

VULKO CHERVENKOV

**REPORT
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE BULGARIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY
TO THE
SIXTH CONGRESS OF
THE PARTY**

*

SOFIA

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1954



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I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND BULGARIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Comrades!

Since the Fifth Congress of our Party, the world situation has been characterized by the further widening of the difference between the two trends of development which manifested themselves after the Second World War.

An upsurge in the peaceful economy and an uninterrupted rise in the living standards of the working people in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and the fight for peace are the keynote of the one trend of development. The other is characterized by economic stagnation and growing economic difficulties in the capitalist countries, the further deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, by the militarization of economy and the preparation of a new war, by a constant fall in the living standards of the working people in these countries.

The struggle between these two trends, the struggle for peace, for the further clearing of the international situation, for averting a new war constitutes the essential feature and main tenor of the present-day international situation and policy.

1. INTENSIFICATION OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND FURTHER WEAKENING OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. UPSURGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND ITS FURTHER CONSOLIDATION

The second stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism followed in the wake of the Second World War, especially after a number of countries in Europe and Asia broke away from the capitalist system. The second stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism differs from the first by a still greater and more profound sharpening of all contradictions of capitalism, by the further shaking and weakening of the capitalist system. The division of the world into two contending camps, democratic and imperialist is accompanied by the disintegration of the single all-embracing world market: two parallel world markets were formed, confronting one another: the capitalist and the socialist, and the point is, that while the democratic camp, headed by the Soviet Union, can secure for itself a rapid pace of crisis-free economic development on the principle of mutual aid and collaboration, the camp of imperialism headed by the U.S.A. is falling into a desperately hard plight without any prospects of an upsurge in economy. The cyclical course of capitalist reproduction no longer knows the phase of prosperity.

The opportunities of the main capitalist countries to utilize world resources are growing more restricted, world market conditions for the sale of their goods are deteriorating, and their industry consequently finds it increasingly difficult to work to full capacity. Hence the growing unemployment. Hence the aggravation of the struggle between the capitalist monopolies. Hence the growing exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the bulk of the population of a given capitalist country, the striving to enslave and systematically plunder peoples of other countries, the sharpening of the class struggle, which in its turn largely reduces the purchasing power of the broad masses of the people and leads to the further shrinking of the home markets in the capitalist countries.

In the struggle between capitalism and Socialism, the scales are tipping in favour of

Socialism. Almost one third of the world and over a third of its population have already been delivered from capitalist oppression.

The socialist system is constantly and vividly proving in every respect its advantage over the capitalist system.

The facts are a convincing proof of this.

While in 1951 the volume of industrial production in the Soviet Union was 13 times larger than in 1929 and Soviet industry after the war and prior to the war was rapidly striding ahead following an upward trend, in the U.S.A. industrial production was at a standstill during the period between 1929 and 1939 followed by a certain growth, mainly due to the extensive development of war production, especially after the U.S.A. passed over to the preparation of a new war and to aggressive acts in Korea. In the same period of time industrial production in Great Britain increased by barely 60 per cent, and that in other West-European countries is still marking time around the pre-war level.

Having suffered the greatest losses and destructions during the war, having borne the brunt of the battle for victory over the Nazi occupiers, the Soviet Union rapidly switched over its industry from military to peaceful lines. As early as 1948 the annual volume of industrial output reached the pre-war level. In 1952 industrial production was 2.3 times larger than in 1940. The industry producing means of production is developing at a specially rapid rate. The annual growth of production of the most important industrial branches is considerably higher in extent than the annual growth in the pre-war years. Industry producing consumer goods is steadily increasing its output. It is developing in full swing now after the decisions of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of 1953. The production-technical base of Soviet industry has also increased greatly. Industry is supplied with new machines and mechanisms, its production is being constantly perfected thanks to the high level of technics and achievements of Soviet science. Soviet science is in full flower. It is wholly at the service of the national economy, of the great advance the Soviet peoples are making along the road of Communism. One of the greatest achievements of Soviet science is the discovery of the methods for producing atomic energy which has put an end to the U.S. monopoly in the sphere of atomic energy production, and at the same time knocked their chief means of threatening and blackmailing out of the hands of the warmongers.

While after the war an agrarian crisis broke out again in the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union rapidly surmounted the terrible aftermath of the war, the incredible destruction and ruin in the field of agriculture caused by the Nazi occupiers in the territory of the Soviet Union, and in a very short time rehabilitated it and exceeded the pre-war level of agricultural production. The development of technical crops is particularly great. Much is being done to supply agriculture with new technics. The Directives of the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and especially the decisions of the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of last year provide for the promotion of measures which will bring about an unprecedented advance in agriculture, an abundance of consumer goods and of raw materials for industry. The Soviet Government and the C.P.S.U. do their utmost to meet the constantly growing needs of the Soviet people, for the welfare of the Soviet man, the progress of the Soviet people is a supreme law for the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government. In 1951 the real incomes of workers and employees, computed per worker, were by 57 per cent higher than in 1940 and those of the peasants, computed per collective farmer — by 60 per cent.

In 1953 the Soviet country achieved new important successes in developing its economy and

promoting the welfare of the working people. Last year the total output of the whole Soviet industry increased by 45 per cent and 12 per cent as compared with 1950 and 1952 respectively. In fulfilment of the decision for a sharp advance in the production of consumer goods in 1953, those industrial branches which produce mass consumer goods developed at a still faster rate in the second half year particularly. In the second half of 1953 production of mass consumer goods increased 14 per cent as compared with that of the second half of 1952.

On the basis of the crisis-free progressive development of the entire Soviet economy, the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet working people is growing. The most striking proof of this is the rise in the national Income of the Soviet Union. Last year the national income increased by 8 per cent, that part of the people's income applied to the personal needs of the working people rising as compared with previous years. The purchasing power and the consumption of the working people are also growing. This brings about a constant increase in consumption. In 1953 the population bought 21 per cent more goods from the State and co-operative stores than in 1952.

Those facts are eloquent of the mighty upsurge of the Soviet country, of the bright prospects which Communism is opening up before the Soviet people.

The Soviet country is confidently and firmly marching ahead, securing step by step the necessary requisites for the gradual transition to Communism. The Soviet social and State system is the most viable and stable system in the world.

The People's Democracies have also achieved great successes in their economic development.

In the People's Democracies the pre-war level of industrial production has also been considerably exceeded, although these countries, especially Poland, suffered to a much greater extent from the Nazi invasion than the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

The volume of industrial output in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania is now three times greater than the pre-war level, while, for instance, at the same time, the industrial production of six European capitalist countries — France, Belgium, Austria, Holland, Greece and the Luxemburg has reached 131 per cent, with a clear downward trend since last year.

As compared with 1952, in 1953 industrial production increased as follows: in Poland — by 17.5 per cent, in Czechoslovakia — by 10 per cent, in Hungary — by 11.8 per cent, in Rumania — by 14.4 per cent, in Bulgaria — by 12 per cent, in Albania — by 22 per cent.

In these countries heavy industry is developing successfully.

Considerable successes have also been recorded in the field of agriculture, in the development of technical crops, in increasing the prosperity of the working people.

The great Chinese People's Republic is advancing and growing strong. Her industry, transport and electrification are making steady and rapid headway. The great agrarian reform has been completed. It has brought about an upsurge in the development of agriculture. About 48 million farms have already been grouped to render each other mutual aid in agriculture, and 14,000 village producer co-operatives have been set up.

After the war the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked great successes in its economic development. At present she is rapidly rehabilitating her national economy, destroyed by the attack of the American imperialists. The German Democratic Republic has achieved appreciable successes in the development of its economy. The Mongolian People's Republic is successfully advancing.

Economic Collaboration and mutual aid between the countries of the democratic camp are

growing. Their sincere desire to aid each other and to achieve a general economic upsurge by joint efforts lies at the roots of this co-operation. It is thanks to this cooperation that we have high rates of industrial development in the People's Democracies. The chief point here is the fact, that only the Soviet Union, as a mighty socialist country is in a position to render and is rendering these countries such effective, technically competent aid as cheaply as possible, with the sincere desire to promote a general economic progress in the entire socialist camp.

The home market in the socialist camp is constantly expanding. In this camp there is no competition, no plundering, no imposition of the strong over the weak, no subjection of the weak by the strong, there are no crises in it, there is no super-production, nor can there be any, while in the capitalist camp the picture is very different.

In 1952 the relative share of Soviet trade with the People's Democracies constituted 80 per cent of the Soviet Union's commerce. In the trade of the European People's Democracies in 1951, the relative share of the countries of the socialist camp constituted 65 per cent of the trade and about 70 per cent of the trade of China in 1952. On the whole, the commodity exchange between the countries of the camp of democracy and Socialism has increased over three times for the period between 1948 and 1952. The People's Democracies, as well as the Soviet Union are trying to extend their trade relations with the capitalist countries, but they are hampered in every way by the selfish, short-sighted policy of the American monopolists.

The imperialists are not in a position to sustain any economic competition with Socialism, with the socialist system of economy.

The discrepancy between production relations and productive forces in the capitalist system has been sharpened to the highest degree. Capitalism, as a system, is decaying, it promotes parasitism and condemns millions of working people to ruin, poverty and misery.

The capitalist monopolies secure maximum profits for themselves chiefly by increasing the norm of exploitation of the working class, by increasing its absolute and relative impoverishment. In 1949 the total sum of wages received by the U.S. industrial workers was by 6 per cent smaller than in 1944, the purchasing power of the dollar between 1944 and 1949 dropped by 26 per cent. This means, that the sum total of the real wages of U.S. workers engaged in industry between 1944 and 1949 has dropped by 30 per cent. Since 1950 the situation of all U.S. workers has not improved, on the contrary it has deteriorated. The prices of goods of prime necessity in the U.S.A. have been shooting up. The index of prices of consumer goods in August 1952, for instance, was by 84 per cent higher than the index of the prices of these goods in 1949. Nine to twenty per cent of the American workers' wages go in taxes. To that one should add mass unemployment. Official statistics do not give a clear idea of the proportions this unemployment has assumed. They do not recognize as unemployed any person who has worked only a single hour of the week. There are no less than 4 million unemployed in the U.S.A., and no less than 10 million partially unemployed. This vast chronic unemployment is an all too glaring proof of the decay of capitalism and of the absolute impoverishment of the working class. Unemployment relief is borne by the working class engaged in production. One should also add the growing intensity of labour, the bad housing conditions, insecurity for the morrow, the lack of real social insurance, to obtain a more complete picture of the situation of the working class in the U.S.A.

The situation in the other capitalist countries is similar and in places even worse.

The new taxes constantly imposed on the working people have already increased ten times as compared with the pre-war period in the main capitalist countries; there is a rise in the cost of living, a reduction of the purchasing power of the broad masses of people and a deterioration in

their material situation. In 1952 the real wages of workers in France and Italy constituted less than half of the pre-war level. There is a sharp fall in civilian production. The number of unemployed is growing. The budgets of the capitalist countries are a means of robbing the people, and obtaining fabulous profits for the monopolists.

Today monopoly capital in the U.S.A. is a power which itself disrupts the country's capitalist economy and the economy of the other capitalist countries. The U.S.A. is surrounding itself with a high tariff wall at the expense of the tax payers, it is pursuing a policy of dumping to the end of restricting imports of industrial goods in the U.S.A. and of securing maximum profits for the capitalist monopolies. By its policy of subjecting the economy of other capitalist countries to the interests of the American monopolists and to preparations for a new war, the U.S.A. is itself contributing to the intensification of the contradictions of capitalism and the contradictions between the capitalist countries, it is cutting the branch it is sitting on itself.

The policy of militarizing the national economy, of feverish armament and war preparations pursued by the North-American imperialists rouses the peoples of the whole world in growing opposition to them and increases their hatred of plundering imperialism, rallying progressive mankind in a resolute fight against war and for peace.

The class struggle, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, of labour against capital, of the peasants, craftsmen and mean existences against monopoly capital is growing more acute. Mass strikes are shaking the capitalist world. The Communist Parties head this struggle. With ever increasing success they are rallying the people's masses under the banner of democratic freedoms and national independence.

The right-wing Social Democrats, the various splitters and agents of the bourgeoisie amid the working class, who serve the imperialists with dog-like fidelity, have no great opportunities of manoeuvring and acting in the service of the bourgeoisie today, in the second stage of development of the general crisis of capitalism, in the presence of the sharp rise, in the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class, in the rising cost of living, in the gradual reduction of the working class' purchasing power, in face of the vivid example of the universal and economic upsurge in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Their influence is diminishing, the influence of the Communists is growing, for they are the only consistent fighters in the interests of the working class and of all working people, for their liberation from all oppression.

The national liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries has assumed unheard-of proportions. Asia and Africa were and still are the scene of a ceaselessly growing struggle of the people's masses against colonial slavery and the imperialist oppressors. This fight is shaking the very foundations of the world system, of imperialism. The peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, Malaya and the Philippines have risen in a life and death struggle against the foreign enslavers. The mass demonstrations and strikes of the people in Tunis, Algiers, Marocco, the Union of South Africa, Nigeria, so often drowned in rivers of blood, show the growing activity of the peoples in Africa. The national resistance of Latin America against the overt and covert domination of the American imperialists is growing stronger.

The colonial system of imperialism, the imperialist rear is openly disintegrating before our eyes.

The contradictions between the capitalist countries are growing more acute.

American monopoly capital is penetrating more and more into the economy of Great Britain, France, Italy and other capitalist countries, it is ousting them from the world sources of raw materials.

The contradictions between the capitalist countries are turning into an open struggle for markets, for spheres in which to invest their capital, for strategic positions. A particularly sharp struggle is on between the U.S.A. and Great Britain for oil, rubber and lead.

The contradictions between the capitalist states are growing more acute both in the Far East and in the Middle East, in Africa and South America.

No matter how hard the U.S. imperialists strive to conceal them, these contradictions continue to grow more acute. The so called "dollar shortage" which they bring about by their economic policy is one of the striking manifestations of these contradictions. The open indignation in French bourgeois circles against the American policy of crude orders is a proof of this. Open discontent at the policy of the North-American imperialists is also manifested in Britain.

The power politics, announced with such clamour by the North-American imperialists after Roosevelt's death, these power politics have suffered complete disaster. This policy did not and cannot unite the imperialist camp, did not and cannot overcome its contradictions. It led American imperialism to its defeat in Korea.

The myth of U.S. "all-mightiness" has been exploded.

The productive forces in the capitalist countries are hurling themselves with growing force against the rigid old shell of production relations. They are rebelling and despite all the efforts of the capitalist magnates to ward this off by militarizing the economy, by a frenzied armament drive and the preparation of a new war, their rebellion will impose itself, because the conformity between production relations and productive forces is an iron objective law of economic and social development.

The U.S.A. expends over 30 per cent of the country's net production (the national income) on war aims. The material values produced and utilized for war purposes, as is well known, do not go back to the process of re-production. The U.S. economic structure has changed and is now typified by the domination of war industry. It is precisely in this branch that the greed for maximum profits increases the flow of capital to this branch. Great disproportions have been created in production. Productive capacities are growing excessively (for example in 1952 they went up by 50 per cent as compared with 1946). Capital investments are made without any consideration whatever of the market requirements. The chronic surpluses of basic capital are growing. In 1952 barely 56 per cent of the sum total of capacities in North American industry were utilized. If from 1945 to 1952 the U.S. production capacities increased by about 50 per cent (according to bourgeois statistics), the physical volume of production and, hence, the capacity of the market to absorb the means of production has increased by less than 10 per cent.

The U.S. experience has already shown that war production can extend the volume of the capitalist market only for a short time, it can only postpone the crisis but it cannot prevent it. On the contrary, the production of war materials and the extension of the capitalist market at the expense of this production only prepare a heavier and more fateful crisis for decaying capitalism. It can now be definitely stated that the temporary effect of intensifying war production in the U.S.A. has already vanished – stagnation is apparent in industrial production, with a downward trend, the production of consumer goods is dropping, and this inevitably leads to the sharp fall in industrial production.

World capitalism is faced with a new economic crisis. This is proved by the great reserves of goods, particularly in the U.S.A., the reduction of capital investments, the great surpluses of basic and turnover capital, the sharp curtailment of the home market, the mass dismissal of workers which has already begun, the ever increasing unemployment. Today the capitalist

monopolies can neither avoid nor dull the edge of the economic crisis.

Thus the comical “conceptions” and “theories” of the bourgeois apologists of the “crisis-free” development of capitalism by militarizing the national economy and by preparing a new war are bursting like soap bubbles. Militarization of the national economy and the efforts of the North-American imperialists to avoid the crisis by means of war are only deflecting the course of the economic cycle of capitalist development, discovered and established by Marx, but they do not and cannot abolish it. A war time economy cannot settle the contradictions between expanding production and the shrinking market, they cannot do away with unemployment, the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class, the ruin of the working people, the reduction of their purchasing power, the accumulation of vast reserves of goods, etc., they cannot abolish the class struggle. The war-time inflationary economy of the U.S.A. is heading toward a profound, heavy, lengthy economic crisis, which will undoubtedly develop into a world crisis of capitalist economy. The new crisis will doom millions and millions of working people in the capitalist countries to hunger and poverty. At the same time there will be a complete economic advance in the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, accompanied by a sharp rise in the living and cultural standards of the working people, of the builders of Socialism.

Such are the prospects.

The capitalist system has already outlived its day. The order which cannot exist without crises, without fascism, without wars, which hinders the development of the productive forces, strangles the toiling man, keeps him in fetters, in hunger and poverty, extinguishes light and imposes darkness — that system must perish in order to yield its place to the social system which is full of strength and life, and soars aloft — the socialist system (stormy applause) which has already triumphed in the Soviet Union, and is winning a victory in our country, in the People’s Democracies and will inevitably triumph the world over. (Prolonged applause)

In vain do the North-American imperialists threaten war. It is they themselves who must fear the war they want to instigate, for if they do instigate it, they will burn in its very flames and together with them the whole capitalist system will go down. (Applause.)

It would be strange to think and admit that the Soviet Union could be defeated today when it is more powerful than ever before, when it is not alone, when the People's Democracies with their population of over 600 million are marching shoulder to shoulder with it, when enormous masses of people have risen and are rising in the capitalist and colonial countries to fight against imperialism and for peace. It would be strange to forget the Soviet victory in the battle against Hitler’s terrific war machine although it was actually waged single-handed. The American imperialists recount all sorts of “fairy-tales” about their power, but the people, reasoning soberly see that this power is neither omnipotent, nor very wise — was it able to prevent the victory of the great Chinese revolution when it disposed of the millions of Kuo-ming-tang army which the U.S.A. itself had armed, when it and the Kuo-ming-tang army were within China. How can it then hope that today, when it is outside the country, when the Kuo-ming-tang army no longer exists in its former state, when the united and free Chinese people stand guard over their Homeland — how can it hope to subject them now? Is there anyone who does not know that the greater part of the numerous American arms with which the Kuo-ming-tang army was supplied, fell into the hands of the glorious Chinese army-liberator? Thousands of millions of American dollars were irretrievably lost to the American imperialists. And now the same imperialists want to convince us that they will be able to conquer People’s China with the help of Chang Kai Shi who was beaten by the Chinese People’s Army. (Animation) The glorious Korean soldiers and the gallant Chinese volunteers have shown the American imperialists that the sun of imperialism

is about to set, that everywhere the time has come for all peoples to take their fate in their own hands, that the imperialists propose, but the peoples dispose. (Prolonged applause)

The democratic and socialist camp does not want war, it is striving its utmost to prevent this war. The democratic and socialist camp does not need war to undermine and weaken imperialism, for imperialism is undermining and weakening itself by virtue of its internal economic laws, whose operation no tricks and manoeuvres can abolish.

2. THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP HEADED BY THE U.S.S.R. IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

The Soviet Union is resolutely and consistently fighting for peace, against war. It is doing this not because it fears the forces of imperialism, but because it wants, in the interest of the Soviet and all other peoples, to lay down the burden of armaments, to relieve these peoples of the fear of war, to prevent new unheard-of destruction, disasters and calamities which a war will inevitably inflict on these peoples, particularly now, when such weapons as the atomic weapon are to hand. The Soviet Government proceeds from the firm conviction that the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist systems is possible. That is why it is fighting for the prospects of peace among the nations, for the ban on atomic and bacteriological weapons, for a gradual disarmament, for a pact of peace among the nations, for the restoration and extension of trade relations with the capitalist countries, for further easing of the international atmosphere by a peaceful settlement of the disputed issues.

During the past five years the positions of the peoples, fighting for peace, were further consolidated and those of the aggressive powers were further weakened.

The greatest credit for this goes to the Soviet Union which unswervingly pursues a consistent policy of peace.

The main line and principles of the Soviet foreign policy are determined by the essence of the Soviet socialist system, by the basic economic law of Socialism. The Soviet Government has expended and is expending much effort on easing international tension. It has declared that it has no territorial claims on any country whatsoever. Respect for the national freedom and sovereignty of every country, whether great or small, is an inviolable principle of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is constantly deepening and consolidating its friendly relations with the People's Democracies. The further strengthening of collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic is of particular importance to the world.

The collaboration of these two great world powers dooms the aggressive designs of imperialism in the Far East and Asia to failure and is a powerful guarantee for the preservation and stabilization of peace throughout the world.

The Soviet Union believes that provided there is a mutual desire for collaboration, provided there is readiness to fulfil the obligations assumed, to observe the principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the peaceful coexistence of capitalism and Communism is altogether possible. The Soviet Union has more than once given and is still giving proofs of its readiness to collaborate with the countries of the capitalist camp. It is giving an excellent example of the loyal fulfilment of obligations assumed. The Soviet Union does not impose its ideology and economic system on any country. The Soviet Government firmly maintains its stand that there is no disputed and unsettled issue today which cannot be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries interested. The American imperialists are much addicted to "proving" that the Soviet Union does not want to negotiate. The facts have utterly refuted this fabrication. The imperialists are the authors of the myth that the Soviet Union is allegedly preparing a war and is a menace to the other nations. Reality and

the facts have reduced this fabrication to dust and ashes.

The Berlin Conference was above all the outcome of the efforts of the peaceful Soviet foreign policy.

At the Berlin Conference of the four Foreign Ministers comrade V. M. Molotov substantiated the necessity of a conference of the representatives of the five great powers — the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain, China and France. At the Berlin Conference comrade Molotov brilliantly elucidated the Soviet standpoint as to the democratic and peaceful solution of the German problem. Expressing the genuine striving of the peoples for peace, the Soviet delegation proposed at the Berlin Conference that a beginning be made with disarmament and a special conference be convened for this purpose. The Soviet proposals “for ensuring European security” and for a “Pan-European agreement for collective security in Europe” are imbued with peaceful intentions and aim at avoiding the possibility of a new war, at securing a peaceful perspective for development in the interests of the peoples.

As comrade Malenkov stressed in his report at the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet Government attaches great importance to the United Nations Organization believing that it could be an important means for the maintenance of world peace. Despite the difficulties created by American diplomacy, which is eager to maintain international tension by all possible means in order that it may somehow have a chance to put into effect its plans for the militarization of Western Germany and her inclusion in the aggressive Atlantic Pact, the Soviet Government consistently and firmly upholds the cause of peace at the U.N.O. and fights for decisions which would bridle the aggressive forces and prevent a new war.

The Berlin Conference did not achieve the results which it was to achieve, owing to the fact that the representatives of the Western countries rejected the peaceful proposals of the Soviet Government, took up an altogether negative stand with regard to them without presenting any programme of their own, which could really settle the disputed international issues. But the Berlin Conference, as comrade V. Molotov pointed out, “is of definite significance in the present circumstances. It has helped to examine some international problems which have already come to a head and whose solution is necessary for the further easing of tension in international relations... Those problems which remained unsettled at that Conference, have not been removed from the agenda. We must maintain our efforts,” comrade Molotov declared, “and still more persistently strive to solve them.”

On behalf of our Congress and of the Bulgarian working people who follow our Party’s lead we declare that we unanimously approve the stand of the Soviet delegation at the Berlin Conference and we will uphold the fight of the Communist Party and of the Government of the Soviet Union for the further relaxation of international tension and the peaceful settlement of the pressing international problems with all our might in the future as well. (*Stormy and prolonged applause*)

Peace-loving Soviet policy is a powerful factor. If the imperialists have hitherto failed to plunge the world into a third world war, the peoples owe this first and foremost to the powerful bulwark of peace — the great Soviet Union, to its exceptionally consistent, firm and persistent peaceful policy. It is to the Soviet Union first and foremost that the peoples owe the fact that successes in alleviating the international situation were recently scored in international life. The peace-loving Soviet foreign policy expresses not only the interests of the great Soviet people, but the interests of all peace-loving peoples as well. On that account, each step of the Soviet Government in international relations causes a most lively response and calls forth support all over the world.

The movement for peace, headed by the great Soviet Union, is assuming a world-wide character and scope. The armistice in Korea and the first symptoms of clearing the international atmosphere under the impact of the peace-loving policy of the U.S.S.R. reveal the vast possibilities of this movement. Vain were the efforts of the war incendiaries to stifle this movement, to restrict its power. It is already evident to all today that the movement for peace is invincible. Nor can it be otherwise, because it is a movement which expresses the interests not of one group or another, not of one party or another, but of millions of people of all countries and continents, because it is a movement of the broadest masses, a movement of the peoples, and because this movement is headed by the great Soviet Union. (*Stormy applause*)

The common people all over the world are taking the cause of peace into their own hands.

The most important and decisive fact in the world is the unity, the steadily growing and strengthening unity of the democratic camp, its unswerving solidarity with the Soviet Union. One-third of mankind is firmly rallied by its State organizations into a united and monolithic power. These peoples have one aim — to live in peace and friendship, to work and constantly to improve their life. That is why they are united in an indestructible fraternal union, they are a united and harmonious family filled with the resolve to defend peace, the vital interests and future of their countries, of all mankind, to the end.

3. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF BULGARIA

People's Democratic Bulgaria is an indivisible part of the democratic and socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. For our Party and People's Government the struggle for peace has always constituted a foremost task.

During the period under review the Communist Party and the People's Government strengthened Bulgarian-Soviet friendship with all their might and main — the sun and air of Bulgaria's national independence, the foundation of all advance, of the freedom and happiness of the people, of the socialist development of our Homeland.

Both Party and People's Government support as their own, and will also support in the future, the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the efforts of the Soviet Union to clear the international situation still further, to ease its tension.

Both Party and People's Government have stood and will always stand together, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the imperialist incendiaries of a new world war, for peace and security, for international understanding and collaboration.

The Party and the Government support and will support the Soviet Union because its interests are inseparable from the cause of peace the world over, because the interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union not only do not contradict, but on the contrary, they merge with the interests of the peace-loving peoples, because, as Stalin put it at the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., all support of the peaceable aspirations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the part of any fraternal party signifies at the same time support of its own people in their struggle to safeguard peace.

We maintain brotherly relations, strengthened with pacts for friendship and mutual assistance, with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Albania which selflessly stand with us on the front of peace. We are doing everything to strengthen these brotherly relations.

We must note with joy the further development of our friendly relations with the German people. The declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic of September 1950 laid the foundations of friendly relations with the German people. The Bulgarian people fully support the efforts made by the peace-loving forces of the German people to unify Germany, as a mainstay

of peace in Europe.

We are particularly happy to note our relations with the great Chinese People's Republic, with which we established diplomatic relations immediately after the proclamation of the Central People's Government of China on October 1, 1949. This was an expression of the will of the Bulgarian people to maintain close mutual relations with the great Chinese people for whom they cherish sincere feelings of brotherhood.

The Bulgarian people are entirely on the side of the Korean people who are valiantly fighting for their liberty and national independence. Our people greet the Korean people and the Chinese volunteers on the remarkable victory they have won.

Bulgaria maintains and upholds friendly relations with the Mongolian People's Republic also.

Our Government recognized the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as the sole lawful representative of the Viet-Nameese people, fighting for liberty and national independence.

There can be no doubt that the Communist Party and the Government will work with all their might in the future as well to strengthen and promote friendship with the countries and peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The Party and the Government stand for normal relations with the capitalist countries, for the development of trade with them.

It is here necessary to stress once again the readiness of our Government to improve its relations with our neighbour states to the South and West. The obstacles which impede the creation and development of good neighbourly relations and regular commercial ties can and should be removed.

In this respect such facts as the agreement reached with Greece about the frontier line along the course of the Maritsa River and about the restoration of the frontier signs, as well as the Bulgarian-Greek trade agreement signed at the beginning of December last year are encouraging.

It is to be expected that diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece will be resumed in the near future.

An agreement of mutual benefit was reached with Yugoslavia in December last year to settle the issues related to the transit frontier service, as well as to the Bulgarian transit through Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav transit through Bulgaria. Our relations with Yugoslavia are gradually becoming normal.

Our country will continue to make efforts for the peaceful settlement of the disputed issues in the Balkans, for normalizing the mutual relations with the Balkan capitalist countries.

The People's Government is fighting and will fight for peace, because the People's Republic of Bulgaria and our people feel an organic need of it. On that account our State regards it as its legitimate right to participate in the U.N.O. It considers that it deserves this and insistently demands and will demand to be admitted to the U.N.O.

Such is, in brief, the international situation in which the Sixth Congress of the Party is in session. Such is the foreign policy of Bulgaria.

In view of the prospects of safeguarding peace, the tasks of our Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

- 1) constantly to develop and strengthen friendship with the great Soviet Union as the basis and firm guarantee of the freedom and national independence, of the socialist development of our country;

- 2) to strengthen fraternal relations and collaboration with the People's Democracies, with the

peoples of the democratic camp;

3) to continue the struggle for peace, for peaceful settlement of the disputed international issues, most energetically to uphold the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union;

4) to continue the efforts aimed at normalizing our relations with the neighbouring capitalist countries, to develop business relations with them and with the other capitalist countries.

II.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION OF BULGARIA AND THE TASKS OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. BASIC BALANCE SHEET OF THE FULFILMENT OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN

The period under review is an exceptional one in its significance for the economic and internal development of the country. It is a leap unparalleled in the history of our country in the development of the productive forces, a leap towards Socialism.

The following data are eloquent of this.

Taking 1939 as 100:

The total production of agriculture was 98.3 in 1948, 109 by the end of 1952 and, according to preliminary data, it is no less than 129 for 1953: **the total production of the State-owned industry** was 184 in 1948, 402.9 in 1952 and, according to preliminary data, 441.3 for 1953; in 1953 **the freight turnover** was nearly three and a half times greater than in 1939 and over twice as great as in 1948; **retail trade** was by 47.8 per cent larger in 1952 and by 63.6 per cent larger in 1953 than in 1948 (we do not possess data about 1939), **the 1953 State budget** (in comparable prices) exceeds the 1939 budget nearly four times; **the total volume of imports and exports** in 1953 is by 87.1 per cent higher than in 1939 and over twice as great as its 1948 volume¹⁾. The national income in 1953, according to preliminary data, is by 86.7 per cent higher than the national income in 1939; if we take as 100 **the volume of the short-term credit** at the end of 1948, it reaches 249.4 by the end of 1952 and 302.8 by the end of 1953; **the volume of long-term credit** respectively reaches 106.1 by the end of 1952 and 121.5 by the end of 1953.

These data prove the existence of an all-round upsurge in the development of the Bulgarian national economy during the period under review.

The correlation between total industrial production and the total production of agriculture which was 33.8:66.2 in 1939, became 50.7:49.3 in 1948 and 66.6:33.4 in 1952. On the other hand, the volume of industrial production in 1952 reached 55.9 per cent and that of agriculture — 26 per cent of the total production of the entire national economy.

The correlation between the total production of industry and of rural economy attained by the end of 1952 irrefutably proves that **from a backward agrarian** country Bulgaria has already become an Industrial-agricultural country.

In 1939 the production of the means of production (group A) constituted 23 per cent of the industrial production, 34.2 per cent of the industrial production (State-owned, co-operative and local) in 1948, 38.6 per cent in 1952. and, according to preliminary data, 40.6 per cent in 1953.

The inference from these data is, in the first place, that **industry already plays a dominant part in our national economy** and, in the second place, that the production of the means of production is being intensely developed in it, i.e. **that our country is being rapidly industrialized.**

The percentage of the total value of capital investments in industry during 1953, as compared

¹⁾ The data for 1939, 1948 and 1952 have been worked out anew in accordance with the unified nomenclature of commodities which is in force as of January 1, 1953, in order to make them comparable, with the data for 1953. This gives rise to a small change in the percentage of trade for 1952 which was referred to in my report of September 8, 1953. I avail myself of this occasion to mention that all data in the entire report have been taken from and verified by the Central Board of Statistics.

to 1948, is 285. i.e. capital investments have nearly trebled.

These capital investments are distributed by sectors in the following manner: for 1948 — 94.1 per cent in the State sector, together with the joint Bulgarian-Soviet companies and the public organizations; 2.5 per cent in the co-operative sector (Central Cooperative Union and Craftmen's Co-operatives), and 3.4 per cent in the private sector. In 1952 — 99.3 in the State sector, including the joint Bulgarian-Soviet companies and public organizations, 0.7 per cent in the co-operative sector and none in the private sector. In 1953, respectively 99.5, 0.5 and none.

The relative share of the State sector in the total production of the entire industry, both planned and unplanned, has been as follows; 85.3 in 1948, 87.9 in 1952 and 87.9 in 1953.

The relative share of the co-operative sector in the total production of the entire industry, both planned and unplanned, was as follows — 7.6 in 1948 10.5 in 1952 and 10.7 in 1953.

The relative share of the industrial production of the private sector in the total production of the entire industry, both planned and unplanned, was 7.1 in 1948. 1.6 in 1952 and 1.4 in 1953.

The relative shares of the various sectors in the creation of the national income present the following picture: the State sector constituted 39.1 in 1948, 59.9 in 1952 and, according to preliminary data, 57.6 in 1953; the co-operative sector — 5.4 in 1948, 21.7 in 1952 and, according to preliminary data, 21.8 in 1953; of the various private farms of workers, employees, co-operative farm members and co-operated craftsmen — 5.1 in 1952, according to specified data, and 6.2 in 1953, according to preliminary data; of the private sector — 55.5 in 1948, 13.3 in 1952 and, according to preliminary data, 14.4 in 1953. The relative share of the capitalist elements in the national income, according to approximate estimation, does not exceed 1-2 per cent.

The inference from these data is that **a socialist industrialization is under way in our country.** The capitalist elements have been almost completely ousted from industry. The socialist forms are dominant in industry. **Socialist industry is the only form of industry in Bulgaria.**

Changes were carried out in agriculture which led to a decisive turning point in its reconstruction on cooperative principles. The basic masses of the poor and middle peasants, particularly in the grain-producing regions of the country, joined the producers agricultural co-operatives. The co-operated land reached 60.5 per cent, while the co-operated households — 52.3 per cent of all peasant households in 1952.

The grain problem has been solved. It was solved with the help of the co-operative farms, the State farms and the machine and tractor stations, from which the State already receives two-thirds of all grain deliveries.

The social structure of our home trade has been also basically re-organized. While in 1948 State trade accounted for 25.3 per cent of the total commodity exchange, this figure constituted 51.5 in 1952. Co-operative trade increased its relative share in the total commodity exchange from 43.5 per cent in 1948 to 47.8 per cent by the end of 1952. Thus, State and co-operative trade in 1952 constituted 99.3 per cent of the total commodity exchange, while private trade was reduced from 31.2 per cent in 1948 to 0.7 per cent.

Home trade ceased being a means of obtaining profits and of jobbery in the hands of private capital. In the hands of the State it has become a means of ever more extensively and fully satisfying the steadily growing needs of the working people. Our foreign trade, which is also entirely in the hands of the State, has been transformed. The socialist forms entirely dominate both our home and foreign trade. The domination of the socialist forms in the field of transport and of our credit system is complete.

In this manner, basic social and class changes have been carried out in our country.

The capitalist class in the towns has been eliminated as a class. The Bulgarian proletariat has ceased to be a proletariat. It has liberated itself from exploitation and has become a dominant working class. The positions of the kulaks, as a class are greatly undermined. The capitalist elements in the countryside are subjected to consistent restriction and ousting. Their relative share in the economy of the countryside is steadily decreasing. The co-operative system in the countryside (co-operative farms) is assuming a dominant position. The process of stratification into poor and rich in the countryside has been greatly restricted, not to say actually stopped, in so far as the opportunities of development of the capitalist elements are not yet entirely eliminated in our country. The small and middle peasants are steadily coming closer together. The cooperative farms provide full opportunities for the final elimination of the capitalist elements and of exploitation of man by man in the countryside, for the complete victory of Socialism in agriculture. It is on this basis that the worker-peasant alliance, the Fatherland Front, the moral and political unity of the working people headed by the Communist Party are steadily growing stronger. (*Applause*)

Our Party can state at its Sixth Congress, that the tasks set by it in the First Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled, the greater part of them in 4 years. (*Strong applause*) They were fulfilled because of the constant selfless aid of the Soviet Union, of the untiring labour of the workers, peasants and people's intellectuals, because of the correct policy and the enormous organizational role of the Party and State. (*Prolonged applause*)

The foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria have been laid. The necessary conditions have been created to direct the development of the country with all forces forward along the road to Socialism and sharply to raise the material and cultural prosperity of the working people.

Let us examine more closely the development of the national economy from the Fifth Congress of the Party until the present.

2. INDUSTRY

At the close of 1952 the level of industrial production provided for the end of the Five-Year period was topped by 20.1 per cent. In 1952 the volume of this production (for the whole of industry — planned and unplanned) was over four times (425 per cent) larger than in 1939 and over twice as large (214.4 per cent) as in 1948. For 1953 these percentages are: 476.5 and 240.4. During the years of the First Five-Year Plan the average annual growth of industrial production amounted to about 22 per cent.

In 1952 the production of the means of production increased over that of 1948 two and a half times, and the production of consumer goods was doubled.

New industrial branches sprang up in our country, which before September 9, 1944 were either non-existent, or had only just been launched. Such are machine-building and electrical-engineering, the ship-building, ore-mining and cellulose industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical industry, and the production of spare parts.

