

November, 1950

Meeting of the Secretariat of the Information Bureau - Steps to Counteract Titoism in Romania

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Summary:

A report presented by the Romanian Workers' Party (Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej) at the meeting of the Communist Information Bureau of November 1950 in Bucharest, which lists the steps taken in order to counteract Titoism in Romania, and particularly in the area of the border with Yugoslavia, as well as to facilitate its overthrow in Yugoslavia itself.

Credits:

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Contents:

- English Translation

The List of the Delegates

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1. Poptomov V[ladimir]. - the head of the delegation.
2. Tancov G.

On behalf of the Romanian Workers' Party.

1. Gheorghiu-De [Gheorghe]. - the head of the delegation.
2. Pauker A[na].
3. Chisinevski I[osif].

On behalf of the Workers' Party of Hungary.

1. Gere [i.e., Gero,] E[rno]. - the head of the delegation.
2. Biro Z.

On behalf of the Polish Workers' Party.

1. Mazur F. - the head of the delegation.
2. Finkelstein L.

On behalf of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of [the] U.S.S.R.

1. Suslov M[ikhail] - the head of the delegation.
2. Mitin M.
3. Grigorian V.

On behalf of the French Communist Party.

1. Fajon E. - the head of the delegation.
2. Cogniot J.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

1. Koprjivaf L. - the head of the delegation.
2. Svermova M.
3. Gheminder [Geminder] B.

On behalf of the Italian Communist Party

1. Sechia P. - the head of the delegation.
2. Roazio A.
3. Amadezi L.

[Signature:] Gh. [Gheorghe Gheorghiu] Dej

Informative Exposition Concerning the Meeting of the Secretariat of the Informative Bureau Concerning the Results of the Action of Our [Romanian Workers'] Party Against the Titoist Gang of Spies and Assassins.

After the meeting of the Informative Bureau of November 1949, the leadership of our Party has decided to study systematically all the problems connected with the activity of the Fascist band from Belgrade in [the] R.P.R. [Romanian People's Republic], and especially the problems concerning the Romanian-Yugoslav frontier [area]. On the basis of the study of these problems, a plan of action has been conceived for the purpose of intensifying the common struggle against Tito's gang, and for the purpose of taking special measures in the Romanian-Yugoslav frontier region concerning the Serbo-Croatian population. [1]

The [November 1949] Resolution of the Informative Bureau was discussed in all the [Romanian Workers'] Party and mass organizations. The content of this Resolution belongs to all the working people from R P. R[sic] The entire political-ideological words from our country has been blended with the fight against the unmasking and crushing of the Fascist-Titoist gang, all our actions and manifestations have constituted a testimony of the decisiveness of fight [sic], and of the hatred against those dastardly traitors and spies. The struggle for the building of socialism, for the defense of peace, led by the Romanian Workers' Party, has been permanent and organically linked to the fight against Tito's fascist gang of assassins and of [his] agents.

Using the lessons of the trials of the Titoist imperialist spies in Hungary and Bulgaria, [2] our Party has taken measures for the deepening of the purge of the members of the [Romanian Workers'] Party, banishing from among its ranks the foreign and inimical elements which have infiltrated into the Party, for the cleansing of the ranks of the Party and of the state apparatus of people with a doubtful past, of careerists, of nationalist and dissatisfied elements, and has had an intransigent position toward all the tendencies foreign to the interests of the working class.

The press, radio, agitation through speech and propaganda, the entire work of party learning, and the work of clarification for the masses, led by the R.W.P., have their sharpest edge directed against this agency of imperialist espionage. The press and the radio have improved their work [in this direction].

At this moment, the radio and the press from R.P.R. is unmasking the Titoist fascists with new and concrete evidence, published for the first time in our press organs.

The political measures taken by our party on the territory of [the] R.P.R. for the unmasking of the Titoist gang of spies and assassins, [for the] discovery and annihilation of its agents on the territory of our country, as well as [those measures] which will be necessary within the framework of a plan of actions compiled on the basis of a study concerning the border regions, consist of the following: the strengthening of the party organizations, the intensification of the work among the masses; the intensification of party propaganda and agitation; the strengthening of the state apparatus; [and] some measures of an economic character.

