what the people rising in arm, did in their localities.

To speak of a second September 9 today is not only a blunder, it shows a very harmful conception of the political assault against the remnants of fascism and reaction. This assault shall not lead to any repetition of September 9, because it is historically impossible, to repeat September 9.

The present conditions are perfectly different. Today we have sufficient legal means of defending the people's rule.

What we need now is political enlightenment, political agitation and propaganda, which will reach the last inhabitant of our country – propaganda about the cause of the Fatherland Front and its programme. It is necessary to fight against reaction, against the malicious oppositionists, against corruption and improper actions, against wreckers in the state apparatus, against wreckers in the ranks of the Fatherland Front itself.

What would you say, for instance, to the following thing: at the moment when a check-up of the army has been assigned to a special committee by decision of Parliament and the committee has established that some 2,000 officers have to be dismissed to improve the army's fighting capacity as a genuine force of the people; when the Government and our Party in particular – because we bear the greatest responsibility for all these measures in our country – have to see to it that these 2,000 discharged officers shall not become two regiments of reactionaries, of trained military enemies of the Fatherland Front and the people, when the Government and our Party are thinking how to cope with the embitterment of the discharged officers, how to influence some of these people, because many of them have run into error and have been inconsciously plunged into anti-national and anti-democratic activity; when all this has to be carried out by the Party in an organized way, certain Party secretaries and leaders are doing just the opposite in their localities?

This is what happened: The chief of the military section in Pleven – I don't know if he is here, for if he is not, he should have been asked to come – came over to Sofia to get information and instructions from the Central Committee. Then he returned to Pleven, gathered the District Party Committee and reported to them that he had been instructed by the Central Committee, by the Politbureau to have all discharged officers immediately arrested and kept under strict surveillance. Such instruction certainly *does not exist and cannot exist*. There is not and there cannot be such a Politbureau of our Party which would permit such crazy

and foolish behaviour, so harmful for the Party and the cause of the Fatherland Front. This man is a Party functionary who does not realize his real duties, who thinks that his duty is to fabricate new political enemies of the Workers' Party and the Fatherland Front.

Or take another example. The president of the Fatherland Front Committee in Cherven Bryag arrested and beat a man – beat him to death. This president may be an agent provocateur, because there are agents doing such things in the name of our Party and they should be found and chased away. But if an agent provocateur, he is evidently a man who is entirely wrong in his understanding of the political assault against reaction.

Here is a third instance, still more impressive: one of our deputies, a valorous partisan who is loved by all who know him and who has contributed much to the partisan movement and to the Patriotic War, turned up together with other members of the district committee at the Stara Zagora prison where several officers of the reserve were detained, suspected of having been taking part in a conspiracy. So they began to beat these officers, because they had oppressed them before September 9. If the officers were suspects, there is a law under which they will be tried. You know that trials of conspirators are even now in progress. Instead of keeping the prestige of the Party as the apple of their eye, these Party comrades followed their personal sentiments and applied the most blameworthy and indecent methods as communists. There are other such instances.

Some of our people, you see follow the line of the least resistance and instead of carefully explaining, and propagating, instead of waging a political fight, which naturally requires a greater strain on their brains resort to manhandling and unlawful actions.

Such behaviour is against the Party's interests, against the laws of the Fatherland Front. It should be stopped immediately and its authors should be severely punished, so that not a single act of this kind shall occur in the future, not a single instance of illegal behaviour which will discredit our Party and the people's rule. None of these

transgressors should be left unpunished. It is necessary to impose sanctions of the severest kind, including expulsion from the Party ranks and legal prosecution.

I believe that those who transgress the Party morality, the Party discipline and the Fatherland Front laws, those who disregard the decisions of the Central Committee, deserve severest punishment irrespective of their social standing, Party duties and former merits.

The Party's interests stand above everything else; for us they are the interests of the people, the interests of our country. Everyone who takes liberties with the slightest deed of this kind does harm to the Party and should receive the punishment he deserves. And he should not only receive his punishment, but his transgression should be made known to the whole town or the whole village. This sanction should be published in our press, so that all people may know it – our friends and our enemies – that it may serve as a lesson to everyone.

I am anxious to have all our comrades realize that after this plenary session a change should be noticed in this respect all over the country without stopping the political assault against reaction, of course, without reducing a jot of the people's vigilance against wreckers, evil-doers, conspirators and enemies of new, democratic Bulgaria. On the contrary, the assault should be intensified everywhere, but it should be carried out as an organized political action. It should be carried out by explanation and argument, by the methods of ideological and political struggle, and by all means on the basis and within the framework of Fatherland Front legality. As to our relations with the allies, we should understand and strictly observe the view that in the ranks of the Fatherland Front we are not waging an attack against the Zveno and the other parties as a *whole,* but concretely and convincingly exposing only those of their members who are against the Fatherland Front.

Comrades, in conclusion, I would like to express the wish that you will consider seriously all the questions related to the forthcoming compaigns and use the collective Party mind to make such decisions as would enable

our Party to be the foremost and guiding force, in order that hand-in-hand with our allies we may secure the election of a genuine Fatherland Front National Assembly.*

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 183
August 15, 1946

...G. Dimitrov, Works
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* The shorthand report of the speech has been slightly abridged.

BULGARIA WILL BE A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Wireless Address to the Bulgarian People

September 7, 1946

Citizens!

Brothers and Sisters!

The referendum campaign has come to an end. Tomorrow, Bulgarian men and women will go to the polls to cast their vote. They will show their real will with regard to a question of cardinal significance to our country – the question of the form and character of our state system.

Some people have asked, why it was necessary to launch such an extensive campaign and to have a public inquiry, when it is clear and beyond any doubt that the great majority of our people are opposed to the monarchy and support the republican idea.

Yes, it is true that the idea of a republic lies deep in the hearts of all patriotic Bulgarian men and women in our country. It is also an indisputable fact that the issue for abolishing the monarchy and proclaiming Bulgaria as a people's republic is ripe. The question, however, does not only pertain to the idea of a republic. It pertains to the actual implementation of this idea. The point is to prepare the ground for this implementation among the masses, because the foundation of a people's republic will not be possible without the conscious and active participation of the masses themselves.

The referendum campaign has enabled our people to make a critical review of the path covered during the five past decades, to realize the crimes of the monarchial regime and its supporters, and to draw invaluable lessons from their bitter experience of the past.

Precisely this campaign has given our people the oppor-

tunity of being perfectly clear, why it is that Bulgaria, instead of taking part in the peace conference on an equal footing with the victorious United Nations in setting the peace after the war,is being forced, as Germany's former satellite, to struggle bitterly for its right of existence and in defence of its legitimate fundamental interests and demands. Now they see better than ever before that this is due to the treacherous, anti-national policy pursued by monarchism and the promonarchist and predatory part of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

The campaign has also revealed to the people the base hypocrisy of reaction in our country, which reaction, having no courage to defend openly the cause of monarchism, is trying to discredit the referendum by all kinds of slander and intrigue. Meanwhile, inveterate courtiers have quickly donned the republican mantle.

But the particular importance of the campaign lies in the fact that it has grown into a great political school for the broad masses, especially for the hundreds of thousands of women and young people. This, naturally, will also pave the way for the elections of the Grand National Assembly, which is to work out our country's Constitution.

As to the vote itself, in the first place it will enable the people to see how many supporters of the accursed and criminal monarchy are still to be found among them, which will certainly be of great use.

If it is necessary, however, to repeat what kind of a republic our democratic people are going to vote for, I would briefly put it like this,categorically and clearly:

Our people stand for a *people's republic* with a parliamentary regime and not for a plutocratic republic. They stand for a *people's republican government*, and not for a *bourgeois republican one*.

What does this mean? It means that:

First, Bulgaria is not going to be a Soviet Republic, but a people's republic in which the great majority of the people – workers, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia – are going to play a leading role. The majority of the working people, those who are doing socially useful work, will be the decisive factor in the People's Republic of

Bulgaria, and not the big profiteering capital and the minority of politically and morally degraded and bankrupt super-strata of the bourgeoisie.

Second, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, in which private property, earned with labour and thrift, will be given actual support by the state against plunderers and profiteers, but in which the private property of the big capitalists and profiteers will not be allowed to doom the working people – workers, peasants, craftsmen, employees and the people's intelligentsia – to starvation and poverty.

Third, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic,which will leave no open door for return to the disgraceful past of monarchism, fascism and pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, and which will guarantee all the necessary constitutional, political, economic, material and cultural conditions for our country's upward development and for our nation's steady progress, until every trace of exloitation of man by man is done away with.

Fourth, Bulgaria, is going to be a people's republic, a free and independent state, with national and state sovereignty. It will not play to the tune of the various capitalist trusts and combines, which are trying to enslave the small nations politically and economically.

Fifth, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, a bastion of Slavonic unity and fraternity against any possible aggression. It is not going to be an oil-can greasing the chariot of anti-Slavonic and anti-Soviet policy, leading to antagonisms among nations.

Sixth, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, which, side by side with the other democratic and freedom-loving peoples, will be a sound element of peace and democracy in the Balkans and Europe, and not a weapon for military adventures and aggressive wars.

This is, in brief, our concept of the character of the people's republic, which will be voted tomorrow.

Is there any room for doubt that the majority of our people will vote for such a people's republic?

No, there is no room for doubt whatever.

Everyone can understand easily that it is of great domestic and international significance to our country to

have the maximum percentage of people take part in tomorrow's referendum.

It would be an unpardonable mistake on the part of those people, who think that the proclamation of a people's republic is guaranteed even without their votes, and do not go to the polls.

No, every singly vote is important. The reaction in our country and our ill-wishers abroad should feel realistically and visually through the votes on September 8 the actual will of our people and their firm resolve to build the People's Republic of Bulgaria – for the good of our country and for the benefit of lasting peace among nations.

On behalf of the Workers' Party, on behalf of the Fatherland Front, and on my own behalf, I appeal warmly to all patriots – men, women and young people, to cast the ballot which will save our country:

For a people's republic.

Death to monarchism and fascism!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Long live the Fatherland Front, which unites the Bulgarian people and guides Bulgaria's destiny!

Long live the militant, freedom-loving and hard-working Bulgarian people!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 204
September 8, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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WE ARE BUILDING A GENUINE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Speech at the Ceremonial Meeting with Foreign Trade Union Delegates and Journalists

September 10, 1946

Such fine speeches have already been made here, that it seems quite unnecessary for me to take the floor. It would be difficult to add anything better than what has already been expressed. But since our Chairman [56] insists that I should also make a speech, allow me to say a few words.

We are particularly gratified to see among us such dear guests, representing the anti-fascist, democratic, progressive-minded forces of the peoples in near and distant countries. To us, Bulgarian organized workers and employees, to our whole nation, the present moment is of particular importance, because the peace conference which is examining, discussing and preparing the provisions of the peace treaties with Germany's former satellites, including Bulgaria, is in progress in one of the big European capitals. As you know, some of the delegates to this conference and certain circles around it do not wish to recognize new, democratic Bulgaria. They do not wish to recognize us as a co-belligerent country with the other united nations, in spite of the fact that up to the armistice we took an active part in the war against Germany for its utter defeat and also helped our neighbours, the Greeks, get rid of the nazi invasion. The Greek Government now impudently lays unfair and intolerable claims on Bulgaria. The representatives of various international combines and trusts, who want to enslave the small nations economically and politically, are also refusing to recognize us. But we are happy to notice that all honest and scrupulous nations

in Europe are recognizing new Bulgaria, our people's democracy, and agree that we are following the only correct path – that of progress, of prosperity, that of our nation's freedom and happiness, of establishing, consolidating and promoting lasting and just peace among all nations in the world.

It is continually suggested to us that if Bulgaria submits to the pressure of the reactionary circles, it will obtain a more acceptable peace treaty. They want us to sell our freedom and independence, our whole future for a bowl of lentils, as the saying is.

Our nation is unfortunately small, but it is not alone. It is marching hand-in-hand with the great Soviet Union. Our nation has a friendly neighbour in the person of new, democratic Romania. Our nation enjoys the love and admiration of democratic Czechoslovakia and democratic Poland, of new Hungary. We enjoy increasing admiration, understanding and support from considerable democratic forces in France, Britain and America. As regards Bulgaria itself, I must make it perfectly clear that the Bulgarian people, who endured the Ottoman rule for five centuries without bending their heads, who fought against fascism and monarcho-fascist dictatorship with might and main for two decades, this tough, democratic nation of workers and peasants will not fall on its kness before such threats and blackmail.

We hope that our friends from France, our friends from Britain and all our guests will bring home to their countries the truth about our country, about our people's democracy, our human ideals. They can state confidently in the press, in speech and in every other way that such as it is, such as it proved to be on September 9, 1944 in particular and ever since, the Bulgarian nation will only live and exist by standing straight. Whatever may happen, this nation will not swerve from the right path it has taken. It has linked its fate forever with that of the great Russian people, and of the whole Slavonic world; it has linked its fate with that of the whole world's democracy. Whatever may happen, whatever threats may be directed against it, it will follow

this path with unflinching faith in the victory of its right cause.

Dear visitors, you witnessed the voting which took place on September 8. Malicious journalists serving our enemies, bribed newsmen from our country and outside are spreading reports abroad that our nation was disunited, that there was a tremendous opposition here, that the government was in the hands of a few party groups unsupported by the people themselves. What has September 8 shown, in spite of this? What has the referendum made clear?

92 per cent voted for a national republic and only 4 per cent for the putrid and criminal monarchy.

Is there unity among our people? What better proof could there be of the cemented unity of the democratic Bulgarian people than what took place on September 8? It would be true to say that our people voted unanimously for a republic. But still more important, and what I would like to emphasize before our guests from abroad, is that on September 8 our people voted not merely for a republic, but explicitly for a people's republic, as was previously explained to them. It is one thing to vote merely for a republic, and quite another to vote for a people's republic. By their votes on September 8, the Bulgarian people declared that they stand for *a people's republican government and not for a plutocratic republic.*

We are well aware, and our foreign friends should know this, that the forthcoming solemn official proclamation of our republic as a result of the referendum *is not all.* The people's republic which will be proclaimed by the National Assembly on September 15 demands persistent labour so that it can be shaped into a real people's republic. We are trying to be realists. We do not close our eyes and do not wish to make our people and especially our heroic working class the victim of harmful illusions. There are difficulties. There are thistles and stones along the way. It is an arduous one, it is not smooth, like the pavement in September 9 Square. But we have profound faith in the people's forces, we have resolute willpower, we have militant hearts and a revolutionary experience which will

enable us to surmount all difficulties. In the struggle against monarchism, fascism and reaction, our nation gained fine political experience and will appear in the forthcoming elections prepared both politically and ideologically to elect a real Grand National Assembly. We know that success, victory and happiness belong to those who show courage, who do not bend their heads nor drop their hands before difficulties, but fight to overcome difficulties and are steeled in this fight as individual citizens and as a nation to march forward and ever forward towards nation-wide prosperity.

