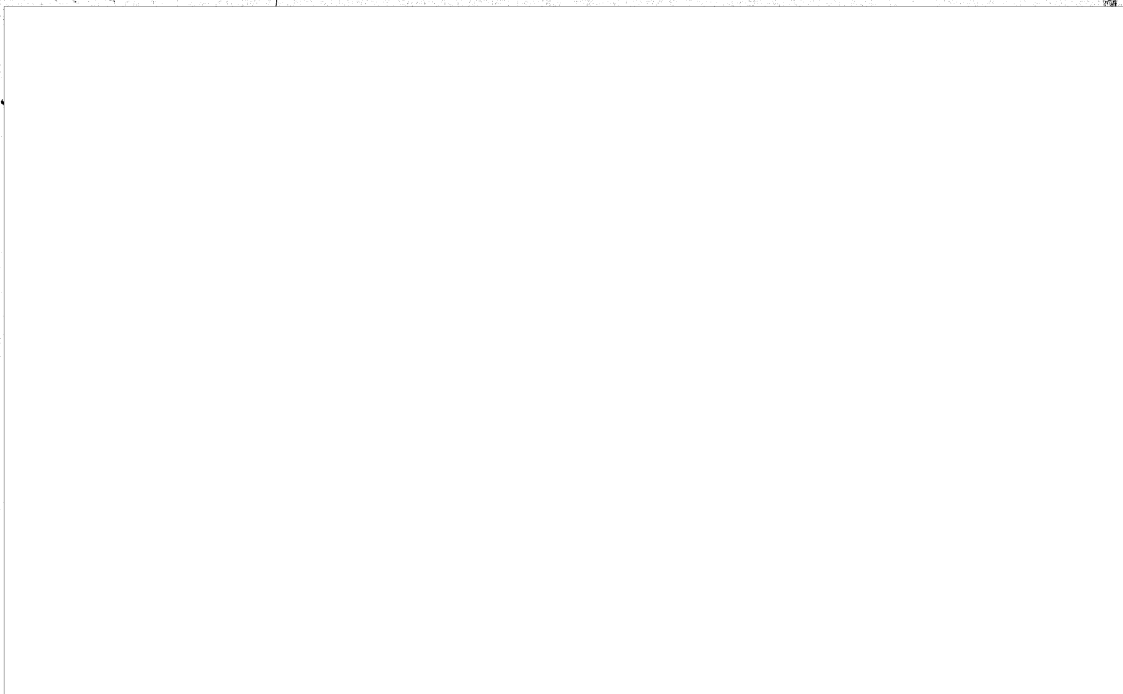
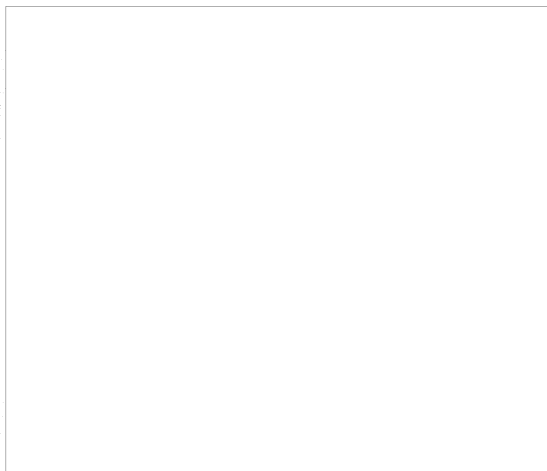


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Unites Industrial Workers and Farm Workers

Rabotnichesko Delo, Sofia, 1 Nov 1951



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**UNITES INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND FARM WORKERS**

-- Sofia, Rabotnichesko Delo, 1 Nov 51

The great Socialist October Revolution demonstrated to the communist parties that the victory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism are unthinkable and impossible without the creation of an indestructible militant union between the working class and the working peasants, under the guidance of the working class. Studying the history of the great Bolshevik Party, the Blagóev-Dimitrov Party carries on a determined struggle for the creative mastery of the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine and its application toward unity between the working class and the working peasants and struggles to acquire the ability to establish this union in Bulgaria.

