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Speech by

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

At Festive Meeting Marking

The 25th Anniversary of the

Establishment of the Democratic Government

On March 6, 1945

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FESTIVE MEETING ON THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
INSTALLMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT on MARCH 6, 1945

On the 25th anniversary of the memorable day of March 6, 1945, when the first Revolutionary-Democratic Government in Romania was set up, great manifestations were held all over the country. A decisive moment in the process of deep-going revolutionary transformations started by the armed insurrection of August 1944, and which led to Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, the victory won on March 6, by the working people masses led by the Romanian Communist Party opened largely the path towards the great economic, social and political transformations come about in this country, the path towards the building of the socialist society.

The anniversary of this important act of March 6, 1945, was celebrated in Bucharest within a great civic rally.

The festive meeting which took place in Bucharest, at the Republic Palace Hall was attended by Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ion Gheorghe Maurer and other Party and State leaders, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the Government, of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, Party and State functionaries, members of the Party since its underground period and participants in the events of 25 year ago in Bucharest and in the provinces, leaders of central institutions and of public organizations, active and reserve generals, representatives of the councils of the coinhabiting nationalities, heads of religious denominations, scientific and cultural personalities, workers, engineers and technicians of Bucharest factories and mills, officers and soldiers, and students. Present were also heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, further members of the diplomatic corps, as well as foreign press correspondents.

Welcomed with prolonged applause, Nicolae Ceaușescu,

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, delivered an ample speech.

After the conclusion of the festive meeting, Nicolae Ceaușescu and the other Party and State leaders came in the balconies of the Republic Palace and answered the cheers of the crowds in the Republic Square, the warm manifestation of love of and boundless devotion to the Party and to the Government.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU

Dear comrades and friends, citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Today our entire people is celebrating the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Romania's first revolutionary-democratic government, an event which marked a new stage in the revolutionary process of our country. The government set up on March 6, 1945 under the chairmanship of Dr. Petru Groza represented the most advanced social and political forces of our society at that time; for the first time in Romania the working class and the peasantry had the decisive role in the government of the country.

The historic victory of March 6 was the result of the revolutionary struggles waged by the large people's masses under the leadership of the Communist Party for the abolition of the old bourgeois-landlord power and the shaping of a new social system. The formation of the Groza government therefore represented not a simple change of government, but a change of the political system itself in this country: the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic power of the workers and peasants. When the Groza government was set up, Romania set out on the road of deep-going revolutionary and democratic transformations which comprised the entire economic and social life of this country.

In order to better understand the meaning of the events of 25 years ago, it is necessary to recall the internal and external circumstances in which the struggle for the establishment of people's power took place. As you know, the historic event of August 23, 1944 led to the overthrow of the fascist military dictatorship and to Romania's withdrawal from the war against the Soviet Union into which it had been thrown by fascist reaction alongside of Hitlerite Germany. The armed insurrection of August 1944 could be carried through

thanks to the union of the working class and all the democratic and patriotic forces. In the progress of those historic events the Romanian Communist Party creditably fulfilled the mission of organizing and leading the struggle of our entire people for a better life, for socialism.

The insurrection of 1944 was a democratic and anti-fascist revolution ; however, it did not affected the economic and social foundation of the bourgeois-landlord régime. As you know, in the government set up on August 23 and in the other two governments up to March 6, the bourgeoisie and the landlords had the decisive role. With the active support of the parties of the exploiting classes, the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, and of the monarchy, those governments did everything to hinder the fight of the large people's masses, of the democratic and revolutionary forces; they aimed at maintaining and consolidating the bourgeois-landlord régime and the domination of the foreign imperialist circles.

Throughout that period the reaction stubbornly opposed any reform meant to satisfy the claims of the masses and to make the country democratic. Most of the State apparatus was in the hands of Antonescu elements; the most reactionary organizations, including the agency of fascist Germany in Romania, iron-guardists, were re-activated. Under the protection of the reactionary political circles in the government, which represented the exploiting classes, actions were carried out to sabotage the economy and the front. In that activity the reaction had the support of the foreign imperialist forces which aimed at regaining their positions and at maintaining their domination in the economic and political life of our country.

To sum up, the reactionary circles and the monarchy considered the events of August 23, 1944 as the final act of the people's struggle, which, in keeping with their desires, was to be followed by the gradual return to the previous state

of things and with everything remaining as it was in the past. But for the democratic and revolutionary forces, for the large mass of the people, August 23 was only the beginning of the fight for the carrying through of deep-going social transformations that would definitely do away with the old state of things and indeed to the shaping of a new social system - the socialist system.

An eloquent proof of the rapid change in the balance of forces in the political arena of the country was the fact that within a few months only, thanks to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the other democratic forces, thanks to the pressure exercised by the people's masses, three governments having reactionary majorities were removed in Romania ; the revolutionary forces won more and more new political positions, exercising an increasingly powerful influence on the whole of social life.

In the months following August 23, the economic situation of the country was extremely difficult. Following the Hitlerite plunder and the war, industrial output was only 50 per cent of the 1938 level; transport was disorganized. In agriculture, the situation was even worse: because of the lack of seeds, implements and labour, the autumn and spring operations could not be carried out. The low level of production in industry and agriculture seriously affected the population's supply with agricultural farm foodstuff, clothing and other goods. Sabotage and black-marketeering must be added to these difficulties. Many of those present at this meeting remember the intricate situation our country was in at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945.

I believe it necessary to mention on this occasion as well that the successful carrying through of the armed insurrection was also possible thanks to the favourable international conditions. I have in view in the first place the brilliant victories of the Soviet Army - which bore the brunt of the war - and of the other armies of the antifascist coa-

ition. In joining the anti-Hitlerite coalition, Romania engaged all her forces in the antifascist war. Immediately after August 23, the Romanian Army, alongside of the Red Army, deployed more than half a million soldiers in the heavy battles for the final liberation of the homeland, for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and for the final defeat of Hitlerite Germany. The situation demanded firm actions against internal reaction so that the army could participate with all its forces in the antifascist war and that nothing should weaken the efforts made by this country in the final smashing of fascism and the winning of the final victory.