All of these measures must together, in the course of their development, create such a mental state among the working population from this region, so that it can become an active force in the fight [against Titoism], a living obstacle through which the agents sent by Tito to the R.P.R. will not be able to enter, and to create an atmosphere which will make the existence and influence of the camouflaged Titoist agents found on the territory of the R.P.R. impossible.

These measures will apply to the population of the frontier counties: Timis, Caras, Severin, Mehedinti, and especially to the Serbo-Croatian population, which we must attract [to participate] in the active struggle for peace and socialism, in the struggle for the liquidation of Tito's fascist gang. These measures must contribute to the education of the masses in the spirit of revolutionary

vigilance, [a] vigilance which must be displayed not only by the party members, but also by the broadest masses of the working people.

The leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party, appreciating the successes realized in our struggle against the Hitlerist [normally meaning Nazi, in this case meaning Titoist] band of spies and assassins, has noted that in our activity from this period there exist numerous and serious deficiencies:

a) Despite the fact that in the fight against the Tito clique there have been important successes, we have not conceived a special plan of work for the frontier regions of the country early enough.

Even during the war, and in the first years after the war, Tito and Rancovich, basing themselves especially on kulaks, on elements inimical to the Romanian People's Republic, Legionaries [members of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, the Romanian fascist party], Hitlerists [presumably Nazified members of the German minority in Romania], Romanian and Hungarian chauvinists [anti-Communist nationalists], agents of the Vatican [the Roman and Greek Catholic clergy and leadership], speculators [commercial bourgeoisie], discharged [army] officers, etc., have organized in these counties a network of agencies of espionage in the pay of the imperialist powers. The presence of a Serbo-Croatian population right on the Romanian-Yugoslav border has given the gang of Yugoslav spies the opportunity to engage in a fairly large amount of criminal activity.

Hypocritically inciting the national sentiments within the ranks of the Serbo-Croatian population, using nationalist, chauvinist and Dragist [pro-Dragoljub Mihailovich] elements, they are trying to find a mass base among the ranks of the Serbo-Croatian population, and to recruit from among their ranks informers, spies and agents in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Under these circumstances, there has started the implementation, of course, somewhat belatedly, of this plan in the midst of the frontier population. There are still some deficiencies in the political-organizational work of the Party in its work among the masses, and in the work of the state organs.

For example, in R.P.R., [there] live thousands of foreign citizens, with passport[s] from various countries, especially Yugoslavia and other capitalist countries, who for many years have not been returning home. These foreign citizens, [who] in their large majority do not have a well-defined occupation, or occupy various jobs [with a great deal] of responsibility even in the state apparatus, [and are geographically] distributed throughout the country, represent a real danger, because they largely favor the infiltration of imperialist influence, and of imperialist spies or of the Titoist agencies [of espionage].

b) Our [party's] work of information and documentation concerning the activity of the Titoist elements has been unsatisfactory, a fact which has had the result of an insufficient verification [i.e., purge] of the Serbian cadres, with whom we are working in the frontier regions. This circumstance has reflected in our entire work for the purpose of the crushing of the agents of the fascist Titoist clique.

The plan of action in the frontier regions consists of the following:

A. Political-organizational measures in accordance with the party line in the Romanian-Yugoslav border region.

For the completion and strengthening of the county and sub-district party committees, [the] cadres which have successfully passed the verification [i.e., which have remained in the party after the purge] have been mobilized.

Within the framework of the county and sub-district committees, there were attracted special instructors who have ties with the frontier [area] population and who know *the* Serbian language

fluently.

The leadership of the various units of the socialist sector of agriculture from these counties was strengthened. Measures have been taken for the banishment of the inimical elements from the state farms and S.M.T.'s [Machine-Tractor Stations], and working [class] elements and working peasants [i.e., non-kulak] have been placed in responsible positions.