Our nation sincerely wishes to have the just and well-deserved support of the so-called Western democracies, too. There can hardly be any doubt of the fact, that your France, Mr. Jacques Paris (turning to the French Ambassador in Sofia), your France, comrade Frachon, if she seriously wishes to be a really great country in Europe – *which she should be indeed,* should support the democratic regimes in Southeastern Europe. This is above all in the interest of the French people, but it is also in the interest of all Europe, for the establishment of lasting peace among all nations.

We are particularly gratified that in the Labour Party there is a progressive wing which stands for people's democracy and that it tries to refresh and rejuvenate an old aristocratic democracy. We welcome with great satisfaction comrade Ziliacus's[57] statement that in the person of the Labour Party the British working class are marching towards socialism and are trying to achieve socialism in a peaceful way. If this happens in Britain, under British democracy, we Bulgarians will be the first to rejoice with all our hearts. *But to work for achieving socialism in Britain and at the same time to have representatives of the British Labour Government help choke democracy in Greece and impede the development of people's democracy in our country, Yugoslavia, Poland or elsewhere, are two things incompatible to human reason.* Everyone can easily understand that the achievement of socialism in Britain should also involve a democratic foreign policy.

I would like to tell our British friend and our guests

that we, our Workers' Party (Communists), our working class, and our trade unions, having analyzed the general situation and motive forces in the Balkans, having reviewed the experience gained in the Second World War and tried to make use of it, we also believe that it is perfectly possible in Bulgaria, with the necessary work and preparation on the basis of people's democracy and a parliamentary regime, to pass over to socialism one day. And so the Bulgarian communists have set themselves the noble ambition to work and help the economic, social and cultural progress of our people to reach a level, which will make the realization of socialism a nationwide undertaking.

At the present stage, however, our one principal and immediate task is to build up the people's republic. The better we build it, the mightier it becomes in economic, cultural, moral and political respect, the surer and more painless will it be for our people – workers, peasants, craftsmen and the people's intelligentsia, all honest and patriotic people – to take the salutary path of socialism. Socialism is known to be a historical necessity to every nation. As to the question, in what way, in what span of time, when, how and by what means it will be achieved, is a different matter.

We are convinced that we shall be able to build a genuine people's republic with our own efforts and with the aid of our true friends and comrades in the other democratic countries. Bulgaria will be a model people's republic with a real parliamentary regime. This is guaranteed by our heroic working class, this is guranteed by our numerous hard-working, tough and tenacious peasant mass, this is guaranteed by the sound people's intelligentsia, this is guaranteed by *our strong and invincible Fatherland Front*

In the past, the smaller nations learned from the larger ones. They will continue to do so with still greater persistence in future. Yet I shall say before the representatives of the great countries, if they forgive my immodesty, that we are now living in times when *big nations can also learn something from the people's democracy of a number of smaller nations.*

Allow me to propose a toast to the unity and militant strength of the Fatherland Front, because without the Fatherland Front we would not have won the people's victory, such as it was on September 9, 1944, because without the Fatherland Front we would not have witnessed what took place on September 8, 1946 – our people's unanimous vote for a people's republic, and because *without the Fatherland Front it would be impossible to build a real, strong and successful People's Republic of Bulgaria!*

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 208
September 13, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF 'FILOSOFSKA MISUL' REVIEW

Reply to Questions Posed by the Editor

To my great regret, I have not been able to obtain an academic education. Nevertheless, long ago, in my early youth, while I was doing my practical public and political work for the working class and the Bulgarian people, I felt that without grasping the fundamental scientific principles of the development of nature and society, without comprehending the reaches of philosophy, I would not be able to carry on a correct and valuable public and political activity. Hence I began, with dogged persistence, surmounting colossal difficulties, to study the principal works of some of the ancient Greek and modern European philosophers, such as Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach, among other representatives of the materialistic and idealistic philosophic schools. I took particular interest in the works of Marx and Engels, Plekhanov and Lenin. The more I studied them, the more I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary to combine fully *practice with theory*, because *practice* without theory is *blind*, and *theory* without practice is *fruitless*. This is particularly true of the working class, which has to fulfil the historic task of both elucidating scientifically and correctly, and of changing *existence* radically in its favour, in favour of the people. As the great Lenin pointed out many times, there can be no revolutionary practice without a revolutionary theory.

Hence I can speak on the questions directed to me primarily on the basis of my own long experience.

To my mind, the periodical 'Filosofska Misul' is extremely necessary in our country. One could even say

that it has made its appearance somewhat too late. It will have to play a tremendous role. In my modest opinion, as I understand its tasks, especially in the forthcoming period parallel with its basic, fundamental task of bridging the gulf between progressive philosophy and the people, the intellectuals above all, if should make the achievements of philosophic thought accessible to the whole people by raking out philosophy from the scholars' studies and bringing it to the field of actual, practical life in our country. These tasks of the review could be formulated, in brief, in the following way.

First. It should expose the fascist ideology (racism, the theory of the domination of 'super' races over the 'inferior' ones, the Führer principle, the theory of the superman and our pan-Bulgarian chauvinism) and assist in every possible way its eradication. We should not forget that without liquidating the fascist ideology, against which our universities, literature and culture are not yet waging a sufficiently strong ideological fight, we shall not be able to efface all the remnants of the fascist regime from our social and political life. The fascist ideology has struck deep roots, especially in the heads of part of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, and it will be no simple and easy task to do away with this venom.

Second. It should reveal and scourge the fascist distortion of history, and of our own history in particular. Our historical literature and text-books from which our students and pupils study our nation's history are full of most detrimental distortions and flagrant falsifications. The 'Filosofska Misul' will have to do much beneficial constructive and critical work in this respect. A scientific, Marxist criterion should be worked out and popularized as soon as possible for the proper elucidation of the important periods and major events in our nation's history, especially in the last century. This should be done with clarity and coherence, on the basis of a scientific analysis of historical facts. It has not been stressed in vain that history, well understood, is the best teacher of the present and the future and that its rich treasure of lessons should be utilized. We

need a *Marxist philosophy of our historical development*, just as we need bread and air.

Third. The review should help the people's intelligentsia and primarily the intelligentsia of the working class and the peasantry develop a sound, scientific, Marxist world outlook, to master the essence of Marxist philosophy in its most modern form – Leninism, the *Marxist dialectical method*, not only as a sure means of properly elucidating the past and present, but also as a *guidance for action* in solving the major and intricate tasks of the moment and in pushing forward our country's progressive development. The entire experience of the world working class movement, especially that gained in the Second World War, has shown the tremendous importance of disseminating the principles of the dialectical method in the study of social life, social history and the laws of social development. It has shown the tremendous importance of these principles to the practical activities of the working class and its party.

Fourth. 'Filosofska Misul' shouldmake a considerable contribution to the fight against the various decayed and retrograde idealistic philosophic schools and trends, which serve the revival of fascism and are the ideological weapons of reaction against the progress of people's democracy. Parallel with this, the review is bound to denounce with arguments and concrete facts all and every attempt to pervert the live, constructive and militant teaching of Marxism and thoroughly work up from a Marxist point of view the new problems on the ideological front related to the rule of the Fatherland Front in our country and to its tendencies and development prospects. Precisely in this sense, the review should also deal with the basic methodological questions of all sciences, especially of those which are directly connected with the economic, social and cultural development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Fifth. The review has another important task to fulfil. It should systematically arouse interest in our country in philosophical matters, disseminate love of science, and prompt with all its activity our studious working young

people persistently to educate themselves, for which purpose it should assist them concretely and efficiently in every way.

Naturally, it is of great importance to the successful fulfilment of these tasks that the 'Filosofska Misul' should be edited popularly, so that it can become accessible to the average reader, who has not gone to high-school or the university. It is not true that one cannot write about philosophical and other theoretical problems in a simple, clear, easily understandabe way. The best example in this respect comes from the great classics of Marxism. To this end, however, the authors should always bear in mind the readers for whom they write and avoid the harmful routine of the bourgeois philosophers who clothe themselves in scholarly garb by using a language inaccessible to the average reader, and designing their 'works' just for 'specialists', for the select 'spiritual aristocracy'.

I also think that the editorial office of the review should have the noble ambition gradually to grow into a modest laboratory of scientific philosophic thought in our country, which will gather the most and democratic scholars and become a school for the education and training of new Marxist pioneers of Bulgarian science, who are of such vital importance to new Bulgaria.

I cannot but point out that the role of the review is extremely hard and responsible. It lays very high and serious claims on the editors and their contributors. It requires of them knowledge, skill, tremendous systematic work and strict self-criticism, so as to make it ever more satisfactory.

As to the relations between the 'Filosofka Misul' and the 'Contemporary', I should say that these two magazines are by no means competitive. On the contrary, each has its own specific tasks, and these tasks *complement each other*. It should not be forgotten that the 'Contemporary', which is the theoretical and political organ of the Workers' Party (Communists), is primarily an operative and directive fortnightly review of current affairs, and especially of current problems of our Party, the Fatherland Front and our people in general.

Finally, let me express my great satisfaction at the appearance of the 'Filosofska Misul' review and sincerely to wish its editors the best of success.

Signed: G. Dimitrov

September 15, 1946

Filosofska Misul. No. 3
July-September, 1946

G. Dimitrov. Works
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ON THE NÜRENBERG TRIAL
Statement Made before a French Journalist

The Nürenberg Trial[56] is of tremendous importance to world democracy. In spite of the great disappointment, owing to the unjustified acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritsche, the sentence deserves a positive assessment.

This sentence is a serious warning to all like Churchill, who now after Hitler's defeat wish to take his place in the fight for world supremacy. It is a strict and categorical warning to all those who instigate a new aggressive war, against the Soviet Union in particular. They all should bear in mind the way in which Hitler, Goering and all their adherents started and ended their campaign against bolshevism, against democracy, for world domination. The candidates for Hitler's and Goering's places cannot expect a better fate. They will not be able to make a long journey like Hitlers' from 1932 to 1945. They will reach their Nürenberg in a much shorter time.

There are no prophets in the world. I also did not consider myself a prophet at the Reichstag Fire Trial. But when in 1933 Goering brandished his sword over my head, at the court as the unlimited master of Germany, I was profoundly convinced that sooner of later the odious nazi Germany would suffer fiasco together with Hitler and Goering. It was precisely this firm belief that gave me the moral strength to withstand all the horrors to which I was subjected.

Hitler and Goering wanted to annihilate communism. Hitler and his barbaric gang wanted to annihilate world democracy, they wanted to annihilate the Soviet Union and force their tyranny upon the whole world. They did not manage to annihilate communism. On the contrary, communism grew many times stronger in all countries.

They did not manage to annihilate democracy. On the contrary, democracy is flourishing as a people's democracy precisely as a result of the lessons drawn from the war. Nor did they manage to annihilate the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the great country of socialism became a hundred times stronger and mightier morally, politically and materially. They proved unable to force their fascist tyranny upon the nations in the world. But parallel with all this, as they committed their monstrous crimes and bathed Europe in blood, they destroyed *one half* of their own nation, plunged their own country into an awful catastrophe, unprecedented in human history, and found their well-deserved place in the ground or on the gallows.

This is a fine lesson for all who have brains to think, ears to hear and eyes to see.

To me, personally, the verdict of the Nürenberg court is a great moral satisfaction. The hangmen who were preparing the gallows for me in Germany are now ending their own disgraceful and criminal lives on the world's gallows.

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G. Dimitrov, Works
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MARCH AGAINST REACTION AND FASCISM, FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE CAUSE OF THE SALUTARY AND INVINCIBLE FATHERLAND FRONT!

Speech before the Parliamentary Group, Members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and Sofia City Party Activists

September 28, 1946

Comrades!

The elections for the Grand National Assembly, as you yourselves understand, are of tremendous domestic and international significance to our country. The Grand National Assembly will fulfil the task of elaborating and passing the Constitution of our young republic. By its nature and content this Constitution will have to be well fit to lay firm foundations for the building of the People's Republic. Under the Act, passed by the National Assembly, the Grand National Assembly will function up to one year after passing the new Constitution. This Grand National Assembly will have to do a great deal of constructive legislative work. It will have to work better than the ordinary National Assembly, which I should say, has done its job for our people and country quite satisfactorily so far.

As to the international significance of the elections, it consists above all in the fact that they will offer a still more eloquent proof of the patriotic unity of our nation. The Grand National Assembly, by its composition and activity, especially in elaborating the new Constitution will help shatter the last prejudices and fallacies existing in Europe with respect to new Bulgaria, its people's democracy and its just national cause. This will considerably facilitate the solution of our major problem – the conclusion of a just peace treaty.

In view of this particular importance of the elections

for the Grand National Assembly, which greatly exceeds in importance that of last year's elections for the ordinary national assembly, our Party and the entire Fatherland Front should exert all their efforts to make it a genuine Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria not only by the number of its deputies, but by its nature and quality as well.

In the forthcoming election campaign for the Grand National Assembly, the Fatherland Front will come out with a joint platform. The draft constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, unanimously approved by the National Committee and the Fatherland Front parties, will form an essential part of this platform. The Fatherland Front will come forward as an integral union of all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces of our nation for the construction of a people's republic against reaction, the survivals of fascism, and all oppositionist circles in Bulgaria, of which the various opposition groups are the agents, as you all know.

In coming forward with a joint platform, the Fatherland Front has decided to have the individual parties in it use their own ballots of specific colours, which means that each elector who casts his vote for the Fatherland Front may vote for those candidates whom he prefers. There are naïve people in our country, who are politically short-sighted, but we also have malicious enemies who already predict that the various colours of the ballots shows the disintegration of the Fatherland Front, the 'death of the Fatherland Front', as the Agrarian 'Green Banner' writes, for example.

Comrades, if our Fatherland Front can be shaken and done for by the fact that its parties are taking part in the elections with individual party colours, we needn't be sorry for such a Fatherland Front. But the turth is quite different. The Fatherland Front is a union of the sound national forces in our country. It has struck deep roots among our people. It has scored successes before September 9, and the historic victory of September 9 is its primary merit. It has also scored a great many successes and done many useful things for the nation since September 9, in spite of

the exceptional domestic and international difficulties. It has a sober and critical attitude to its government and is working day in and day out with the help of the best sons and daughters of the people to correct the existing errors and shortcomings, so that our country can march forward along the road of general well-being of the people. *No stormy weather in the Bulgarian skies shall shake the foundations of such an unconquerable Fatherland Front.*

We have an instructive example in Czechoslovakia. In the last elections there, the Fatherland Front parties not only came forward with individual party colours, but acted quite independently. What was the result? Did the Fatherland Front in Czechoslovakia fall to pieces, or did it emerge from the elections still stronger than it was? The truth is that the Fatherland Front and its Government, which are leading the country from success to success, emerged from the elections much stronger than they were before.