Machine-building is developing at a rapid rate. In 1952 the volume of machine-building production was four times that of 1948. The production of several hundred kinds of new machines has been mastered — instrumental, power-generating, industrial, wood-processing, building mining, transport, installations for the flotation factories, ball mills, transporters, of all agricultural machines with the exception of tractors and combines. The production of spare parts for automobiles, tractors, industrial, agricultural, transport, building and other machines has been mastered.

The electrical-engineering industry mastered the production of transformers with a capacity up to 30,000 kilowatt hours, electro-motors — with a capacity to 100 kilowatt hours, generators with a capacity of 15 and 315 kilowatt hours, automatic telephone exchanges, and others. The electrical-engineering plants can meet the country's needs of electrical engineering products. In 1953 power production exceeded that of 1939 by 5.8 times and that of 1948 — by 2.8 times.

The coal-mining industry is also making rapid progress. In 1953 it produced almost twice as much coal (195.6 per cent) as in 1948 and nearly four times (3.8) more coal than in 1939. Production of lignite coal greatly increased. In 1953 it rose 4.1 times as compared with 1948, and 26 times as compared with 1939.

Production of ores and concentrates is also growing. In 1953 the output of iron ores topped that of 1948 by 6.1 times. In 1953 the production of copper ores increased 5.4 times as compared with 1948. The output of lead and zinc ores and concentrates has also been considerably increased.

Our heavy chemical industry is striding rapidly forward. At the end of 1953 its output exceeded that of 1948 by 2.5 times. The production of a number of new items has been mastered: chemical fertilizers, sulphuric and nitric acids, aniline dyes, aluminium sulphate, medical glucose, tanning extracts, ammonium sulphate, sulphur, synthetic lac resins and others.

The building industry mastered new productions of construction materials, such as vibrated concrete, asbestos-cement pipes and plates, cold insulating materials and others, not made in this country prior to September Ninth.

The light, food and allied industries achieved great successes during the period covered by the First Five-Year Plan. At the end of the Five-Year period the output of textile industry exceeded that of 1948 by 2.3 times and that of 1939 by 3 times. The co-operative and local industries are also developing.

These successes in the development of our industry brought about an increase in industrial production per head of population in 1953 as against 1939: in power production, for instance, it was 5 times, in coal — over three times, in cement — nearly three times, in cotton textiles — nearly three times, in woollen textiles — nearly twice, in sugar — about three times, in cheese — over twice, in soap — two times, and so forth.

Capital investments in our construction are increasing from year to year. In four years over 13 thousand million leva were invested in construction. During that same period of time capital investments in industry constituted 46.8 per cent of the total capital investments. A number of large enterprises and plants, equipped with up-to-date, predominantly Soviet technique, were put into operation. In the period extending from 1949 to 1952 over 700 industrial enterprises were built, reconstructed and put into operation. The Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Works, the first metal works in this country were put into operation. New regions sprang up. Dimitrograd came into being and a new powerful coal base — the Marina basin also The Sofia coal lignite basin is being developed on an extensive scale. An isolated district in the past, the Rhodope region is today becoming an important and promising industrial and cultural centre. The production of copper ores and concentrates in Bourgas county and of lead and zinc ores and concentrates in the Chiprovtsi region is also on the increase. Rich oil fields have been discovered.

Never before in our country has geological research been carried out on such a large scale to tap the underground natural resources of iron, lead and zinc, copper and manganese ores, black, brown, lignite and anthracite coal, oil and other minerals, as the basis for the development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, for producing our own oil, for the development of the entire national economy.

In 1952 the basic industrial funds for the whole of industry, in their primary value, were almost doubled as compared with 1948.

Not only is our industry developing at a rapid rate, it is being reconstructed technically as well; its technical level is improving steadily and sharply. Most of the old small enterprises with backward technique have been reconstructed, amalgamated and to a considerable extent technically improved. Our new industrial enterprises are large plants, built according to the last word of Soviet technique. Industry has been supplied with new machines and mechanisms, improved technology is being introduced and a better organization of production is being effected. The material and production base in this country is growing, as is the technical equipment of labour. The Party and the Government have done and are doing their utmost for the constant increase of the productivity of labour and the reduction of prime costs in all industrial branches and of the cost of construction by having the organization of labour improved, by having the new technological processes mastered, by having the production capacities and the new technics more fully utilized, by having the qualification of workers, engineers and technicians improved. At the end of 1952 the productivity of labour in the State-owned industry marked a 53.6 per cent increase as compared with 1948.

The variety of industrial goods for mass consumption was increased and their quality improved.

Such are the main results of the development of our industry during the period under review.

The further tasks for the development of our industry are set forth in the Draft Directives on the Second Five-Year Plan which the Sixth Congress of the Party is to examine and adopt. The Draft Directives provide for a 60 per cent increase of the total industrial production in 1957, as against 1952. The power capacities are to be more than doubled, the output of lignite coal is to increase about 2.7 times, of brown coal — by 60 per cent, of black coal — 2.5 times, of anthracite coal — 2 times. They also provide for an increase in the production of cast iron, rolled iron and lead by 15, 10 and 5.5 times respectively, for an extension on a still larger scale of geological-survey work with a view to appreciably increasing the industrial reserves of lead and zinc, iron and copper ores, of coal, oil and others.

The output of machine-building and metal-working in 1957 should be by about 83 per cent greater than it was in 1952 and it should be mainly directed to the production of agricultural machinery, metal-cutting machines, light and medium type power-producing and construction machines as well as the necessary spare parts for them.

The chemical industry is expected to almost double its output and to meet the country's needs of sulphuric acid, caustic soda, calcinated soda and penicillin, to increase the production of nitrogen fertilizers, tanning extracts and others to the maximum. The production of construction materials is to be increased by at least 80 per cent and will satisfy the country's needs of such materials, the output of lumbering is to rise by about 46 per cent and more, as compared with 1952.

The successes achieved during the period of the First Five-Year Plan in the development of industry make it possible today that the maximum development of the production of consumer goods be set as a central task so that the material well-being and culture of the working people be sharply improved in the near future. The Draft Directives provide for a considerable increase in the output of the means of production as well as in the measures carried out for diversifying and raising their quality. In this connection they provide for the further development of locally-owned and co-operative industry. Services rendered to the citizens by the crafts co-operatives and private craftsmen should be decisively improved. Mention should here be made, that we

should pay serious attention to the artificial breeding of fish and fishing with a view to better satisfying the needs of the population.

We must note the urgent necessity, provided for in the Draft Directives, of surmounting the discrepancy which has occurred between the development of our power-production and coal output and the rapidly growing need of coal and electric power.

We must admit that a certain delay was allowed on our part in the construction of new collieries which were to replace the exhausted ones and ensure the further growth of coal output. The increased output of coal has been realized at the expense of the extension of existing collieries. Not all the new electric power stations, which were provided by the plan, were built and put into operation. The main reason for this should be sought in the shortcomings allowed in the Plan itself, expressed in the simultaneous construction of many projects, and in the fact that priority was given in the plan to the construction of irrigation systems while the construction of power stations was neglected; in the extremely insufficient survey work, in our own lack of experience.

In the period covered by the Five-Year Plan the Party and the Government were unable entirely to set the situation right although they devoted great efforts to it. Hence, the great strain in the field of power production and power supply, the difficulties and troubles in the work of the enterprises. The electric-transmission system has not been completed and supplied with the necessary safety devices. Break-downs often occur in the electric-power stations.

In order to eliminate the discrepancy between the development of power production and coal output and the growing need of electric energy and coal, new power capacities of about 430,000 kilowatts are to be put into operation during the period covered by the Second Five-Year Plan. For this purpose, double the amount of funds will be invested in electrical engineering during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan as compared with the period covered by the First Five-Year Plan. An important increase in the volume of the construction of new collieries is provided and this construction is to be speeded up with a view to increasing the total coal output six times in 1957 as compared with 1939 and almost doubling it as compared with 1952. This increase should be obtained mainly by opening up lignite mines.

The Draft Directives provide that a number of large new enterprises be built and put into operation during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The tasks set our industry for the period of the Second Five-Year Plan are big and strenuous tasks. But it is in a position to fulfil and overfulfil them. The fight against shortcomings existing in it should only be waged with still greater energy and the work of the entire industry improved.

A large part of the industrial enterprises are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling their production plans. There are, however, industrial enterprises which systematically fail to fulfil their plans. In ministries and amalgamations, there is, unfortunately, a widespread noxious practice of striving for an average fulfilment of the plan with a view to fulfilling the State Plans, instead of taking resolute measures to improve the work of those enterprises which lag behind. Such a practice eggs on those enterprises which lag behind and does not encourage the enterprises which are honestly and conscientiously fulfilling and overfulfilling the Plan.

Fitful work and the lack of continuity in the fulfilment of production plans are serious shortcomings. A large part of the industrial enterprises give their largest production during the last ten days of the month and in the third month of the three-month period. The practice of storm-tactics is particularly strong in capital construction. The hap-hazard fulfilment of the plan and storm-tactics lead to low-quality production and increase defective goods, do not allow the utilization of all production capacities, cause over-expenditure in the wage fund, raise the cost of production.

Cost accounting as a socialist method of management, has not been completely consolidated in all enterprises. The inner-plant planning and accounting are not at the necessary level, the basic funds are not always utilized most expediently, turnover funds are often deflected and frozen, not enough is done to accelerate their circulation, contract discipline is violated, financial control is weak or insufficient.

The shortcomings and weaknesses in the fulfilment of the production plan for the assortments are still many. In order to fulfil the plan in terms of prices recourse is often had to the production of commodities of second-rate importance which are not provided by the plan, at the expense of the production of more important and more necessary goods or of the production of labour consuming commodities.

Many facts testify that the quality of the output of a number of enterprises, despite the indisputable achievements, do not by far correspond to the technical requirements and the established standards. The production of low-grade output only means the squandering of raw- and other materials of value for the national economy, it is not worth the labour expended on it, it raises the prime cost of production and arouses the justified dissatisfaction of the consumers.

The fight of the administrative, Party and trade union organizations for the fulfilment of the plan for assortments and the reduction of defective goods is still very insufficient.

There is a great fluctuation of manpower in industry, mainly on account of the existing shortcomings in the organization and remuneration of labour and insufficient care to utilize existing possibilities for the improvement of the cultural and living amenities of the workers on the part of the executive bodies in ministries, amalgamations and enterprises. The labour norms — the basis of the socialist organization of labour — are not yet worked out in a way to correspond to the present technical level of our new industry, in order to be real labour norms. Today these norms are worked out either by way of statistics, with the aid of the collected data on work already done in a definite period of time or are based on the private experience of the man working out the norms, very often, on the experience of the master-worker. The managers, engineers and technicians at many enterprises do not take an active part in the working out of the labour norms. The inner-plant planning, the technical safety of labour and scientific research for working out labour norms are still at a low level. Scientific technically grounded expenditure and labour norms have not been worked out. It is clear that as long as this is not done our industry will not be able to utilize its internal resources in order to raise labour productivity, to increase production and improve its quality.

Serious shortcomings and distortions are allowed when labour and the prime cost of production are planned. An economic analysis of the work of individual enterprises is seldom made and their real possibilities are not always taken into consideration. Such plans are very often below the real possibilities of the plants.

Inadequate care is being taken to maintain in good order and utilize to the full the technique and mechanization available, in accordance with the technical norms set, especially in coal production, in lumbering and machine-building, not all machines are filed, often they are not supplied on time with the necessary spare parts and owing to inadequate upkeep their term of amortization is cancelled. Valuable raw materials are squandered, because of the lack of strictly observed expenditure norms. Defective goods are a great evil in our industrial production.

Office and bureaucratic methods of guidance are still in force in the ministries and departments, the chiefs do not always secure energetic enough and concrete management of the industrial plants, they do not penetrate deeply into the problems of industry, they insufficiently study the economy of the enterprises.

It is the task of the Party, economic and trade organizations in the field of industry:
to secure in all its branches, in all amalgamations, in all enterprises the fulfilment of the plan along all indices and especially as regards the productivity of labour, the variety in assortments and quality of the goods;
to intensify the drive for a steady flow in production. for stability of manpower, for the organized selection and organized training of the workers through the system of labour reserves, by constantly improving the material and cultural standards of the workers, by doing away with the last remnants of levelling in labour remuneration;
constantly to improve the organization of labour and secure scientific-technically substantiated labour norms in all industrial branches;
to increase the campaign for accountancy at the enterprises, against unlawful over-expenditure, for a strict regime of economy of materials, electric power, fuel, according to expenditure norms, which should be strictly established, for greater and constant care of the machines, for utilizing their capacity to the full, as well as all internal reserves and resources;
to raise to a higher level the management of the industrial enterprises.

3. AGRICULTURE

In 1952 the arable areas of all agricultural crops increased by 725,500 acres as compared with 1948 and by 769,000 acres as compared with 1939. In 1953 the acres under grain crops constituted 91.7 per cent as against 1939 (the reduction here is explained by the great extension of the areas under technical crops. This extension is effected at the expense of the areas under grain). In 1952 the areas under industrial crops increased by 66.7 per cent as against 1948, and nearly doubled as against 1939.

The areas under cotton, tobacco, sugar beet, rice and sunflower were greatly extended. The areas under forage increased by 16.6 per cent as compared with 1948 and by 31.6 per cent as compared with 1939. Moreover, 54.7 per cent of the areas under grain crops and 74.5 per cent of the areas sown with cotton, rice and sugar beet are in the co-operative and State farms.

According to preliminary data, the total output of grain crops increased by 17.4 per cent in 1953 as compared with 1939, exceeding that set by the Five-Year Plan for 1953. Moreover, in 1953 the output of wheat topped that of 1939 by 32.5 per cent, of rye — by 27.6 per cent, of barley — by 37.1 per cent, lagging behind only in the maize which constituted 94.6 per cent of the pre-war level. In 1952 the total production of grain crops increased by 20.2 per cent as compared with 1948, and in 1953 — by 49.1 per cent.

According to preliminary data, in 1953, the total production of basic technical crops expressed in value, according to 1939 prices, exceeded the pre-war level by 58.7 per cent. If we take the 1939 output for 100, in 1953 it will be: cotton — 435.5, sugar beet — 343.7, oriental tobacco — 130.5.

If we take the 1948 output for 100, in 1953 it will be: cotton 368, sugar beet — 144, oriental tobacco — 193.3.

The Party and the Government grant premiums to the peasants, encouraging them to increase the production of technical crops.

During the period of the Five-Year Plan there was an appreciable increase in the mechanization of essential operations in agriculture. In 1952 for the country in general 48.6 per cent of the total volume of more important field work was done with agricultural machines, while on the co-operative farms the percentage was 66.

For the first time in the history of our country, the wonderful Soviet harvester-combines reaped and threshed 299,312.5 acres in 1951, and 955,448.5 acres of land sown with grain and

sunflower in 1952. The total volume of work done by the machine and tractor stations in 1953 was about 8 times more than in 1948. The average work of a tractor, in terms of 15 H.P. units, in the machine and tractor stations rose from 450 acres of ploughing in 1948 to 1,040 acres of ploughing in 1953 according to preliminary data. The number of trailers was almost five times more in 1953 than in 1948.

The Five-Year Plan for supplying agriculture with machinery was fulfilled by 1952 inclusively as follows: for the tractors — by 122.9 per cent, for the combines — 13.6 times, for the threshing machines — by 110 per cent, and so on.

The technical base of agriculture is being transformed. In 1953 there were 13,468 tractors, in terms of 15 H.P. units, 1,563 harvester-combines, 5,814 threshing machines, 11,011 tractor-drawn ploughs and so on. Thus, compared with 1948, the stock of machines has been trebled for tractors, the combines increased by their total of 1,563, as there was not one single harvester combine in our farming in 1948, there were 720 more threshing machines, and two and a half more tractor-drawn ploughs.

By the end of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan (1952) 9,747 co-operative farms were set up in our country, 100 State farms and 140 machine and tractor stations. The average amount of land allotted for a cooperative farm increased. In 1948 an average of 664.5 acres of land were allotted, in 1953 — 2,152 acres and together with the plots for private use — 2,327 acres.

Out agriculture is being modernized from year to year. The achievements of Soviet agrotechnics and zootechnics are being applied on a wide scale. Such measures as ploughing in the stubble with buskers, deep ploughing with coulters, row and cross-row sowing, additional artificial pollination of the crops were carried out for the first time in this country in the drive for high yields, after the example of the Soviet collective farmers. In 1952 our agriculture was supplied with over three times more mineral fertilizers than in 1948, and about eight times as much as in 1939.

The country's irrigated areas increased from 80,250 acres in 1944 to 208,250 acres in 1948 and to 501,000 acres in 1952. i.e. almost six times. In 1953 there were 625,000 acres of irrigated areas. A great number of irrigation systems, small dams, pump stations, ponds and others were built and put into operation. But it should be added that the organization of utilizing irrigation systems is still unsatisfactory, large quantities of water are being squandered.

Over 25 thousand acres of State shelter belts have been planted in the Dobrudja to restrict the effect of the dry and cold winter winds, to improve the water regime of the soil and climatic conditions and raise the yields of agricultural crops.

During the years of the First Five-Year Plan the yield of grain, technical, forage and other agricultural crops was considerably raised.

In 1953 the co-operative farms obtained higher yields per acre than private farmers, namely — wheat by 21.7 per cent, maize — by 18.5 per cent, vetch-grain — by 21 per cent, sunflower seed — by 30.2 per cent, cotton — by 32 per cent, sugar beet — by 27.7 per cent.

Despite the successes recorded the yields of agriculture are still short of what we desire and of what they should be. In a number of districts and regions, in certain co-operative farms they are still low. The yields of technical crops — such as cotton, tobacco, flax and others — are especially low. High yields have not yet become stable yields. It was impossible to fulfil the Five-Year Plan as regards total output of agriculture. It lagged considerably behind the growth of industrial production.

In the sphere of livestock breeding the presence of a serious lag is to be noted. According to preliminary data, the number of cattle in 1953 constituted only 103.7 per cent as compared with

1939, the cows being 94.3 per cent, the number of horses in 1953 was only 78.7 per cent compared with 1939, of sheep — 76.5 per cent, of ewes — 81.9 per cent, of pigs — 177.3 per cent. Moreover, the decrease in the number of cattle, horses and sheep took place exactly during the period under review, because around 1948 their number either exceeded the pre-war level, as is the case with cattle (116.4 per cent) or was not far off it, there being 94.2 per cent horses in 1948, and 90.3 per cent sheep in comparison with the prewar level of 1939.

The change made in the countryside by the development of the co-operative system temporarily affected one of the most sensitive spots in our national economy.

There is a lag in the development of agriculture, in its general production and in stockbreeding compared to that of industry.

There is progress in the development of publicly-owned stockbreeding. Cattle-breeding, sheep and pig-raising farms have already been organized at most of the co-operative farms, and stud farms — at many of them. Besides this by the end of 1952, 1,589 stock-breeding farms had been organized at the State farms and those of the various departments. More than 13,000 stables, cow-sheds etc., were built for the needs of stockbreeding at the co-operative and State farms. The number of animals on the co-operative and State farms has greatly increased in comparison with 1948. Yet nevertheless, the number of cattle in the co-operative farms and their productivity lag behind the development of the co-operative farms. While over 60 per cent of land has been co-operated, only 23.8 per cent of the cattle and buffaloes, 34.1 per cent of the sheep, 18.3 per cent of the pigs and 42.6 per cent of the horses were on the co-operative farms in 1953. Sterility and mortality are widespread among the domestic animals. Their productivity, is low.