After the work conducted among the working peasantry of Serbian and Croatian nationality, an increasing sharpening of the class struggle between the working peasants and the kulaks develops every day. We are operating for the purpose of the liquidation of the old positions of the so-called "[Yugoslav] national unity", under whose mask kulak nationalist Titoist elements have been plotting for a long time, attempting to push the Serbian masses on the path of "class harmony" in the likeness of the Titoist "Popular Front". The working peasants are more and more decisively taking stands of unmasking [sic] of the Titoist and kulak elements.

The interest of the working peasantry is strongly developing for [the purpose of] the organization of collective agricultural farms. The opportunities for collectivization in this region are favorable. In addition to the 7 agricultural collective farms, which are located in the close vicinity of the frontier, the organization of 10 other collective agricultural farms has been implemented. Only in Timis county, from 36 sub-districts with a Serbo-Croatian population, requests for [the] organization of yet another 28 collective agricultural farms have been received.

For the purpose of ensuring the unfolding of these actions, special measures have been taken for the training of organizational and propagandistic cadres in the struggle against Tito's fascist clique. For example, 2,500 people have finished party courses and schools, and also schools for party cadres. During the month of April, a 6-month central school of cadres was opened, with Serbian as the language of teaching, attended by 100 students, and led directly by the C.C. of the R.W.P.

This educational system whose aim is the education of special cadres for the fight against the Hitlerist bandits includes a program completed [sic] with ideological and political themes in connection with the fight against the espionage agency from Belgrade.

The agitation and propaganda work, strengthened with the newly-trained cadres, reduces more and more the sphere of the chauvinist-nationalist manifestations. The R.P.R. Publishing House has a special section for the editing of brochures and books in the Serbian language. In here [i.e., the publishing house], the documents of the Informative Bureau in connection with the fight against Tito's fascist clique were edited for the first time. There were edited 44 brochures with a number of 110,000 copies printed for the Serbian population from R P. R. An Almanac with a number of 4,500 copies printed has also been edited.

The Notebook of the Agitator is edited regularly in the Serbian language with a number of 1,000 copies printed. The appeals and the theses of the R.W.P., the [bulletin] boards, the photographic [bulletin] boards, the posters and the slogans, printed in the Serbian language are helpful in the fight against Tito.

The newspapers which appear in the frontier regions are always dealing with the problems which are caused by the proximity of Tito's fascist gang. The newspaper "Pravda", which is published in Timisaara in the Serbian language with a number of 5,000 copies printed has a special significance.

The Union of Slav [i.e., Yugoslav] Democratic Cultural Societies for the R.P.R., led directly by the C.C. of the R.W.P., is engaging in a special cultural-political work for the masses among the ranks of the Serbo-Croatian population in [the Romanian portion of] Banat with the help of its 8,260 organized members.

Until the publication of the Resolution, in the leadership of this Union, there were many kulak

elements, consistent with the model of the Titoist "Popular Front" in Yugoslavia. This line of class peace [between the various sections of the peasantry] has brought about the hiding of the face of the [Communist] Party, has almost brought about its dissolution in these organizations and, in this way, through the influence of the kulak class, a strong Titoist influence has permeated these organizations. The leadership of the societies was purged of kulaks and of Tito's agents. Becoming mass class organizations of the working peasantry of Slav[ic] origin, these organizations have started to enjoy a greater and greater authority and influence.

The celebration of the seventieth anniversary [of the birth] of comrade Stalin in all the frontier villages, the hundreds of individual and collective letters sent to comrade Stalin from the Serbian villages, the high [level of] mobilization of the Serbo-Croatian masses from Banat in the campaign for the election of the committees of struggle for peace, the combination of this activity with the campaign of unmasking the imperialist agents of the war-mongers from Belgrade, have proven that the struggle against the Tito clique has given positive results, that together with the working people of Romanian and of other nationalities, the Serbo-Croatian working population from R.P.R. is on the side of the front of peace, democracy and socialism against the inciters to a new war, and against the imperialist agencies.

