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Bulgarian Communist Party Activities

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COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES -- Sofia, Novo Vreme, Feb - Jul 1951

POLITICAL AGITATION (pp 21-36 -- Feb)

The Bulgarian Communist Party, the Party of Georgi Dimitrov, is a directing and guiding force in the People's democratic state of Bulgaria. Its mission is to mobilize and direct the efforts of all the working people in the struggle to build Socialism, the struggle to fulfill the state plans for the economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The tempos at which the country moves forward along the road to Socialism depend to a very large extent on the activeness and political awareness of the broad masses of the workers. Back in 1920 the great Lenin said: "The more thoroughgoing the transformation which we want to accomplish, the more we must arouse interest in and conscientious attention towards it and see that new millions and tens of millions of people are convinced of the necessity of such a transformation". (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, volume XXVI, page 33)

The duty of steadily increasing the political consciousness of the broad masses of the workers derives from the actual character of the People's democratic regime. In contrast to all the societies opposed to it, in which the laws of social development work in a disorganized way, under the conditions of the Soviet and the People's democratic regime the workers, under the guidance of the Communist Party, consciously build up their own lives and a bright future for the young generations. Socialist consciousness accelerates the

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progress of the People's democratic state along the road to Socialism and increases the sources of its strength and might. In 1919 Lenin wrote: "The main source of our strength is the consciousness and heroism of the workers, whom the working peasants cannot fail to sympathize with and support.

"The reason for our victories lies in the direct contact of our Party and the Soviet Government with the masses of the workers and in their explanation to them of the future difficulties and tasks confronting them, and in their skill in explaining to the masses why all-out efforts have been made now in one direction, now in another, at any given moment; in lies their skill in bringing about an increase in the energy, heroism, and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating the revolutionary efforts on the most important immediate objectives." (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, volume XXIV, page 532)

The experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevist) shows that the Party can successfully attract and guide the workers in the struggle to build Socialism when it employs the method of persuasion in its work with the masses as the principal means of explaining the policy followed by the Party. "To be able to lead," says Comrade Stalin, "means to be able to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy and to be able to coin and implement slogans which make the masses accept the Party's stand and help them discover, on the basis of their own experience, the correctness of the Party's policy." By explaining the Party's policy to the workers and convincing them of its

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correctness, the Party organizations mobilize the workers for a determined struggle for successful accomplishment of the tasks connected with the building of Socialism.

The great successes that have been achieved since 9 September 1944 in the Socialist transformation of Bulgaria and especially in the field of agriculture are due to the fact that the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), following the wise instructions of Comrade Georgi Dimitrov and guided by Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, has been, and is now, devoting a great amount of attention to the Socialist indoctrination of the workers, convincing them painstakingly of the correctness of the Party's policy and mobilizing them to work and struggle conscientiously for its implementation.

The agitation activity carried on by the Party and Fatherland Front organizations plays an enormous part in increasing the Socialist consciousness of the country's workers and in strengthening the ties between the Party and the masses. Back in 1906 Comrade Stalin pointed out that "one of the principal weapons of the Party everywhere at all times is agitation." (I. V. Stalin, Collected Works, volume 1, page 274)

The BCP always has given and is now giving special attention to political agitation.

The Fifth Party Congress and then the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (CC of the BCP) made it obligatory for the Party organizations to strengthen their agitation staffs and to see that there was constant ex-

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planatory work on a more extensive scale with regard to the international and internal situation of Bulgaria, the Party and Government resolutions and decrees, the yearly economic plan, and the most important local measures.

The June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party branded as utterly incorrect and un-Bolshevist the idea that leadership means administration and emphatically stressed the necessity of adopting the method of persuasion as the principal way of exerting the leadership of the Party over the workers. The Third Party Conference pointed out the necessity of stepping up political agitation in the villages because of the accelerated tempo of the Socialist transformation of agriculture. In his report before the Third Party Conference, Comrade V. Chervenkov summed up the great experience that had been gained in the field of political agitation and pointed out its principal defects.