The forage base of stockbreeding is extremely undeveloped. This is the weakest spot in our farming, and it is just the problem of creating a sound and constant forage base which must be solved as quickly as possible in the spirit of the decree of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on ensuring a further advance in the development of agriculture.

The feeding and rearing of livestock must be decisively improved; the work on improving the pedigree stock of the animals must be accelerated by ensuring the rapid propagation of highly productive animals and of fine-fleeced and semi-hard fleeced sheep; the necessary buildings for the livestock of the co-operative and State farms should be secured in accordance with zoohygienic and zotechnical requirements; a beginning should be made with mechanizing the labour-consuming processes in stockbreeding, and this mechanization should be gradually extended.

It should be noted that during the period under review the struggle for high yields in agriculture was not waged with the necessary perseverance and consistency and that it was not universal. The work done in this respect has serious defects. The delay in preparing the machinery for the sowing campaign, the frequent failure of the machines to work as a result of poorly done repairs and insufficient care of them, missing the most favourable terms for work in the fields, the delay in carrying out agrotechnical measures prevented us from obtaining higher yields, from making the yields more stable.

The state of the explanatory work on the advantages of the new agrotechnical measures such as the crossed and narrow sowing, the square-nest sowing of the earthed-up plants, the simultaneous fertilizing of the soil with natural and mineral fertilizers is unsatisfactory.

The introduction of the grassland crop rotation system lags behind. The plans for sowing the crops selected for the particular tracts are not observed, and particularly of sowing perennial grass mixtures. The frequent corrections introduced in the plans of rotating the crops are a

serious shortcoming. The distribution of the agricultural crops according to the State plan among the farms in the county is not co-ordinated with the plans for introducing the system of grassland crop-rotation in the co-operative farms with well-organized land exploitation.

The sowing of leguminous and graminous perennial plants is underestimated, care for their cultivation is insufficient, because of which grass-sowing and the production of grass seeds are in a bad state.

The experience of the front-rankers in agricultural production has not yet been sufficiently adopted. For instance, the fine initiative of the Straldja peasants for a maximum utilization of the water available for irrigation has not yet acquired a nation-wide character.

We are lagging behind in the development of fruit-growing and viticulture.

In order to increase the yields of agriculture, and this is a very important and militant task for us now, we must improve the quality of the field work without fail, it should be carried out in the most favourable agrotechnical terms, the mechanization of essential field work should be extended, the earthing-up of the cotton in particular, the organization of the land of the co-operative farms, more efficient cultivation should be completed and correct crop-rotation systems should be introduced, the work on creating a system of forest shelter belts should be continued, the cultivation of the soil should be more resolutely improved and care to cultivate the crops in accordance with the requirements of agrotechnical science should be increased, all natural and mineral fertilizers should be most efficiently utilized for spraying as great areas as possible, the irrigated areas should be extended by the greatest utilization of the running and subterraneous waters, as well as the rainfalls, the production of seeds should be improved by introducing new drought-resistant and high-yielding sorts.

During the years of the Five-Year Plan, the cooperative farms grew up and affirmed themselves in the consciousness of the poor and middle farmers as the form of economic organization most appropriate for them under our conditions, an economic organization which can save them from poverty and want.

Our co-operative farms have grown considerably stronger both organizationally and economically. The vast majority of the co-operative farms already have four or five years of agricultural activities behind them, i.e. they have ploughed, sown, hoed, harvested and threshed together four or five times. They steadily come up to the requirements of the Model Statute and of the Decree of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers on the organization and payment of labour on the co-operative farms. Inner cooperative democracy is being consolidated. Organization and payment of labour are improved. The part played by women in the management of the co-operative farms is growing also.

Within two years alone (1950-1951), the funds of the co-operative farms increased fivefold; over 21,000 solid farm buildings have sprung up to meet the needs of the cooperative farms; the material and cultural standards of the co-operators are rising; conditions are being created for an appreciable increase in the payment of the workday,

The cooperative farms have struck deep roots in our economy.

But, of course, there are many weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the co-operative farms. These are weaknesses and shortcomings of rapid growth. These farms are still young. Their experience in the management and organization of a large-scale co-operative farm in the process of becoming mechanized is insufficient. Breaches of and failures to observe the Statute of the Co-operative Farms, trampling upon co-operative democracy, and the settlement of important questions concerning the co-operative farm without consulting the General Assembly of the farm are also among these weaknesses and shortcomings. Correct organization of labour

has not yet been established in many co-operative farms, particularly during the strenuous summer months, the yields obtained are not taken into consideration in the remuneration of labour. The co-operative farms incur great losses due to squandering the produce obtained and their co-operative property. In many co-operative farms the administrative and attending staff is much too large, funds are diverted from their original aims, a part of the co-operators are too highly remunerated in advance, costly construction is sometimes allowed, and the existing opportunities of developing multiple-branch farming are not made use of, as a result of which there are difficulties in such co-operative farms and cash remuneration is small.

The Party executive bodies and organizations, the People's Councils and the organs of the Ministry of Agriculture do not as yet sufficiently control and help in the strict observance of the Statute in the work of the co-operative farm, in strengthening and preserving the socialist co-operative properly, in improving the organization and payment of labour, in the correct distribution of incomes, in correctly spending the State and co-operative funds according to their aims.

Our machine and tractor stations carry out the field operations with great delays and not always in compliance with the requirements of agrotechnical science. The machine and tractor stations do not as yet possess the necessary technical and repair facilities, they do not receive the necessary spare parts in time, and a great number of those delivered are of inferior quality. Well-trained and qualified technical cadres are not yet guaranteed to the machine and tractor stations. The insufficient care of the tractors and other agricultural machinery, the delayed and poor-quality current repairs lead to their wearing out prematurely, to over-expenditure of funds on repairs and spare parts, to raising the prime cost of the work performed by the tractors.

It is necessary to secure a highly efficient utilization of all machinery, and a high-quality execution of the field work within the most favourable agrotechnical terms by co-ordinating the organization of the technical maintenance and repair of the machines with their utilization in such a manner as to extend to a maximum degree the term between two repairs.

The decisions of the Party and Government of October last year on the upsurge in agriculture are aimed at decisively improving the material and technical repair base of the machine and tractor stations, at securing well trained technical cadres so that they may become genuine centres of Socialism and a guiding power in the countryside.

During the years of the Five-Year Plan the number of State farms grew from 86 to 100 with an arable area of 265,000 acres. Mechanization of field operations in the State farms grew from 47 per cent in 1948 to 75 per cent in 1952.

The State farms have increased the marketable produce which belongs to the State and supply the co-operative farms with increasing quantities of high-quality seed as well as pedigree livestock for reproduction. However, not all State farms have already become model socialist farms — an example to the co-operative farms around them. Yields are very low in a number of State farms, goods of a high prime cost of production are obtained, and the plans for State deliveries are not fulfilled in all their indices. Manpower in them fluctuates.

It is necessary to bring about a change in the work of the State farms, to strengthen State discipline in them, to increase their marketable produce, considerably to reduce the prime cost of production, to introduce complex mechanization of all labour-consuming processes, to ensure the further development of the State farms as multiple-branch farms with the necessary stable manpower.

The Party and the Government expend great care on training leading cadres for the co-operative and State farms and for the machine and tractor stations. An extensive network of

courses and schools has been organized to this end in our country. Nearly 32,000 persons attended such courses and schools in the period between 1948 and 1953. The study circles for acquainting the co-operators with the essentials of agronomy and zootechnics were attended by over 184,000 co-operators in the last two years.

In the short span of nine years our scientific research institutes scored considerable achievements, backed by the experience and achievements of the most progressive science in the world — Soviet science, and thanks to the generous aid of the Soviet specialists. New sorts of wheat, barley, rye, tomatoes, tobacco, cotton and hemp were created and are being raised on a wider scale.

The co-operative system in the countryside creates extensive opportunities for the development and application of agricultural science. A closer link is however necessary between this science and the practice of the co-operative and State farms. Our scientists must help the co-operators in their struggle to apply correct crop-rotation on the co-operative farms, in determining appropriate agrotechnical measures for the separate areas, in the organization and mechanization of the agricultural processes, as well as in creating new high-quality and high-yielding agricultural crops. It is necessary for our institutes to face the problems of developing livestock-breeding and to help most actively in the settlement of the fodder problem in our country.

Under the immediate care of the Party and the Government thousands of front-rankers in agriculture came to the fore in our co-operative farms, machine and tractor stations and State farms, in the fight to consolidate the socialist system in the countryside. A new army of builders of Socialism is growing in villages, infinitely devoted to the socialist system, with a statesman-like view and new attitude towards labour and production. This army is recording production successes unprecedented in this country.

An important task is to propagate and introduce the experience of the front-rankers in the co-operative and State farms.

Coming to the aid of the socialist sector in agriculture, i.e. the co-operatives, the Party and the Government do not neglect the private farmers, who still constitute about half of our peasants. Our Party and Government assist the private farmers, by supplying them with selected seeds and mineral fertilizers, by granting them credits and free agronomical aid, and by the contract system, so that they too can make their contribution to the drive for higher yields, for securing a new advance in the development of agriculture. The People's Government allotted 311,250 acres of land to the landless and small propertied peasants. The Party will pursue the same policy in the future as well, rendering still greater aid to the private farmers, and at the same time pointing out to them that the only means of alleviating their labour, of further improving their living standards, are the co-operative farms which enable them to make full use of the achievements of technics and agronomical science.

It should be stressed that the Party leading bodies and organizations as well as the local People's Councils do not pay sufficient attention and do not render the necessary aid to the private farmers in their drive for higher yields.

In fulfilment of the decisions of the Fifth Party Congress the Party organizations in the villages, the People's Councils and the organs of the Ministry of Agriculture have considerably improved their work in directing agricultural activity. The organs of the Ministry of Agriculture, however, have not definitely overcome red tape in the guidance of agriculture. They do not always and in practice take into consideration the structural changes effected in the villages, the concrete local conditions and the possibilities of the individual cooperative farms, State farms, machine and tractor stations and private farms, they do not sufficiently study the work and the

state of the individual farms, do not go into the details of their development, but most frequently assess them by the average indices, they do not act efficiently, on time.

In the sphere of agriculture and with a view to eliminating the disparity in its development as compared with the development of industry, and to ensure an upsurge in livestock-breeding, in the production of consumer goods and raw materials for industry, the Draft Directives for the Second Five-Year Plan provide for the investment of basic State funds alone over 2.3 times greater than in the First Five-Year Plan, capital investments in the co-operative farms are to increase three times, the funds necessary for that purpose being granted by the State. The Draft Directives point out the main undertaking, whose realization will facilitate the fulfilment of the central task – to raise and make stable the yields of crops and the productivity of farm animals.

The tasks of the Party in the field of agriculture during the period of the Second Five-Year are:

1) to continue to strengthen the co-operative system in the villages — -the co-operative farms, the State agricultural farms and the machine and tractor stations;

2) to ensure the speedy elimination of the lag in the development of agriculture, first and foremost in the sphere of livestock-breeding and technical crops; to ensure an increase in the number of cattle, especially of cattle in the socialist sector, simultaneously raising its productivity, by creating a sound forage base, by extending the work of breeding and selection, and also by taking steps to enable every co-operator if possible to own a cow for his personal use, with a view to supplying the growing needs of our people for livestock products, and light industry with raw materials.

3) to ensure an increase in the yield of all agricultural crops by the further application of machine cultivation of the soil, of the achievements of science and the experience of the front-rankers, by enlisting in this drive the private farmers, to whom greater help is to be given with this end in view; special pains are to be taken to increase the production of cotton and tobacco;

4) to ensure a highly efficient utilization of all agricultural machines, by improving the quality of repair and technical upkeep through an improvement in the repair base, by supplying the machine and tractor stations with sufficient spare parts of good quality and highly trained mechanizer cadres;

5) to organize an extensive popular movement to fight droughts, by increasing forest shelter belts, by afforesting bare hills and by constructing numerous small dams, reservoirs, pumping stations, artificial lakes, irrigation systems for the maximum utilization of all running and subsoil waters for irrigation, to ensure correct distribution by zones of agricultural crops;

6) to organize the wide popularization of the achievements of Soviet agro-science and the experience of the co-operative farms, machine and tractor stations and State farms, of the front-rankers in agriculture, with a view further to introduce these achievements and this experience in agricultural practice;

7) decisively to improve the management of the farms on the part of the Party organizations, People's Councils and organs of the Ministry of Agriculture.

4. COMMODITY EXCHANGE, TRANSPORT, MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

In 1952 retail trade increased by 47.8 per cent as compared with 1948. During the period under review the trade network in towns and villages, in workers' quarters, enterprises and at construction sites rapidly developed and improved.

The number of stores in the socialist sector increased from 8,143 in 1948 to 18,480 at the end of 1952 (without the canteens), and the co-operative stores alone — from 6,263 to 10,661. In 1953 alone, 655 stores for foodstuffs and 615 for other commodities were reconstructed and opened.

Co-operative markets are extending.

The rapid growth of commodity reserves made it possible to abolish the rationing of industrial goods in 1951 and to carry out a certain reduction in their free prices, and in 1952 — to abolish the rationing of foodstuffs and carry out two successive reductions of the unified State retail prices, which facilitated the further extension of trade.

The stability of the lev, the abolition of rationing and the introduction of trade at unified State retail prices have increased the demands of the working people on our trade and have sharply raised the question of the quality and rich assortment of the goods. The first successes in this respect are at hand. But our State and co-operative trade is faced with much more serious tasks which are waiting for their solution. The more persistently and powerfully we are urged to fulfil the main task which lies before us — sharply to raise the material and cultural level of the people, the more serious these tasks are.

We are bound to say that the trade organizations have not yet learned how to inquire systematically and thoroughly into the growing needs and tastes of the people, the peculiarities of the various regions from the standpoint of trade; they do not induce the production enterprises resolutely to improve the quality and enrich the variety of the assortment and the production of new goods, they do not really fight against the production of goods of poor quality and assortment. The trade network is insufficient and inadequately distributed in many towns and villages. The shops for consumer goods in the industrial centres and suburb sections are insufficient. The network of public restaurants is insufficient. It does not correspond to the growing needs of the urban and rural population. The network of warehouses does not correspond to the growing stockpiles and does not ensure the proper preservation and manipulation of the goods. The People's Councils do not take the care necessary for the proper development and improvement of trade.

The level of the State and financial discipline in the trade enterprises and country consumer co-operatives is at a very low level. Financial control is poorly organized. There are — we must openly admit — thefts and abuses.

Bread is still produced on a small scale in a scattered fashion, almost as a trade. But it would be incorrect to say that our bakeries, such as they still are in this country — small and primitive, are not capable of producing first-rate bread when there is better organization of the work, until all small bakeries are turned into bread plants. But no sufficient efforts are being made as yet to improve the production of bread and prepare skilled cadres. The working people are quite often offered badly prepared bread, insufficiently baked and sticky.

The target of sharply raising the material and cultural welfare of the working people sets the following most important tasks before our State and co-operative trade:

systematically and ceaselessly to organize inquiry into the growing needs of the population; to exert influence on the enterprises to improve the quality and assortment of the goods, to alter the structure of the stockpiles and to produce the new goods required by the population; to supply the shops in towns and villages with sufficient and constant amounts of the goods needed by the population and available in the State stores;

to improve trade by reorganizing the distribution of the existing shops and opening new specialized shops and public canteens; to secure polite and courteous service; to improve the existing network of stores and to take steps considerably to extend it, to ensure the proper preservation of the goods and their timely distribution; to extend the co-operative markets in the towns.

The Ministry of Home Trade, the Central Co-operative Union and the People's Councils are

to take energetic steps to improve the State and financial discipline, to reduce circulation expenses and to apply a strict regime of economies, to organize strict accounting, to improve inner office control, to wage a severe fight against the thieves and squanderers of State and co-operative funds; more boldly to raise new cadres from among the working people, primarily women and young people, to leading positions; to develop socialist emulation, adopting the experience of Soviet trade and our front-rankers in trade.

Our **transport** has developed to a considerable extent during the period under review.

In general, the volume of freight in railway, automobile and water transport provided for by the Five-Year Plan has been fulfilled in four years. In 1953 the three branches of transport put together hauled more than twice as much freight as in 1948.

State automobile transport has been extended and consolidated. Civilian air transport was set up. New repair bases were built and supplied with new technical and mechanical equipment.

Studying and adopting the experience of the eminent Soviet and Bulgarian transport workers, new initiatives and progressive methods of work have developed in transport. In railway transport the movement of heavy train hauling developed extensively during the five-year period,

The industrial enterprise “Korbso”, adopted the production of new freight and passenger wagons, navigation vessels, steam shovels, switches, safety installations, spare parts and others which were formerly imported.

The technical state and upkeep of transport vehicles and equipment, however, are still unsatisfactory. Their repair is not always promptly done and is not of sufficiently high quality. Railway, motor and shipping time-tables are not always strictly observed. Some important technical-economic indices in railway and auto-transport, such as the wagon turn-round, the speed of freight trains are not always observed. Sound technological discipline has not yet been enforced. The drive for the economical use of lubricants and fuel is not carried on at a sufficiently high level.

It is necessary to do away with these shortcomings and deficiencies in transport, so that the responsible tasks set in the Second Five-Year Plan be fulfilled with honour.

Our **communication** system is also developing with success.

The capacity of the town telephone exchanges more than trebled in 1952 as compared with 1939 and increased one and a half times as against 1948. The number of villages supplied with loudspeaker systems reached 883 by the end of 1952. The length of the inter-urban and rural telegraph and telephone lines increased 1.5 times as compared with 1939. The number of telephones rose from 68,083 in 1949 to 94,208 in 1952.

The further development of communications must be ensured during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan by extending the telephone and loudspeaker network. The power of the radio transmitters should be doubled and the quality of postal, telegraph and radio service be improved.

5. THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL WELFARE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The fulfilment of the plan for the First Five-Year period brought about important changes in the material and cultural situation of our people.

Chronic unemployment — the most terrible scourge of the working class — has been wiped out for ever. Misery and ignorance in our village are things of the past. Capitalist exploitation in town and village has been fully eradicated.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, where over half of the national income is appropriated by the exploiter classes, in our country it is for the benefit of the people and the bulk of it ($\frac{3}{4}$) goes to meet their material and cultural needs. The rest of the national income is allocated for

socialist re-production.

The following table gives an idea of the increase in the working class in our economy and in industry;

Indices	1948	1953
1. Workers (total number engaged in production proper, office workers and service personnel) in industry, construction, rural economy, the machine and tractor stations, the State farms, transport, trade, the communal enterprises etc. including those in the State- owned industries	345,575	555,600
2. Members of the labour producer co-operatives	164,988	246,932
	22,604	62,165

In 1952 the total number of the workers and employees was 970,000; it surpassed the 1948 index by 333,000.