A positive external factor during that period was the revolutionary upsurge released in a number of countries in Europe, the intensification of the struggles of the peoples, who, in the light of the approaching defeat of Hitler's Germany, were militating for democratic and progressive transformations in their countries, for the establishment of political systems that would make the return of the fascist threat impossible, for the promotion of a policy of peace and free collaboration among states.

It was in those complex conditions that the mass revolutionary struggle was carried out which led to the increasingly powerful assertion of the working class, the peasantry and of other social categories in the arena of the social and political life of our country.

The principal fighting aims of the Party and of the other antifascist, democratic and patriotic forces were : the mobilization of all the forces of the people with a view of waging the war for the liberation of the entire territory of the homeland and then participation, alongside of the Soviet Army, in the fight for the final victory over fascism; the intensification on the struggle of the large people's masses, of all the democratic and patriotic forces for the defence of the interests of the working people ; the carrying through of economic reforms, and especially, of the agrarian reform; the democratization of the country and the establish-

ment of a government that would guarantee the attainment of all these aims.

The implementation of these objectives made it necessary - as an immediate task - the reorganization of the Party and of its activity in the new, legal conditions. Already in the first days following August 23, the Party active outside prisons and concentration camps, and that released from them united their forces and began to organize the Party. In September all the county Party organizations were already formed and work was proceeding on the setting up of Party organizations in enterprises, institutions and in the villages.

Work for the organization of the Party was combined with large-scale mass political activity, with powerful actions and big demonstrations in the country, in which working people of all categories participated. This led to a powerful growth in the influence of the Party on the people and to a rapid increase in its membership ; in March 1945 the Party had 35,800 members.

At the same time work proceeded to organize the activity of the united trade unions, the Union of Communist Youth, the Ploughmen's Front, the Union of Patriots, the organizations of the women and of the handicraftsmen, of the Magyar People's Union, the organization of democratic priests and other democratic organizations. In the spring of 1945 the trade unions of our country had more than 710,000 members, the Union of Communist Youth organizations a membership of nearly 63,000, the Ploughmen's Front nearly 1,000,000, the Magyar People's Union more than 255,000, the Patriotic Defence nearly 73,000 and the organizations of the handicraftsmen more than 142,000. Practically speaking, there were no social categories interested in the progressive development of the country, no democratic forces which did not work in close collaboration with the Romanian Communist Party in the political activity of that period.

Special attention was paid to the strengthening of the United Workers' Front, to the development of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party.

It should be emphasized that the establishment of the unity of action of the working class had a great significance - I might say a decisive one - for the successful progress of the democratic and revolutionary battles in our country.

The Party also paid great attention to the organization of the working peasantry ; with that aim in view, the Ploughmen's Front - which had been active till then in several counties only - became the single organization of the working peasantry of Romania in the autumn of 1944.

Concerned with the union of all the democratic and patriotic forces in the effort for the solution of the big problems facing our country during that period, the Communist Party developed links with other political parties too, the left groups of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party included. This policy of large collaboration with all the forces interested in the democratic and progressive development of Romania found expression in the setting up of the National Democratic Front on October 12, 1944. The draft platform of the National Democratic Front, drawn up by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party included as fundamental aims of action support for the anti-Hitler front, the democratization of the country and of the political life, the expropriation of the landowners and the distribution of land to the peasants, the carrying out of a set of measures that would give satisfaction to the largest masses in the towns and villages. "This programme", declared the draft platform, "can be carried out only by a government which represents all the national and democratic forces of the country and which enjoys the active support of the wide sections of the people".

While carrying out this huge political and organiza-

tional work, the Party also concentrated its attention on the backing of the anti-fascist front with the slogan "Everything for the front, everything for victory!". Special emphasis was placed on securing production in the enterprises working to supply the front, on securing transport to the front and the transport needed for the normal progress of industrial production and of supply to the population.

In order to secure the fighting capacity of the military units, the Union of Communist Youth, following the recommendation of the Party, organized the sending of volunteers to the front. More than 1,500 activists of the Union of Communist Youth left as volunteers together with thousand upon thousand of young people during that period of the anti-fascist war; at the same time, hundreds of thousands of young men fought as soldiers in the units of the Romanian Army. The presence of volunteers at the front, among them members of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth - one of whom was the young hero Constantin Godeanu - helped to raise the fighting spirit of our army.

In view of the fact that certain factory owners had left the enterprises and others were carrying out sabotage, the Party took measures for the organization of enterprise committees; their role was to ensure the continuation of production and to exercise control over the capitalists. Within a brief space of time more than 500 workers' enterprise committees were set up. Despite the opposition of the government of that time, by the end of 1944 practically all the enterprises were in the hands of the workers' committees. We can say that the activity of the enterprise committees played a decisive role in securing the continuation of production in the enterprises, in preventing actions designed to disrupt and sabotage output which were organized by capitalist reaction. At the same time the workers' enterprise committees had a great political importance, in fact, they represented a form of manifestation of the power of the working class.

As you know, the Sănătescu and Rădescu governments and the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party were stubbornly opposed to the agrarian reform ; one of the arguments against that reform was that the distribution of landlord estates to the peasants could only be carried out after the end of the war. The Communist Party launched the slogan for the immediate expropriation of the landlords and the distribution of that land, without pay, to landless peasants and smallholders. Peasant committees were organized for the purpose in the villages. Tens of thousands of Party members and activists and workers not belonging to the Party were sent to the villages to help the peasants to organize and carry out the agrarian reform. By the beginning of March 1945 this revolutionary act of historic importance was as good as implemented. The agrarian reform law, passed later, only put the seal on a reality shaped in the heat of the class struggle. At the same time, in view of the fact that the spring agricultural operations had to be started, thousands of workers' teams went to help the peasantry and repaired their implements. In the joint struggle against reaction, for land and for the country's democratic development, there took shape and developed the unshakable alliance between the working class and the working peasantry - that huge revolutionary force that was to definitely decide the fate of the struggle for the winning of power.