"The main weakness of Party agitation," said Comrade Chervenkov, "lies in the fact that it is not as yet linked up closely enough with the actual problems of building Socialism in Bulgaria, with the fulfillment of the production plans, with the decrees of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on these questions, with an always correct and convincing explanation of these problems, and with the mobilization of the population for their implementation."

When they went about implementing the resolutions of the Fifth Party Congress, the June Plenum, and the Third Party Conference, the Party organizations achieved considerable successes in their mass agitation work among the workers. An enormous

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agitation staff was organized in the Party and the Fatherland Front. Great successes were achieved in the work of overcoming the principal weakness pointed out in Comrade V. Chervenkov's report to the Third Party Conference. After the Third Party Conference the mass agitation work of the Party organizations, especially those in villages, was more closely tied in with the concrete and militant problems of the building of Socialism, to wit, the fulfillment of the plan for compulsory grain deliveries and for the autumn sowing, the mass enrollment of the poor and the middle peasants in farm workers' cooperatives in the principal grain-producing rayons of Bulgaria, the struggle for high agricultural yields and high productivity in stock-raising, and the full subscription of the state loan for the development of the national economy.

Linking up political agitation with the concrete problems posed by the building of Socialism improves its hard-hitting and effective nature of the former. The big successes achieved in 1950 in the mass enrollment of the poor and the middle class peasants in farm workers' cooperatives, the successful fulfillment of the national economic plan for 1950, and the oversubscription in an exceptionally short time of the state loan are due to a large extent to the extensive mass agitation work carried on by the primary Party organizations.

"Thanks to excellent agitation work we have been able to unite all the farmers, except the kulaks, in the farm workers' cooperatives," says the agitator Dimko Nedev of Suvatkite, Burgas Okoliya. "We have convinced ourselves," says the secretary

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of the Party organization at the "9 September" Plant, Comrade Kiril Apostolov, "that the plans cannot be fulfilled without mass agitation work. Persuasion has become our regular method of leading."

Notwithstanding its great achievements, the mass agitation activity of the Party organizations is still less than what is required in order to cope with the problems posed by the accelerated tempos with which Bulgaria is marching along the road to Socialism.

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The main task confronting the Party organizations in the field of political agitation at present is that of generally raising its ideological level and increasing its effectiveness. This is made all the more necessary by the great tasks which the workers of the country face in the fulfillment of the intensive state plan for the development of the national economy in 1951.

In order to mobilize the efforts of the masses of the workers for successful fulfillment of the 1951 plan, it is necessary to carry mass political work on a grand scale to explain the measures prescribed by the plan and to mobilize the workers, the working peasants, and the national intelligentsia for the struggle to fulfill it.

At the conference held in February 1950 by the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party with the secretaries of the okrug and okoliya Party

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committees and economic managers, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov said:

"The following three conditions are of the utmost importance in assuring the fulfillment of the plan:

"First, every okrug, every okoliya, every municipality, every village, every enterprise, etc., must be acquainted with the plan.

Second, the plan must be well explained to the workers, the peasants, and all the working population.

Third, all the working people must be mobilized to work for the fulfillment of the plan." (V. Chervenkov, "Following the Road of Georgi Dimitrov", page 421)

The Party, trade union, youth, and Fatherland Front organizations must explain daily to the workers that it is on their efforts and on the conscientious and tireless labor of each Bulgarian citizen that the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1951 plan, the consolidation of the People's democratic state, and the continuing increase in the material welfare of the workers depend.

The function of political agitation is to render skillfully in practical terms and in everyday language the appeals of the Party and to point out how the successes of the entire country depend, on the successes of every okrug, every okoliya, every enterprise and farm workers' cooperative, and on the successes of each individual worker. All this requires that political agitation be more closely linked with the militant

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problems of Socialist construction, that political significance be attached to each obligation and each production task of the workers, and that the work of each of them be linked up with the country's great objective, Communism. Only in this way will the workers be spurred on and inspired to work heroically for the glory of the Fatherland and good of the people.