By strengthening also in [the Romanian portion of] Banat the ties of the mass organizations, of the trade unions, the Union of Working Youth, the Union of Democratic Women in Romania, [of] the Ploughmen's Front, with the masses, the Party has improved work and has oriented it against the gang of Titoist spies. The Front of struggle against the Titoist war-mongers, of the mercenaries of the Anglo-American imperialists has been enlarged as a consequence of the activity of the committees of struggle for peace.

An unusually important duty in the fight against the Fascist Titoist clique, and of all the Titoist-imperialist agencies was the strengthening of the patrolling of the Romanian-Yugoslav border, and the strengthening of the measures for the purpose of ensuring the sovereignty and the state security of R.P.R. In this way, a whole series of attempts to infiltrate Titoist agents on the territory [of the] R. P. R. have been prevented. Measures have been taken against the infiltration of Titoist agents through the means of communication, undoubtedly used by these lackeys of the imperialists. [3]

In the area of public education, special measures were taken in the area of the border region with Yugoslavia: the pedagogical personnel was selected on the basis of political criteria, for the Serbian [elementary school] teachers and for the [high school] professors, courses of political and professional preparation have been organized, the unoccupied positions have been filled with new and well-verified elements, new schools of all grades with Serbian [as the] language of teaching have been opened, school textbooks have been edited in the Serbian language. The Serbian schools have been supplied with books in the Serbian, Romanian and Russian languages.

New [rural] cultural homes have been opened, which, like the old ones, are endowed with libraries, radio sets and projection equipment. In the cultural houses, weekly conferences are organized, especially on the basis of the materials from the review The Cultural Guide, which appears in the Serbian language with 2,000 copies. The conferences come together with artistic programs in the framework of which Soviet, Romanian, Serbian and Hungarian dances are shown.

Within the frontier regions, and especially in the Serbian villages, movie caravans arrive regularly with journals and books in the Serbian language.

The radio station "Romania Uibera" [Free Romania] and Radio Timisoara have two daily programs in the Serbian language.

The decisions of the leadership of our Party in connection with our international duty, like those of the other Communist and Workers' parties, to give all kinds of aid to the working class and the working peasantry from Yugoslavia, which is struggling for the bringing back of Yugoslavia in the

camp of socialism, are connected with 3 main sectors of work.

- a) The work with the Yugoslav political revolutionary emigres which reside in R.P.R
- b) The preparation and [the] crossing over our border into Yugoslavia of the propaganda material written against Tito's fascist dictatorship, and the providing of this material to the brotherly parties in the necessary quantities.
- c) The increased [numbers] of able cadres for the decisive struggle against Tito's fascist gang of espionage.

In this way, we will contribute to the intensification of the active struggle of the revolutionary elements both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside it, for the rebirth of the true communist party of Yugoslavia.

A.[sic] The Work with the Yugoslav Political Emigres in R.P.R

The work of our Party with the Yugoslav revolutionary political emigres has brought a number of successes. Even from the beginning, there was a warm reception of the revolutionary political emigres. They were given all the opportunities to organize and to take part in the active fight in the struggle against the band of Titoist spies.

With the aid of R.W.P., the revolutionary political emigres have engaged in political activity through the press, radio, conferences, and various cultural actions.

The R.W.P. base organization of the emigres has been organized and strengthened. They have started to live the party life, which has had an influence not only over those who have entered in the [Romanian] party, but also over the other revolutionary political emigres. In many [of them], one can observe the existence of important remnants of Titoist education, remnants which must be banished. Among them, there have been quarrels, unhealthy manifestations, unprincipled attitudes, gossip. The cause of all of these unhealthy manifestations is, in our opinion, the presence in the ranks of the emigres of a few Titoist elements (in part still undiscovered and, subsequently, not arrested) sent by Rancovich in R.P.R, just for the purpose of preventing the organization of the emigres, in order to sow reciprocal distrust among the emigres, and distrust toward the R W. P., and also to create a network of espionage and diversions. The most energetic emigres, who have proven themselves in the unmasking of Tito's fascist clique, produce the radio programs in the Serbian language, and the editing of the newspaper of the revolutionary political emigres, Under the Flag of Internationalism. The reading circles, the schools of cadres are arming them with the Marxist-Leninist theory for the struggle against the Titoist fascists and assassins.