The workers' wages are growing parallel with the increase in the national income. The 1952 wage fund in the field of economy alone has doubled as compared with 1948. The average real wages of the workers engaged in industry went up by 38 per cent as compared to 1939, taking into consideration the elimination of unemployment and the practice of unpaid services.

The real incomes of our peasants have also gone up. The increased consumption of goods such as milk, dairy products, eggs and meat is typical of the improvement in the living standards of the peasants, as compared with 1939.

The successive reductions of the prices of consumer goods are an important source of increase for the working people's incomes in this country. The total amount of the working people's savings resulting from the reductions of prices effected so far is 2,893,200,000 leva. In 1952, in connection with the abolition of rationing, the working people were given compensations in their wages valid for the future, too, which can be estimated approximately at 860,000,000 leva a year.

The living standards of the workers, peasants and other working people in this country are determined not only by what they receive as wages and incomes in cash and kind, but also by a number of social and cultural measures undertaken by the State.

Every year these measures play an ever greater part in raising the material and cultural standards of our people.

Every worker and every employee in our country is guaranteed the right to a paid yearly holiday. Thousands of working people spend their holidays at our resorts. The State, public organizations, co-operative farms and other offices and organizations ensure the workers' rest at a minimum cost every year. In 1952 the number of holidaymakers exceeded 114,000. The scholarships granted to students were increased many times. The public canteens and restaurants whose number prior to September 9, 1944 was insignificant, now serve a great many workers and employees. Social insurance and old age and service pensions are granted to all working people.

With a view to improving the living standards of the working people the State has done a considerable amount of housing and communal construction. New, comfortable and hygienic houses have changed the face of our countryside since September 9, 1944. Out of 50,225 private houses built in the first five-year period, over 41,000 are in the countryside.

The Party and Government have expended great care on the health of the people in the five year period. Our whole population is entitled to free medical aid at the expense of the State. In 1952 the funds earmarked for public health were 4.5 times higher than in 1939. While in 1939 we had only 159 hospitals with 10,492 beds, in 1952 their number came up to 249 with 24,522

beds. The beds in the maternity homes rose from 150 in 1939 to 2,720 in 1948 and 2,953 in 1952. Parallel with the development of tile public health network, the number of permanent and seasonal creches increased. In 1952 their number reached 306 with 8,961 places.

The State expenditure on public health amounted to 1,800 million leva during the period of the first Five-Year Plan. In 1953 this allocation was 6 times larger than in 1939 and almost 2.5 times larger than in 1948.

The total sum allocated by the State for free education, medical aid sport grants, pensions to workers, employees and peasants, for aids and indemnities in temporary disability, grants in cases of sickness, childbirth. family premiums and others, for prophylactic institutes, sanatoria and resort treatment and dietary regime, for the working people's vacations, in the period of the First Five-Year Plan amounted to about 8,000 million leva.

The State has paid over 230 million leva in tax and charge reduction to the peasants in the period of the First Five-Year Plan. The total aid rendered the cooperative farms and their members by the Party and the Government in 1953/54 amounts to over 600 million leva.

The revolution effected in the realm of culture in our country after September 9, 1944 is an integral part of socialist construction. In the period under review great successes were recorded in this sphere. We must note that they have been achieved on the basis of the great economic advance of the country and the closest collaboration and extension of cultural relations between our country and the Soviet Union, and the People's Democracies.

The years of the First Five-Year Plan can and must be looked upon as years of a cultural progress for the working people, such as was unknown in the past.

The Party and the Government did a great deal for the development of science, education, literature, art and the cultural institutions in our country. Our State spent huge sums on science and on the education of the people. It is characteristic that whereas in 1944 the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was allotted only 615,424 leva by the bourgeois-fascist Government (comparable, in terms of the 1953 purchasing value of the lev) this year the budget of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences with its capital investments amounts to 33,608,000 leva, i.e. more than 50 times as much.

Since 1948 our science has recorded successes both on ideological and organizational lines.

Our science is making successful efforts to establish links with practice in socialist construction.

After 1948 the entire activity of our higher educational institutions was conducted in conformity with the tasks set by the Fifth Party Congress — to train in various specialties cadres ideologically and theoretically prepared to cope with the great requirements and tasks set by socialist construction. With a view to solving these problems, our old higher educational institutions and faculties were re-organized and new ones were created. At present 20 new higher educational institutions with 42 faculties and 150 chairs, with an enrolment of over 30,000 students are functioning in this country.

There has been a marked improvement in the social composition of the student body. Over 21 per cent of all students are exclusively workers in industry or sons and daughters of workers. The existence of correspondence courses has brought university education ever more within the reach of working youth. While prior to September 9, 1944 there was not a single State hostel, in (he academic year of 1953/54 the number of student hostels organized in this country reached 24. In 1954 nearly 14,000 students receive scholarships. The compulsory study by all students of dialectical and historical materialism, the foundations of Marxism-Leninism (political economy) and the History of the Bulgarian Communist Party was introduced.

During the period of 1948/53 the number of library clubs rose from 3,978 to 4,339.

There was a big increase in the formation of amateur art groups, through which our national art is being popularized and from among whose ranks gifted persons in the sphere of theatrical art, music, choreography etc. emerged and continue to emerge. At present nearly 10,000 amateur art groups are in existence, with over 250,000 members. At present there are over 20 amateur musical comedy groups as against a single one in 1948. In 1948 only a few Turkish groups were in existence but in 1953 their number rose to 233.

The achievements in library work are also great. At present 5,000 libraries are operating in this country, excluding the State libraries. Prior to September 9, 1944 the number of libraries attached to the enterprises was only 63 but today this figure has risen to 1,088. Since 1948 the number of State libraries has grown from 11 to 17, including the Vassil Kolarov State Library.

In the last two or three years national museums and house-museums were organized in almost all district towns and in a number of county towns. Prior to September 9, 1944 there were 38 museums, now they number 98.

The number of general educational schools has increased. The People's Government has opened many evening intermediate schools and high schools which afford primary and high-school education for tens of thousands of working people, who were deprived of the opportunity to study under the bourgeois-fascist regime. Pre-school education has become especially extensive.

Professional education has expanded greatly. The professional schools have become State schools. Tens of thousands of children of the working people now have the opportunity to acquire special training and skill and the necessary general knowledge and culture, so as to become worthy builders of their socialist Homeland. In 1952 alone 67,679 children of working people were trained in the technical colleges and professional high schools. Moreover, tens of thousands of youths and working people from towns and villages are trained in a number of other special schools, institutes and courses.

As a result of the great care expended by the Party and the Government on education in recent years, our general educational and professional schools provide a high-school education for about 30,000 students every year, while our universities and colleges turn out annually 6,000 trained specialists and executives for our national economy, science, culture and art. Today the number of students in this country exceeds one million.

Illiteracy has already been eliminated in our country among the entire population up to 50 years of age. State expenditure on education amounted to 3,000 million leva during the period covered by the First Five-Year Plan. In 1952 it was twice as large as in 1948.

The new people's intelligentsia is coming to the fore in large numbers from among the working class, the working people — from the shock-workers, Stakhanovites in industry and the front-rankers in agriculture. Today only the sons and daughters of the working people are admitted to the higher educational institutions. There is a wide network of courses and schools in which thousands of working people are mastering technics. The old intelligentsia also takes an active part in socialist construction. In their vast majority they have joined their efforts with the efforts of the working people in the field of science, art and culture, as well as in production in the person of the engineers and technicians, and they conscientiously and worthily do their duty to the people and the Homeland.

The large number of newspapers and magazines, as well as of books published in this country testify to the rising cultural level of the working people. Eight central and four local daily papers, 55 other central and local (district and county) newspapers and over 100 magazines

are being published in the country at present. The total circulation of all papers and magazines published in this country in a single edition reached 2,571,500 in 1954, 42 per cent of the total circulation of all papers being sold in the countryside.

The Bulgarian Communist Party educates our people in a spirit of deep respect for our national culture, for everything that is democratic, national and progressive in it. The Communist Party is alien to every sectarianism, to every nihilism with respect to our national culture. It respects, upholds and furthers our positive heritage from the past.

The Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party with its decisions provided the basis for the correct development of the arts in our country.

Our literature is on the upgrade. Learning from the Soviet literature and armed with the principles concerning the tasks of socialist literature and especially on the character and the significance of all that is typical in the social and historical phenomena, as stated in the report of comrade Malenkov to the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it is developing, improving its subject matter and the quality of its works; it is becoming a still sharper weapon in the struggle for the re-education of the working people in the building of Socialism. The main weakness on the literary front, as well as on the front of the other arts, is the fact that we have not as yet any truly valuable militant criticism to direct and guide the correct development of art activities.

A number of reviews and contests were carried out after the Fifth Congress which demonstrated the great advance of musical culture in Bulgaria.

We should note the indisputable successes attained in the field of music, in our art of operatic performance. Soviet public opinion has already given its appraisal of performances such as the ballet "The Haiduk's Epic" and the opera "Momchil". At the Third International Youth Festival in Berlin our young performers won 13 different prizes and at the Fourth World Youth Festival in Bucharest in 1953 the young representatives of our art received a total of 37 prizes, among which several First, a number of Second and one extra Prize,

Since the Fifth Congress, the symphony orchestras in our country have developed at a rapid rate. There are already 10 symphony orchestras functioning in our country.

The successes achieved in the field of dramatic art after the Fifth Congress of the Party are appreciable. The Bulgarian drama which after the Fifth Congress of the Party concentrated its attention on the urgent problems of our time succeeded in winning a prominent place on the repertoires of our theatres.

Painting and sculpture recorded considerable achievements in the fight against formalism and bourgeois influences, in the struggle for vivid, realist works.

Our own young cinematography is progressing rapidly and successfully in its development.

Our national circus art is also marking considerable successes. The titles People's Artist and Artist of Merit were conferred on 143 workers in the field of art and literature for great services in these spheres. For outstanding achievements in the various spheres of art the Government awarded the Dimitrov Prize to 269 workers in these spheres.

Such is the balance of the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan in the field of the material welfare and culture of the working people.

Our successes in this field are great. However, they can in no way satisfy us. We cannot consider as sufficient the improvements achieved in the life of the working people particularly, whose needs are constantly growing.

The task now is to direct the main efforts of the Party, of the State, of the whole people, on the increasing of the consumer commodities in the country, sharply improving the living

standards of the working people, on satisfying ever more fully their growing needs.

Science, literature and art in our country are developing at a rapid rate, but they still lag behind socialist construction, behind the new life, because this new life is advancing at a still greater rate.

The task is to accomplish to the end the reconstruction of all scientific and cultural departments and institutions, with a view to bringing them into the closest touch with the practice of socialist construction; further to intensify the fight against bourgeois ideology and the systematic work for the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of its method, on the part of the workers on the ideological front: to ensure the necessary conditions for the contention of opinions in the field of science; to create in this country militant, literary, theatrical, musical and art criticism capable of successfully fighting for the correct development of literature, music, the art of the drama and the imitative arts in the spirit of socialist realism, capable of successfully helping to improve the quality of this work, the correct development of the artists, capable of successfully fighting against all kinds of bourgeois influences and deviations from the road of realism, for the truthful and artistic re-creation of life

6. FOR THE STRICTEST ECONOMY

The Party and the Government systematically pursue a line of the strictest regime of economy. Without such a regime the tasks of lowering the prime cost of production, for the further expansion of production, cannot be fulfilled. The development of the national economy is mainly achieved with our own funds, with internal accumulations. The most important condition for ensuring the greatest possible accumulations and their correct use is the regime of economy. This is of special importance for us today when we must successfully and rapidly solve the problem of markedly improving the living and cultural standards of the working people.

Putting into effect the Directives of the Party and the Government, the working people in a number of enterprises and plants launched an organized struggle for economies of raw materials, fuel, electric energy and manpower, and achieved considerable successes.

A number of enterprises are fulfilling and overfulfilling their plans for the lowering of the prime cost of production. But in many factories, plants, trade enterprises, farms and other establishments the question of economies is grossly underestimated. In a number of cases the managing bodies, the workers and employees display carelessness with regard to the correct management of socialist property, allowing over-expenditure, squandering, waste, deflection of means and materials; they do not fight over-expenditure of basic and auxiliary materials, order them in larger quantities than necessary; these materials are sometimes quite unsuitable and even unnecessary for their production, many of them being imported. This irresponsible attitude toward the quality of the goods produced leads to losses for the State and for the consumers. The costs of circulation in the trade enterprises is high on the whole. Nevertheless, the plans for the maintenance of circulation in the State and co-operative trade enterprises are being systematically infringed. The question of transport and its rational utilization is not given serious consideration by many of the enterprises and organizations. While many freights cannot be transported, because of shortage of means of conveyance, unnecessary and crossed transport is allowed. An increased number of cases of deficiencies in account (unwarranted expenditure), owing to damages and abuses, shows that the fight against this evil is not sufficiently efficacious.

In construction, despite the fact that within the last year (1953) considerable achievements in the fulfilment of the plan and the expenditure of the workers' wage fund have been recorded, a really strict regime of economies with a view to reducing construction prices has not yet been established. The previously estimated costs, materials and others, of the projects are not handed

in on time. Many projects provide for unjustified luxuries and superfluities. Mechanization is not sufficiently applied in construction. Many of the construction sites are not well organized. They are often supplied with larger quantities of building materials than is necessary. Operations which should be carried out first are often postponed, which later necessitates the breaking up of what has already been built without them. There are serious shortcomings in the planning of production prime costs, the norms of the raw materials to be used are often raised, as well as the indices of the amount of labour necessary for the making of certain commodities.

Many ministries, departments and a number of enterprises, prompted by their narrow departmental interests, consciously inflate the plans for their material and technical equipment, for the workers' wage funds, for the circulation expenses.

The expenses of the Government apparatus are still too high, at many offices the personnel is too numerous. We must fight to simplify and cheapen the State apparatus, to reduce administrative expenses.

The question of the regime of economies in agriculture is a particularly acute one.

Owing to organizational shortcomings and mismanagement in the State farms, considerable funds and quantities of valuable materials are misused. Owing to over-expenditure on repairs, of fuel and lubricants, on repair operations and non-fulfilment of the production programme, a large number of machine and tractor stations allow a considerable over-expenditure of State funds, the machine stocks are not taken sufficient care of in consequence of which they easily wear out.

The question of the regime of economies is a fundamental task facing the Party organizations, the Party and business executives, big and small, the workers and all working people.

It is necessary to organize a careful study of all potentialities and resources of the enterprises. The materials, the machines, the manpower and the funds should be expended thriftily; the management of the enterprises and offices should be improved and the planning and financial discipline should be still further consolidated; the indifferent and careless attitude toward the question of economies should be severely combatted.

It is necessary to intensify financial control.

The State Control Commission should likewise assist in solving these extremely important problems.

The task of fighting for the reduction of the prime cost of production and the circulation expenses, for a strict regime of economies, for the thriftiest expenditure of the people's funds, for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plans is absolutely binding on the Party organizations, the People's Councils and all departments.

7. SOCIALIST EMULATION

The fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the yearly production plans require that both the workers and the engineering, technical and economic personnel apply the new methods of work, that they master the new, primarily Soviet technique which is adopted by all branches of the national economy, that they ceaselessly increase their technical knowledge, that they boldly break the out-of-date norms and estimated capacities, that they raise the productivity of labour.

Today there is no branch of industry, construction and transport, in which tens of thousands of our workers — men and women — are not applying the new Soviet progressive initiatives and methods of work in their practical work.

In the textile industry the number of workers operating more than the fixed number of machines — multi-machine operators — has already reached 10,130, or 55.4 per cent of all workers who can operate more machines. In the entire light and food industries 70,000 persons

are successfully applying new methods and initiatives.

Following the initiative of the Soviet Stakhanovites Maria Levchenko and Grigory Mukhanov, 45,000 working men and women are at work in the enterprises of the ministries of transport, electrification, supplies, light and food industries and heavy industry alone, and have effected 62,235,000 leva worth of savings for the national economy in 1953.

The movement of rationalizers and inventors is marking greater and more and significant successes with every passing year.

The number of front-rankers in socialist emulation who have received the titles Stakhanovites, shock-workers and excellent workers in industry, construction, transport, State farming, the machine and tractor stations, in State and co-operative trade is growing. Over 180,000 working men and women have been trained in the two-year Stakhanovite schools organized in large numbers by the trade unions and the economic organizations.

From 1949 to 1953, 12,617 working people were awarded high orders and medals, 515 received Dimitrov Prizes and 52 were honoured with the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

We should have had still greater successes in the development of socialist emulation if Party, trade union, State and economic organizations had not allowed essential shortcomings in guiding it and carrying it out.

Not all Party, trade union, State and business executives have rid themselves of the harmful practice of accompanying with ostentation and clamour every new initiative, which they substitute for the really serious though difficult task of making all working men and women understand the essence of the new initiative, to work tirelessly so as to ensure the necessary conditions for its successful realization by all workers, engineers, technicians and employees, and not by a few individuals only.

One of the obstacles to the still wider application of new methods of work today is the lack of strict inner-shop cost accounting of the materials, labour and power necessary for production and of strict accounting and control over their expenditure.

The active participation of all engineering and technical cadres is of decisive importance for the adoption of the new initiatives and the establishment of strict inner-shop cost accounting as well as for the further all-embracing upsurge of socialist emulation and the Stakhanovite movement as well.

The Party, trade union, State and economic organizations do not fully exhaust the possibilities and conditions existing in our enterprises for the mass study, spread and application of the experience of front-rankers in production, for the constant popularization of the initiatives and means by which the front-rankers fulfil and overfulfil their labour norms, turn out high grade production, economize materials, fuel, and power, and rationally organize their working place.

The tasks assigned by the Second Five-Year Plan call on all Party, trade union, State and economic organizations to set about developing socialist emulation on a still larger scale in all branches of industry, agriculture, transport, construction, in State and cooperative trade, for still better quality in production, for the greater productivity of labour.

The practice of socialist emulation should be studied, shortcomings which hinder its further development should be duly disclosed and eliminated; production conferences should be more spirited and the main problems of production should more often be submitted to them for discussion; the entire application of workers' suggestions should be controlled, innovators and rationalizers in production should be constantly aided so as to ensure the fulfilment of the norms by all workers, to utilize all possibilities of raising the cultural and technical level of front-rankers in production, of the whole working class. This signifies that the Soviet working people's

wealth of experience in the fight for Communism should be constantly studied, spread wide and applied.

8. FOR THE FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY

During the period under review the People's Government did away with all the aftermath of the dark fascist past. The damage done by the wrecking activities of Traicho Kostov's band in the different branches of the national economy and the State apparatus were wiped out.

Our State apparatus, the economic organizations and organs were decisively reconstructed in the spirit of Socialism.

The number of important decrees of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Party in the field of national economy and State administration, adopted and carried through during the period under review are a proof thereof.

The whole State administration and legislation of the country were brought into conformity with the new constitution. The laws existing up to September 9, 1944 were also officially repealed by the National Assembly. New fundamental laws were created for the country which express and consolidate its people's democratic reconstruction. The State apparatus and the organizational forms of the State administration in the different branches of the national economy were reconstructed in conformity with the new tasks set by socialist construction. The laws on the election of People's Councils are of the greatest importance.