There are people in our country who are keen on slandering our people. They say that such a thing would not be possible here. 'Our people,' they say, 'are Balkan folk. Their morals are terrible, wild passions will be unleashed.' This is a slander! Such things happened in the past, through the fault of monarchism, through the fault of fascism and the rotten bourgeois parties and factions. Many things have changed since that time. Many things have changed. Deep changes have taken place in our country, and in the minds, hearts and souls of our working people. No, today we have sufficient guarantees that we shall surmount all difficulties in this respect and have an election campaign, in which the rivalry between the individual Fatherland Front parties will not exceed the limits of their friendly co-operation and common struggle against reaction, against fascism, against the malicious oppositionists who are the tools of our domestic and foreign reaction. Naturally, the system of using separate party ballots has its pluses and minuses.

We do not shut our eyes to the minuses, by no means. But we know the numerous important pluses. And the whole nation should know them too.

What are the pluses in voting with individual ballots under a joint Fatherland Front programme?

The first plus consists in the fact that contrary to last year's elections of November 18 – a much larger number of voters will certainly take part in the coming elections, thanks to the joint efforts of all five Fatherland Front parties. The Fatherland Front will thus poll a larger number of votes for the lists of its candidates than it would, if the parties participated in these elections with a single ticket, of a single colour, as they did last year. This is the first plus, and it is significant.

The second plus consists in the fact that each party will have the opportunity to check its real moral and political prestige with the people, which will help it in future to avoid erroneous illusions and dangerous presumptions in this respect. This is the second plus, which is quite useful.

The third plus consists in the fact that this kind of voting and this kind of election campaign will offer an opportunity to check the political maturity of each party and its attachment to the Fatherland Front which is of great importance to us and to our people. We are allies, we have fought hand-in-hand up to September 9, and we have fought and worked hand-in-hand since that date. Now all of us will be put to the test, to show how far we have learned to be loyal, tolerant and considerate to each other as separate parties, how far we are actually devoted to the Fatherland Front programme, to the historic cause of September 9 and to our young people's republic. These pluses are, so to say, of a domestic nature.

But there is also a *big plus* of international significance. What is it?

As you know, our ill-wishers abroad use as a most serious trump card and a most popular argument for their assertion that the Fatherland Front Government is not a truly representative government the fact that we have held elections with a single ticket, composed of the leaders of several parties. We have appointed the deputies, so they say, appearing before our electors on November 18 last and telling them: sanction what we have already done! We imposed the deputies; we did not allow the electors, as they

say, to elect the deputies they wished. Well, our present method of voting draws this trump card; it shatters to pieces this argument of our enemies. This time we shall come forward with a joint platofrm, but with our individual party colours, and the electors will be absolutely free to vote for a Communist, if they wish, or for an Agrarian, a Zveno member, a Social Democrat, or a Radical. Can there be any greater polling freedom than this? Can greater representative character of the future Grand National Assembly and the future Fatherland Front Government be ensured than through this method of electing deputies?

But there are also minuses. They actually boil down to a single serious minus, which we take into account and should always bear in mind throughout the election campaign. This minus consists in the fact that since the parties included in the Fatherland Front will have individual voting papers, they will each try to obtain the largest possible number of votes. In doing so, they may be compelled to agitate against their allies. In consequence of this, their co-operation may be shaken and undermined. This will weaken the unity of the Fatherland Front, which will be harmful and undesirable, and may lead to serious consequences for our country in future. It would be wrong to deny the existence of this danger. This danger is a really serious one.

But are we in a position to overcome it? Is it within the power of the Fatherland Front to eliminate it completely, or at least 95 per cent, if not 99 per cent? It certainly is. How can we cope with this danger in actual fact?

In the first place, through our joint political platform, which shall be a law for Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members and all Fatherland Front members alike. This platform is the basis, the solid foundation of our election campaign, the political and moral tie which keeps all Fatherland Front parties together.

In the second place, through mutual agreement, which was confirmed by all parties leaderships yesterday, and according to which the election campaign and election propaganda will be carried out in a way not directed

against any of the Fatherland Front parties. It will be directed against reaction and against those forces which stand in the way of Bulgaria's democratic development, of her economic rehabilitation, the settlement of her international status, and the conclusion of a just peace treaty – the forces which abuse the national and state sovereignty of our people. At these forces shall we level our common ideological and political fire – our infantry, artillery, cavalry, air force and all other weapons. Infantry, artillery, cavalry and air force, ideological and political, will have to deaden all and every desire of reaction to impede the further advance of our People's Republic.

In the third place, through the election committees which will be set up within the Fatherland Front, in its National Committee and local branches. The task of these election committees will be to assist the parties in conducting the election campaign, in settling efficiently and in a friendly way all conflicts, disputes and incidents which may arise among the allied parties of the Fatherland Front during the election campaign. In addition to all this, to avoid this really existing danger, a number of other concrete measures may be taken, with good will, of course, which exists and has to exist, because it is the will of the nation itself, which wants to have the unity of the Fatherland Front consolidated and not weakened.

We are interested to have the opposition groups take part in the elections for the Grand National Assembly for two main reasons:

First, because it is high time that these groups came out openly before the electors, the people, and showed their real face to them; that they were compelled to put forward their own 'platforms', their own 'proposals', and 'arguments', so that the people may see how rotten the opposition and its various groups are indeed. This will be a great plus for our people. This will be a great achievement for the political upbringing of our masses, because we are building everything, as you know, upon the ideological and political advance of our nation.

There is also a second reason, for which we are in-

terested to have the opposition groups take part in the Grand National Assembly elections.

Since the last elections, our ill-wishers abroad, who want democratic, progressive Bulgaria to be helpless and even exterminated, support our opposition in every possible way – in the press, in public statements and everywhere – presenting this oposition as an immense power, and even as having the majority of our people on its side. All facts speak against this, of course. Every impartial correspondent and foreign visitor to our country has been able to see for himself that this is not true. In spite of the force and logic of actual facts, these ill-wishers of ours still keep maintaining this legend. This is also done by official representatives who claim to have great international prestige and to decide the fate of the world. We are interested, our nation is interested that an end should be put at last to this legend, which does harm to our country. It will be done away with by having the opposition groups take part in the elections for the Grand National Assembly through their candidates. Every observer abroad and every agent of international reaction will be able to see that our opposition is a political minority which does not deserve a penny worth of international notice, and still less this tremendous campaign, which costs so many dollars and pounds sterling.

That is why the opposition will be given all and every opportunity to nominate and register its candidates according to the laws in our country. It will be able to hold meetings, print appeals and publish newspapers in its favour. It will also be allowed to use the radio, our state-owned, Fatherland Front radio, to announce to the nation and the electors its 'programme', its 'platform'.

Naturally, Comrades, in spite of all these favourable conditions, it is not at all certain that the opposition groups will take part in the elections. Why? – For two reasons.

First and foremost, because the opposition in our country is not independent. It is prompted by others. It plays its political game to the tune of others. And as you know, there are interested circles abroad, which can suggest to it, even after registering its tickets, to boycott the elections, so

that they can stand a certain chance of still blowing the trumpet that the Grand National Assembly is not representative, that the opposition has not participated in the elections. That only the Fatherland Front appeared before the people with its candidates, with its platform, and the opposition boycotted the elections. However inconvenient it may be politically for the oppositin groups to repeat the foolish blunder they made on November 18 last year, they may repeat it, because, as I said, they are not independent, because their leaders follow a foreign and not the Bulgarian patriotic line. This is confirmed by the fact that they are already searching for grounds for a boycott, seemingly 'justifiable', but undoubtedly altogether unjustified and fabricated. They are paving the ground psychologically and politically for an eventual boycott of the elections for the Grand National Assembly. But we can safely use in this case the Turkish proverb: 'You can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make it drink'. They may take part, if they wish, and they may stay out, if they don't. Nevertheless, it is in our interest that they stay. We will try not to give them a single justifiable reason by which to excuse themselves and boycott the elections for the Grand National Assembly. Not a single reason, I say!

The second reason for which the opposition leaders would once again boycott the elections undoubtedly lies in their low political self-confidence, in their fear of appearing before the people's court.

Two things are particularly important and to my mind decisive in the elections for a Grand National Assembly. Precisely on them should we concentrate our attention as a party and as a Fatherland Front. They are:

First. We should hold the elections for the Grand National Assembly in such a way as to allow no weakening of the Fatherland Front as a big national movement, as a factor of primary importance and mainstay of our People's Republic. On the contrary, despite all the ordeals and all personal embitterment which may occur during the election campaign, the Fatherland Front should appear in the Grand National Assembly still stronger, more stabilized, more efficient and with much stronger creative popular

power than heretofore, with a great and solid majority in the Grand National Assembly, whereby to solve its principal problems.

Second. We should conduct the election campaign and the elections on October 27 in such a way that they will be perfectly free, legal and regular, without serious conflicts and incidents, which our enemies will try to instigate in every possible way, so as to discredit the outcome of the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

These two things, these two problems we, and above all our Party, should be able to resolve.

Allow me to say a few words, plain, frank and categorical, about the administration and the people's militia in connection with the elections. Gone are those days when the bourgeois factions and cliques secured their majority in the 'National Assembly' through the administration and the police. We are living in such a period, our country is in such a position, that we have absolutely no need of charging the administration and the militia to carry out our elections. This is not their job.

The job of the administration and the militia is to see to it that the people display their 100 per cent free will in the elections for the Grand National Assembly. The better they fulfil this task, the greater will be the contribution of the administration and the people's militia to our nation, to our people's republic and to the destiny of the Bulgarian people, I should say.

All, down to the last employee in the administration and the people's militia should understand that he would do our Party, the Fatherland Front and our national cause a very doubtful service if he does not observe this rule strictly and fails to observe the laws of our country. These laws are sufficiently strong to put every one in his place, to cope with every agent-provocateur and every enemy of the people, so that the administration and the militia do not have any need of resorting to illegal measures, to measures outside the framework of the law.

The administration and the militia will certainly be provoked. Our enemies will try to make the ground slip-

pery and easy to cause incidents, which they will fan with the aid of our ill-wishers in Sofia and as well a thousand more abroad. For this reason, the administration and the people's militia should show discipline, self-control, firmness and foresight during the election campaign and on election day. All of us should control our nerves. This applies particularly to the administration employees and the militiamen. They should not succumb to any provocations whatever, they should restrain their own indignation, however justified it may be, and never overstep the limits of the law, but act to preserve law and order throughout the country during the election campaign and on election day. Our glorious Workers' Party (Communists), Comrades, does not need any illegal action on the part of the militia and the administration.

We rely exclusively on the people's trust, we rely on the masses.

Our strength lies precisely in the people's trust. The people's confidence is what we should consolidate and extend, what we should deepen through words and particularly through deeds, because in it lies our Party's strength and its bright future.

The circumstances in which our election campaign and the elections on October 27 will develop will undoubtedly be difficult. Compared with the last elections, the setting will be to a certain degree more complicated.

It should be emphasized here that our success in the elections for the Grand National Assembly will not go to the credit of our Party alone, but of the Fatherland Front and the nation as a whole. But this success can not be a lasting one, if a number of internal shortcomings and weaknesses within our own ranks are not done away with. Our election campaign should proceed on a high ideological level. We do not need cheap demagogy. The latter can only be of harm to us. We should do intensive explanatory work, with facts and convincing arguments.

Our Party's deeds will be our best propaganda. In the past, on September 9 and ever since, our deeds have done us great credit, both morally and politically. The role played by our Party in favour of the working class, the pea-

santry and our whole nation, always upholding the banner of our people's liberation struggle against monarchism and fascism, against the people's plunderers and parasites, should be explained to the electorates.

Our Party is the main factor in defence of Bulgaria's freedom and independence, and its representatives and activitists are daring and consistent defenders of the Bulgarian national cause. They were precisely the first to break through the ice in which our country was bound in its foreign relations for such a long time after September 9, and they are the ones who sacrificed and are ready to sacrifice their personal good for the good of our nation and country.

It is particularly important, in connection with the elections, that we should bring up the major problems facing our nation, such as elaboration of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, conclusion of a peace treaty, rehabilitation of the nation's economy, industrialization and electrification of our country, development and mechanization of agriculture, improvement of the social and cultural standards of the working people. It is necessary to do concrete and convincing explanatory work to shatter the slander that the communists stand for abolishing private property and private initiative in economic life, that they aim to adopt Soviet rule and communism in our country if they score convincing success in the elections; that the communists strive to incorporate Bulgaria within the bounds of the Soviet Union, that they are hostile to the so-called Western democracies, that they oppose trade with Britain and the United States, that in Bulgaria's domestic and foreign policy they fulfil the orders of Moscow, and so on. Meanwhile, it should be made clear to the electors, that the Fatherland Front, and our Party in particular, while establishing closest fraternal relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, do not exclude, but are working for achieving most normal and friendly relations between Bulgaria and the great Western states, provided that the Bulgarian people's national and state sovereignty is respected.

Please note and remember this: we are going to campaign for our Party on the basis of its deeds, the deeds of its

activists, without agitating against our allies. They on their part, are going to campaign for themselves and are expected to do so for their parties, without agitating against the communists.

The character of our canvassing and propaganda throughout the election campaign is very important. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee has given sufficiently clear directions as to the nature of the election campaign. I should like to draw your attention to the following fact in particular. Some of our speakers and propagandists suffer from a serious illness: they do not like to prepare their speeches. But listen! Much more experienced orators and propagandists than ours prepare every one of their speeches most seriously, whereas a number of our agitators appear at important meetings and gatherings before thousands and thousands of listeners, without having thought for a second what they will say to them. They speak extempore and sometimes say things which not only have no serious meaning, but are literally harmful.

In this election campaign our Party should set the requirement, without which no success will be possible, that every speech, even the shortest, should be prepared beforehand. It is not necessary to write it out, of course, but the main points, the fundamental thoughts, should be thought over and noted. The speaker should have an outline. He should not speak by 'inspiration'. Only the lazy poet relies on heavently, unearthly inspiration. An idea comes to his mind during the night as he sleeps, and so he jumps up and writes down a poem. People who really create things of value work hard and seriously.