The Soviet Union gave the Bulgarians a shining illustration of the principle that only on the solid basis of the union between the working class and the working peasants can a consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat be established and a socialist society be built.

The experiences with the people's democracy as a new form of proletarian dictatorship again proves with new vigor the truthfulness of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin of the enormous importance of the union between the working class and the working peasants in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

According to Georgi Dimitrov, during the period of the narrow socialist trend (tesnosotsialisticheskiya) in Bulgarian communism, the Bulgarian Communist Party was not following the concepts of Lenin concerning the union with the peasants and had not understood the role of the working peasants in the proletarian revolution

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and the building of a socialist society. This was one of the fundamental questions upon which narrow socialism differed in principle with Leninism and bolshevism. The attitude of the narrow socialists towards the peasants, so very different from the concepts of Leninism, explains a number of political mistakes of the BCP before the September uprising in 1923.

One of the principal objectives of the BCP for its total bolshevization, inspired and guided by Georgi Dimitrov in collaboration with Vasil Kolarov, was the struggle to introduce and apply bolshevist policy to the peasants and to achieve the militant union of the working class and the working peasants. The first decisive step in the establishment of this union was made by the BCP in the September uprising of 1923. In the fire of the common fights of Bulgarian workers and peasants and with the blood of thousands of dear ones who gave their lives during the September uprising of 1923 the militant union of the working class and the working peasants grew up and was consolidated. Grown wiser by the mistakes made on 9 June, the Revolutionary Committee of the BCP September uprising, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, came out with the slogan for the creation of a united front of the working people, the foundation of which was the union between the working class and the working peasants. The articles of Georgi Dimitrov on the united front, published in 1923, are the first important contribution to the struggle and the efforts of the BCP for introducing bolshevik policy for a union between the working class and the working peasants, without which there can be no victory of the proletariat or of socialism. Under the guidance of Georgi Dimitrov, the faithful student and associate of Lenin and Stalin, the BCP has always understood and expressly

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pointed out that the united front of the working class and peasants has nothing in common with the class collaboration advocated by some others. The united front represents the common, active struggle of the working people, under the guidance of the working class, for the attainment of a clearly defined fundamental objective -- the courageous and unified struggle against bourgeois reaction, fascism and the capitalist yoke.

During the entire period, from September 1923 to 9 September 1944, the BCP has maintained the struggle for the creative application of the Leninist-Stalinist teaching for union between the working class and the peasants and for the establishment and the strengthening of this union in Bulgaria. In the determined realization of this bolshevik concept, the BCP, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, had to carry on a ferocious and prolonged struggle against the influence exerted on the peasant problem by the social-democratic concepts of the narrow socialist wing, as well as against the left-wing Trotskyite concepts concerning the role of the peasantry and the Agrarian Union. The treacherous Trotskyite stand of the left-wing-sectarian faction, which had temporarily usurped the leadership of the BCP, is seen most clearly in the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the CC of the BCP, held in September 1933. The Plenum proclaimed the Agrarian Union and the Social Democratic Party were the principal enemies of the proletariat and the Party.

Under the hard conditions of fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria the united front of the working class and the peasantry transformed itself into a mass anti-fascist movement which directed its blows against capitalist and fascist reaction. As Vasil Kolarov declared:

"The union between communists and agrarians during the September 1923 uprising, and later the National Block, the National Front and

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the Fatherland Front, are all links in a chain of mass national struggles against fascism, the monarchy and the reaction -- struggles which were terminated by the decisive people's victory on 9 September 1944".

On the basis of the military victories of the Soviet Army and supported by the solid union between the Bulgarian workers and peasants -- before 9 Sept 44 -- a mass partisan movement developed in Bulgaria as a clenched fist against the Hitlerite occupants and the Bulgarian fascists. During the partisan struggle, which found support in the war of liberation being fought by the Soviet Army, the militant union became even more solid between the working class, which was guiding the anti-fascist fight, and the peasantry, who were actively supporting the fight.