The National Assembly voted the Labour Code which, on the principle of basic constitutional rights of the working people, regulates the problems connected with the labour regime, labour remuneration, rest, material security and labour contracts.

Socialist lawfulness and State discipline are consolidated.

Our people's democratic State is growing and developing as a powerful, viable and peace-loving State. There has been no rule in the history of Bulgaria so strong, so viable and stable as our present people's democratic State. The further its economic basis — the socialist ownership or the means of production — develops and is consolidated, the stronger and more stable will it become in the future. Experience in our country has shown, that the people's democratic form of power of the working class in alliance with the labouring peasants is successfully putting into effect all the functions of proletarian dictatorship, i.e. it can successfully bring about the building of Socialism. Experience in our country has shown, that the people's democratic system is by far a better form of social and State organization than the capitalist system. In our country today the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of our State are assuming a still greater scope.

The moral and political unity of the working people in the country, the worker-peasant alliance, the fraternity and brotherly work between Communists and Agrarians in the name of one and the same aim, are growing and consolidating.

Our armed forces are small in number, but they are strong, they are capable of defending the independence of the Homeland if necessary, of defending the peaceful labour of the people.

The elimination of the capitalist class in industry, trade, credit and other branches, the great restriction of these elements in the countryside, the great growth of the moral and political unity of the working people does not, however, signify a standstill in the class struggle. On the contrary. They signify its sharpening and this is quite comprehensible. The exploiter elements do not leave the stage of history of their own volition. They resist desperately, without selecting their means.

The capitalist elements who have not yet been utterly eliminated and those who until recently

owned factories, plants, enterprises and great fortunes, or have served the dominant bourgeoisie for rich remuneration in the past and are now in disgrace — they have not stopped fighting and will not stop until they are utterly defeated.

Deprived of their enterprises and capital, all those ex-people — industrialists, hankers, merchants and their tools — have not vanished, they are among us. Some of them have settled in various plants, enterprises and offices, at construction sites, co-operative and State farms, machine and tractor stations, they have “turned” into “working people”, (*animation*) but they have neither changed their deadly hatred of the people’s rule, of Socialism, nor their desperate readiness to harm it by all means. Others concoct plans — who knows where — and still spend their hidden money, but they, too, are amongst us, without having forgotten the time when they were all-powerful.

Our task in connection with such elements is to keep their existence in mind, to be on the alert, to catch them red-handed, and to learn how to take off their masks. Unflagging vigilance is necessary with regard to the hostile acts and manoeuvres, the attempts of the enemies to obtain responsible posts in the State and economic apparatus and from thence, when conditions are favourable, to put their evil, wrecking plans into effect.

The whole experience of the history of the Soviet Union, of the C.P.S.U, and our own experience so far confirm the Marxist-Leninist assertion that under the conditions of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, the stronger the socialist system grows, the narrower the base of the capitalist elements and the nearer their end, the fiercer and the more desperate their resistance.

The enemies are supported and guided from abroad, from the capitalists around us, from the imperialist staffs. We must never forget this.

In this country a number of espionage nests were discovered and destroyed in time, the enemy’s attempts to destroy our national economy were blocked. The greatest success of the Party and the people in this respect was the discovery and defeat of Traicho Kostov’s band of spies and plotters, whereby the most dangerous agency of the enemy and imperialist fifth column in this country was smashed.

But espionage and open hostility do not exhaust all forms of the anti-people’s activities of the enemy.

At present the enemy does not wage an open struggle against the people’s rule. He suffered a heavy defeat in the open battle. Deprived of economic support within the country and feeling his imminent end, well aware of the unfavourable international situation, taught by the bitter and ill-fated attempt to wage an open struggle against the people’s rule, the class enemy has changed his tactics. He is ready to resort and does resort to the subtlest disguise. Lacking the courage to face the people openly, the enemy now most often lies low, disguises himself, plays possum, (*animation*) double deals, feigns benevolence, so as to be able to survive to more favourable times, attempts to harm us and undermine our position without coming up to the surface. Wherever there is bureaucracy, officious callousness, servility, careerism, a formal approach to work, carelessness, self-adulation, liberalism, selfishness, theft, squandering, there the class enemy thrives and does his fiendish work. With their class instinct the hostile elements perceive that socialist property is the basis of socialist economy and that in order to check the construction of Socialism they must undermine precisely this basis; that is why, having crawled into the State apparatus, the industrial and transport enterprises, in trade and the co-operative farms they try to organize thefts and to waste the State and co-operative property, skilfully to harm and damage machines, to squander fuel and electric energy, to waste raw materials, to produce defective

goods, to misuse national funds, to check the execution of State plans.

The enemy within and without is ceaselessly struggling and striving to retard our Socialist construction. Our people have ceaselessly and persistently been fighting against the various forms and methods of the enemy activity during the past period, they have been learning how to discern and unmask him. In this struggle our Party has gained further strength and mettle. Our Party organizations have become more vigilant with regard to the various manoeuvres and cunning of the enemy. Our people's militia has grown much stronger and so has our State security.

But we have to wage a long and fierce struggle against the enemy who has not given up the hope that with the aid of his protectors abroad one day the old order might return, and capitalism be restored in our country. Our further victorious advance in Socialism will enrage the hostile elements in our country.

The fight to heighten vigilance is one of the basic tasks of the Party, as well as of the Party, State, economic and cultural organizations, and of the whole people.

The most powerful and secure weapon in the struggle against the enemy, no matter how well he hides, is to develop to the utmost criticism of our shortcomings from below by the working people. The most powerful and most secure means of preventing the enemy from harming us, no matter how perfidious his wrecking methods are, is to create everywhere conditions for free and bold criticism of shortcomings in the work on the part of the working people. The enemies can hardly thrive in such a setting, at any rate they cannot thrive there long.

Vigilance, however, does not mean suspicion, distrust. It does not mean that all those who had not joined the progressive movements to any degree in the past or had been members of various societies and organizations then under the influence of the bourgeois State, should be indiscriminately considered as enemies. It does not follow for instance, that officers, dismissed from the army after September 9, 1944, should be listed in the camp of enemies, looked upon with distrust, persecuted and often left unemployed for the sole reason that in the past they had served in the king's army. Part of the former king's officers were dismissed from the army for different reasons, and we should take this into account. If for one or another reason a former king's officer cannot remain in active service, this does not mean that he has ceased to be a Bulgarian citizen with full rights, that in most cases he does not belong to the reserves of the Bulgarian army. One should not forgive anyone for his hostile activities, every one who commits such should be punished by law, but one should resort to such measures only in case such hostile activities or the preparation for them are in evidence. It is a hostile practice to be afraid that something may happen and responsibility may be sought if confidence is placed in such Bulgarian citizens who in the past have not been with us, but whom we wish to draw to us and re-educate. It is a display of weakness in some of our leaders, of fear and flight from responsibility, of incapacity to pursue a correct policy of re-education. Today we, the Communists, are responsible for everything, and also to see to it, that every Bulgarian citizen who is not deprived of political rights should devote his efforts and work, where he will be most useful to the Republic. The right to work is sanctioned by the Constitution. It does not ensue therefrom, however, that in case of dismissal and disciplinary punishments bad references should be given and dismissals be formulated which close the doors to other jobs for the dismissed or punished person. An end should be put to this harmful practice everywhere. Vigilance, however, should be sharpened. It should be sharpened chiefly by developing criticism of shortcomings in the work, by a daily study of the people in the process of their work, of their qualities and shortcomings, by active work for the education and re-education of the whole population. Great,

in this respect, is the role and responsibility of the personnel departments at the enterprises and offices, but it is to be regretted, that these State organs of paramount importance are not at the necessary level. It is necessary that we should say it here openly. The main reason for that lies in the fact that their purport, their role is not correctly understood.

Actually in many places they have been transformed into organs which have really supplanted the management of the enterprise or office on matters concerning personnel — their appointment and dismissal. Moreover, they frequently act almost as if they were intelligence organs, security organs. These are exceedingly harmful distortions which should be quickly eliminated. The personnel departments are organs entirely and incontestably subordinate to the chief of the office or enterprise and to no one else. A chief who tolerates liberties on the part of the personnel department is not in his right place. (*Animation*) The personnel departments are called on to aid the management or the executive body of the enterprise or office in selecting and correctly distributing the cadres, to take an interest in their development, to study them in the process of work with a view to their progress, to making the most correct use of them and assisting their advancement. The personnel departments should work in the closest contact with the workers and employees, with the technicians and the intellectuals, they should see to it that no barriers spring up in their relations with them, so that all the people may feel them as their own, indispensable organs, in which they can place their full confidence, and even feel gratitude and affection for them.

A decisive end must be put to flight from responsibility in the work of these organs and of some executives in the interest of our common advance.

In connection with this I want to say a few words on the former oppositionists, some of whom were in prison and have now been released. First of all, these people who opposed the Government policy, should worthily and correctly appraise the decision of the People's Government to remit their sentences and set them free. It is obvious, that the People's Government does not do it out of weakness, nor under pressure from anyone. This is done because it is strong, because its cause is justified, proved by life. The People's Government is not revengeful. Its policy is not one of vengeance. Those, who five or six years ago rose in opposition to the People's Government, should now, in the face of the facts, realize on whose side justice lies, what direction developments in the world and at home are taking — and they should draw their own conclusions. They may enter the ranks and contribute their efforts to the construction of a new Bulgaria, on condition that they draw final conclusions, admit in all honesty that their card was trumped by life itself and begin working honestly under the aegis of the Fatherland Front. This opportunity is given to them. The People's Government, however, will forgive no one the repetition of the old crimes, under whatever guise they may be manifested.

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The main tasks of the Party in the sphere of home policy are:

1) To organize and direct the peaceful and constructive labour of the Bulgarian people for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan and the successful solution of its central task — the marked improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the working people — by raising the real incomes of workers, employees and peasants, by intensive housing construction, by the further development of education, public health, socialist science, culture and art?

2) Further to develop heavy industry, especially power production and coal output, by

eliminating their lag in supplying the country's need of coal and electric power; to undertake with the utmost energy geological surveys with a view to discovering and ascertaining our natural resources; to ensure the maximum growth of the production of consumer goods; to strive for the maximum increase of labour productivity, for the high quality and rich assortment of goods, for sound cost accounting, for discipline in production, for the elimination of fitful work, for the fulfilment of production plans on time and by all indices, for a steady decrease of the prime cost of production, so as to ensure a systematic lowering of wholesale and retail commodity prices;

3) To ensure a further upsurge in the development of agriculture by eliminating its lag with regard to the development of industry, especially the lag in stockbreeding, and with this aim in view, to solve the forage problem; to ensure the fulfilment of the main task in the sphere of agriculture — a steady increase in the yields of crop raising and stockbreeding; raising the number of cattle so as to create sufficient supplies for the population and raw materials for light industry; to strengthen with might and main the cooperative farms, the State farms and the machine and tractor stations; to raise the material and cultural well-being of the co-operators, to make them prosperous;

4) To ensure a further, all-round improvement in State and co-operative trade, which should meet ever more fully and efficiently the growing and more diversified needs of the working people;

5) To ensure a most strict regime of economy in all spheres of the national economy and the administration;

6) To unfold and to introduce on an ever larger scale and more fully the creative initiative of the working people, socialist emulation, Stakhanovite methods of work, rationalization proposals;

7) With still greater energy to fight for the strengthening of State discipline, against bureaucracy and a callous attitude to persons; to develop the sense of responsibility to the Homeland and the people for the accurate and strict fulfilment of the assigned task;

8) To strengthen with might and main the people's democratic, social and State system; to develop the democratization of our entire public life, drawing the working people more and more into the Government of the country; further to strengthen the love of the working people for the Homeland, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and international solidarity, the growing moral and political unity of our labouring people;

9) Further to strengthen the defence capacity of the country, our own army and security organs, to sharpen vigilance towards the enemies.

III

The Party

Our Party comes to its Sixth Congress united, monolithic, firm as granite, rock-like rallied around its Central Committee, selflessly loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the behests of its immortal leader Georgi Dimitrov. (*Stormy and prolonged applause*)

The great and evident successes in the construction of the new society confirm the correctness of its policy. The broadest working masses are becoming more and more convinced of this by their own experience. Never before has our Party enjoyed greater influence nor have its ties with the working people ever been closer than they are now. Today, it is a universally-acknowledged, tempered, militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class with an iron discipline, which successfully leads all working people and their organizations. It enjoys the confidence, affection and respect of the people, who see in it the tried leader of the Fatherland Front, the soul and the motive force of the entire public, State, economic and cultural life in the country. Our Party is a genuine people's party, the name of which is linked with all the vital national interests of Bulgaria, the brightest hope of the people. That is why they so unanimously support the policy of the Communist Party. The elections for people's representatives held on December 20 last year were a brilliant demonstration of the unity between Party and people. In this unity with the people lies the strength of our Party.

The unshakable unity of the Party, its ever closer ties with the people, the growing confidence and devotion of the people to it, the unshakable loyalty of the Party and people to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship are the bedrock of all successes achieved.

At the very beginning of the period under review our Party discovered and routed the treacherous band led by Traicho Kostov which had deeply disguised itself in its ranks. The struggle for the routing of this band steeled our Party, its vigilance, it made it stronger, more experienced, more mature, more irreconcilable towards its own shortcomings. The January Plenum of the Central Committee and its decisions played an exceptional part in this respect. They came as a natural and necessary continuation and development of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Party. The entire work of the Party during the period under review bears the imprint of the powerful influence of these decisions. The fight for sharpened vigilance, for irreconcilability towards all shortcomings, for unfolding criticism of existing shortcomings, irrespective of the persons and with all forces, for the necessity of drawing all the working people into it, for raising organizational work to the level of the political tasks, for the proper selection and distribution of cadres, for their correct education, for the control of execution, for the development of inner-Party democracy, for the collective principle in the leadership and work of the Party, for mastering the revolutionary theory of Marxism in indissoluble relation with practice, the fight for educating the Party to co-ordinate a high degree of adherence to principle with maximum ties with the masses, not only to teach them, but to pay heed to and learn from them, not to be afraid to admit its mistakes, but to educate, both itself and the cadres by drawing lessons from the mistakes committed, boldly to raise from among the working people new capable men to leading positions in all fields of construction, resolutely to fight bureaucracy and the callous attitude towards people, systematically to improve its social composition, to purge itself of the rotten and decaying elements, to uphold still more its monolithic unity and conscientious discipline. – In short, the struggle to master the Leninist style of work and to inculcate it deeply in the practice of the Party has always focussed the attention of the Central Committee and of the entire Party. All Plenums of the Central Committee, the Third Party

Conference, and the entire activity of the Party testify to this.

The Party comes to its Sixth Congress with considerable successes to its credit in its consolidation as a Leninist Party, now conducting the destinies of our people. It has proved its capacity correctly and successfully to lead the State and the country's economy, backed by the activeness of the working people, of their unswerving support; its cadres and organizations have grown up and are being steadily consolidated ideologically and politically as experienced, prudent and firm leaders of the working people.

Towards its Fifth Congress the Party numbered 495,658 members. At the present Congress it numbers 455,251 persons which includes 368,142 members and 87,109 candidate members. The smaller number of the members of the Party as compared with 1948, is due to the measures carried out after the Fifth Congress to improve the composition of the Party. It is well-known that immediately after September 9, 1944, the doors of the Party were wide open to new members almost without any restrictions. Our Party at once became half a million strong. Such a leap in its numerical growth could not fail to create a great disparity between this number and the political consciousness of the Party members. Moreover, together with the vast majority of honest and devoted workers, craftsmen, peasants and intellectuals, quite a few fortuitous and rotten elements, go-getters and even dubious persons, as well as persons who are clearly not yet ready to bear the high title of Member of the Party, joined the Party quite unimpeded. The great and very dangerous incongruity between the large number of members and their political consciousness, had to be thoroughly dealt with. At the same time the composition of the membership had to be checked. Bearing in mind that the Party is strong not only by the number of its members but first of all by their quality, the Central Committee of the Party carried out a check of the composition of the Party members, expelling the fortuitous, rotten and dubious elements which had slipped into it in order to conceal their dark past, or to avail themselves of the position of the Party as a dominant party, and concentrated its attention on education within the Party. A probationary period was established for candidate members. Hence the decreased membership of the Party is not a symptom of weakening, but one of strengthening the Party. This becomes evident from the improved social composition of the Party members and Candidates as compared with the data from the time of the Fifth Congress.

At the time of the Fifth Congress the workers in the Party numbered 122,896, or 26.5 per cent. They are now 155,081 or 34.06 per cent. Labouring peasants were 207,490 or 44.74 per cent, they are now 180,998 or 39.76 per cent. There were 75,501 employees constituting 16.28 per cent, while today their number is 81,664 or 17.94 per cent. The remaining categories were 57,895 or 12.48 per cent, the corresponding figures being today 37,508 or 8.24 per cent.¹)

At the time of the Fifth Congress there were 22,768 Party members — co-operative farmers or 11 per cent. Today they are 113,932 or 68.95 per cent of the total number of peasants in the Party who are engaged in farming. This shows that the Communist nucleus in the countryside has grown considerably.

The members of the Party — workers and co-operative farmers directly engaged in industry or agriculture are now the basic nucleus in the Party (54.53 per cent of all members and candidates).

A sound improvement in the social composition of the Party is apparent. The Party organizations now admit new members in accordance with the Rules, the requirements for

¹ The calculations are made by subtracting from the number of Party members (495,658) as adduced in the report of the Central Committee to the Fifth Congress, the figure 31,876, i.e. the number of those for whom no specific data about social condition was available at the time of the Fifth Congress.

joining the Party are higher, and a vast activity is in progress in the Party for the political education of its members. It obviously follows in this connection that the Congress may permit the admittance of employees, engineers and technicians to the Party. But it should not be considered even now that the problem of an attentive and careful selection of the newly admitted members of the Party has been definitely solved, that the lag in the level of political conscientiousness of the Party members in relation to the requirements of the situation, of the tasks of the Party which it decides, has already been removed.

The task is to raise the quality of the composition of the Party, to have it always fully correspond to the higher requirements which face the Party member. To this end we must decisively improve ideological and educational work in the Party and with the candidates in particular, we must strictly observe the principle of individual selection in admitting to membership of the Party, we must not allow any drive for increasing the number of members at the expense of their qualities.

The leadership of socialist construction demanded a complete reconstruction in the work of the Party organs and Party organizations. Our Party approached the leadership of something new, for which it naturally lacked the experience. It had to learn from Soviet experience in the process of work, to strengthen its organs and organizations, to teach them and help them grow mature as leading organs, capable of securing correct leadership of the new construction, in closest ties with the working people, backed by their militant activeness. The inner-Party work, the inner-Party democracy, without which there can be no real sweep of democracy in the entire society, had to be organized and promoted with the utmost energy and consistence. This was an enormous task. It required that the political and professional qualifications of the Party leaders be raised in a very short time, that many sectarian habits be overcome, as well as the methods of bare administration, of issuing orders, of deviations and other incorrect manifestations, rooted mainly in weaknesses and ignorance, in the low political and professional qualification of the leader.