We do not mean sporadic ideas, but serious political agitation and propaganda. This is true not only of elections, but of the upbringing of the people, of youth and women, a large part of whom have never before taken part in political life in our country. Think of them. Don't fill their heads with hollow phrases and harmful, rambling statements. The Party's Central Committee will see to it that sufficient printed material – pamphlets and so on, are supplied. We already have quite a number of articles which

should be studied and used. Unfortunately, not all of our propagandists are doing what they should. Our ideological stockpile against our enemies, against our people's ill-wishers, is frequently left unutilized, like a dead, buried treasure. In this election campaign we should make a radical change in this respect, if we are to score a real and lasting success, if we are to reach the best possible real success in the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

A great deal should also be corrected in the attitude of some of our local functionaries towards Party members and the so-called 'simple people'. This auditorium is quite large, but I shall not refrain from telling you frankly: there is always the danger of a certain part of our leading functionaries – secretaries and members of district, county and town committees, as well as secretaries of Party locals turning into something like petty 'governors', treating the ordinary Party members haughtily, and still more so the ordinary citizens, workers or peasants. Some find it hard to descend from the political mount Parnassus, to which some of them have risen quite accidentally and maybe undeservedly. They need to get down for a while, amongst those simple folk, without whom our Party and the Fatherland Front cannot score any serious, lasting success. The Party leadership alone cannot guarantee the success of our popular cause.

It is our duty to lead properly. If we do so, we may be praised, and if we don't, we shall have to be criticised. In the final account, three quarters of the success of our cause depends precisely upon these ordinary 'simple people' at enterprises, offices, villages, hamlets and so on. It is primarily due to them! Some, however, have taken it into their heads that because they were in a partisan detachment and sacrificed everything, because the Party has praised them and conferred distinctions and always remembers them, they can behave haughtily and give orders and look down upon the so-called "simple people', whereby they discourage and repulse valuable persons who could work for the Party and the Fatherland Front, for our great cause.

Every smaller of bigger functionary and activist of our Party should be capable of uniting all honest people; not

only of keeping those who have joined us, but of increasing the number of those who are in the Party ranks and around them. I shall repeat: a radical change should be made here too. If there was a trumpet, a powerful trumpet, whose sound could be heard all over the country to the last cottage, it should be used to announce precisely this: that all those who are probably unconsciously doing harm to the Party and to the common popular cause should come to their senses.

In this election campaign, wherever demagogues may appear, their demagogy and the delusions they spread around should be parried by the personal example of each Party member, especially of the leading functionaries, in such a way that electors shall not turn their backs to our Party and the Fatherland Front, but on the contrary, new electors shall be won over, who will support us with all their heart and who will more or less actively work for this cause tomorrow.

Particular attention in this respect should be paid to women. Some people have begun spreading the rumour that I am their only protector. I would not like to be unique in this respect; our whole Party should take up the issue. It should be well understood that even the most uneducated, semi-literate or even illiterate peasant woman can do some very useful work for the Fatherland Front if she is assisted, supported, encouraged and given a proper place, especially in the present election campaign, when leaflets and voting papers will have to be spread about and extensive canvassing agitation secured.

Our election campaign will be based on personal canvassing from house to house, and from man to man. The great mass of women should be mobilized – not only those who belong to our Party and to the social organizations, but also those who are not organized and who at first sight do not seem to be interested in politics and in that which is taking place in our country. They should be stirred into action, they should be initiative, their political level should be raised, and their will should be strengthened, so that they may show the desire and be inspired to do something,

as far as they can, for their house, hamlet, region, enterprise, office – in a few words, wherever they may appear.

It is absolutely necessary for us to reach all who are honest, respected and hard-working, to clarify things for them, to carry our justice to the last cottage in Bulgaria. And in this respect women and young girls can play an important part. Women are said to be born orators. It is quite natural and proper that they are by nature more gifted to express what they feel than men usually can. As a rule, their words gush from the bottom of their heart. If this heart is full of good intentions, and if their mind is imbued with the great ideas for which we are fighting and will continue to fight, women will become a tremendous force.

A few words about our participation and work in the mass social organizations – the trade unions, farmers' union, the women's union, the youth and sports organizations, the co-operatives and other social and cultural societies and organizations, which are formed on the basis of the Fatherland Front and in which our communists take an active part.

The election campaign within these organizations should not be held to favour this or that party, and not even our own, of course, but for the Fatherland Front, for the Fatherland Front platform. The following course should be taken: whoever votes for one or another party of the Fatherland Front, votes for our common national cause; and whoever votes for the opposition, votes for the enemies of the people and of the People's Republic. In the personal propaganda at the places where the members of these organizations live or work, the special qualities, special character and special merits of our Party may be mentioned, without directing this campaign against the other allied parties. Strict measures should be taken to prevent these public organizations from conducting a purely pro-Party agitation and propaganda. Our chairman of the Workers' Trade Union, for instance should not take the floor and make an appeal like: 'Comrades, cast your vote for the Workers' Party (Communists)!' No! The leaderships of the General Workers' Trade Union and other similar organizations should not put forward openly and officially

an appeal, manifesto, or decisions and resolutions for this or that party, not even for our own. If we observe this, we shall not only lose nothing, but actually gain a great deal, if we are wise.

Finally, I would like to stress that in this election campaign not only our Party, but the other Fatherland Front parties as well will appear before the same court – the court of the people. This court is strict and severe. At places, under the enemies' influence, it may even be insufficiently fair to our Party. Hence we should roll up our sleeves, correct a number of shortcomings and weaknesses, carryout an honest, self-critical and explanatory campaign, show clearly the big nationwide undertakings of the Party, and appear before the people with pure hearts and with full faith in the success of our Party and of the Fatherland Front in the coming elections for the Grand National Assembly.

The efforts we make in this election campaign will not only be compensated for by the good results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly. We shall also be rewarded by the further development and activity of our Party and the Fatherland Front. After proclaiming the People's Republic, we shall have to cover a path strewn with thorns and gravel, a path not smooth, like the pavement of September 9 Square, but this path will lead us to a real general prosperity for our country and people. And this will be the laurels crowning the cause of our Party.

Let us work and fight with all our might, let us throw in all our ability and energy, our mind, and heart! March on, against reaction and fascism, against the people's enemies, for the triumph of the great popular cause – the cause of the salutary and invincible Fatherland Front!

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THE FATHERLAND FRONT WILL WIN, IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING!

Speech before an Election Meeting of 200,000 in Sofia

October 25, 1946

Citizens!

Comrades!

Two days are left until the elections for the Grand National Assembly. We Bulgarian men and women electors will be called upon on October 27 to elect deputies for a Grand National Assembly, which is unprecedented in our country for its historic significance. The fate of our homeland is to be decided for many years.

The future Grand National Assembly will have to fulfil three tasks of major importance.

What are these tasks?

The first and most important of them is to elaborate and adopt a new Constitution, the Constitution of our People's Republic. The preparation and adoption of this Constitution will stabilize the internal affairs of our country. It will put an end to all doubts and hesitations as to a possible revival of the hateful and accursed reactionary past. Our people will be able to devote their energies a hundred times more confidently than up to now to creative work, to the building of our young but highly self-confident and promising People's Republic. The sinister forces of fascism and reaction will be so strongly muzzled that they will be unable to go on disturbing the people's unity upsetting its constructive work, and impeding its progress along the path of progress and general national well-being.

Herein lies primarily the historic significance of the future Grand National Assembly, which is to be elected on October 27.

In the second place, the Grand National Assembly will be called upon to coordinate and bring our economic, social, cultural and other legislation in line with the letter and spirit of the new Constitution. In this way it will establish the necessary stability, law and order in our people's state. This is the second major significance of the Grand National Assembly.

But the Grand National Assembly will also have a third task to fulfil: it will have to consider, work out and adopt a state economic plan for the rehabilitation and development of our economy – a task hard and complicated, but extremely important.

Such an economic plan will establish the necessary coordination among the state, co-operative, public and private sectors of industry and trade, of our economy in general.

We know that there are still many vaguenesses and incongruities in this respect, which hamper the development and rational utilization of all potentialities and resources of our economy. We need a plan which will put every economic factor in its proper place and coupled with the necessary combination of the state, co-operative, public and private sectors, will enable our nation's economy to emerge from the mess into which the former fascist governments, the criminal former rulers had plunged it, so that it may take the wide road of such development which will lead to the general well-being and success of our nation.

But everyone can understand easily that the proper fulfilment of these major tasks will greatly depend on the composition of the Grand National Assembly, on what kind of deputies will be in it, what kind of people will solve these problems.

The Fatherland Front, its parties have taken pains to propose to the Bulgarian electors such candidates, who are likely to fulfil their patriotic duty to the nation and homeland at the Grand National Assembly with honour. The electors in our country are the ones who will make the final decision through their votes which of these candidates

will be elected, which of these candidates are most worthy of being sent to the Grand National Assembly.

The elections on October 27 are also of another major significance, which could be called without hesitation international significance. The conclusion of the peace treaty is forthcoming. There are, however, ill-disposed circles which manifested their will at the Paris Peace Conference and out of it, and are trying to impose difficult peace conditions on Bulgaria. It is not at all to their liking that our people, led by the Fatherland Front, have taken their fate in their own hands. They still refuse, as you know, to recognize our government, the government of the Fatherland Front, as representative one. They continue refusing Bulgaria's right to treatment as a co-belligerent country against the nazi barbarians. They are doing all they can – for which they receive sufficient tendentious material from our domestic enemies – to undermine the foundations of our People's Republic. These circles rely on the Bulgarian people's disunity.

In the morning of October 28, when the results of the elections become known in Paris, London, Washington and other capitals of the world, these circles will see clearly that our people is unified in its great majority, that a Fatherland Front Grand National Assembly has been elected by the will of the people. Thus the last trump of our ill-wishers will be wrested from their hands and our just national cause will prevail so much the sooner and surer.

When all this is borne in mind, it becomes clear that it is a supreme national necessity for our country to have a Grand National Assembly elected on October 27, which will not only be significant for the larger number of deputies, but also for its composition, including devoted, true servants of our people; such deputies, who will not bend a knee to international reaction, who will not shrink in the face of threats and hardships, but will stand firm on their feet, supported by the will, unity and militant spirit of our people; such sons and daughters of our people who will not be prepared to sell the freedom, independence and future of our People's Republic for a bowl of lentils, as the saying is; such deputies to the Grand National Assembly,

for whom our people's interests, our people's will will be a supreme and inviolable law.

Comrades, the Fatherland Front, its parties present to the men and women electors in Bulgaria a joint platform. As you know, the draft Constitution unanimously adopted by the National Committee of the Fatherland Front and the leaderships of the Fatherland Front parties forms an essential part of this programme.

Of course, this draft is not final. It only represents the basis of the future Constitution, which will be completed and passed by the Grand National Assembly.

The draft Constitution has been subjected for nationwide consideration.

Each man or woman elector has the opportunity to send to the National Committee of the Fatherland Front his or her corrections and suggestions. After being considered in this way, the draft of the future Consitution and all the material connected with it will be examined by the Constitutional Committee of the Grand National Assembly, which will thus be able to submit to the Grand National Assembly an improved draft for adoption as a future Constitution.

The Fatherland Front has been, and is guided by this intention: to have the new Bulgarian Constitution worked out by the collective mind and common will of our democratic-minded people. It will not be elaborated in the offices and studies of professors and scholars. Its provisions will pass through the minds and hearts of the electors all over the country, and it will become flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of our militant people.

In elaborating this draft, its authors have naturally taken into consideration many other constitutions, old and new. But they have tried to borrow from these constitutions only that which is useful and reasonable, and which suits our local conditions, our economic structure, our culture and the character of our people. They have also borrowed certain principles from the old Turnovo Constitution, which is of no use as a whole.

The draft constitution, proposed for discussion, is and should bear the character of a Bulgarian Constitution. We

learn and should learn from others, especially from those who are ahead of us. But we should do that in a way suitable and useful to our country, to its progress.

We should be careful not to copy literally foreign patterns, decrees and principles which do not fully correspond to our local conditions[59]. We shall march forward, Comrades, we shall march forward along our own, Bulgarian path. We shall build our fate, the happiness of our children, upon Bulgarian foundations and shall not yield – when adopting the Constitution at the Grand National Assembly – to any foreign influence which may impede our forward march as Bulgarian people, as a Slav nation, as a nation which lives in a definite territory, in definite conditions and environment, a nation which has its own history.

As a matter of fact, although it has borrowed certain elements from other constitutions, the draft worked out by the Fatherland Front is a Bulgarian draft, because we are not creating a Constitution for other countries, but a Constitution for the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The discussion of the Constitution has not yet come to an end – it goes on and will continue even after the elections. But it can be said with full confidence even now that the masses in our country accept the fundamental principles of the draft with great satisfaction. These principles are already well-known to all and I shall not dwell upon them. Everything in the draft boils down to a general principle. It consists in the fact that all power stems from the people, is vested in the people, and is controlled by the people. The people exercise their right of supreme masters through the National Assembly and other representative organs elected by them on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, as well as by Referendum. This constitutes the radical, profound difference between the draft for the Constitution and the old, outdated and bankrupt Turnovo Constitution.

The opposition leaders oppose to our Constitution the old Turnovo Constitution. Their position is obviously inconsistent. But they are not satisfied with this alone. They resort to scandalous distortions of the draft submitted by

the Fatherland Front. Especially of the paragraph pertaining to private property and the right of inheritance.

The draft Constitution has been printed in millions of copies in the newspapers and separate booklets. It has been distributed all over the country. Every elector can read article 8, which says explicitly:

> Private property and private initiative in economy are recognized, and private property acquired by labour and thrift enjoys special protection.
>
> The right to inherit private property is settled by law.

The great significance of this article of the draft Constitution consists in the fact that it protects the property of the farmers, craftsmen and all manual and intellectual workers in our country from the encroachments of profiteering capital and financial sharks, from the various big capitalists, money-lenders, bankers, and big landowners who, as we know, grabbed the small plots of the peasants and townsmen by all means and methods in the past. The draft Constitution guarantees this property and the right of inheritance.

This, however, does not stop the opposition's demagogues from asserting the opposite. They even go further in their impudence. The communists, they say, will take the property of the peasant and craftsman, they will take the house, the lodging of the townsmen, civil servant and pensioner, and will deprive their children of inheritance rights.

But, mark you, there are at least half a million farmers, craftsmen and other citizens in Bulgaria who are communists, or relatives and friends of communists and who also possess property. And those people assert that our Party is about to take the property of the farmers and townsmen! One should really have a loose nut in one's head to believe such tales.

But I shall take the occasion to declare categorically from this rostrum that precisely we communists are going to propose at the Grand National Assembly to have it

written plainly and clearly in the draft constitution that the private property of the farmer, peasant, craftsman, manual and brain worker and the right to its inheritance is to be consolidated and guaranteed for its owners and their successors forever.