The creation of the Fatherland Front during the anti-fascist struggle was the most vivid and realistic expression of the BCP's policy for a close union with the working peasants and all patriotic elements in cities and villages. The BCP and Georgi Dimitrov have always considered the Fatherland Front, under the guidance of the working class, to be a militant union of working people and patriotic elements among the Bulgarian people.

As a result of the victorious march of the Soviet Army against the Hitlerite occupants, on 9 September 1944 there emerged, victorious and triumphant, the policy of the BCP -- the policy of the salutary Fatherland Front -- the basis of which is the union between the working class and the working peasants.

After 9 September 1944 the BCP's policy of union between the working class and the peasantry became the cornerstone of its entire activity.

Guided by the teachings of Comrad Stalin concerning the unity

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of the working class and the working peasants, and borrowing from the rich and exemplary experience of the Soviet Union, the BCP set as one of its most important objectives the winning of the wholehearted cooperation of the working peasants -- poor and middle -- for the erection of a people's democratic state and for building socialism. At the Fifth Party Congress, the teacher and leader of the Bulgarians, Georgi Dimitrov, underlined the principle that the people's democratic state successfully fulfills the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the principal and fundamental conditions for consolidating the people's democracy in Bulgaria as a dictatorship of the proletariat is the consolidation and strengthening of the union between the working class and the working peasants. In accordance with the principle the main realization during the first years of Bulgarian development, after 9 September, was the consolidation of the Fatherland Front as a militant front of the working people, guided by the working class. Its role was to unite all working people and patriots within the people's democratic government. This objective was attained by the Party after a prolonged and bitter struggle to rout the reactionaries, Nikola Petkov and others, who were in opposition to the followers of Gemeto (Dr. Georgi Dimitrov), and to cleanse alien reactionary elements from the Fatherland Front.

As a result of this Party policy the reliable and honest leaders of the Agrarian Union became convinced of the error of class policy -- that an independent agrarian government is not a sound policy. Today, the Agrarian Union in Bulgaria plays an important part in attracting and winning over "to the cause of Bulgarian socialistic construction the peasants and working people

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who, by tradition, by their ideas and for other reasons, are closer to the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union than to the BCP" (an excerpt from the book On the Work of the Communist Party in the Village by Vulko Chervenkov, page 278, Publication of the BCP, 1951).

Inspired by its leader and teacher, the BCP waged and continues to wage an irreconcilable fight against every attempt and every aspiration to underestimate the importance of the Fatherland Front, and against the erroneous belief that the Fatherland Front has played its part and should, therefore, be liquidated. Such a belief and attitude can actually lead to undermining the Party policy for the union between the working class and the peasantry, as well as to an isolation of the Party from the large masses of the people.

It has been stressed many times by Georgi Dimitrov and Comrad Vulko Chervenkov that the union between the working class and the working peasants is the backbone of the Fatherland Front. Through that union the BCP leads the working peasants on the road to socialism, illustrating with its deeds the advantages of socialism as compared to their situation under capitalism.

Learning from Soviet experience, the Party consolidates the union between the working class and the working peasants in the process of realizing the extremely important objective of the socialist development of Bulgaria -- the socialist transformation of Bulgarian agriculture from its present small-scale, private and primitive position. The people's democratic state guides and assists farm workers' cooperatives. It creates a large network of machine-tractor stations, assigns and trains administrative

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personnel for farm workers' cooperatives, and extends varied financial and material support and political assistance to the working peasants who have joined farm workers' cooperatives. The development of farm workers' cooperatives is based on enlarging and strengthening the union between the working class and the working peasants. Farm workers' cooperatives are a rich and solid foundation for the active participation of working peasants in socialist construction and for transforming Bulgarian working peasants into hard-working members of socialist society. The cooperative labor movement cannot be successful without constant concrete work for consolidating the political and economic union between the working class and the working peasants.