The principal objective of the political agitation carried on by the Party organizations in the industrial enterprises is to mobilize the working class for a relentless struggle to achieve a strict regime of economy, to make a maximum reduction of production costs, to stop the waste of state and cooperative property, to assist in the introduction of the experiences of the Soviet stakhanovites and the Bulgarian shock workers, and to publicize the new methods extensively and introduce them widely in industry and transportation.

The political agitation conducted by the Party organizations at the farm workers' cooperatives, the state farms, the machine-tractor stations, and the villages must mobilize the working peasants and the workers in agriculture for the fulfillment of the plan for the spring sowing, for the fulfillment of the plan for compulsory state deliveries ahead of time, for a struggle for high yields, for organizational and economic consolidation of the farm workers' cooperatives, and help in publicizing widely the highly patriotic initiative of the peasants in Lom Okoliya. One unalterable objective of political agitation at the farm workers' cooperatives is to instill in the members there a new attitude towards state and cooperative property and

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towards work on these farms. Political agitation in the villages must contribute to the Socialist transformation of agriculture by patiently convincing the poor and the middle peasants of the advantages of the farm workers' cooperatives.

The effectiveness of agitation depends to a large extent on how far it is directed against the defects in the work, against slowdowns and perfunctory performance of work, and against the display of an unsocialist attitude towards labor and towards state and cooperative property; it depends on the degree to which this agitation is directed towards unmasking the anti-national activity and agitation of the kulaks in the villages and the capitalist remnants in the cities. To agitate, says Comrade Stalin, means not merely to convince but also to unmask.

This statement of Comrade Stalin's is of special significance for Bulgaria at present, for the remnants of capitalism in the cities have not been liquidated yet, and the resistance of the kulaks in the villages to the measures of the Party and the Government has not as yet been crushed, and they are carrying on a rabid agitation against the People's government. It is to be regretted that many agitators, and especially those in the villages, not only forget this fact but often in carrying out economic campaigns themselves fall victims to kulak agitation. It is clear that such agitators cannot mobilize the workers for a struggle to fulfill the economic plans, a struggle to overcome difficulties. Their agitation work cannot be effective and successful, and such agitators cannot be permitted to fill these important positions.

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It is the agitators' duty to point out to the workers the enormous successes that the country is achieving in the struggle to build Socialism. Every new plant, every new achievement in the field of agriculture strengthens the faith of the people in the correctness of the Party's policy and increases their readiness to make sacrifices and work hard in the name of that policy. The agitators must demonstrate the immeasurable advantages of the Soviet state and the people's democracies over the capitalist states; they must explain to the workers the enormous economic and political achievements of the USSR, of Bulgaria, and of the people's democracies and the constant decline of the economy and culture of the capitalist countries; they must increase the patriotism of the workers and their justifiable pride that they live and work in People's democratic Bulgaria, and augment their hatred for the misanthropic policy of the Anglo-American imperialists.

One of the more important defects in the mass agitation work of many Party organizations is their failure to give sufficient publicity to the achievements of Bulgaria, the USSR, and the people's democracies; not enough publicity is being given to the new Communist construction projects in the USSR, namely the Turkmenian and the Crimean canals, which will transform nature in the USSR and which are unparalleled in the history of mankind. These projects reveal the prospects of mighty Communist construction program and, as was pointed out by Comrade Stalin in his interview with a Pravda correspondent, underline the peaceful policy of the USSR. Announcements of the construction of big new

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plants and electric power plants here in Bulgaria and of the important successes achieved in the collectivization of agriculture are not adequately used, nor is enough use made of the announcements of the State Planning Commission on the fulfillment of the quarterly and yearly plans for giving the workers some conception of the progress of Socialist development in Bulgaria.