An important social force in the fight against reaction and for the satisfaction of democratic claims was the youth of this country, which vigorously asserted its revolutionary spirit, its lofty feeling of responsibility and its confidence in the policy of the Communist Party.

Tens upon tens of thousands of young workers, peasants, school pupils and students followed the call of the Party and enthusiastically participated in the revolutionary actions of that period, making their contribution to the great victories won by the working class.

We should also emphasize the intensive activity carried out by the democratic organizations of the women who, for the first time, were winning equal rights and were called upon to assert their interests and aspirations and to take part in the social and political life of this country. The women made a highly valuable contribution to the political struggles waged during that period, and played an active role in winning satisfaction for democratic claims and in the overcoming of the big difficulties in which the country found itself.

Having clearly established the strategic aim, our Party paid special attention to work in the army, both in the ranks of the soldiers and those of the officers and generals. This was the more necessary as the reactionaries and the monarchy were still placing their hopes in certain military cadres with a view of carrying out their plans. However, as you know, the hopes of reaction proved to be an illusion - most of the officers and generals joined the democratic forces and followed the policy of the Romanian Communist Party.

In this context one should mention the letter addressed to the king, after the February 24, 1945 repression, by a group of high officers headed by generals C. Vasiliu-Rășcanu, Ilie Crețulescu, Constantin Popescu, Dumitru Dămăceanu, Radu Rusescu and others, who rose against the policy of the Rădescu government and demanded the establishment of a democratic government. "We declare that we dissociate from the action and the declarations of General Nicolae Rădescu, considering these both as harmful to the interests of the army and the country," stated that letter, which condemned with the greatest determination the attempts of the Rădescu government to use the army in order to stifle the fight of the mass of the people. This attitude had a large response in the ranks of the soldiers and officers who, by refusing to carry out the orders of Rădescu, became solidary with the people and took an active part in the great actions carried out by the people's

masses for the winning of power.

I wish to mention on this occasion the important role played within the framework of the armed forces of that period by the Tudor Vladimirescu and Horia, Cloșca and Crișan divisions and by the educational apparatus of the army in whose ranks a number of activists who had returned from emigration and other comrades were working, who had been sent by the Party to work in that field.

Taking account of the complexity and sharp character of the class struggle taking place throughout the country, the Party paid special attention to the arming of the mass of the people. With that aim in view, the patriotic guards and the partisan units, which had played an important role in the carrying through of the insurrection of August 23, were not only not disarmed, as demanded by the reactionary government, but, on the contrary, were reorganized and strengthened. The events have shown that the Party proceeded correctly when it organized armed fighting units of the working class in those conditions. The more so because reaction tried to organize para-military formations, setting up the so-called "Maniu guards," which, especially in Transylvania, carried out terrorist, provocative and repressive actions. The existence of the patriotic guards, comprising more than 70,000 armed working people, enabled the democratic and revolutionary forces to thwart a number of repressive actions of the reactionaries and to secure the successful development of the fight for a democratic government. This shows, comrades, how important it is for a people, which is bent on revolutionary transformations, to arm itself, to have its own army, its own military forces.

The picture of the tumultuous activity carried out in those months by the Party and the other democratic forces would be incomplete if I would not recall the struggle for the exclusion of reactionary and fascist elements from the State apparatus. In its plan to maintain the old state of

things, reaction also relied on the fact that the prefectures and town halls were in its hands. During those months the prefects and mayors were frequently used by reaction against the democratic forces, especially in order to prevent the implementation of the agrarian reform. That is why the Party placed on the agenda the removal of the reactionary mayors and prefects and their replacement by the representatives of the democratic forces at the head of those State institutions. Most of you remember the assault on the prefectures and town halls, - one of the most impressive chapters of the big political battles waged during that period. You know that the attempt made by reaction to employ the army against the mass of the people failed, and that the servicemen joined the people. By the beginning of March prefects and mayors from the ranks of the democratic forces had been installed in 52 counties out of a total of 58 counties. Thus, above the head of the Rădescu government, the mass of the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, took over the mayors' offices and prefectures.

In these conditions a situation had been created in the country that could not continue. The government was dominated by reaction ; and together with the monarchy it was preparing to carry out repressions against the democratic forces. At the same time, the situation was different in the towns and villages, in the enterprises and institutions. The enterprises were in the hands of the workers' committees, the villages in the hands of the peasant committees and the town halls and prefectures in the hands of the democratic forces.

As a matter of fact power in this country had passed into the hands of the mass of the people led by the Romanian Communist Party.

In these circumstances the Party considered that the conditions had been created for the removal of the Rădescu government and for the establishment of a democratic govern-

ment that would correspond to the new political situation. In February there were big popular demonstrations throughout the country - manifestations in which millions of citizens of all social categories demanded the removal of the Rădescu government. Desperately trying to halt the progress of the revolutionary development, reaction sought a way out in an extreme solution - civil war. At a meeting of the Council of Ministers in the middle of February, General Rădescu declared that he would oppose with all his power popular pressure and, if necessary, would start a civil war, whatever the result.

The climax of the people's actions against the Rădescu government was the people's demonstration held in Bucharest on February 24 and which was attended by hundreds of thousands of citizens. Ignoring the will of the people, the reactionaries grouped round Rădescu and the Palace went over to repression and opened fire on the demonstrators. Tens of citizens were killed in the Palace Square ; many were wounded. The threats of Rădescu to start civil war and the bloody attack of February 24 did not intimidate the mass of the people ; on the contrary, they still further increased the people's fighting resolve to impose a people's government. In the days following the events of February 24 all the manoeuvres of reaction to save the government of Rădescu were smashed, as also all its attempts to form a new government in which it should keep its preponderance.