The agitation work which is taking place, like the mass cultural-educational action, through conferences, artistic events, etc., are deepening the hatred toward the Yugoslav traitors and spies.

Undoubtedly, the work among the emigres has provided many positive results. But [there] are also deficiencies, the most important of which are the following:

- a) The revolutionary vigilance in the positive work among the political emigres has not been raised to the necessary level in order to discover and unmask in a timely fashion the Titoist agents and spies.
- b) The basic organization of the emigres has not conducted a sufficiently well-organized work of clarification for ensuring the political basis of the measures taken on the state line [i.e., by the state, as opposed to, for example, the party].

B.[sic] The spreading of the propaganda material written against the agency of Titoist spies.

The spreading of the newspaper of the Yugoslav revolutionary political emigres from U.S.S. R., For

a Socialist Yugoslavia, of the newspaper Under the Flag of Internationalism, and of the other newspapers of the Yugoslav political emigres which are published in other countries, such as Naprad and NovaBorba, and also the spreading of brochures and leaflets, printed at the time of the so-called elections in Yugoslavia, especially for illegal work, has recently been made more difficult as a consequence of the repressive measures [of the Yugoslav government].

The channels of spreading, like the overall quality of the diffused propaganda material, a propaganda material directed against Tito, has decreased to a large extent.

In addition to the material printed before November 1949, in November and December 1949, [we] have printed 375,500 copies of the brochures (reports and resolutions of the meeting of the Informative Bureau from November 1949, the report of comrade Malenkov from November 7, 1949, etc.).

In December [1949] and January [1950, we] have printed 283,000 copies of the brochures (the materials of the Meeting of the Informative Bureau, the articles of comrades Molotov, Malenkov, Yudin, Rossi, Poptomov, Popivoda, Golubovrch, etc.).

In February [1950], we have printed a total of 35,000 copies of the brochures (of com. [P.N.] Pospelov, Goro [Gero], Cogniot, etc.).

No brochure has been printed after February [1950], because not [all] of the brochures printed in January have been distributed.

In addition to this material, we have also distributed the materials printed in Moscow, and sent to us for spreading and distribution. During this period, there have arrived from U.S.S.R. 29,300 copies of the brochures (the Resolutions of the Informative Bureau, the indictment in the trial of Traicho Kostov), electoral leaflets, etc., and the newspaper For a Socialist Yugoslavia was distributed up to no. 33, the number of copies of each issue reaching from 11,900 to 15,000 copies.

They have retyped the electoral leaflets in 60,000 copies.

The newspaper of the Yugoslav revolutionary political emigres from R.P.R is published in 11,000 copies, and [there] have appeared 21 issues. We are dividing up and sending this material to the frontier area of R.P.R, in P.R Bulgaria, [the] Hungarian P. R, P. R Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, for [the purpose] of getting it into Yugoslavia.

We are sending material to Czechoslovakia and Poland only for the emigres who live there.

We are sending [the publications] to Austria irregularly and with interruptions.

The transportation of the anti-Titoist propaganda material into P. R. Albania has faced great difficulties during the past few months. On the basis of the indications received from the brotherly parties from the above-mentioned countries, we have reduced to a large extent the quantity of material sent to [the] Hungarian P.R and to P.R Bulgaria. Hungary has reduced her demands from 15,000 brochures received in November [1949] to 9,000. In P.R Bulgaria, on the basis of their requests, we are not sending any more brochures.

The transportation of the material over the Romanian-Yugoslav border has also faced great difficulties. Therefore, during the month of November [1949], we have spread 50,000 brochures, in December 60,000, in January [1950] 53,000, [and] in February 11,000.

To these quantities, [there] must be added 72,600 copies of the material printed in U.S.S.R and 32,000 copies from the newspaper Under the Flag of Internationalism.

With great sadness, we must note that generally speaking, the spreading of the anti-Titoist material was reduced to an important extent. For this reason, we were forced to reduce the number of

copies of the printed brochures, especially for the illegal work in Yugoslavia. We do not yet know precisely whether the material which has reached Yugoslavia is spread well among the large popular masses.