Comrades, Electors,

The Fatherland Front will not onlyappear at the elections with a joint platform, of which the draft constitution will be as I said, an essential part – it will also come forward with its deeds, which are magnificent. These deeds are well-known to all Bulgarian men and women. They are only contested by the members of the oppositon and foreign agents who are blinded by malice.

Those who do not have a short memory can recall what was done up to September 9, and what the Fatherland Front has accomplished since then, backed by the complete confidence and support of the Bulgarian people.

Which honest elector can deny that precisely the Fatherland Front saved our country on September 9, 1944 from a horrible national catastrophe and the danger of having Turkish troops, for example, appear on our territory? Had it not been for the Fatherland Front, which used the advance of the glorious Red Army, marching into Romania, near the Danube, to carry out the people's uprising on September 9, we might have had Turkish troops in our country in the next few days. The Turkish army stood armed and ready at our boundary. This historic merit of the Fatherland Front should not be forgotten by any man or woman elector on October 27, when he or she takes the ballot to vote for deputies for the Grand National Assembly.

Which honest man can deny that the Fatherland Front saved the country from civil war, saved the nation's economy from complete disaster and restored our economic life? Had it not been for the Fatherland Front, had it not been for the unity of our people achieved by the Fatherland Front, we would have been in a situation not better than that which at present exists in Greece, where a real civil war is increasingly gaining momentum.

Who in our country does not know that the Fatherland

Front secured the successful participation of our army in the Patriotic War, whereby it rehabilitated the honour of our nation, which is today one of the most important arguments in favour of our national cause?

The Fatherland Front handed the fascist criminals – the people's murderers – to the People's Courts and the latter punished them severely but justly. This does Bulgaria great credit – morally and politically – before the democratic world abroad.

The Fatherland Front purged our army from perpetrators of coup d'etats, conspirators and reactionaries and attached the army to the people solidly and forever.

Is it not true that the Fatherland Front, its policy, the alertness and efforts of its Government, saved the country from inflation, from a devaluation of the lev, which happened in all the other countries formerly allied to Germany? For a considerably long period our lev has long maintained its parity. The possibilities for its improvement are at hand, and it is not menaced, as the currencies of other countries, by the danger of further inflation.

The Fatherland Front saved the population from famine and the cattle from starvation.

The Fatherland Front stimulated the initiative of our people and youth for constructive labour and heroism, which is evidenced by the labour teams in indistry, the teams helping agriculture, the teams which dig passes, like the Hainboaz Pass. Young people, women, workers and peasants perform miracles in the field of constructive labour, they make tremendous efforts for the country's well-being.

This year's state budget alone earmarks 14,000 million leva for construction projects, for the economic development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

It was the Fatherland Front which gave full rights to our women, to the Bulgarian townswoman and peasant woman, who have proved worthy of this distinction through their own struggle against fascism together with our men. Women in our country have been granted equal rights with men, and this will be still more strongly and explicitly confirmed in the Constitution. We can see our

women participating in noble emulation with men in every sphere of cultural and economic life.

I myself have noticed many times that women often surpass many men in their work, in their drive and persistence in overcoming difficulties. We shall witness this once again at the elections on October 27, when we shall give the women electors a nationwide welcome, because their votes for the candidates of the Fatherland Front will greatly help inflict crushing defeat over reaction.

The Fatherland Front has provided ample opportunities for developing the abilities and skill of young people in our country. The new Constitution will legalize and reaffirm the franchise and the right to election of young people over eighteen. The Fatherland Front believes that the future belongs to our glorious, militant youth, and not to the go-getters and socialite vamps who serve reaction. This will not take 10 or 20 years. Right away we shall give priority to our militant youth, the urban and rural Bulgarian youth capable of marching onward. We shall also see this youth on October 27. The malicious opposition will receive a large share of its crushing defeat from it.

Despite the great difficulties, despite the fact that we have become poor owing to the former fascist regimes, to German plunder and to last year's drought, the Fatherland Front has carried out a number of reforms to relieve the population – peasants, workers, employees and pensioners; it has granted pensions to the peasant women, introduced the Act on the working peasants' landed property, which provides for the distribution of land to hundreds of thousands of poor farmers; adopted the Act on progressive income tax, which exempts up to 400,000 tax-payers from taxation and relieves the burden of many thousands of others.

The Fatherland Front has also initiated a public health and social welfare policy. Children's homes, nurseries, hospitals, out-patient clinics and maternity homes are being opened in many villages, such as never existed there up to now, where our peasant mothers were formerly often left to die at childbirth, deprived of the most elementary obstetric aid.

Holiday houses are being set up for workers, employees and farmers.

New universities, high schools and study courses are being opened. Strong impetus is given to the development of culture and to the creative work of the people's intelligentsia.

Mother and child care has become a matter of special concern.

On the other hand, the Fatherland Front has issued an Act against those who have grown rich illegally, against those who have robbed the people, against those who have profiteered from the people's bread and the fruits of their labour. Measures have been taken to protect the people from those who up to September 9 has ample opportunities to dictate, exploit, oppress and plunder.

The Fatherland Front has secured the people's victory over the hateful monarchy and its supporters, and has set up a People's Republic.

In brief, the Fatherland Front did in two years' time as much for our country's development and our people's wellbeing, as was not done by former governments over full 50 years. With such achievements, which I shall not discuss in further detail, with such immense undertakings of popular benefit will the Fatherland Front and its parties appear before the electorate in our country. And they can rightly rely on the confidence of the great majority of the people.

Comrades!

We all know that the leaders of the opposition boycotted the last National Assembly elections. This time they evidently want to correct their mistake. They hold meetings, canvass, impudently criticize the Fatherland Front and its Government, slander unscrupulously, provoke indiscriminately, and at the same time protest that there is no freedom. But they never put forward a definite, concrete, constructive platform, which will bring good to the people. They do not have such a platform.

One thing unites the leaders of the opposition. It is negation – negation of the Fatherland Front, negation of

the people's rule, negation of all that is good for the people. Negation all along the line.

The leaders of the opposition are united by their common desire to turn back the clock of history, to restore the past in Bulgaria – the despicable, disgraceful, fascist, reactionary past. The people wish to advance, to consolidate the positions of what they have gained up to now, to go ahead with their construction work and to achieve prosperity, while the members of the opposition, these malicious critics and wreckers, are trying to pull them back. They are united by malice, which is a common sentiment in their ranks, malice towards the Fatherland Front. They did their utmost both at home and abroad to do away with the Fatherland Front, but the Fatherland Front stands and will continue to stand in its place, unshaken as a granite rock.

All this motley crowd of opposition leaders are united by their common service to domestic and foreign reaction. They are bickering with each other for the subsidies they receive from abroad. But all of them serve foreign and domestic reaction. On this point they are unanimous. They have joined so to say, the common platform of national treason.

Who has forgotten that the leaders of the opposition quitted their own parties, the Agrarian Union and the Social Democratic Party, at someone else's suggestion and deserted the Fatherland Front Government? Who has forgotten that by quitting their own parties and trying to form their personal parties under the same names they wanted to render a service to the foreign forces wanting to put an end to the people's rule in Bulgaria and do away with the Fatherland Front? They committed this grave national crime at the suggestion of others, as foreign agents. And ever since they have been doing their best to impede the creative work of the Fatherland Front, which is the work of our democratic people.

The opposition has two main weapons which it puts forward in the election campaign.

The first of these weapons is slander and lying. The members of the opposition are very diligent,energetic and

active in this field; they have a liking for it, it suits their mentality, the mentality of foreign agents. Tell me, what else, if not base slander, is the statement of the opposition leaders that the draft Constitution did not guarantee private property and the right to its inheritance, which I already mentioned?

What else if not anti-Bulgarian treacherous forgery is the publication and circulation of a non-existant, never made speech attributed to Mr. Byrnes, the American Secretary of State, with the purpose of confusing our people and discrediting our popular government abroad?

When the American representative was shown the text of this speech and asked: 'Is it true that the American Foreign Secretary, Byrnes, has made this speech?' he answered: 'How can anyone believe Mr. Byrnes to have made such a speech.' And yet, it is an actual fact that supporters of the opposition published this faked speech and that members of the opposition are circulating it. Even Loulchev's daughter now lies in prison because she took part spreading this disgusting squib.

What else, if not high national treason is the fact that when our Government is making such great efforts to normalize Bulgaria's relations with America and Britain, the leaders of the opposition are discrediting our country and the Fatherland Front before the British and the Americans by all kinds of lies and slander. They are doing their best to prevent the necessary normalization of our relations with these countries. The leaders of the opposition are spreading slanderous rumours that neither the Americans nor the British will sign a peace treaty with the Fatherland Front Government. These pseudo-Bulgarians beg the Americans and the British not to conclude peace with Bulgaria, just because the Fatherland Front governs the country. It is difficult, indeed, to find an instance of more shameless and base treachery!

As a second weapon, the opposition makes use of the difficulties which have befallen our people as a result of the crimes of the fascist monsters, nazi plundering and the horrible drought we had last year.

Suffice it to recall only last year's campaign launched

by the Fatherland Front, its Government and the National Assembly to save the population from famine and the livestock from starvation. All honest people in our country were mobilized to collect food and straw. What did the opposition do at this same time? Its criminal agents set fire to the warehouses with provisions and straw.

The Fatherland Front has now been in power for two years. The difficulties are numerous. Certain errors have been made. Only he who does nothing does not err. But while the Fatherland Front, its Government, and especially our Party, which rely on the support of the population, are trying their best to cope with the existing difficulties, to eliminate shortcomings and correct errors, what is the opposition doing at this same time? Ask its candidates what the opposition has done up to now to eliminate shortcomings and overcome difficulties, to help the people! It only rejoices maliciously at the grave ordeals of our people and does its best to increase the difficulties. It has not yet made a single concrete proposal which might be of use of our country. And I could declare that our Party is ready to give a 100,000 leva prize to any elector who can point out a concrete, positive, constructive and useful proposal on the part of the opposition. No such exists, indeed! Even if you should go looking around with a lantern, like Diogenes in the old Greek legend did, seeking a real man with a lantern by day, you would not find such a serious, concrete, useful proposal of the opposition.

It is quite easy to understand why this is so.

By its membership, nature and deeds, the opposition is not a Bulgarian opposition. It is a foreign agency. It is the agency of reaction and of big parasitic capital. It consists of fund-holders, big capitalist, profiteers, legionaries and fascist terrorists. Some of the richest men are its leaders. This opposition gives great satisfaction to the representatives of the big capitalist cartels and trusts, who try to enslave our country economically and efface its nationally.

The general motto of the opposition leaders is this: the harder the lot of the people, the better it will be for its sinister anti-national schemes!

What are the cherished aims of the opposition leaders? They can be formulated in a few words like this:

First: The opposition leaders are trying to set at odds the Bulgarian people and their liberators – the great Russian people, the great Soviet Union, our most faithful friend and protector, the staunch defender of our national cause.

Second: They are trying to set at odds the Bulgarian people and their Yugoslav brothers, with whom we have a common fate.

Third: The opposition leaders are trying to set at odds peasants and workers, whose indissoluble friendship constitutes the basic force of the Fatherland Front and of the People's Republic in our country. The lack of such friendship, as all remember, facilitated the fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923 and the establishment of a monarcho-fascistdictatorship, which raged over our people for over twenty years. The Bulgarian people, however, have suffered enough, they have given too many victims, and received too many bitter lessons to allow the perfidious leaders of the opposition to achieve their diabolical, anti-national aims.

The Bulgarian people know that in order to avoid a new June 9 they should protect the acquistitions of September 9 with might and main and never repeat the old errors of the past.

Our people now realize that to support such an opposition means to commit national treason. To vote for this anti-national opposition means to stab our People's Republic in the back.

When I speak of the opposition, I have in mind its leading faction, consisting of fund-holders, big capitalists, money-lenders, profiteers and corrupt politicians, and not those farmers, craftsmen, industrialists and businessmen, who are dissatisfied for various reasons and are misled by the demagogy, lies and slanders of the opposition leaders. Such electors will have the opportunity of thinking things over until October 27 and many of them will certainly recall the wise popular saying that it is silly to burn the blanket to catch the flea. They will also have to remember

another of our proverbs: 'As you have made your bed, so will you lie on it.'

As to the opposition leaders, they should be reminded of what happened to Drazha Mihailovic in Yugoslavia.

Dear Electors!

The leaders of the opposition maintain hypocritically that if Bulgaria capitulates before international reaction, if it falls on its knees before the big bosses of the dollar and pound sterling, it will obtain a wonderful peace treaty. The only thing to do was to capitulate, only to concede the right of being its own master of foreign trusts and cartels, and banks.

It would be appropriate to recall in this connection the well-known fable about the wolf and the lamb.

As you know, the lamb was at the river bank for a drink of water. The wolf, standing a little above, blamed the lamb for mudding his water, the lamb said this was impossible because it was well down-stream from where the wolf was standing. But the wolf replied: 'I will eat you up anyway!'.

This is how the imperialist financial wolves abroad are trying to behave with Bulgaria. But they are altogether mistaken in their design. They overlook a 'slight' hitch – that since September 9 our people, led by the Fatherland Front, can no longer be treated as a flock of sheep. This will not be. The Bulgarian people have proved that they are a militant people, ready to bear every privation and hardship, but be the full, sovereign masters of their homes, however modest and poor these homes may be for the present.

'Whether you muddle my water or not, I will eat you up!' This wolfish maxim is completely inapplicable to our heroic and militant people. Such a trick is ruled out with Fatherland Front Bulgaria!

Moreover, our people enjoy the well-deserved support of the Soviet Union.

Our people also enjoy the support of the other Slav peoples. Their just cause finds ever wider understanding and recognition in the Western countries as well. This also becomes clear from the statements of many foreign

journalists, deputies and other persons who have visited Bulgaria and who are now firmly supporting our just national cause abroad.

We are not alone.

What splendid and unforgettable support the representatives of the Soviet Union and our other Slav brothers rendered new Bulgaria in Paris!

The forceful words which Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, spoke at the last sitting of the Paris Conference are still ringing in the air. 'We confidently say to the Bulgarians, our friends: Bulgarians, be at ease, your borders will be left untouched'.

Allow me, on behalf of our people and its Fatherland Front, to express from this rostrum the warmest gratitude to all who have defended the just cause at the Paris Conference and out of it.