The period under review is significant in this respect in the history of our Party. It is significant in that learning from the Soviet experience, enjoying direct Soviet aid in a great variety of forms, overcoming the difficulties and following the indications of the Central Committee which elaborated and further developed the decisions of the Fifth Congress in a number of documents, arming the Party with knowledge of what should be done and how to do it, our leading Party cadres are already developing as Leninist cadres, they are successfully mastering the leadership of the State, of the national economy, of the public and cultural life. This, comrades, is a great success of ours.

I should particularly like to note the considerable growth during the period under review of the County, Urban and District Committees of the Party. They are steadily developing and strengthening as real Leninist directing bodies.

During the period under review, the Party has consistently followed a policy of welding the different generations in it, guided by the Leninist principle of steering a course of co-ordinating, of uniting the old and young cadres into the common orchestra of leadership of the Party and State (Stalin). In this connection it has striven to raise young cadres to responsible positions boldly and in time, and to help them grow further, to master the experience and knowledge of the older cadres.

The work of the Party organizations has considerably improved. The level of inner life of the primary Party organizations is steadily rising higher and inner-Party democracy is developing. The primary Party organizations improve their political and organizational work among the

masses, they extend and strengthen their ties with them. They mobilize with still greater success their creative initiatives, they attend to their needs with greater care, and more carefully pick up all that is new and progressive which comes from among the working people and wage an ever more successful struggle for its realization.

Great is the role of the Trade Unions, of the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth and of the Fatherland Front in rallying the people around the Communist Party. From 680,000 members at the time of the Fifth Congress, the Trade Unions now number 920,000 members; the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth grew from 586,000 to over 1,000,000 members within the same period of time, while the Fatherland Front grew from one million members to 2,366,000 members.

The Fatherland Front is now successfully merging its activity with that of the People's Councils and is becoming a firm supporter of theirs.

During the period under review our Party achieved important successes in the field of Marxist-Leninist education within the Party and in propagating Marxism-Leninism outside the Party.

The Party educational meeting is asserting itself as the most popular and accessible form of Marxist-Leninist education of the Communists in the work of the primary Party organizations.

Over 24,000 study circles and political schools attended by over 400,000 persons — both Communist and non-Party people are now operating in the Party. The content of the educational work in the courses, schools, study circles and political schools is improving appreciably.

The efforts of the Party organizations are directed towards steadily raising the ideological and theoretical level of the educational work, towards raising the theoretical and methodical qualifications of the propagandists.

The works of the classics of Marxism and Leninism have been published in a total circulation of about 4,290,000 copies since the beginning of 1949. All volumes of the collected works of Lenin and Stalin have been published in large circulations. This fact is of enormous significance for the theoretical education of our cadres and our intellectuals, for their more profound study and mastery of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Our Party possesses over 250,000 propagandists. The explanatory work carried on by the Party is steadily improving in content and form, and is assuming a more concrete and efficient nature.

Considerable are the successes of our press. Our press has definitely become a people's press, closely linked with the tasks of socialist construction. Basically, it has already become a collective militant organizer and propagandist of Socialism, of the people's rule.

Such are the most important successes in the development of our Party during the period under review.

However, it would be most dangerous, if, even to any small degree, we let ourselves rest on our laurels, content with the great successes we have achieved in all spheres and particularly in Party work, if we were lulled into complacency and slackened our efforts in the struggle for the universal consolidation of the Party. The great and difficult tasks to be accomplished during the Second Five-Year Plan will further complicate our circumstances, they make new and ever greater demands on the Party cadres, they require a still firmer, wiser, more supple and competent Party leadership, they demand such Party leadership as will be capable of **going into details** of construction always and in everything, in order to ensure the uninterrupted and successful onward march. Our successes are great but every new circumstance raises its own requirements which impose new efforts, requirements before which what has been achieved is obviously insufficient. Besides that, we must not forget that: 1) the capitalist elements have not

been eliminated in our country, bureaucracy has not been routed, the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences are still strong and that we border on capitalist encirclement on three sides; 2) that the consciousness of the people is developing more slowly than their economic advance, that it lags behind the latter. On that account, we have no grounds for self-complacency, for giving ourselves over to slumber, to losing sight of the most urgent necessity of strengthening our Party with all our might and main in the future as well. Our Party has 368,000 members and 87,000 candidate members. The task is for all members of the Party to become genuine Leninists, genuine leaders of the people, all candidates should prepare themselves to be worthy members of the Party which heads the socialist transformation of our Homeland. This task is an enormous one, and it has not been solved in its entire volume. The rapid growth in the political consciousness of the working people necessitates tireless work to raise still higher the ideological and political level of the Party organizations.

It should be admitted that in view of the new tasks, of the requirements raised by the circumstances, the level of ideological and political work in the Party lags behind these tasks and requirements. It should be admitted that there are still a great many shortcomings and deficiencies in the work of the Party organizations, that serious errors are allowed to occur, that many negative and even unhealthy phenomena, incompatible with the Party norms, are tolerated. We should not act correctly if we did not indicate them, if we did not concentrate the attention of the whole Party on them in order to remove them, since without their removal no correct and successful solution of the forthcoming tasks can be secured.

1. The slogan of the January Plenum on the all-round development of criticism of the shortcomings in our work, of drawing all working people into this criticism, of self-criticism, has not yet become flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of all Party organizations, of all Party workers as a slogan which expresses the chief means of exposing and removing the errors, shortcomings and negative phenomena our work.

Criticism and self-criticism gradually began to make their way in the work of the District, County and Urban Committee and in the primary Party organizations after the decisions of the January Plenum. The election Party meetings which preceded the Congress were held under the keynote of a growing criticism of shortcomings. At production conferences and meetings, in score, of thousands of petitions, statements and letters and in the press, the working people began to expose the weaknesses in their work and to advance valuable proposals for its improvement. The working people did some very useful and sound criticizing of existing weaknesses and shortcomings at numerous meetings of the electorate in connection with the elections for People's Councils in 1952 and for people's representatives in 1953. They made many constructive recommendations to the deputies and people's representatives they had elected. During the past period shortcomings in our work would have been still fewer, we should have had still greater successes, had criticism and self-criticism been more extensive and bolder, had it been more frequently and more boldly resorted to by all leaders, had the great masses of the working people been trained to it and drawn into the hard fight against shortcomings. During the past period, criticism and self-criticism, particularly the criticism of working people from below, did not become a constant method in our work, they were not introduced into our practice to such a degree as to become an absolute law of development in all spheres of our socialist construction, and thereby to exclude all greater and serious failures in our work.

The Central Committee of the Party has always focussed the attention of the Party organizations on the slogan of its January Plenum — this Leninist method of struggle against bureaucracy, against the showy and philistine “well-being”. However a real turning-point in the

work of the Party organizations in the field of criticism and self-criticism has not yet been reached. There are facts which speak that something like a double fear of criticism exists — fear in those who subject themselves to criticism and fear in those who criticize. The opinion is still widely spread among many leading cadres that criticism slackens work, that it undermines their authority, that it is aimed at their destruction etc. Such leading officials, most naturally do not and cannot help in promoting criticism. On the contrary, they impede the development of criticism: they are a scarecrow to it, a wall. There are quite a number of cases when leading officials persecute on account of criticism, when they dismiss, demote, seek for ways and means of intimidating people and find them, of stifling in them all desire for criticism. When there is such an attitude towards criticism, it is no wonder that fear of criticising exists. Both the one and the other kind of fear must be done away with. But the fear of criticising can be removed only if we remove the fear of criticism in the leading cadres, if people who persecute for criticism are not tolerated in leading posts. The fear of leading cadres of criticism and of criticism from below in particular, is still the most dangerous malady in the Party and State apparatus, and most decisive measures should be taken to remove it. Fear of criticism is the fundamental reason why there are cases of gross stifling and persecution because of criticism in the work of the directing Party bodies, in the Party organizations and in the State apparatus, why political carelessness, complacency, conciliation towards shortcomings and errors and rotten liberalism are at large in some places, overt failures in the work are long tolerated, the warnings given by working people about existing deficiencies are not taken into consideration, and no resolute measures are taken against those guilty of the failures and weaknesses in order to improve the work done.

Criticism is a tried weapon in the struggle against all negative phenomena, against shortcomings in the process of work. It does not tend to weaken, but on the contrary, to strengthen work, it aims not at undermining the authority of the leading official and annihilating him, but at improving work, and helping the leading official. The authority of that leading official who flees from criticism is injured, of he who takes no heed of it, who persecutes for criticism. A leading official who lends an ear to constructive criticism, who makes efforts to correct the error, weakness or shortcoming, thereby enhances his authority and begins to work better. There must be no tendencies to go to extremes with dismissals on account of the very first error made; the newly appointed ones should be given the opportunity and time to master their work, they should be helped in time.

The criticism of errors made should not always be accompanied by disciplinary measures. The aim of criticism is to help correct the situation, to draw the necessary lessons, and to begin work still better. The criticism of shortcomings is the motive force of our development. Who else will criticize us if we do not criticize ourselves? If we do -not criticize ourselves, we shall perish, we shall become overgrown with weeds, we shall ruin our own cause. That is why the Central Committee of our Party has instilled criticism with all its might and main during the period under review as a constant method of work of the Party, and has frequently, openly and boldly intervened and inflicted resolute blows on concrete dangerous cases of bureaucracy, of tendencies towards decay, of deviation from the Party line.

Of course, there is a lot of talk about the necessity of criticism, we do not lack criticism and self-criticism as a form, we do not lack critical and self-critical speeches and reports after which nothing is changed and everything remains as it was. We do not need such formal criticism and self-criticism. We do not need criticism and self-criticism as a “vogue”, as a mechanical prayer, as an exercise of the tongue and arms. (*Animation*) We need criticism of the shortcomings which removes shortcomings (not the one criticized, but the shortcomings!), which drives us forward

towards better work, towards fresh successes. This cannot be done when the weaknesses and mistakes allowed are only established, when there are lengthy avowals and no analysis of the reasons which led to the weaknesses and errors, when the ways and means of eliminating them are not indicated. Pompousness, boastfulness, noisy praise, the tendency to rest on one's laurels, to be carried away by one's successes are all enemies of criticism and self-criticism. Instead of the sessions, conferences, and meetings, as well as the press always being a genuine tribune for pungent and irreconcilable criticism of the shortcomings, weaknesses are very often referred to in them only among others, or no mention is made of them at all, and this breeds a feeling of complacency at what has been achieved. An acute sense of all that is new in the work, a steadfast striving and struggle for still greater successes cannot develop nor take root among our leading officials in conditions of complacency and content with what has been achieved so far.

The Party attaches a particularly great significance to criticism from below, to criticism on behalf of the millions of common people, who see our shortcomings more fully and from all sides, who themselves experience them and react against them. The necessity of having the masses take an active part in criticism ensues from the very essence of our people's democratic system, from the very nature of our Party, which cannot fulfil its revolutionary activity of transformation unless it is backed by the initiative and creative energy of the people. In order to encourage with might and main the creative energy of the people, to promote their participation in the criticism of the shortcomings in the work, a merciless fight should be waged against all executives of the Party and State who suppress criticism and persecute for criticism.

It should be thoroughly grasped that no criticism of the shortcomings in our work will be developed by the working people nor will it become a constant and profound phenomenon, as long as criticism and self-criticism is not fully achieved within the Party, as long as the necessary conditions for that are not on hand. The draft-amendments of the Party Rules which have been published aim at that. It is the duty of the Party executives and bodies to instruct the Party organizations and Party members, to discuss the shortcomings in the work, to encourage criticism; not to allow the meetings of the organizations and bodies to become talking-shops, parades of self-conceited praise, but to ensure such conditions at these meetings as will dispose towards a free and efficient discussion of questions, towards an attentive hearing of the statements of the Party members, not to pigeonhole the proposals submitted and to act in such a manner as to convince everyone who exercises sound criticism that the organization will support him, that his correct proposal will be implemented. An honest attitude towards criticism is necessary. Then the honest people will not be afraid of criticizing. Then no patriot will pass over any shortcomings, and irreconcilability towards them will become universal. Then criticizing will become the soul of all our meetings, of all our work. Then all working people will join in this criticism which is just as necessary as sun and air.

To ensure all conditions, fully to develop the working people's sound and creative criticism of shortcomings in work, means to secure new unparalleled opportunities for the success of our cause, it means to deal an irreparable blow on bureaucracy, to raise the sense of their ownership among the members of the working class and the working people to unprecedented heights, to call to life fresh, new and wonderful forces from among our people. Then shall we move mountains.

The task of our Party is to develop criticism of shortcomings in work with might and main, to draw all working people into it, creating everywhere conditions enabling them freely to exercise their sound criticism, by waging a decisive struggle against all those who hinder criticism or persecute those who criticize. Those who do not help the development of criticism, who hinder

criticism, cannot be leaders, cannot be in the Party.

2. The fully consistent and timely fulfilment of Party decisions. the iron Party and State discipline have not yet become a law for all Party organizations, for all Party members, particularly in the countryside.

The reports of the District, County, Urban and Sectional Committees of the Party still contain information about individual primary Party organizations, predominantly in the villages, in which there actually is no unity, which have actually become an arena of struggle between various groups in them, most often fostered by go-getters and dubious elements. Such organizations are usually called “sickly” or organizations with a “disrupted inner unity”. It is high time to understand that no such phenomena may occur in the Party. Complete unity of action must really be built up in the Party from top to bottom. But to do this it is necessary to sweep from the Party with an iron broom the still existing go-getters, job-hunters and dubious elements, to strike forcibly at nepotism, unprincipled group formation, so as to intensify the relentless fight against petty-bourgeois influence in the Party, against the attempts of the enemy to bring in and implant therein practices foreign to the working class and to Communism.

Cases of a formal, mechanical attitude towards the fulfilment of Party and Government decisions by party functionaries and members are not rare. This shows that these functionaries and members are not yet permeated by the profound conviction of the correctness of these decisions, they do not understand their role as fighters of the Party, called to fight for the fulfilment of the decisions taken by the Party, by tirelessly explaining their significance and necessity to the working people, by convincing them of that. In order to fulfil the tasks it has assigned itself, the Party must consist of members who are always and everywhere able to explain the Party tasks correctly, to unite and mobilize the people for their fulfilment, to display perseverance and to carry out every task begun. In the composition of our Party cadres there are not a few who do not work actively, who are not relentless towards defects, who do not roll up their sleeves to eliminate them, who do not worry that in a certain place no headway is being made, who are concerned about their personal case, who take no steps to strengthen and improve matters. It is far from sufficient for a Party member to agree with the Party decisions, it is necessary that he should strive with all his might for the realization of these decisions.

There are Party members, who have not yet understood that their loyalty and devotion to the Party, their worthiness to be its members will be judged not by their past merits, by what they think of themselves, but by how they work today for the exemplary fulfilment of Party and Government decisions.

A number of Party, State, economic and other leaders do not act with the necessary energy, perseverance and persistence for the complete realization of the Party and Government decisions — some are slaves to the letter of the law, write piles of reports, instructions, letters, take numerous decisions, organize meetings and conferences, raise clamour, but neglect the vital political task of organizing the fulfilment of these decisions; others have a formal attitude towards the decisions in general, they hurry through the examination of the latter, carelessly say their prayers any old how and that is all. Such leaders do not bother over failures, they do not really rejoice at successes because the latter cost them no efforts, they are incapable of seeing either their own or other people’s shortcomings, still less of holding the violators of Party and State discipline responsible. Such leaders lack a sense of responsibility to the Party and the people.

We must fight this formal, bureaucratic attitude toward the Party and Government decisions, this carelessness and negligence toward the Party and State interests. It is high time all of us

understood that the Party is in no need of such workers, the Party needs fearless fighters against difficulties, against weaknesses and shortcomings, against a bureaucratic and formal attitude toward its decisions — it needs militant workers for its great cause for whom the interests of the Party and Homeland stand above all other interests. The Party requires that the Party workers and members be truthful, honest and explicit in their relations with it, that they be an example of Party and State discipline, a model for the working people in every way.

We cannot yet say that in the ranks of the Party cadres and members there are no such persons who do not tell the real truth about the local situation in enterprises and offices, who attempt to present the situation in bright colours only, to conceal the negative facts and failures in work from the Central Committee. There are still such cases when even County Party Committees keep silent and abstain from informing the Central Committee as to certain crude distortions of the Government and Party decisions. The harm and danger of such behaviour is enormous. We cannot yet say that in the ranks of Party cadres and members there are no such persons who do not hold the State interests and discipline above everything else but serve narrow departmental and local interests. We cannot yet say that in the ranks of the Party cadres and members there are no persons who take nothing into account when the Party appoints them to leading posts, so long as they can obtain the greatest possible profits for themselves, for their close and distant relatives and friends. The first task of such “cadres” — by your leave — once they have obtained a higher post is to “make a name” in their home town and among their friends at the expense of the State, to surround themselves by a whole chain of supporters, to appoint to work around them their relatives in the direct and collateral lines, (animation) persecuting and dismissing to this end the honest and conscientious workers and employees. Such “cadres” try and strive to turn the office, enterprise or establishment of which they are heads into something like an estate of their own, on the model of the old-time Turkish agas and pashas. (Animation) Such things are to be found in Party organizations in both town and village. Such “cadres” imagine that there is no law and control for them, that they can do everything they wish. Can there be any doubt that the harm such “cadres” do to the Party and the country is tremendous? It is high time for all of us to understand that the Party cannot trust such “cadres”. “Cadres” who do not tell the truth to the Party, who venture to trample upon the State discipline and interests, to act arbitrarily, to set up their own estates and communities within the Party and the State, to lord it over all and violate the laws — such cadres should not be tolerated either in the Party or the State apparatus.

The Party and Government workers perform their tasks correctly only when they do bear in mind that they are servants of the people, that their attention should be focussed on the working man and the care for him.

The task, therefore, is to intensify the fight within the Party against the violation of Party and State discipline, against the formal and mechanical fulfilment of Party and Government decisions, against unruliness and irresponsibility in work, against any unscrupulousness; the fight constantly to raise the sense of personal responsibility for the task assigned, for Party and State interests, for the exemplary fulfilment of Party and Government decisions, for truthfulness and honesty on the part of the Party member towards the Party and the State, for the complete internal unanimity and unity of action within all Party organizations.

3. Inner-Party democracy, the collective spirit in the Party organs in their work and leadership has not yet fully developed; Lenin's practice in the organizational work of the Party, the proper selection of people and the verification of the fulfilment — has not yet been completely adopted; the organizational work of the Party lags behind the level of the

political tasks.

The development of Inner-Party democracy, despite the undoubted successes achieved during the period under review, lags behind the requirements set by the tasks of the Party. Many Party committees and organizations have not yet entirely adopted the norms of inner-Party life — they do not see to it that the Party members unfold their activity and initiative in the discussions and practical settlement of the problems. The Party meetings have not yet become a genuine school for the education of the Communists everywhere. At these meetings the basic and vital questions of the Party political and economic work, are not given systematic consideration. Important Party decisions are put forward and considered in a formal way at Party meetings, the great importance of the Party order to raise the political and production activity of the Communists is not properly appraised. A large number of members are not even given Party orders.