In order to reach that aim, reaction did not hesitate to resort to some members of the capitalist states in the Allied Control Commission in Romania as well. On this occasion I wish to mention the position of the representatives of the Soviet Union in the Allied Control Commission who took a resolute attitude against the manoeuvres of reaction. It should be emphasized that the Soviet Union also voiced its viewpoint officially, sending Andrei Vyshinski, the First Deputy of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to Romania for that purpose.

In those days the Communist Party carried out an intensive organizational and political activity for the winning of the battle against reaction. The Party prepared powerful fighting forces-inclusive of patriotic formations and other armed units and detachments of the working class - organized the holding of big civic demonstrations, with the view of overthrowing by force, if the case would have arisen, of the Rădescu government. At the same time, a public stand was taken in that period against the government, through official steps by outstanding representatives of the Army, of the intelligentsia, of the democratic circles. Faced with this huge wave of the people's movement, aware of the scope of the democratic forces that were drawn into the fight, the king - summoned by the delegation sent by the Party - was compelled to dismiss General Rădescu from the office of Prime Minister, dismiss the existing government and accept the formation of a new government, of the government headed by Dr. Petru Groza.

The evolution of events in early March was decisive for the removal of the Rădescu government, for the victory of the democratic forces. The will of the large people's masses triumphed! March 6, 1945, saw the setting up, for the first time in the modern history of Romania, of a genuinely democratic government. This victory of the democratic and revolutionary forces was celebrated by big civic manifestations. Thus, the demonstrations planned for March 6 with the purpose of taking over power turned into a manifestation for the celebration of the victory. The victory of March 6, 1945, was the crowning point of the revolutionary-democratic fights waged by the people's masses under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party.

Heading the Government set up on March 6 was the ardent patriot and progressive militant Dr. Petru Groza, whose whole activity was put in the service of the cause of the people, of Romania's flourishing. In the Government presided

by Dr. Petru Groza, the working class and the peasantry held the preponderant role. Of the 18 Government ministers, four were representatives of the Romanian Communist Party, three of the Social-Democratic Party, three of the Ploughmen's Front Organization, one of the Patriotic Union, one of the General Confederation of Labour, one of the Democratic Priests' Union, three of the National Liberal Party (the Tătărescu grouping), one of the National Peasant Party (the Anton Alexandrescu grouping), and one of the Army. One can say that by its composition and programme, the March 6 Government was a revolutionary-democratic government with a pronounced worker-peasant character. With the setting up of this government, the revolutionary process of Romania entered a new stage, whose objective was the conclusion of the process of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the implementation of deep-going social and political transformations in Romanian society.

By its consequences and implications the March 6 act also had a profound anti-imperialist character ; it freed the country definitively from any kind of imperialist domination, laid the foundations for the free and independent development of Romania, for the consolidation of national independence, for the sovereign assertion of our homeland both internally and internationally.

In celebrating today the great victory of March 6, 1945, we can proudly assert that it was the outcome of the heroic struggle of our working class allied with the peasantry, with the intelligentsia and with the other social categories, the outcome of the united struggle of the Romanian, Magyar, and German working people and working people of other nationalities, waged under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. In this fight the revolutionary capacity of the working class of Romania fully asserted itself, as also its historic role and mission as the leading force of the whole nation, a role which it brilliantly fulfilled over the years in the grand

work of building the socialist system. The events also highlighted the tremendous revolutionary potential of the peasantry, who more than once in our country's history, bore the brunt of the struggle for social and national justice. The decisive role in the winning of the political victory of March 6, just as in all the big class battles waged subsequently, in the victorious unfolding of the socialist revolution and construction in Romania was played by the worker-peasant alliance, the unflinching foundation of people's power in our homeland.

Stress must be laid on the fact that this time too - just as so many times in the past - the majority of the intelligentsia, the most valuable men of science and culture sided with the people, and made their contribution to the victory of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, to the cause of the working people, of our homeland. A powerful echo among our intelligentsia was evoked by the telegram sent to the king by the leading personalities of the Romanian Academy and the Appeal published in February by a group of university teachers, scientists and artists signed by Professors C.I.Parhon, S. Stoilov, M. Ralea, D. Bagdazar, Mihail Sadoveanu, Traian Săvulescu, Nicolae Lupu, Andrei Ōțetea, Petre Constantinescu-Iași, Iorgu Iordan, and others, who rising against the Rădescu government, demanded "the coming to the helm of a government that would be the expression of all the democratic elements of the country and immediately implement the government programme of the National Democratic Front."

We must say at the same time that the other social categories too : - handicraftsmen, tradesmen, office workers and even part of the national democratic bourgeoisie - made their contribution to the victory of March 6, 1945.

I particularly wish to mention the valuable contribution made by the working people of the Magyar, German, Serbian and the other nationalities who, alongside of the Romanian

working people, took part in all the battles against the reaction, for a people's democratic government. In these big revolutionary actions, just as so many times in the past of common struggle, the unity of the working people, regardless, of nationality, proved to be an invincible force. That is why I have said so many times before and wish to say this time too, at this big anniversary: the historic circumstances were conducive in this country to the joint life and creation of the Romanians, Magyars, Germans, Serbians, Ukrainians and of other nationalities; everything that has been implemented in this land is the outcome of their united work and struggle! Only by acting in the future too in close unity shall we ensure the building of communism in our common homeland - the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Please allow me to address from this high rostrum, on behalf of the Central Committee, of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers, the keenest thanks and heartfelt congratulations to the workers, peasants, intellectuals, to all social categories, the Army, men and women, the youth, all the citizens of our homeland, regardless of nationality, for the contribution they have made to the winning of people's power, to the building of socialism in Romania.

Dear Comrades,

The triumph of the armed insurrection of August 23, 1944 and the victorious unfolding of the mass struggles in the ensuing months, up to March 6 are a strong evidence of the correctness of our Party's Marxist-Leninist political line, of its revolutionary strategy and tactics. In all these historic events; facts undeniably confirm the organizational capacity and leading role of the Romanian Communist Party.