Let me remind those who look upon us with displeasure because Bulgaria is building people's democracy and not 'democracy' after the Greek pattent, that the Fatherland Front acts entirely in the spirit of the Yalta Declaration of the leaders of the three Great Powers, made on February 12, 1945. In this declaration it is explicitly said, in part:

> The establishment of good order in Europe and the reconstruction of national economic life should be achieved in a way which will enable the liberated nations to destroy the vestiges of nazism and fascism and to set up democratic institutions after their own choice. In accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter as to the right of all nations to choose the form of government under which they will live, the restoration of the sovereign rights and self-government should be guaranteed to those nations which were deprived of these rights by the aggressive nations through violence.

In view of this declaration of the Great Powers, the Bulgarian people are profoundly amazed at the attempts of some countries, whose representatives signed the decisions of the Yalta Conference, to show themselves ill disposed towards the Bulgarian effort to efface the last vestiges of nazism and fascism in their country and to set up democratic institutions after their own choice. The

Bulgarian people cannot consider the recent behaviour of these countries but as being contradictory to the Yalta Declaration and as an encouragement to the survivals of fascism and reaction in our country.

To our people the decision of the Yalta Conference on this question is in force. And they will continue to go their own way, acting in accordance with this decision.

We are firmly convinced that despite all difficulties, despite all hostile attacks, despite all malicious intrigues of the opposition, the Bulgarian people will finally have a well-deserved and tolerable peace treaty, of which they have proved worthy through their sacrifices and the blood they shed, through their actions in favour of democracy and peace. We need only firmness, endurance, strong nerves and steadfast struggle for our sacred right to a free national existence.

Comrades, the Fatherland Front puts forward a joint platform and proposes that it be voted with ballots of the individual Fatherland Front parties.

Every man and woman elector, who votes for the Fatherland Front, will be perfectly free to vote for the candidates of that Fatherland Front Party which he or she prefers.

The parties which form the Fatherland From are given the opportunity of sportsmanly competition with each other. The Fatherland Front will only gain by this. It will emerge from the elections still stronger and mightier than ever before.

Each vote cast for one or another Fatherland Front party is a vote for the Fatherland Front, against reaction and the people's enemies, a vote in favour of the People's Republic, in favour of the common national cause.

Together with the other Fatherland Front parties, the Workers' Party is taking an active part in the election campaign. Our Party is recognized as the initiator and founder of the Fatherland Front. It will never abandon this achievement, because the Fatherland Front is a national achievement, and the communists have no other goal and can have no other goal but the welfare of the people.

The Workers' Party was the chief organizer of the

resistance movement and the partisan struggle against fascism and the German invaders. It was the chief subjective factor securing the victory of the historic uprising of September 9, 1944. The Workers' Party and its young members took a most active part in the Patriotic War against the nazi barbarians. The Workers' Party is still the mainstay of the Fatherland Front. It is the strongest political party in our country, enjoying the full confidence of the masses. All this, of course, is by no means accidental. It is a completely logical occurrence.It is due to the Party's loyalty and devotion to the people, to its unflinching struggle and to the immense sacrifices it has made for our common cause. It is also due to its efforts to consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front, to its unceasing concern for the building of a Bulgarian democracy for the good of our people and country, and to its firm defence of the Bulgarian national cause.

This explains the frantic spite of the opposition leaders and their foreign protectors against the Workers' Party, against the Bulgarian communists.

Our people, however, are aware that we communists have no other goal but our people's well-being and happiness, the success of its undertakings, the progress of our nation, so that the latter may take its rightful place in the common family of freedom-loving nations and contribute its share to the progress of mankind.

Today, at the height of the election campaign , when all kinds of arithmetical estimates are made as to how many votes each party will poll, one thing remains beyond dispute – that the Fatherland Front will win, that the co-operation of the Fatherland Front parties will gain strength, that the stronger the Workers' Party becomes the mightier will the Fatherland Front be, the more successful the fulfilment of its programme, the more certain the building of our People's Republic, the greater the unity of our people's democratic and progressive forces under the Fatherland Front banner, and the stronger, firmer, more hardy and confident our nation.

Let no one be mistaken – there can be no real democracy without the Fatherland Front. Nor can

Bulgaria become a completely free, independent, mighty and flourishing People's Republic without the Fatherland Front. Our people cannot obtain a just, well-deserved and lasting peace without the Fatherland Front. Without the Fatherland Front they cannot attain their national goal – to safeguard their national independence.

For this reason, men, women, and young people, march on towards the brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front and the crushing defeat of reaction in the elections for the Grand National Assembly! The Fatherland Front will win, in spite of everything! No forcein the world can defeat a nation which has taken its fate into its own hands and is always prepared to defend it courageously! There is not and there cannot be such a force!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the indissoluble friendship between workers, peasants, craftsmen and the people's intelligentsia!

Long live the democratic, hard-working and freedom-loving Bulgarian people!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its Grand National Assembly!

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RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS FOR A GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Talk with Foreign Journalists in Connection with the Victory of the Fatherland Front in the Elections for a Grand National Assembly

October 29, 1946

It is quite natural to raise the question, what will the Bulgarian Government be now, after the elections for a Grand National Assembly, the results of which are already well-known to all.

The elections have brought a brilliant victory to the Fatherland Front, as you know. The opposition in our country thought of obtaining a majority with foreign aid. Its leaders canvassed, wrote and spoke that after October 27 Bulgaria was going to have a government of the opposition. The opposition leaders are even known to have quarrelled with each other about how to distribute the ministerial posts of the future government. There is a Bulgarian proverb, which says in such a case: 'They have prepared the pan before they have caught the fish.' Another proverb also fits these people very well: 'The bear is still in the forest, while they are quarreling how to divide its fur.' Such is the situation with our opposition now. It suffered a great moral and political defeat in the elections for a Grand National Assembly. It obtained only 101 out of all 465 seats of the Grand National Assembly, which is less than a quarter of the total number.

The Fatherland Front has the great majority in the Grand National Assembly. The Workers' Party, the party of the communists, occupies a central place in this majori-

ty, with 277 seats. In the Grand National Assembly which will be opened these days, we communists will constitute nearly 60 per cent of all deputies.

According to parliamentary practice and parliamentary traditions, on the basis of this majority in the Grand National Assembly, our Party could form its own government, as the British Labourites did, for example. After winning the last elections, they formed a homogenous government of their own, without taking any Conservative of Liberal. The people gave them the majority, gave them their confidence, and will hold them responsible for their government. They were not afraid to this responsibility. They took the power in their hands and declared that they would put socialism into effect. The question is, what could be more natural in Bulgaria, with this result of the elections for a Grand National Assembly if the communists did the same. No one could say a word against it from abroad, and the people in Bulgaria would find it quite natural and comprehensible. But in my own opinion, and in all probability our Party will decide the same, the future government in our country should not be composed only of communists. It will be a government of the Fatherland Front, which means that representatives of their Fatherland Front parties will take part in it, but not representatives of the opposition. If, however, in future, the opposition represented in the Grand National Assembly forms a group of deputies proving that they pursue a purely Bulgarian national policy and are not foreign agents, it will be possible to speak of co-operation between the government and this group. But for the present, there is no such group. Our attitude to the opposition will depend solely on its own behaviour in the Grand National Assembly and out of it. Let me repeat again: the Government will be one of the Fatherland Front. The Workers' Party (Communists) today assume a great responsibility to the people and it is quite natural that it will not allow the formation of a government which will not correspond to the demands of our people, so clearly and categorically expressed in the elections of October 27.

It should be admitted that in the former government

there were people who hampered the decisive and consistent implementation of the Fatherland Front programme. Now, however, Bulgaria will be able to have a government supported by the great majority of representatives in the Grand National Assembly. Backed by those three million voters, who cast their votes for the Fatherland Front, and especially by the two and a half million workers, employees, civil servants, farmers, women and young people, organized in their trade unions and public organizations, the new Fatherland Front Government will be able to pursue firmly and resolutely, with still greater vigour and steadfastness, the domestic and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front.

If our people have given such a majority to the Workers' Party (Communists), they have done so because they want to have the survivals of fascism in our country done away with energetically and radically, as the decisions of the Yalta Conference stipulate.

If our people have voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) in their great majority, they have done so because they wish to have big, profiteering and parasitic capital eliminated from the nation's economy and impetus given to the nation's economy and the people's initiative towards peak development.

If the Bulgarian people voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) on October 27, they did so because they wish to have the consolidation of the Bulgarian Army firmly and resolutely continued, so as to make it a really people's army, forever linked with the people.

If the people voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) did so because they wish to have a really people's Constitution created on the basis of that draft of the Fatherland Front, which the people themselves approved at the polls.

The people have given the majority to the Fatherland Front, and the Workers' Party (Communists) in particular, because they are convinced that this is the best way to bring to an end the sacred fight for the right to independent national existence of our nation and country. The struggle

in defence of our just national cause should be brought to a successful end.

For all this, it is necessary to have a government which shall be able to wage such a struggle, and to wage it without hesitation.

The moment has come when it is necessary to act resolutely and firmly, without hesitation, and of course, wisely and prudently. The future cannot belong to the timid and hesitant, to people and nations with weak nerves. The future cannot belong to people and nations who in stormy weather lose nerve and self-control, lose mind and heart. Such people and nations can have no future. The future belongs to those who are well aware that after each storm is over, the sun will shine brighter and that the air will be much fresher.

Another question of interest to you is how the results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly will be received abroad.

There can be no doubt that the elections were held quietly, legally and in good order. You have seen for yourselves that the people expressed their will freely. This will has not been falsified. As to the opposition, however, to the votes it obtained, there can be no doubt that foreign pressure, the confusion created by the assertion that if the Fatherland Front won, Bulgaria would not obtain a favourable peace treaty, that heavy reparations would be imposed on us, that Bulgarian territory might be torn off, that the British and the Americans would denounce the armistrice treaty, and so on – there can be no doubt whatever that all this induced part of the electors to vote for the oposition.

I can declare with a pure conscience and sense of responsibility before you, as representatives of international public opinion, that certain foreign representatives in Sofia and their collaborators were among the active agitators of the opposition in Bulgaria. It is no secret that they did this in various ways – by encouraging and supporting the opposition against the Fatherland Front, against its government. Naturally, all this cannot be in the spiritof the pollicy and in the interests of the nations which

they represent. This is a rather doubtful service to their countries. As you know from the fable, when the bear wanted to help her sleeping master and remove the fly from his forehead, she took a stone to hit the fly, but smashed her master's head too. Even if we admit that the intentions of these representatives were noble and honest, the results are like that of the bear.

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly will be welcomed with admiration by all progressive, democratic forces in the world. They will see in these results a contribution to the restoration and consolidation of world democracy and of lasting peace among nations – a Bulgarian contribution. These results will be hailed by our Slav brothers – Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and especially the Soviet Union, as results beneficial to democracy and peace.

But there is one category of circles, one category of owners of pound sterling, dollars, trusts, cartels and combines, who would like to have in the Balkans, and in Bulgaria in particular, such a contingent of agents through whom they could enslave the Balkans and Bulgaria first economically and then politically. This category of circles will be dissatisfied with the results of the elections, they will be embittered against the Fatherland Front, against Bulgaria and especially against the communists. Parallel with this cateogry there is also another one – various journalists and publicists, some of whom are so capable that they can write articles to order, tailoring them the way they are asked to. They will now write a great deal again, they will clamour against what they will call 'Irregular elections'. They will write so, because they will be paid for it. They will clamour against a 'communist dictatorship', which does not exist. These publicists and journalists are of the old type. Fortunately, the new generation of democratic journalists are honest and conscientious on the whole. And I am delighted to have here as my visitors precisely such journalists, who express public opinion in their countries in the latter way.

Another question is, what attitude will the official

circles, mainly the governments of Britain and America, take towards Bulgaria after the last elections?

As you know, the negative attitude towards the Bulgarian Government, towards the Fatherland Front was mainly based on the claim that our Government was not sufficiently representative, that Bulgaria was governed by a minority under the name of Fatherland Front and that the Bulgarian people in their great majority sided with the opposition. For this reason, they said, we cannot recognize a government which represents a minority, while the majority is opposed to it.

Now it can be expected, there are grounds to believe, that Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin, as well as other statesmen, will give ear to the language of figures, to the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly and will reassess the facts – for facts are things which strike the eye. They will have to admit that the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly have shown that the Fatherland Front has over 70 per cent of the voters in Bulgaria on its side, and 70 per cent is more than 20 per cent, it is a majority. They will have to admit that the deputies of the Fatherland Front represent the overwhelming majority, that the opposition represents less than a quarter, that three quarters side with the Fatherland Front.

It follows that now, after the elections, it should be easier and more possible for the American and British Governments to change their attitude towards new Bulgaria. A big barrier has been passed, has been done away with. And if the British and American Governments change their attitude to Bulgaria, it will be possible to normalize our relations with these two great countries, because in our country, in our nation there has always been a sincere desire to normalize these relations.

Although we are a small nation, we believe that we have the right to lay a small claim with respect to this normalization – that our national and state sovereignty be not impaired, that we be left to arrange our modest home quietly, as the interests and will of our people demand, that no one try to impose dictates and exert influence on our country, that there be an attitude of mutual respect,

respect both of our interests and theirs, that matters be settled in the spirit of the Yalta Declaration, beneath which both the British and American representatives have put their signatures. As you know, the Yalta Declaration provides that every nation should be given the right to have the kind of government it desires, without any pressure, any foreign suggestions, after its own choice.

In a few words, the results of the elections are of great international significance for Bulgaria. They clear the way for normalizing and setting Bulgaria's international situation. They will help Bulgaria obtain a favourable and just peace treaty.

In any case, one thing is beyond dispute about us: we shall always struggle for freedom, for national independence,for the right to independent national existence. The Bulgarian people, as I have stated before, will not fall on their knees. They will not fall before any threats, because these people have lived, grown up and learned a continuous struggle for freedom and existence.

I shall answer one more question raised in connection with the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly.

What political analysis can be made of the votes, obtained in the elections by the opposition?

Out of all 4,300,000 electors who went to the polls, only 1,200,000 cast their votes for the opposition. These can be, classified in the following way: first – big capitalists, profiteers, reactionaries, pro-fascists, people who helped the Germans pillage Bulgaria, who stand for the past, for a set-back at all and every cost; and second – people with weak nerves. The rest of the electors, the great majority of our people, held out. The great majority of the electors said: 'We shall stay here, standing straight on our feet, and shall always stand straight, because our well-being and the well-being of our children are at stake.'

I shall add here, by way of self-criticism, that part of the electors, who voted for the opposition, have been prompted to do so by a certain personal discontent and embitterment.

It should not be forgotten that our democracy is new.