Georgi Dimitrov has often stressed the fundamental Stalinist concept that the complete realization of a lasting economic union of the working class with the working peasants through the farm workers' cooperatives is feasible and possible only by absolute observance of the voluntary principle in cooperation. The Leninist-Stalinist principle for voluntary participation in farm workers' cooperatives requires diligent and regular work among the poor and middle peasants in Bulgaria to convince them of the advantages of farm workers' cooperatives over private farms. This is the only way the union between the working class and the working peasants for building socialist society can be permanently consolidated.

Each violation of the fundamental Leninist-Stalinist principle for the voluntary unity of working peasants in cooperatives undermines the union between the working class and the working peasants.

The Party is a resolute opponent of any kind of demagogy, any

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unrealistic or easy promises to the peasants or attempts to hide the difficulties which lie ahead on the road of Bulgarian socialist construction.

The Dimitrov trend of the Party's attitude towards the peasants was followed and developed further by Comrade Vulko Chervenkov. This policy was brilliantly expressed in his report before the Plenum of June 1949, before the Plenum of January 1950, before the Second National Conference of Farm Workers' Cooperatives, before the Plenum of October 1950, before the agitators of the BCP from the Sofia Orkug and before the Plenum of April 1951. The Party policy of permitting and enlarging the possibilities for the peasants to freely trade in surpluses of agricultural production is aimed at the establishment of a solid and lasting union between the working class and the working peasants and between the People's Government and the peasants. As a faithful and worthy continuator of the bolshevik policy of Georgi Dimitrov, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov has pointed out many times, and with great emphasis, that all mistakes and perversions of the Party Policy towards the poor and middle throughout the country are actually a blow at the union between the workers and the working peasants, and result in the obstruction and disruption of socialist construction in Bulgaria.

The struggle against the perversions and mistakes in local application of Party policy and in Party work for the organizational and economic consolidation of farm workers' cooperatives will result in the more extensive and complete winning over of the peasant masses for building socialism. The success of this Party policy depends greatly upon our attitude regarding the

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middle peasants and on our ability to win them over unreservedly for building socialism. The advice of Comrad Vulko Chervenkov must serve as a fundamental and guiding principle of the work in villages: "We must be extremely cautious not to treat the more prosperous middle peasants as though they were kulaks; we must also be careful not to proclaim working middle peasants kulaks because of their political opinions". The entire work and policy of the Party with respect to villages is founded upon the irrefutable bolshevik truth that the lasting and ever-strengthening union between the working class and the working peasants is the basis of the socialist state.

The Leninist-Stalinist teachings concerning the union between the working class and the working peasants reveals that the realization of this union is always connected with an irreconcilable class struggle against capitalist elements in villages, and against kulaks who exploit the labor of the working peasants.

Lenin and Stalin have often stressed that the class struggle gains strength during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and that "the task of fighting the kulaks cannot be separated from the task of reaching an agreement with the middle peasants, and these two tasks are inseparable from the task of transforming the poor into pillars of the Party in the village". (Stalin, Selected Works, Volume II, page 123)

In view of the present stage of the socialist transformation of the Bulgarian villages, Comrad Vulko Chervenkov draws the Party's attention to the fact that it must now direct the fire of the fight against illegal manifestations and acts, that is to say, against kulak sabotage activity. At present the BCP enforces a

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policy of localizing and eliminating the kulaks as a class by using a whole series of legal measures. This is one of the conditions for the organizational, economic and political consolidation of farm workers' cooperatives, for strengthening and extending the union between the working class and the working peasants and for the more rapid building of socialism in Bulgaria.

Under the existing conditions of the people's democratic state the union of the working class with the working peasants is not and cannot be a political union exclusively. This union forms the basis for building the entire policy and activity of the people's state. The union of the working class with the working peasants is enlarged and strengthened in an irreconcilable class struggle with the kulak, who is the deadly enemy of the poor peasants and of socialism.