Some ask how was it possible for the Romanian Communist Party, which had emerged from its underground activity with a relatively small number of members, to lead struggles of such a wide scope? Those who ask such a question prove that they

do not know the history of the Romanian communist Party, that they do not know the Romanian communists. The Romanian Communist Party was able to fulfil its historic role thanks, first of all, to the fact that in its entire activity it was guided by the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist conception. Secondly, it knew how to creatively apply the generally valid truths of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, the objective laws of social development, of the socialist revolution and construction to the concrete conditions of our country. It was only thanks to its capacity of harmoniously blending the general laws with the concrete historical, economic, social and national conditions that our Party could elaborate a correct political line, and act in a corresponding way for its practical achievement. In the third place, the Party was able to fulfil its role due to the fact that it identified its whole being with the interests of the working masses, with the people's aspirations for justice, for social and national freedom.

All this has led to the strengthening of the Party's links with the large people's masses, and made the word of the Party be heard and confidently followed with devotion everywhere.

I deem it necessary to point out that the drawing up of the political line of the revolutionary strategy and tactics on which the Party and the democratic forces based their activity for the setting up of the Government on March 6, is the outcome of the collective thinking of our active which, closely united around the leadership headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej resolutely proceeded to the achievement of the envisaged targets after August 23.

An outstanding contribution to the carrying out of the tasks set by the Party was made in all that period by Gheorghiu-Dej, a faithful son of the working class, of the Romanian people, a leading revolutionary militant of our

Party and people. A great number of activists of the Romanian Communist Party, steeled in the hard years of underground struggle, in the confrontation with bourgeois-landlord prisons and terror, made their contribution to the revolutionary struggle of those days, honorable fulfilling their mission of organizers and leaders of the proletariat, of the working masses. In the course of events after the country's liberation a contribution was also made to the ample revolutionary activity of the Party by the communists who had returned from emigration. In the political battles waged in that period, parallel with the increase in the ranks of the Party and of the revolutionary and democratic organizations, alongside of the militants of the underground period, a strong contingent of new cadres of Party activists rose being profoundly devoted to the interests of the working class, to the vital aspirations of the Romanian people. Struggling side by side, in close unity, the old and new cadres of the Party dedicated their entire energy, capacity and power of work to the noble ideals of the working class, of the party, devoting their lives to the progress and prosperity of the homeland, to the cause of socialism and communism. I consider it necessary to spotlight the contribution made by the activists of the Social-Democratic Party, of the other democratic political organizations, who fought in close alliance with our Party for the establishment of the government and for the democratic, socialist transformation of the country.

Allow me, comrades, to express thanks from this high rostrum and to address, on behalf of the Party and State leadership, warm congratulations to all the militants and members of our Party, to all anti-fascist and democratic fighters for their contribution to the victory of the grandiose struggle carried on 25 years ago and to the building of socialism.

Our Party did not impose its role of a leading political force in our society ; it won this role in hard struggle

through the blood shed by its militants in the class battles with the exploiters, through the love and self denial with which the communists have served and are serving the supreme interests of the whole people. This is why I wish to assert once again: we can be sure, comrades, that as long as our Party is guided by the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching, as long as it knows how to creatively apply the general truths of socialism to the conditions of our country, as long as it serves with all its being the interests of the large masses, it will be followed by the whole people and nothing will be able to prevent the victory of communism in Romania. Its entire history of revolutionary struggle, its glorious traditions entitle us to state that in the future as well the Romanian Communist Party will unabatedly be guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, will constantly see to the strengthening of its ranks, of its unity, that it will firmly carry out its historic mission of leader of our socialist nation, on the bright road to communism.

As I have shown and as also shown by the evolution of events that took place between August 23 and March 6 the installation of people's power, the setting up of the Government under the chairmanship of Dr. Petru Groza is the result of the struggle waged by the large people's masses under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. The victory of March 6 did not come by itself, and neither was it brought from the outside; it was won through struggle, through the heavy sacrifices made by the revolutionary and democratic forces of Romania. Many of us took an active part in those events, and know, not from what we were told or from handbooks, how the communist and the working people fought, the sacrifices made by our people for the instauration of people's power. From what I have told you, one can obviously get only a general picture of the scope and grandeur of the struggles waged in that period. It is the fault of our historians, of our workers in social sciences and of

our writers that they have not written so far the epos of those unforgettable days. We hope that they will do this in the near future.

One may ask : by laying such great stress on the role of the people's forces at home, does one not minimize or even negate the influence of the international situation, and of the external factor ? No comrades ! Evoking the events, and spotlighting the role of the people's masses in the revolutionary transformation of our Society rely on the historical truth, on deeds, we act as true Marxist-Leninists. As is known, certain circles in the capitalist countries have more than once tried to present the people's power in Romania as having been brought from the outside. But the truth is that the people, headed by the working class, is the author of the revolution, of all the victories obtained by socialist Romania. It is precisely for this reason that the people's power is supported by the whole people, and has become invincible.

As I have already pointed out, the international situation, the assistance granted by the Soviet Union evidently played a role of great importance in the successful unfolding of the revolutionary struggles in our country. It was the merit of our Party that it knew how to use the international circumstances favourable for the organization and for leading the struggle, with a view to winning power. History, however, has many cases in which, despite favourable international conditions, owing to the weakness or mistakes made by the internal progressive forces, the victorious unfolding of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society could not be ensured. I have referred to all this, comrades, in order that it be better understood that the Marxist-Leninist thesis continues to be fully valid, thesis according to which the winning of power and the building of the new social system, of communism, can only be the work of the people themselves, of the working class who transform both themselves and the whole of society. That is why in the future

as well, we should unite as closely as possible the efforts of the entire people for the building of socialism and communism in our homeland. At the same time it is necessary to take into account the course of international events and continuously act for strengthening friendship and collaboration with all the socialist countries, with the communist and workers' parties and with all anti-imperialist forces. It is only by bearing in mind the interdependence between the internal and international situation, and the dialectical unity between the national factor and the international one, that we can elaborate a correct political line and successfully build the new social system.