Our government is a new one. Our rulers are learning how to rule in the interest of the people. And there are tremendous difficulties in our country. Our land was pillaged by the Germans. The fundamental consumer goods and raw materials were taken away. Last year we had the misfortune of a serious drought and we had to make great efforts to pool our resources and save the population from famine and the livestock from starvation. We coped with this situation to a large extent thanks to the aid of 70 million kg of food which the Soviet Unions sent us. We still have our difficulties. In the second half of this year we had a new drought. The potatoes, beans, maize, sunflower and sugar beet were affected by it. These difficulties in our food supply make it impossible to provide the entire population with all that it needs. We are forced to ration the available food supplies and other consumer goods so as to give priority to those sections of the population working at factories, mines, enterprises, in transport, in the fields, and so on, to those who are engaged in difficult physical jobs, and to those who are working at offices, etc. The remaining part of the population receives less. This part is, naturally, dissatisfied. It was precisely a certain number of this dissatisfied part which voted for the opposition.

Certain slips have also been made in the rationing system. There still are wreckers and enemies in the state apparatus itself, who are trying to discredit the Fatherland Front Government. This is another source of discontentment for another part of the population.

In the third place, some of our young leaders took liberties, made deviations, especially in the field of economic life. A number of restrictions imposed on farmers and other producers, depriving them of the opportunity of selling their products on the free market, were considered quite reasonable, but were in fact unnecessary. The country could do without them.

The opposition fanned and is fanning this discontentment to promote its diabolical designs. It can be said without any exaggeration that at least half of the votes cast for the opposition are the result of such discontent and bitterness.

But now the Fatherland Front and its Government will use this lesson, they will use the signal given by the results of the elections to reduce these mistakes to the minimum and to have them corrected speedily.

There can be no doubt that one half of the electors who cast votes for the opposition will return to the Fatherland Front in a few months and will not side with the enemies of the Fatherland Front any more.

The opposition, which for a period of one year will have about a hundred deputies in the National Assembly, will actually have two times less followers in the towns and villages, as a result of the gradually improving material standards of country and the correction of the errors allowed to occur in the past.

We communists are firmly resolved to improve the situation in our country, to establish law and order, to secure condition for creative labour and progress.

In conclusion, let me say: a communist dictatorship in Bulgaria is absolutely out of the question, although members of our opposition and foreign agents threaten the people with it. On the contrary, the Fatherland Front will take a still more active part in the management of state and social affairs.

The Fatherland Front and the communists in particular are ambitious to make of the People's Republic of Bulgaria an exemplary, model republic. In this respect Bulgaria will vie with the fraternal Slav countries – Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

We are sure, we are perfectly sure that we shall achieve this.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 253
October 31, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 379-389
Published by the BCP, 1954

TEN OVERALL IMPERATIVES

From the Bulgarian people's vote in the elections of October 27 ensue for all Fatherland Front parties and social organizations, for all Bulgarian patriots a number of categorical imperatives. The most important of these imperatives can briefly be formulated in the following ten points:

First. To continue resolutely and without hesitation the democratic and peaceful policy pursued heretofore by the Fatherland Front, the struggle for the Bulgarian people's right to a free, independent national existence, and in defence of their national cause – conclusion of a just and favourable peace treaty.

Second. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation the ideological and political struggle for liquidating the survivals of fascism, for taming reaction, and for ending immediately arbitrary behaviour and lawlessness on the part of whoever it may be, in order to establish complete democratic order, freedom and lawfulness in the country.

Third. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation measures for implementing the Fatherland Front programme, the rehabilitation and development of national economy, the mechanization and development of agriculture, the industrialization and electrification of the country, in order to guarantee as soon as possible an improvement of the living and cultural standards of the broad masses of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals.

Fourth. To pursue resolutely and without hesitation the policy of eliminating from the nation's economy all profiteering and parasitic capital, and co-ordinating private capital and private enterprise with the general interests of the people, so as to guarantee the proper development of the Bulgarian home indistry.

Fifth. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation with the consolidation of the state administration, public and cultural institutions, educational institutions and courses, so that they may fully accomplish their popular task.

Sixth. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation measures to secure law and order in the country, so that the people may unfold all their creative initiatives, abilities and forces without restraint. In the meantime, speedily to remove the existing shortcomings in setting production quotas and provisioning of the population, and all harmful deviations and arbitrary and illegal actions against labour, private enterprise and citizens' property.

Seventh. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation with the nation's public health and social welfare policy, especially with respect to mother and child care.

Eighth. To pass through the Grand National Assembly a really progressive Constitution of our People's Republic, based on the draft elaborated by the Fatherland Front.

Ninth. To carry on without hesitation the strengthening of our army and its military capacity as a people's army, linked forever with the people, a true guard of our national freedom and independence, of our boundaries.

Tenth. To continue resolutely and without hesitation strengthening the co-operation among the Fatherland Front parties and social organizations, promoting mutual respect, avoiding all external interference in their internal affairs, strengthening the Fatherland Front's unity as an invincible union of workers, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia, directing the fate of the Bulgarian people, mainstay of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 254
November 1, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 390-392
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Moratorium – a determent, or suspension of payment, usually under extraordinary circumstances, such as war pestilence, natural calamities, etc. Hitler, to win over the middling and small peasant masses, proclaimed a moratorium of their debts to the state at the very beginning of his rule, but failed to fulfil his promise.

2. *Tsarist Okhrana – gendarme* institution in Tsarist Russia, set up at the Police Department in 1881 to combat the revolutionary movement, dissolved during the February Bourgeois Democratic Revolution in 1917.

3. In the autumn of 1922, the reactionary government of Seipel, President of the Christian-Social Party and agent of big business, the landowners and the Vatican, concluded a pact with the German National Party for the establishment of a government of the so-called anti-Marxist front, which would comprise all the reactionary forces in the struggle against the workers' movement.

4. Referring to the programme adopted by the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in Linz.

5. *Schutzbund* – Social-Democratic para-military organization in Austria.

6. The Social-Democratic Government of Braun and Severing ruled Prussia from 1920 to 1932, pursuing a policy inimical to the Communist Party and the working masses, suppressing the Red Front mass organization, using police force to smash every action of the proletariat and forming an armed force of the bourgeoisie. When von Papen organized a coup d'état in Prussia in July 1932, overthrowing the Social-Democratic Government, Braun and Severing, although they had armed forces at their disposal, ignominiously capitulated together with the other leaders of the German Social-Democratic party.

7. *Reichsbanner* – 'Union of the Imperial Banner', paramilitary Social-Democratic mass organization in Germany.

8. On the pretext that a 'second revolution' for the overthrow of Hitler was being prepared, on the eve of June 30, 1934, the entire leadership of the SA organization of storm troops was

arrested and its chief commanders including Minister Röhm, who headed the SA, were shot on the spot. The operation was conducted under the personal direction of Hitler in Münich and of Goering in Berlin. Several thousand commanders were arrested, and the SA was temporarily dissolved, to be radically purged and reorganized. Hitler was forced to this measure under the direct pressure of big business, so as to put an end to the demagogic propaganda of a 'second revolution' and to destroy its petty bourgeois advocates among the SA.

9. *Stronnictwo Ludowe* (People's Party) – a democratic agrarian party in Poland, defending the interests mainly of the well-to-do peasants, headed the general stike of the peasant masses in August 1937 under the pressure of the local peasants' organizations.

10. *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) – a mass fascist organization in nazi Germany, aimed at the fascization of workers and their training for future soldiers.

11. *Dopo lavoro* – 'After work' – organization in Italy similar to *Kraft durch Freude* (See note 10).

12. *De Man* – one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in Belgium, on whose orders he drafted in 1933 the so-called 'Plan of de Man', envisaging a 'peaceful transition to socialism', which was adopted as the official party programme at the end of 1933.

13. The National-Liberation Alliance – a mass anti-fascist organization formed at the beginning of 1935 in Brazil by progressive political parties and organizations headed by the Communist Party, defeated in an armed struggle against reaction in November 1935.

14. *Lerroux, Alexandro Garcia* – Spanish politician and leader of the Republican Radical Party. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the first Republican government after the proclamation of the Republic of April 1931, sided with Franco during the fascist uprising.

15. *Robles, Gil* – Spanish reactionary statesman, minister in the Lerroux Government.

16. Referring to the defeat of the German revolution in 1918-1923, the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Austira in 1934, and the defeat of the workers' revolutions in Asturia (Spain) in 1934.

17. Casado, agent of British, French and American imperialism, commander of the Madrid army during the Spanish Civil War. Relying on the right-wing socialists, Trotskyites, anarchists and other unstable elements, together with Miaja and

Besteiro, he set up the treacherous Junta of National Defence which engaged in an open struggle against the Republican Government. On March 5 and 6, 1939, it seized power in Madrid, thereby stabbing the Spanish Republic in the back and paving the way for the final victory of the Franco fascists.

18. Besteiro, one of the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, he was elected president of the Constituent Assembly. From the onset of his political career he pursued a policy of coalition with the ruling classes, opposing the red trade unions and the Communist Party. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) he acted as a British agent and together with Miaja and Casado actively participated in the Junta of National Defence.

19. Miaja, right-wing Social Democrat, head of the Junta (see note No. 17)

20. The Münich Pact on the carving up of Czechoslovakia, signed on September 30, 1938 by Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini. Its aim was to channel the nazi aggression eastwards – against the USSR.

21. Reference is made to the Second International.

22. Reference is made to the Amsterdam International.

23. The 7th Comintern Congress (July 25-August 25, 1935) is known in history as the congress of the victory of socialism in the USSR and of the struggle for a united workers' front and a broad people's front against fascism and war.

The main report *The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism* was delivered by Georgi Dimitrov. Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) reported on *The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection with the Preparation of a New World War by the Imperialists.* A report was also delivered on the results of socialist construction in the USSR. At the 7th Congress Georgi Dimitrov was elected Secretary General of the Comintern.

24. Reference is made to the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71)

25. Having joined the Axis under the pressure of Germany and Italy, the Bulgarian government had to break relations with Great Britain and the USA and declare war on them. On December 13, 1941 the Bulgarian government's declaration of war on Great Britain and the USA was approved by the fascist National Assembly.

26. Under the pressure of the masses and the threat of a nazi invasion of Great Britain, on August 14, 1941 the governments of Great Britain and the USA signed the Atlantic Charter

which recognized the sovereignty of nations and proclaimed the necessity for an all-out war against fascism.

On September 24, 1941, the USSR also signed the Atlantic Charter.

On January 1, 1942, the signatories of the Atlantic Charter signed the UN Declaration in Washington. After the war the American and British governments refused to abide by the principles of the Atlantic Charter, as shown in particular by the US aggressive policy in the Far East: Korea, Vietnam. Laos, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, etc.

27. The Note of the Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of March 3, 1941 was delivered as soon as Filov's government signed the treaty whereby Bulgaria joined the fascist bloc (March 1, 1941).

28. A. Sobolev, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, sent by the Soviet Government to Bulgaria in December 1940, proposed a pact of friendship and mutual aid. The Bulgarian Government, headed by Filov, rejected the proposal. The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) organized a nationwide campaign for the acceptance of the Soviet proposal. This campaign had a strong impact on the further development of the Bulgarian people's struggle against the nazi invaders and the Bulgarian monarcho-fascists.

29. Reference is made to the entry of the German forces into Bulgaria on March 1, 1941 and its transformation into a bridgehead for attacks first against Yugoslavia and Greece and then against the Soviet Union.

30. The victories of the Red Army in 1943 enabled the allies to defeat the Italo-German army in North Africa, to make a landing in South Italy (in the summer of the same year) and to start their northward offensive. Italy was defeated. Mussolini fled and the new government of Marshal Badoglio declared war on Germany on October 13.

31. G. Dimitrov has in mind: Bogdan Filov, Prime Minister up to August 28, 1943, regent, fascist and a royal stooge up to September 9, 1944, who was sentenced to death by the People's Court, Nikola Zhekov, commander-in-chief during the First World War, one of the culprits for Bulgaria's national disaster, an old agent of the German Kaiser's imperialism and later of nazism and Alexander Tsankov, leader of the Bulgarian fascists, organizer of the June 9, 1923 coup d'état, cut-throat, murderer and a fascist stooge.

32. The Moscow Conference of the Foreign Commissar of the USSR, and the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and the USA

was held between October 19 and 30, 1943. It took decisions on speeding up military operations and on co-operation in the postwar period. It adopted a declaration on general security and another one on the responsibility of the fascists for the crimes perpetrated by them.

33. The Teheran Conference of the Big Three was held from November 28 to December 1, 1943 in Teheran, Iran. In the declaration published subsequently the leaders of the USSR, Great Britain and the USA stated that they had coordinated the plan for the defeat of the German Armed forces and 'had reached full agreement on the scale and terms of the operations to be carried out the East, West and South.'

The Teheran Conference adopted important decisions on Anglo-American-Soviet co-operation in the postwar period, decisions which were subsequently flagrantly violated by Great Britain and in particular by the USA.

34. Ivan Bagryanov, big landowner, bourgeois politician, fascist agent and a great demagogue. He was Minister of Agriculture (1938-41) and then Prime Minister from June 1 to September 2, 1944. His coming to power in 1944 at a time when the monarcho-fascist dictatorship was tottering, following the success of the partisan forces and the victories of the Red Army on the Eastern Front, was carefully considered and coordinated with Berlin. It was to serve as a cover-up for the attempts of the Bulgarian ruling bourgeoisie to gain time, to sow illusions among the Bulgarian people on a change in the political course and, through demagogy, to divert the working people from their armed struggle until Hitler had signed a separate peace treaty with the Western countries and a turn in course of the war had been effected.

On June 2, 1944 Bagryanov's plans were exposed by the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in a broadcast over the Hristo Botev radio-station and brought to naught. Bagryanov continued the policy of terror pursued by the former governments.

After September 9, 1944, the People's Court sentenced Bagryanov to death.

35. In June 1944, at the height of the Red Army offensive, when it had become perfectly clear that as a result of its victories the situation had thoroughly changed and the Soviet Union was able single-handedly to defeat and occupy Germany, and to liberate France, the armies of Great Britain and the USA landed in France and opened a Second Front.

36. In the summer of 1944, when it had become clear that

Germany had lost the war, a group of high-ranking German officers tried to assasinate Hitler, hoping to conclude peace with the Western allies and to avert the coming to power of democratic forces. The attempt failed.

37. Reference is made to the talks with the Bulgarian economic delegation (January 14, 1945) which had gone to Moscow to carry out trade negotiations with the USSR.

38. The Congress of the Fatherland Front was held in March 1945.

The resolution on the activity of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front approved the general line of the policy and activity of the Fatherland Front movement and recommended that a home and foreign policy should be firmly and unflinchingly followed which fully corresponds to the interests of the Bulgarian people.