Essential shortcomings in the work of the Party organizations and cadres have not yet been overcome, for which reason they are not always and in all circumstances able to secure the successful and prompt execution of the Party decisions. Many Party leaders still lack the necessary amount of knowledge in the different fields of socialist construction, the necessary amount of political and professional skill, responsible leaders often yield to petty-bourgeois influence and kulak pressure; there is a great deal of bookishness in their work, they bury themselves and others in circulars, written instructions and resolutions; but they still lack the ability to combine business-like activity with sound principles in their work, with the revolutionary sweep in it, to carry the work they have begun through to the end, to permit no disharmony between their words and their deeds, between their promises and their fulfilments.

The erroneous practice rife, in some Party organs of replacing the public, economic, and State functionaries by virtually appropriating their functions has not yet been everywhere done away with; nor is the practice of administration, of command.

In the practice of the County and Urban Committees, the operative, concrete and energetic leadership of the primary Party organizations is not yet up to standard; these organizations are not always rendered timely fruitful assistance. Many Party committees which should promote the activity of the primary Party organizations improve their method of work, flood them with innumerable decisions and instructions, regulate the agenda of their meetings, thereby paralyzing their own initiative.

The collective method of work and leadership is not yet entirely applied in the whole Party. Most of the Party committees still violate the collective principle. The practice of extended plenums, which has lately become something of a system, does not help to develop the collective spirit of work and leadership, since it does not ensure the active participation of all members of the committee and lessens the leaders' responsibility.

As a whole most of the plenums are held at an unsatisfactory ideological and organizational level - a number of fundamental questions of Party work are not given consideration and solution, the materials are not worked out and examined thoroughly, most of the members of the committees do not take an active part in the work of the Plenum, the decisions are usually accepted after insufficient discussion, and the bureau is entrusted with the task of editing them in the end. (*Animation*)

This shortcoming also exists in the work of most Party committee bureaux. The collective spirit is quite formal here — the decisions are often based on the opinion of the speaker or the first secretary.

The active body of the Party has not yet been made the pillar of the Party leadership, for

more thorough and mature study, generalization of experience and the settlement of questions, as well as for the successful realization of the decisions adopted.

Experience has shown that the most widespread and the greatest shortcoming in the practical work of the Party, State, economic and cultural organizations is the still unsatisfactory check-up of the actual fulfilment of one or another of the Party directives and decisions.

Where a systematic control of fulfilment is lacking, the decisions are doomed to failure or are carried out with delay, it is imperative that one and the same decision be taken over and over again, and inevitably a setting of “endless meetings” and bureaucracy is created, where the Party and State interests are systematically damaged.

The control of fulfilment is not accompanied by a penetration into the very nature of the facts, by a strict irreconcilability towards shortcomings and weaknesses, by a Bolshevik implacability in the struggle against difficulties, by principled criticism and self-criticism, by sharp vigilance against the enemy, by the necessary exactingness and by demanding strict personal responsibility for the work ordered. The fight for achieving full unity between decisions and fulfilment which, as is well known, is the most characteristic feature of the Leninist-Stalinist style of work and leadership, is still unsatisfactory in all Party organs and organizations in our country.

The check-up is most frequently superficial, which does not make it possible to reveal the shortcomings, to study the positive experience, to note the new things, to find a correct decision; under such control the cadres cannot gain experience in the process of their practical work, in their struggle against difficulties, no systematic work for their correct training and education can be carried out .

The selection, promotion and distribution of cadres is not effected everywhere on the basis of their political preparedness and professional ability. Often cadres are drawn at random. And this enables alien and hostile elements to worm their way to responsible positions. Nor are the cases few, when good-for-nothing people are tolerated, prattlers, incorrigible bureaucrats, capable of destroying every living cause, but “obedient”, “toothless”, “mild” and “kind” to their chief (*animation*) — they are tolerated for considerations that have nothing in common with the interests of the Party and the State.

Nor are the leaders few who are afraid and for that reason abstain from promoting new, young cadres, because they either have no faith in their powers, or do not wish to take upon themselves the task of educating and training them, or they do not want, as rule to be overshadowed by anybody else.

Work on the systematic and persistent training and education of cadres is still unsatisfactory. Conditions in our country are growing more complex. The leadership is becoming more complicated. Demands on the cadres are growing and will grow, requirements in selecting them will become more rigorous. The cadres should be still more precisely acquainted with the conditions, the new technique, the new initiatives and new people, they must learn the laws of social development.

The task is to raise the level of inner-Party democracy; to strengthen the collective spirit in Party work and leadership; to heighten the activity and vanguard role of the Party organizations and the Communists, to improve the organizational and political level of the Party meetings; to use still more successfully the system of Party orders; to consolidate Party and State discipline, to wage a relentless struggle against any formal attitude of the cadres towards the decisions of the Party and the Government; most energetically to introduce the practice of selection of cadres according to their political and professional qualities and for control of fulfilment. This practice

should become the chief point in the entire work of all Party, State, economic and cultural organizations, with a view to revealing the shortcomings in the work to the end, to securing the most correct fulfilment of the decisions taken, to eliminating the unworthy, bad, and corrupt leaders and workers and promoting worthy, capable and honest leaders and workers in all spheres of our construction.

4. The explanatory work of no small part of the Parity organizations, especially in the villages, among the people, the daily concern to strengthen the ties with them, the attentive altitude of all Party members towards the people, their ability to heed the voice of the working people, to learn from them, are still not at the necessary level.

With every new day, the Party as a whole increasingly strengthens its ties with the workers and the people by its policy and work. There are, however, not a few Party groups, workers and members, who have not yet grasped in a Leninist way the entire significance of the steadily growing ties with the people, as a key for the correctness and invincibility of the Party leadership, they do not explain daily, nor are they able to explain the Party and Government decisions, they do not take an interest in the needs of the people, do not study them, do not heed the opinion and often the complaints, claims and will of the working people, they stand aloof from them, shut themselves in their Party shell, do not strengthen confidence in the Party by their personal example in a given place and in the conditions in which they work, they do not draw the working people into the struggle for the timely and exact fulfilment of the Party and Government decisions. In the work of some of our Party groups, functionaries and members, certain failings have not yet been overcome, such as sectarianism, complacency, the unnecessary and pernicious isolation of non-Party members, unwillingness to work in the Fatherland Front, to work shoulder to shoulder and in full brotherhood with the associations of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, to strengthen the trade unions, that school of Communism, the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth, very important organizations, which link the Party with the working class, with the working people, with the whole nation.

Every negligent, haughty attitude towards non-Party persons, every disinclination to maintain the closest contact between Communists and non-Party persons is a harmful practice. The power of the Party lies in its ever-strengthening links with non-Party persons.

In our Party care for the working man should be the supreme law for every Party member, deviations from which should not be tolerated in the Party. This means that a tremendous work is still to be done to instil in every Party member, in accordance with Party Rules, a keen sense of responsibility for the state of the Party's links with the people, a profound consciousness of the necessity of the daily work, accomplished by every Communist, by his personal example, by convincing explanation, by the closest contact with non-Party persons in order to strengthen the working people's confidence in the Party, to come ever closer to them, to link and fuse, to merge with them, if you like, to a certain extent, as Lenin put it.

Despite indubitable successes, the mass political work of the Party has not acquired a permanent character, it has not embraced all layers of the working people, it is not always militant, closely related to the fulfilment of Government and Party decisions, it often eludes crucial issues, is not sufficiently convincing and aggressive towards the enemies. Quite a few of the propagandists do not study and do not know the tasks of the economic plan well, the decrees of the Party and the Government, the production processes in the plants where they explain them, the possibilities of existing technique, the methods of Soviet Stakhanovites, the experience of our front-rankers, and therefore cannot explain them correctly and convincingly.

Most of the propagandists in the villages have an insufficient general education and culture,

they have not mastered the necessary minimum of agrotechnical and zootechnical knowledge. That is why propaganda in the villages does not always sufficiently and concretely help the drive of the working peasants for high yields, for high productivity in stockbreeding, for the large-scale application of agrotechnical and zootechnical rules, for acquiring and applying Soviet methods in farming. Often propagandists here show up at the tail-end, when the working peasants must be mobilized for the realization of economic and political tasks.

Our successes can be lasting only when they are the outcome of the energetic, highly conscious creative activity of the working people, when the struggle for the fulfilment of Party and Government tasks is coupled with extensive and constant political work among the masses. This fundamental rule, however, has not yet become a daily rule for all our Party committees and organizations, it has not become a component part of their daily work and of the struggle to solve economic and political tasks. Many of the Party committees and organizations do not go deep into the content of political propaganda, they do not raise and solve questions concerning the main lines of propaganda work in time, they are not acquainted with the problems which stir the population at every moment. A considerable part of our responsible local people do not establish sufficiently close relations with the working people, do not engage personally in active political work among them. And it is obvious to all, that a Party leader who is not himself constantly engaged in political work among the masses, who does not know the problems which most strongly move the working people, cannot be an experienced leader of the mass political work of the Party.

It is necessary further to improve the content and methods of our propaganda, to rid it of every formalism, every semblance of red tape, every ostentation and external display. Our propaganda must reach the consciousness of the working people, must act upon them by its true and irrefutable arguments, must reduce to dust and ashes the argumentation of the enemies; by their attitude our propagandists must win the hearts of the working people, become ever more beloved of them, persons whom they meet and listen to gladly, with whom they take council, willing to follow them in everything, because they trust them.

It is necessary to expand the practice of the Central Committee of our Party and our People's Government's referring to the people on important questions which they must decide, submitting those questions to preliminary discussion at the organizations of the working people, so as to hear their opinion and take it into consideration.

It is necessary for the District and Comity Committees of the Party always to intervene more energetically whenever there are signals on the part of the working people as to irregularities, bureaucracy, temporary unemployment, acute cases, in which the speediest possible aid should be rendered in order that they may ensure the prompt settlement of the problems thus arisen. Those leaders who turn a blind eye to the working people's warnings and complaints, or delay examining them, jogging slowly along, until the people give up their hopes not only of obtaining a solution of the question, but also of any reply whatever do great harm to Party policy, which is directed toward the constant consolidation of relations with the people. Such an attitude undermines not only the prestige of such leaders, but, what is more important — the Party's most valuable asset, i.e. the working people's confidence in it. Our Party demands of all its workers and members that their attitude toward the various warnings and complaints of the working people, toward their voice be a most careful one. Whoever permits himself a soulless, bureaucratic and heedless attitude toward this voice is not worthy of bearing the name of Party member.

It is necessary that a careful attitude toward the Party member, toward the man of labour,

toward the working people's warning be ensured in the Party from the highest to the lowest and from the lowest to the highest. A decisive struggle should be waged against the slanderous denunciations of Party members and non-Party persons. Slander is one of the enemy's weapons against honest people. Slander in the Party ranks and in the State should be considered a crime and severely punished. Slander, open and anonymous information against honest people is a dangerous sore in our development which should be mercilessly eradicated, so that it can no longer exist. Those base and spiteful souls who evidently cannot live without slinging mud at someone serve the enemies; they sling it at this one today, at that one tomorrow, blackening him so that he is unable to clear himself for years, involving him so thoroughly that he is unable to extricate himself before he loses all his energy, and sometimes he is never able to extricate himself at all; they make work for the respective officials and organizations who have to investigate and establish the truth. The slanderers hope that even when these investigations refute the charge, there will still remain some trace of mistrust for the accused. Their maxim is slander, slander away, some of the mud is sure to stick in the end. The devastations and damages caused by slander may become extensive if timely measures are not taken against it. It is high time that proved slanderers were sent to prison; (*applause*) such elements should be mercilessly ejected from the Party ranks (*applause*) and from all responsible posts and should be publicly disgraced. (*Applause*)

The constant, highly ideological and concrete political work amid the masses with the purpose of ensuring the timely fulfilment of the tasks set by the Second Five-Year Economic Plan in the field of industry, construction, agriculture and on the cultural front, the fulfilment of the main task — markedly to improve the material and cultural level of the working people — this is what should be one of the first and foremost tasks in the work of the Party's leading bodies and organizations.

5. In the sphere of ideological work the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Party have not been fulfilled to the end although great successes have been recorded; the fight against the harmful influence of the bourgeois ideology is still insufficient, serious shortcomings in the field of the people's education; the Marxist-Leninist self-education of the Party cadres and members lags behind the requirements of the tasks set for solution by the Party; the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism without the Party is insufficient.

The Augean stables of the bourgeois ideology have not yet been thoroughly swept out. We must not forget that we are working in an environment in which the bourgeois ideology has not yet lost its class basis, that it is quite widespread as yet and that it is spreading further in some sectors, owing to our neglect of the fight against it; the habits and traditions of private ownership, its psychology and morals are still quite strong. It cannot be considered that the numerous discussions which we have held have already decided the question of the final rout of the bourgeois ideology. The discussions themselves showed the still insufficient Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of our scientific cadres. It is necessary that the supremacy of Marxism-Leninism on the ideological front be consolidated in all spheres, through visual, convincing and irrefutable proof, through a display of its incomparable and uniquely consistent scientific advantages over every other ideology. This requires, above all, that we should master Marxism-Leninism. To master Marxism-Leninism does not mean to learn by heart the works of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, to acquire ability and skill in quoting the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It means to master the method of Marxism-Leninism, and this is much more difficult, it requires persistent, hard work. It is no accident that up to the present we have no short Marxist history of Bulgaria for the people, for their proper patriotic education. It is not by chance that our historiography

even to the present has in many essential questions not actually broken with the bourgeois conceptions formed in the past. It is not by mere chance that we have no Marxistically-substantiated investigations of our new economies. It is not by mere chance that even in the realm of philosophy where in the past we have distinguished ourselves more than once, the “i” has not been dotted in the struggle against the bourgeois philosophy and in working out the problems of our present-day life. Our Party declared at its Fifth Congress that we must look into every corner of the ideological front to eliminate all that is putrid, unfit, and harmful, gradually to rearm the whole of this front with the weapons of Marxism-Leninism. This has not been entirely accomplished as yet. It must be done simultaneously with the Marxist elaboration of the problems of our life, of our history, of our cultural heritage. To this end it is necessary with still greater energy to master the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The Marxist training of the cadres in the higher educational institutions and the post-graduate courses, the self-education of the scientific cadres should be further improved. A resolute struggle should be waged against the vain use of quotations, the scientific workers, the public, economic and cultural workers should be guided to the profound mastery of the essence, of the method of Marxism-Leninism. This is the only way in which the actual predominance of the socialist ideology can be ensured in our country.

The content of the work in the public schools has not been completely re-organized; here the remnants of the old bourgeois influence are still considerable, the teaching and the progress made by the students are not yet at the necessary level.

The work on the Marxist-Leninist self-education of leading Party cadres, we must frankly state, is obviously insufficient. Actually the Party committees are not guiding, are not exercising control over this exceptionally important Party work. An atmosphere of irreconcilability toward the passive, in some places negligent attitude of the cadres toward their ideological political training has not yet been created in the Party. And now it is becoming increasingly difficult to lead without the constant ideological and political development of the leader. What sort of a leader is the man who does not know what is taking place in international life, who does not keep himself informed of the latest achievements in the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, who is not able to orientate himself independently in the internal situation, he who does not know the history of the Party of his own country? Such a leader sways whither the strongest wind blows him. But this is a weather-vane, not a leader. (*Animation*) Such a leader will go from one extremity to the other, will never be in a state to lead. The leader must be able to grasp the new tendencies while still in embryo, he must be able to foresee events and not trail in their wake, to wait for them to hit him on the nose. A Marxist ferment is needed for this, and it is acquired by learning and mastering Marxism-Leninism in the process of fighting and working. Our leading cadres must learn daily to combine their practical work with their self-education.

Marxism-Leninism should be propagated a larger scale and in a more profound manner without the Party too — in the press, in public lectures, in the educational institutions, among the people. The decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Party on the work on the ideological front must be fulfilled to the end. The struggle against the harmful influence of bourgeois ideology should be intensified, work in the schools must be resolutely improved, the Marxist-Leninist level of the cadres should be decisively raised, bearing in mind that it is neither the post, nor the title that give knowledge, that knowledge is acquired by persistent work, and it therefore follows, that educational work inside the Party should be intensified, by constantly encouraging and guiding the self-education of the Party leaders and members, so that they may develop and grow as leaders of the Leninist type.

For the further consolidation of the Party it is necessary:

1) to guard the unity and the purity of the Party ranks as the apple of our eye, to continue further to improve the social composition of the Party, to concentrate our attention not on the quantity, but on the quality of the members whom we admit, to raise the political and theoretical level of the Party members and candidate members, their activeness and persistence in the struggle for the fulfilment of the Party decisions, their irreconcilability toward shortcomings and their resoluteness and ability to eliminate them, to strengthen with might and main the ties of the Party with the working people, by constantly improving its propaganda-explanatory work, the work of the trade unions, of the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth and the Fatherland Front;

2) with might and main to promote inner-Party democracy, to strengthen the collective method in our work and leadership as the highest Party principle, incompatible with the harmful practice of the cult for the individual personality, alien to Marxism-Leninism, still more boldly to develop the criticism of shortcomings in our work from below, to create in the Party and in the whole country a setting, in which every honest person can without any fear criticize the shortcomings in the work of our organizations and administrations, ruthlessly to combat every suppression of criticism from below, every persecution because of criticism, severely to punish the persecutors of criticism; to launch a still more energetic and consistent struggle against all complacency and toleration, against the formal presentation of a seemingly happy state of affairs and dizziness with success in the Party, resolutely to fight against the shortcomings and to eliminate them, to consolidate Party and State discipline and to dismiss from their posts those who have a formal attitude toward Party and Government decisions, who infringe these decisions, and Party and State discipline, and have new people raised in their place, capable of accomplishing the work they have been entrusted with and of consolidating Party and State discipline;

3) to continue to apply in the Party the Leninist style of work and leadership, constantly to improve the work of the Party organs for the correct selection, distribution and education of cadres, relentlessly to fight against the manifestation of a lack of sound principle, which is alien to the Party, against red tape, family and group interests in the selection and allocation of cadres, boldly to raise to leading posts the high principled, and able cadres, devoted to the Party and the People's Government, to remove the backward, the unfit, to purge the Party of the decadent, with still greater energy to inculcate in the Party and its leading body the control and check-up of fulfilment, to raise the personal responsibility of the Party leader for the work he has been entrusted with, to consolidate a prompt and truthful inner-Party information;

4) energetically to continue the fight against the harmful influence of bourgeois ideology; to expand and deepen the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism within and without the Party; to raise the ideological and political level of the leading cadres through self-education in the process of practical work; to sharpen the revolutionary vigilance in the Party ranks.

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Comrades, I conclude the report.

Such are, in the main lines, the results of the work of the Party and its Central Committee during the period under review. As you see, we have achieved great successes. We have shortcomings too, individual errors. The successes must in no way go to our heads, while the shortcomings and errors, which we have never concealed, but have fought to correct, we must remove, in order to clear the path to new still greater successes.

Long live our own glorious, victorious Bulgarian Communist Party! (*All rise to their feet. Prolonged and stormy applause. Cheers. Shouts of "B.C.P.! B.C.P.!"*)
Long live the Fatherland Front! (Prolonged and stormy applause)