The analysis of the revolutionary struggles waged in Romania once more confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses in keeping with which each people, embarking on the road of the socialist revolution and construction, brings its own experience, applies the general laws in specific forms - in keeping with the concrete conditions in which it lives, with the historical peculiarities which differ from one country to another. The successful unfolding of the revolution in Romania has contributed to enriching the patrimony of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice with new methods and forms of struggle, with new solutions to the big problems raised by the socialist transformation of society; our country's experience has most eloquently brought to the fore the role of the masses of people in the winning of power, the particular importance of uniting all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of the nation in view of overthrowing the exploiting classes and building the new social system.

Comrades,

Twenty five years have elapsed since the grand people's victory of March 6. This historic event was followed by fresh and fresh victories obtained by the working class, by the large

masses of working people on the road of implementing their fundamental aspirations. The whole political power in the state was won, the main means of production were nationalized, the planned development of the economy was started, the cooperativization of agriculture was carried through, the exploitation of man by man was done away with for good and all, the socialist relations of production were generalized in the entire national economy. In these years the Romanian people traversed a whole historic period, obtained outstanding results in the development of the material basis of society, in the economic and social progress of the country. In this lapse of time we accomplished many aspirations, have had many satisfactions in our work. In building socialism we recorded grand successes in all fields of activity, continuously consolidated the foundations of people's power in Romania. We now have a powerful industry in full development and a socialist agriculture which is making continuous headway. Education, science and the arts have witnessed and are witnessing continuous flourishing - asserting themselves as outstanding factors in the building of the socialist society, in the formation of the new man, master of his destinies. The material standard and cultural level of the entire people is permanently growing.

We know that all these achievements required great efforts - sometimes even sacrifices - but they were not in vain: we have succeeded in radically changing the whole society. We also remember that in this tumultuous creative activity, mistakes were also made, and had shortcomings too. Sometimes we had to pay dearly for learning how to build the new system. There is no doubt that some shortcomings and mistakes could have been avoided even in the hard conditions of our work and struggle. What is called for now is that we draw every lesson from the past activity, and avoid the recurrence of such mistakes in the future. Now, on this anniversary, we can say that the balance-sheet of the activity

carried on these 25 years - with its good sides and shortcomings - is a brilliant one in which our whole people can justly take pride.

The working people mark this anniversary with fresh successes in the vast creative activity which they unfold with boundless élan in all spheres; they have joined with all their strength the drive for implementing the targets of the plan for 1970, the last year of the present Five-Year Plan. The results scored in the first two months prove that there are all conditions for fulfilling and even overfulfilling the plan provisions. Naturally, we should not forget that we are at the beginning of the year, and that we have to further organize our activity as best as possible, with a view to securing the implementation of all the plan provisions in the best conditions. Special attention should be paid to the achievement of an increased volume of investments provided for this year, to the commissioning of the new capacities in time; this is of great importance both for the realization of the current plan, and for the good progress of activity in the next Five-Year Plan. Important tasks are facing the working people in agriculture, called upon to ensure the timely carrying out and in good conditions of the spring operations, the implementation of the provisions regarding the increase of agricultural output. Great and responsible tasks are incumbent on the scientists, on the workers in the field of education as well as in other fields of social activity.

The integral implementation of the provision of the 1966-1970 Five-Year Plan requires increased efforts of all working people, of our whole people. We are convinced that all the citizens in our homeland shall devote their entire abilities and creative capacities to the implementation of the tasks of the present Five-Year Plan. We have at our disposal everything that is necessary for the successful accomplishment of this objective.

Comrades,

As is known, a number of measures have been taken in the last few months by the Party and Government for a better organization of the whole State apparatus. The materialization of these measures, which have made greater order in the State apparatus, has been completed by and large. In spite of this, bureaucratic practices continue to be manifest in the activity of some bodies; lots of forms are still drawn up which stifle live work under piles and files. It is necessary that we take decisive steps to radically reduce the amount of forms and papers, to a radical change in the style of work of the State apparatus, passing from the guidance by means of circulars and instructions to direct and concrete assistance on the spot. The campaign against bureaucratism must become the task of all communists, of our whole people. This is a necessity and a condition for the good progress of socialist construction.

This year we must carry through the decisions of the National Conference and of the Tenth Congress of the Party regarding the perfecting of the management and planning of the whole social activity. We must understand, comrades, that the implementation of these measures is vital for the good progress of our society; they are meant to increase the responsibility of all the economic and social bodies, to enhance independence in the decision-making process at all levels of our social system. This also implies the improvement of the single central plan and of the unitary management of the whole social activity. The onward march of our society, the building of the communist society, decisively depends on the way in which we shall blend in a dialectically manner these two aspects of democratic centralism.

Concomitantly with the application of these measures, we must pay more attention to the participation of

the working people in managing economic and social life; this is an essential requirement of the development of our socialist democracy.

I would now like to refer to the fact that on March the 1st this year the application of the Decision of the Central Committee and of the Government regarding the rise of wages and the experimental introduction of the new wage scheme has been completed in all branches. Starting with that date all salary and wage earners in this country benefit by increased wages. As a result of the increase in the salaries and wages the working people will receive an additional pay of more than 10,500,000,000 lei in 1970; for certain categories the wage rise is higher than that initially envisaged. This is a telling proof of the fact that the whole policy of the Party is aimed at raising the people's living standards, that everything we accomplish in our country is devoted to man's welfare and happiness. We shall have to follow up the way in which the established measures are put into practice and go over, in the second half of the year, to the drawing up of the law on the new wage scheme.

I would like to address a call to all the Party and State functionaries that they pay permanent attention to the solving of the problems of the working people so that, in step with the development of the material and cultural base of the society, the life of each citizen becomes better. Let us make every citizen understand the fact that his own welfare depends on the welfare of all, and this must be reflected in the advancement of the material standard and cultural level of each and every citizen, of our homeland.