Conclusions:

In connection with this problem, our party has set for itself the following goals:

1) The general strengthening of the campaign against Tito's fascist clique and of its agents, against imperialist plots.

The strengthening of the organizational-political activity of the Party, the deepening of the work among the masses, for the tightening of the connections of the Party with the masses, for the development of patriotism among the working masses, and of the hatred against the imperialist world and of the terrorist regime from Yugoslavia; for the intensification of the revolutionary vigilance toward inimical displays, against the harmful nationalist, fascist elements, which are attempting to enter even in the ranks of the Party; the banishment of the deficiencies and of the main weaknesses in the fight against the inimical activities of the Yugoslav fascist spies. All of our party and state organs must think of themselves as being permanently mobilized on the front of the fight against the fascist spies, enemies of liberty and peace.

2) Especially in the border area, our working people must be ready to make any sacrifice in the struggle against the Titoist imperialist gang, which is permanently threatening the liberty, independence and sovereignty of our country.

All the measures taken will be strengthened through all means in accordance with the party and state line.

3) Special measures will be taken for the strengthening of the border region, and especially in connection with the problems of the Serbo-Croatian population in R. P. R. Titoist Yugoslavia was transformed into an imperialist base of the American imperialist aggressors - we are strengthening our country, because it must be an especially powerful base of the front of peace and of socialism.

4) The struggle against the Titoist gang, and of the fascist dictatorship placed on the throne by it, must include all the areas of the activities of the Party. We must not give the fascists any breathing space, we must not give them any day of rest.

The C.C. [of R.W.P.] will directly lead this fight and will coordinate [it]. For this purpose, the special sector [the secret police] will be strengthened.

Measures in connection with the duties of the fight for the revolutionary elements from Yugoslavia.

1. The measures in connection with the revolutionary political emigres from Yugoslavia:

The base organization of the emigres, which will ensure the direct leadership of the emigres, will be strengthened.

2. Measures in connection with the distribution of the material, prepared for the struggle against the Titoist gang of spies and assassins.

[It] is proposed [by the R.W.P. delegation]:

a) The improvement of the work of the spreading of the material over the Romanian-Yugoslav border. For this purpose, a project is elaborated which contains indications for the purpose of the reorganization for the purpose of ensuring the diffusion and the control of the usage of the material spread on the Yugoslav territory.

b) The brotherly parties from the countries through which the work of spreading was conducted must organize the necessary apparatus for the purpose of the strengthening of the activity of spreading [the propaganda in Yugoslavia].

c) Any connection of the Fascist-Titoist regime with foreign countries, any international contact must be transformed into a channel for the spreading of the material for the unmasking of the Tito-Rancovich gang, must be transformed into aid granted to the Yugoslav revolutionaries which are leading the masses to struggle against the fascist monsters.

The implementation of these proposals will attract the Communist parties from Europe to coordinated actions, and will intensify even more the work of spreading the materials, extending it over the entire territory of Yugoslavia, sold out by Tito to the imperialists. The material must come into the hands of the working people from Yugoslavia, so [that] it can be used for the overthrowing of Tito's fascist dictatorial regime.

Footnotes

[1] The "Serbo-Croatian population" was classified in the 1948 census by mother-tongue, which counted 45,447 speakers of the "Serbo-Croatian" language, which represented 0.3% of the population of the country, concentrated in the counties of Timis, Caras and Severin, which constituted the historical province of Banat.

[2] Referring to the September 1949 Hungarian trial of the Communist leader Laszlo Rajk in September 1949 together with a group of other Magyar Communists who had operated in the underground during World War II; and the December 1949 Bulgarian trial of Communist leader Traycho Kostov and various other Bulgarian senior economic and military administrators.

[3] Such measures included the denunciation of the railway convention of 1946, the forbidding of the access of Yugoslav vessels (to sail) on the Bega Canal (which connects Timisoara with the city of Zrenjanin [Petrovgrad] in the Yugoslav Banat), and restrictive measures against Yugoslav citizens found in Danubian ports.