The congress pointed out that it was necessary to mobilize all forces and creative initiatives as well as all our country's resources for the steady realization of the beneficial programme of the Fatherland Front for Bulgaria's all-round economic, political, cultural and military progress; it pointed to the necessity of strengthening our people's vigilance towards the overt and covert enemies of the Fatherland Front and of still further consolidating the militant political unity of the Fatherland Front.

The congress addressed to the Bulgarian people a manifesto in which the main undertakings for realizing the salutary programme of the Fatherland Front were mapped out.

39. According to Greek mythology Scylla and Charybdis were two female monsters personifying a rock on the Italian coast opposite the whirpool Charybdis, which destroyed every ship that happened to pass between them; hence Scylla and Charybdis – danger threatening one from two sides.

40. Nikola Moushanov, prominent member of the Democratic Party, Minister of Public Buildings in Malinov's second government (October 17 – November 28, 1918), Minister of Home Affairs in Todorov's government (1918-19) and Prime Minister (1932-34) As Prime Minister Moushanov refused to recognize the Bulgarian citizenship of Dimitrov after the latter's brilliant victory at the Reichstag Fire Trial. After September 9, 1944, Moushanov was among the foremost opponents of the people's rule.

41. Reference is made to the reactionary newspaper *Narodno Zemedelsko Znamé*, known as *Zeleno Znamé*, published by the opposition group in the Agrarian Union.

42. The newspaper *Svoboden Narod* was published by the opposition Social-Democratic Party in 1945-46.

43. The newspaper *Znamé*, organ of the Democratic Party.

44. The Fatherland Front, the largest socio-political organization, was composed of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), the Agrarian Union, the Social-Democratic Party, the ZVENO Popular Union and the Radical Party.

45. Reference is made to the speech delivered by Georgi Dimitrov on November 15, 1945, in connection with the elections of November 18, 1945.

46. The Yalta Conference of the Big Three, represented by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, was held from February 4 to 12, 1945. A military plan was drawn up and coordinated on the forthcoming operations for the final defeat of Germany, as well as a programme for its military, economic and political disarmament which called for disbanding all German military forces, the liquidation of its war industry, the prompt and just punishment of war criminals and the banning of all fascist organizations and institutions. To maintain peace and security a decision was taken to create with all allied states an organization of the united nations.

After the war these decisions were systematically disregarded by the USA and Great Britain.

47. The Potsdam Conference was held from July 17 to August 2, 1945. Stalin, Truman and Churchill, and after July 28 Attlee took part in it. The decisions of the conference were aimed at consolidating the historic victory over nazi Germany and at securing a lasting and just peace. A decision was taken to create a Council of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA, Great Britain, France and China. At the Potsdam Conference an agreement was reached on the political and economic principles of coordinating the allied policy with regard to Germany. Subsequently, however, the USA and Great Britain sabotaged and disregarded the Potsdam decisions.

48. The London Conference or the first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers opened in London on September 11, 1945. Its basic task was to draft peace treaties with Germany, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

Disregarding the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, the American Foreign Secretary Byrnes, and the British Foreign Secretary Bevin insisted that not only the signatories of the surrender documents but also other countries involved in the war should take part in the preparation of the peace treaties. The Soviet delegation, adhering firmly to the decisions of the con-

ference, did not accept their proposal. The first session of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in London was interrupted and failed to finish its work.

49. The San Francisco Conference called by the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and China was held from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The governments of 42 countries which had signed the UN Charter or had supported it and declared war on the Axis countries were subsequently also invited. The conference decided that the governments of the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR should also take part in it. Molotov's proposal to invite Poland was rejected.

The only item on the agenda of the Conference was to draft the charter of an international organization for maintaining peace and security. The UN Charter came into force on October 24, 1945.

50. The Moscow Conference of the Soviet, American and British Ministers of Foreign Affairs was held from December 16 to 26, 1945. Convened in accordance with the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, it issued a special Information of the Moscow Conference, published on December 28, 1945, which settled a number of questions connected with the organization of peace in Europe and the Far East.

The question about the procedure of the preparation of the peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland was settled on the basis of the decisions taken at the Potsdam Conference and in accordance with Soviet views.

51. The agrarian economic community was founded under a law of November 19, 1935. At the congress of agrarian communities (February 14, 1937) a General Union of Bulgarian Farmers was set up, a constitution adopted and a central board elected. In December 1944 the General Union of Bulgarian Farmers was disbanded and a new union, the General Agrarian Trade Union was set up, which existed up to 1950. The latter set itself the task of uniting all men and women farmers in the country, of defending their economic, cultural and educational interests, of seeing to the development of Bulgarian agriculture and its different branches, of educating the farmers in a spirit of solidarity with the fraternal unions of the manual and intellectual workers and the co-operative agrarian movement for a united struggle of peasants and workers, and of assisting the people's rule which was implementing a programme and pursuing a policy in the interest of the working farmers.

52. John Mack, left-wing Labour member of the British

Parliament, who arrived in Sofia on April 10, 1946, to familiarize himself with the political situation in Bulgaria.

53. Harold Lasky, professor, Chairman of the Labour Party in Great Britain. In May 1946 he published a special propaganda pamphlet, *The Secret Battalion*, enjoining the delegates to the Labour Party Conference to vote against the entry of the British Communist Party into the Labour movement.

54. Lasky preferred to keep quiet rather than answer that open letter which obviously had put him on the spot.

55. Alexander Stamboliiski (1879-1923), prominent Bulgarian politician, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. The ideology of the union and its leader, Stamboliiski, was petty bourgeois. A particular feature of this ideology was the conviction that, since the peasants constituted 80 per cent of the country's population, an independent agrarian rule could be established. To the class struggle of the workers and their communist ideology, Stamboliiski opposed the petty bourgeois class ideology.

Stamboliiski's ideology was based on capitalist principles: he thought that the evils of capitalism could be eliminated through co-operation. Among the peasant masses, however, he was known as a fighter against the personal regime of King Ferdinand, against monarchy, and for a republic. During the First World War Stamboliiski boldly opposed Bulgaria's joining the Central Powers, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the defeat of the Bulgarian army at Dobro Polé (Macedonia) he was set free, and took part in the proclamation of the Radomir Republic. As Prime Minister (1919-23) he took a number of measures aimed against big capital. During the fascist June 9, 1923 coup d'état he was brutally murdered.

56. The official solemn workers' evening in honour of the trade union delegations which had arrived in Bulgaria in connection with the referendum on the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a People's Republic was presided over by Raiko Damyanov. It was attended by the representatives of the trade union organizations in the people's democracies – Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Albania – as well as by a French delegation headed by Benoit Frachon, Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (CGT), Albert Bousnacet, Secretary of the CGT, Olga Turnatti of the Metal Workers' Union, Zilliacus of the British Labour Party as well as by many foreign journalists.

The journalists who had come to observe the development of a referendum got convinced in the Bulgarian people's will to vote

for a republic and in a telegram, adopted at a conference organized by the Press Department, exposed the BBC lies about the way in which the referendum was held. The telegram was signed not only by representatives of the progressive press, but also by those of the bourgeois press: *Observer* – London, *New York Times, Daily Herald, Daily Express, Associated Press,* etc.

57. Konni Zilliacus, British Labour M. P., arrived in Bulgaria on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the September 9 Uprising to familiarize himself with the changes which had taken place in the intervening years.

On his return to England, together with John Mack, he defended Bulgaria in the British Parliament.

58. The court session of the International Military Tribunal, composed of representatives of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France, at which major war criminals were to trial, was held in Nürenberg from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946. Nineteen persons were found guilty, of whom 12 were sentenced to death (Goering, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Rosenberg, etc.), seven to different terms of imprisonment and three were acquitted. The Soviet representative, Major-General I. T.Nikitchenko reserved his opinion on the acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritche, Hess's life sentence and the refusal to recognize the organizations of the government and the general staff of the nazi armed forces supreme command as criminals.

59. Georgi Dimitrov hints at the fact that in drafting the new Constitution the opposition insisted on basing it on the bourgeois constitutions of Switzerland, France and Belgium.

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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 Front[1]. 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 elimitate the socially harmful and economically unjustified brokerage, especially in wholesale trade. To be able to regulate prices, the Goverment 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-ballanced, 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 unsystematic 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
November 29, 1946

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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 REFORM[2]

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 inclarity 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 inclarity 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

G. Dimitrov, Works
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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 nor 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 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 unbiassed 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 biassed 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 hot 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.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 124
June 3, 1947

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 13, p. 148–153
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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 sovereignity 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 oppostion. 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 congress[5] 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 yound 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 teetotaller. 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 sould 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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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

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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 *Correspondent*[6]

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.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 238
October 12, 1947

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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 comradely 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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November 2, 1947

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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, canibalistic 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 pronouce and address words of reverance, 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 President[7] 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

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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 whispeing 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
December 24, 1947

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 Congress[8] 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 drouzhbashtina.*

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 beneficient 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,
Vol. 13, pp. 341–350
Published by the BCP, 1955

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 particulary, 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 banking[9]. 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 Front[10] 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 vigiliance 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 vear, 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 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, particulary 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 occured so many tragic incidents that several novels could be written about them. This is how I endeavoured to work, live and study. Until now, inspite 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 inspite 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 infulfilled. 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 Doctrine[12] 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 cooperation, 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.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 11
January 16, 1948
G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 398–405, 1955

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 Front[13] 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 Churchills and their spearmen, 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 particulary 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 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, Romania, 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 Women[15] 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 impossibilityof 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 renascence 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 demagogy 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 demagogy 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 pretentions 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 racialist 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 printedpublications 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 Cherno More 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 sent 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 Dimitrovgrad 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, inspite 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 Dimitrovgrad 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 trully 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 concotions 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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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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G. Dimitrov, Works,
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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 fordeep 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 titled 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 thrade 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
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(Slightly abridged)

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 tha 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 particulary 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 in 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 popualr 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 warmongering 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 poperty 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 inspite 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 upswing, 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 cessary 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-

fidence 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
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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
May 4, 1948

(Slightly abridged)

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 90–96
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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 noninterference 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 you 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 an 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, Dimiter 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 be 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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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!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 168
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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. Bouzloudja[17]. 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 it 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 coud 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, Dimiter 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 hindred 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 particulary 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, 1925[18] 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.

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 revolutionalization 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 preceeding 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 WarII 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–Gichev[21] 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 co-ordinated 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 preponderent 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 9 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 Act[22] 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 whohad 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 manoeuvreability, 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 4[23] of Damyan 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 Gemeto[25] 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 Petkov[26] and Grigor Cheshmedjiev[27] 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 parliamenta-

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 deverse 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 out 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 (Damyan Velchev, Yuroukov[28] 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.

OurParty 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 unde viatingly 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 inevitalby 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 coutryside 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.

B) 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 presumptious 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.

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 rahabilitation 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 out 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 cooperation, especially co-operative farms and craft cooperatives 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 comforatble 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 dickering 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 invicible 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 soundess 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 reorganization 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. Infortunately, 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 perseverence. 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 reproved.

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)
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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 indeniable 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 rate, 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.

G. Dimitrov, Works,
Vol. 14, pp. 341–349
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FOR GENERAL ADVANCE OF BULGARIAN SOCIALIST CULTURE

Speech at the Dinner Given at the Jubilee of Honoured Artist Adriana Boudevska[29]

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 he 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 Sarafov[30] 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 Kirkov[31] 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
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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 communism!

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 comradely 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 that 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,
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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 examplary 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
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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 hold 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

22. The Law on Land Ownership, adopted by the National Assembly on March 12, 1946, determined the maximum size of a farm-stead: 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.

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 'a tone 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.

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 336

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-337

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 overthrown Petkov was sentenced to death in 1947.

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.

28. Yuroukovtsi, supporters of Vassil Yuroukov, leader of the right wing in the ZVENO political circle.

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)

1882

June 18 Georgi Dimitrov was born in the village of Kovachevtsi, Radomir region. His parents were: father Dimiter Mihailov Dimitrov and mother Parashkeva Dosseva Dimitrova.

1883

January 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.

1889

September Georgi Dimitrov enrolled in the St. Clement of Ohrid Primary School in Ycuchbounar, Sofia.

1894

Georgi Dimitrov began working as an apprentice typesetter in Nikola Piperov's Printing House.

1896

In collaboration with a fellow worker GeorgiDimitrov published the critical newspaper *Koukourigou* (Cock-a-doodle-doo).

1898

May Georgi Dimitrov organized a May Day demonstration of printers in Sofia.

1899

April 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 – July 24 Georgi Dimitrov, entrusted by the Party, organized and led the Pernik strike.

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 Plakalnitsa 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 thee 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 – July 1	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 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 – August 10	Georgi Dimitrov served one month's imprisonment in 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 forgerer and police agent.
Protest meetings were held all over the country against his injust 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. He was re-elected member of the CC of the BWSDP.

August 17 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, April 2, 9 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 Vestinik* 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 injust 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 Pirot 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 ÇC 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-

cond Congress of the Third Communist International.

September 26–38 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; October 27 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 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 – December 2 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.

End of December Georgi Dimitrov published a preface to a *Manual of the Activists of the Workers' Trade Union Movement.*

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 of 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 *Imprecor* 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 *Rabotnicheski 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 *Rabotnicheski 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 *Rabotnichecki 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 – July 8	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. Georgi Dimitrov's article 'The Workers' Movement under the Oppression of the Fascist Reaction' was published in *Krasniy International Profsoyuzov* review.
August 1	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 unparallelled 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.

around 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 – December 16 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 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, 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 o 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 articele '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. Branschwiz 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-

munist 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 Dimiter 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 – December 16 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 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, 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 sessien 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 o 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 articele '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. Branschwiz 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 Georgi Dimitrov attended the first hearing of the Court
9.00–15.00 h 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.

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munist and an innocent defendant he should be given the opportunity freely to defend himself.

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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 extradicted 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).

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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. Frick 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 tempering 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 Dimiter 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 – December 16 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 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.

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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 articele '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. Branschwiz 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 Georgi Dimitrov attended the first hearing of the Court *9.00–15.00 h* 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-

munist 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 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 extradicted 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 Dimiter 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. Ribbentropp,' 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 Operao* 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 Gramschi, 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.
Georgi Dimitrov visited the primary school in Boyana.

December 7 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 2[illegible] 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 1[illegible] 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 2[illegible] 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 *Rabotnichesko 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 *Rabotnichesko Delo* No 271

At a session of the National Assembly GeorgiDimitrov 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	At the head of the Bulgarian government delegation,
7 o'clock	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 Grottewoll, 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 Polyanov at the Borovikha Sanatorium.

July 2 Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the
9.45 a.m. 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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