In this respect it is necessary that we pay more attention to the problems of social ethics and equity. The socialist revolution has done away for good and all with the exploitation of man by man, has abolished private,

capitalist property of the means of production - this becoming either the property of the whole people or common ownership of the cooperative members. The working class has become the leading class, the owner of the means of production. In this twofold capacity, of owner and producer, the working class, all the working people, bear the responsibility for the rapid development rate of the material basis of socialism, for the good organization of production and of labour.

Socialism has also done away with the old form of distribution - capitalist distribution in accordance with which a small group of exploiters appropriated the greater part of the national revenue - and introduced the new, socialist principle of distribution according to which everything that is produced in society belongs to the working people. Today, part of the national income is used for the continuous development of industry, agriculture, science, education and culture and the other, the greater part is intended for the consumption fund of the working people.

The steps taken in the last few years, the new wage scheme included, are aimed at ensuring the correctest application of the socialist principle in accordance with which each citizen is paid according to the quantity and quality of work done. Nobody, under any form, can - and one must not - get an income without doing work in material or spiritual production that is useful to our socialist society.

On the basis of this reality of our socialist society, new relationships, of cooperation and mutual assistance are established among the working people. There are no antagonistic relations between the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other categories of working people, but a close unity of interests and an intense cooperation in work and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism. As the many-sidedly developed socialist society is advancing and passing on

to communism, the discrepancies between town and village, between labour by hand and brain will disappear more and more, the process of rapprochement between the different classes and social categories, of achieving a homogeneous society will be accelerated; the society of the working people, the communist society will thus be born. Certainly, this transformation will not be achieved spontaneously, over night, but by a lengthy process of the development of the productive forces, of the improvement of social relationships, of raising consciousness, of the flourishing of science and culture and, naturally, on the basis of a higher level of material and spiritual welfare.

Starting from these considerations concerning our ethics, social equity and justice, it is necessary for us to act more firmly for the assertion of the principles of socialist life. It is no secret to anybody that in this country too, there are still people who violate the norms of socialist ethics and cohabitation, who get incomes without working, who steal from the socialist property, who manifest indifference for publicly-owned property, who do not act for safeguarding and developing the property of the whole people.

I made a point of referring on this occasion to this category of problems, because the principles of social ethics and equity always guided us, guided us also during the period of struggle for the establishment of people's power. One of the essential factors that dynamized the masses in the revolutionary struggle was the ardent aspiration for social justice, for the installment in the life of society of equality among men, of the principles of communist ethics. It is necessary that we do our utmost for turning into life the aspirations and ideals for which the communists, the working people, the people have always fought, just as a quarter of a century ago. It is necessary that the Party bodies and organizations, the cadres working in the economic

apparatus and State administration, all the working people act with determination and firmness for combating all the negative phenomena in the field of social relations, for the full assertion of the communist ethics, of social equity and justice. It is necessary that we take on a combative, resolute attitude against any tendency of tariving at the expense of our socialist society - no matter who might show such manifestations ; the attempt to make use of certain offices or jobs entrusted by society for the satisfaction of one's own interests is entirely alien to the ethics of our new system which demands of each person with a certain responsibility in the social hierarchy, of each member of our society to devote all his efforts to the interests of the community, to the general welfare of the working people. Likewise, an uncompromising stand must be taken against any manifestation of favouritism that hinders the promotion in work of people according to their capacity and worth, the rewarding of each citizen according to his merits in the struggle for the progress of the socialist society. The combating of these retrograde mentalities, the promotion of the ethical principles of the Party is a problem of utmost importance in the present stage of development of the socialist society in this country; the progress of socialism, the creation of the conditions for the transition to communism cannot be conceived without this problem being solved.

Dear Comrades,

The establishment of people's power on March 6, the victory of the socialist revolution have led to the building of the new system in which the working people has become master of its destinies. For the first time, the working people of our country have won their right to directly participate in leading the society. In this way the foundations were laid for a new type democracy - the socialist democracy, in which the power emanates from the people and is exercised by the people.

As is known the Party and Government have of late taken a series of measures for the creation of an organizational framework that is more favourable for the participation of the working people in running the State. It is also known that both in the Constitution and in the other laws

adopted in recent years, expressed and guaranteed is the implementation of the basic principle of socialist democracy - the participation of the whole people in the taking of decisions that concern the country's present and future. The Party ensures that the most important laws should be submitted for the debate of the mass of the people, that the whole people be consulted on the basic problems of Romania's home and foreign policy; it asks at the same time of all the Party and State bodies to permanently take council with the working people, to present reports and inform the masses on their whole activity.

The introduction of the principle of collective work and management in all spheres of activity is at the same time an essential expression of the democratism of our system. Of special importance in this respect is the activity of the management and administration boards - collective management bodies of enterprises. Formed of the best experts, of trade union delegates and representatives directly elected by the working people, these bodies ensure, concomitantly with a competent management of the enterprises' activity, a democratic form of participation of the working people - as owners and producers - in managing the economy. Of great importance is also the institutionalization of the general meetings of employees, as a higher form of participation of the working people in the activity of managing the enterprises.

The experience of hitherto demonstrates that the measures taken for perfecting economic democracy fully corresponds to the present development stage of our socialist society. It is necessary that the Party bodies and organizations, the ministries and other central bodies should pay every attention to the activity of the collective management bodies and enterprises, to the more active participation of the working people in the activity of managing the economy. It must be quite clear to everybody that everything that is being accomplished in our country belongs to the whole people, consequently to each and every citizen separately - and thus each and everyone has the duty and interest to actively participate in the development of our socialist property.

The continuous perfection of socialist democracy, the steadily broader participation of the people in the working out and implementation of our home and foreign policy, is an inseparable part of the process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, of the creation of conditions for the victory of communism.

Dear Comrades,

In their whole activity the Party and the Government proceeded and proceed from the premise that there is a dialectical unity between the home and foreign policy. We consider that the successes obtained in the building of socialism in Romania, the raising of our people's welfare is a valuable contribution to the cause of socialism and peace, to cooperation and friendship among peoples. At the same time we proceed from the fact that internal development is not possible - especially in the present conditions of the technical-scientific revolution - without a broad collaboration with the socialist countries as well as with the other states of the world, regardless of social system.