In building the union of the working class and the peasants the Party has always been guided principally by the interests of the working class. The principal and most important interests of the workers and the working peasants under the regime of the people's democratic government coincide and they will coincide even more. Both classes are equally interested in strengthening the friendship of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, in Bulgarian independence, in the fight for a lasting peace, in the struggle for the industrialization of the country, in the socialist transformation of agriculture and in eliminating the exploitation of man by man. The fact that certain contradictions exist between the interests of the people's democratic state and the interests of the peasants as private owners cannot and must not be overlooked. As pointed

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out by Comrade Chervenkov, the peasant, as a private owner, is interested in selling more on the free market and at higher prices, without considering that he may harm the interests of the state and the working class.

But these contradictions are not hostile and do not have the antagonistic character possessed by the contradictions between the kulaks on one hand and the working class and the working peasants on the other. Comrade Stalin points out that the policy for building socialism in the Soviet Union comes from Lenin's teachings on the mutuality of the principal interests of the working peasants and the working class, and on the overcoming of certain secondary contradictions between the working class and the working peasants. Comrade Stalin says: "The main problem now is to unite the middle peasants around the proletariat and to win them over again. The main problem now is to unite ourselves with the basic peasant masses, to raise their material and cultural standards and to march ahead on the road to socialism with these basic masses." (Stalin, Selected Works, Volume 7, page 103)

According to this concept of Stalin's, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov strongly attacks the erroneous and harmful conception that a sharp class struggle supposedly exists between the working class and the working peasants. On the contrary, Comrade Chervenkov emphasizes that the Party must stress and point out that which is "mutual between the working class and the working peasants, which predominates over the contradictions existing between them. Under the regime of socialist rule these contradictions are surmountable and, towards that end, the total policy

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of the People's Government and the Communist Party is directed." (V. Chervenkov, "An Answer to Comrade T. Pavlov," published in the magazine Novo Vreme, Volume 9, page 23, 1951)

The important task before the Bulgarian Communists is explaining to the peasants that their fundamental and lasting interests as hard working members of society coincide with the interests of the working class and the state, and that all measures of the government recall this mutuality of interests.

The complete unity between the workers and the working peasants is realized constantly and concretely in the work of the people's soviets, which are organs of the working masses for their direct participation in the governing body of the people's state. The ability of people's soviets to obtain the collaboration of the masses to such a large degree in their work and to secure their individual contribution and initiative convinces the workers and peasants that the people's democratic state is their own state. Each measure of the People's Government, such as grain deliveries, consolidating machine-tractor stations, state grain purchasing, communal construction, et cetera, strengthens and consolidates the union between the working class and the working peasants. Each measure of the Party and the People's Government for carrying out the policy in the village is an excellent way for joining the working peasants to the State, headed by the working class, and for overcoming the old private-ownership psychology of the working peasants, transforming them into peasant-collectivists, high conscientious of state discipline and with respect for public property, and for transforming them into hard working members of the socialist society. For that reason we must never forget the

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words of Comrade Chervenkov, that the union of the working class and peasants is consolidated and strengthened by the campaign for grain deliveries, by state economic assistance to the peasants and by the policy of mechanizing agriculture.

The resolutions of the January, October and April Plenums of the CC of the BCP and a number of exceptionally important decrees of the Government and the Party concerning the villages are aimed at the principal objective of continually consolidating the union between the working class and the working peasants in the name of socialist victory in Bulgaria. These Party resolutions help to correct certain perversions of the Party's policy regarding the village which are permitted to occur in some parts of the country. They help in creating a solid and extensive basis for consolidating the union between the working class and the working peasants, in strengthening the economy and organization of farm workers' cooperatives, and in encouraging socialist labor competition among the working peasants for higher yields and for exemplary fulfillment of their obligations to the People's Government.

The BCP gave an inviolable pledge in memory of its great teacher and leader, Georgi Dimitrov, that it would safeguard and develop with all its energy the union between the working class and the working peasants in Bulgaria. To maintain and to pursue the fulfillment of this sacred order of the immortal teacher means that we must engage in an all-around struggle for the organizational, economic and political consolidation of farm workers' cooperatives so that the building of socialism in Bulgaria will sooner be completed.

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