Based on these considerations Romania has extensively developed and develops collaboration with all the socialist countries. As I have mentioned on other occasions too, our Party and people particularly valued and values the friendship and collaboration with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the Soviet Union. Romania makes her active contribution to the expansion of economic collaboration and cooperation within the COMECON - of which she is a member - to the intensification of economic exchanges with all the socialist countries; she develops cooperation relations, in the military sphere, with the countries that are in the Warsaw Treaty membership and whose member she is, expands collaboration with the armies of all the socialist countries, ready at any time to make her contribution to safeguarding the interests of socialism and peace, against any

imperialist attack.

It is known that divergencies and differences of opinions exist today among the socialist countries; we consider that nothing should be done to deepen these but on the contrary, patient and persevering actions must be taken for overcoming them. The reestablishment of confidence and collaboration between the socialist countries - based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and on socialist internationalism, equal rights, mutual respect, national sovereignty and independence, mutual comradely assistance - is an imperative necessity for the triumph of progress in the world; this corresponds to the interests of all peoples of the socialist countries, as well as to the general cause of socialism and peace. Our Party will do everything that depends on it in order to contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries, of the friendship and collaboration among them.

At the same time, acting in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, our country develops relations of collaboration with all countries. In the conditions of the huge contemporary scientific and technical progress, when the economic and social development of all the nations is a principal factor for strengthening peace in the world, the intensification of collaboration among states is a fundamental demand of progress.

I do not wish to make an exposé on the international situation. I will refer briefly only to a few problems.

In two months time we shall celebrate 25 years since the victory over fascist Germany, and next autumn of just as many years since the founding of the United Nations Organization. Although a quarter of a century has passed since the end of the world war, numerous unsolved problems still persist in the world. In Europe, where both the First and the Second World War started, peace has not yet been regulated. In different parts of the world, the war still

causes great sufferings to some peoples; the arms race has taken on huge proportion, the expenditures for arming exceeding more than 200 thousand million dollars, which weighs heavily on the living standard of the peoples. Nuclear armament accumulated in quantities that could destroy mankind several times, chemical and bacteriological armament as well as theso-called classical armament are a permanent threat to the lives of the peoples, of the very civilization on our planet. It is high time for all the peoples, all the governments, all the politicians to think with the greatest responsibility of the danger threatening our planet and that they act most resolutely for an end to arming, in the first place for the destruction of the nuclear, chemical and bacteriological armament. It must be understood that in today's conditions of military technique there is no genuinely efficient means of defence - not even an anti-rocket system - that could save mankind from the destructions caused by an atomic war. The peoples must raise their voice, until it is not too late, in order to impose the implementation of disarmament and, in the first place of nuclear disarmament. There are tremendous forces in the world, which, by uniting their efforts can thwart the war policy of the imperialists, can impose peace in the world.

Romania considers that the proceedings of the Geneva Committee should be orientated more towards the solving of the concrete problems of disarmament. We consider necessary that these proceedings should be attended by the representatives of all the interested countries, that all peoples should be able to express there their points of view, contributing to the implementation of practical measures on the road of disarmament.

A question of special importance for the peace in Europe and throughout the world, is - the implementation of European security. We consider that premises are created for the transition from the stage of discussions to the prepa-

rations for a conference of the states on our continent. As I said also before, our country considers that the preparations for the conference must not be made from bloc to bloc, or by a restricted group of states, but with the participation of the representatives of all the concerned European countries. Only in this way will it be possible to thoroughly prepare the conference in keeping with the interests of the peoples of our whole continent.

As to the war in Vietnam and the tension in the Middle East, our country's stand is well-known. The Romanian people speaks up for the undelayed cessation of the war in Vietnam, for the withdrawal of the troops of the United States of America from South Vietnam, for an end to any interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. As I have said more than once, we are particularly worried by the intensification of the military actions in the Middle East. We have disapproved and we continue to disapprove of the bombing by Israel of civil enterprises and of the population. It must be understood that the intensification of the military actions and of repressions, no matter from what side they come, do not contribute to the solving of the conflict, but on the contrary, to its aggravation. We express our hope that reason will triumph in the end, that the military actions in that part of the world will cease, and concrete measures will be taken for the application of the Security Council resolution of November 1967, for the re-establishment of peace.

The Party and the Government of our country consider that in the intricate conditions of the present international situation, each state, each people - big or small - must make its contribution to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples. It is necessary that the solving of these litigious questions, the development of inter-state relations proceed from the principles increasingly asserting themselves as the only ones valid in contemporary interna-

tional life, namely the observance of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage, and the observance of the right of each people to decide upon its destinies as it wishes. Romania, aware of her national and international responsibilities, is determined to act for the assertion - without any prejudice - of these principles in the relations among all states, to make henceforth, too, her active contribution to the development of cooperation among peoples, to the establishment of world peace.

Dear Comrades,

While celebrating today the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Dr. Petru Groza government, we review a bright road of work, of struggles and of victories. Our people views with profound satisfaction everything it has done in this quarter of a century, with its own hands and brain by its untiring efforts: the building of a new society, of a new world and life. All this is a brilliant proof of its wonderful creative capacity, of its attachment to the cause of socialism, of its unflinching confidence in the Marxist Leninist policy of the Romanian Communist Party.

While celebrating this important event in the history of our nation, the loftiest homage we can pay to the Party, to the Romanian people, free and independent, is the pledge to work and fight still more enthusiastically for the flourishing of the homeland, for the welfare and happiness of the working people, for building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. A duty of honour which our Party and people are creditably fulfilling is the intensification of the efforts for the triumph of friendship among the socialist countries, for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement, for the victory of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Long live the Romanian Communist Party - the tested leader of the people on the path of socialism and communism!

Long live our wonderful people; Long live our dear homeland - Socialist Romania!

May the unity of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers' parties strengthen, of the whole anti-imperialist front!

Long live peace and friendship among peoples!

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