Not enough subjects are taken up by the agitators with the workers, and the ideological level of their talks and lectures is still low.

It is frequently the case at many enterprises that political agitation is not closely enough related with problems of the national economy. The talks and lectures given by the agitators at many enterprises deal with general political subjects and have no connection with the militant objectives of the economic plan. On the other hand, some go to the other extreme in their political agitation work and do not go far enough afield in their treatment of practical problems. The agitators in the villages are especially guilty of this, for when they explain the decrees of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers on the spring and the autumn sowing campaigns and the compulsory state deliveries, they do not dwell on the interests of the state as a whole and they do not bring out the connection between the sowing campaigns and the compulsory state deliveries on the one hand and the fulfillment of the 1951 plan and the struggle to build Socialism on the other. All this greatly lowers the ideological level and the effectiveness of political agitation. The principal weakness in political agitation

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pointed out by Comrade V. Chervenkov before the Third Party Conference, namely the failure to connect it with the specific problems of Socialist construction and the militant objectives of the workers, has not been remedied as yet. The root of this weakness in political agitation is to be found in the fact that the okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees devote very little attention to mass agitation work and that they carry it on in an unsatisfactory manner in the Socialist sector of the national economy, that is, at enterprises, construction projects, machine tractor stations, state farms, farm workers' cooperatives, cooperatives, etc., without tailoring it to the individual needs of each of these. Political agitation was carried on until recently mainly by sections and blocks where the Party organizations feel more at home because of their experiences during the election campaigns. Small wonder, then, that political agitation at enterprises and farm workers' cooperatives, and especially at machine tractor stations and state farms is unsatisfactory and that the Party organizations depend mainly on the administrative methods of leadership. At Sofia, Stalin, Plovdiv, etc., mass agitation work is carried on mainly by city sections, and at many enterprises, machine tractor stations, and state farms certain forms of agitation such as the group talks and the group readings of newspapers have not been taken up. Most of the agitation groups at farm workers' cooperatives have not been reorganized but continue to exist and work as agitation groups set up on a territorial basis. At many farm workers' cooperatives in Vratsa, Stalin, and other okrugs this reorganization is only a formal one and exists only on paper. The majority of agitators do not

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agitate in the brigade or squad in which they work. They continue to carry on their agitation work and hold group talks by blocks and sections, and therefore their agitation does not contribute to the economic and organizational strengthening of the farm workers' cooperatives. It is not just by accident, then, that the charter of a farm workers' cooperative is not explained to the members and that crude violations of the charter are permitted while the agitators do nothing to remedy the situation.

A glaring example of such unsatisfactory work is the activity of the agitators at Banitsa, Vratsa Okoliya. At first glance the agitation group in the village appears to be doing exemplary work, for the agitators receive instructions every week (on Friday), group talks are held regularly with the peasants, and each decree of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and each new international development are explained to the working peasants. However, the agitation is general in nature, since the agitation group has not been reorganized, and the agitators do not work by brigades and squads but by blocks, and they do not point out the specific tasks which the decree of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the economic plan, and the charter of the farm workers' cooperative set for each brigade, each squad, and each member.

Thus it is that the political agitation work of the Party organizations is effective only during large-scale political and economic campaigns. The rest of the time either there is no agitation at all or it is general, stereotyped, ineffective, and not at all connected with the specific tasks of the workers.

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This makes it mainly campaign-type of agitation.

The main responsibility for these defects in political agitation falls on the Party's okrug, okoliya, and municipal committees, which as a rule underestimate the importance of political agitation in the accomplishment of the everyday tasks for the successful fulfillment of the plan and do not appreciate the great importance of political agitation in increasing the Socialist consciousness of the workers in the cities and villages. What other explanation is there than underestimation of the role of political agitation for the fact that when the new endeavors were being organized in agriculture and industry, that is, when specific pledges were being given to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, there was no extensive explanatory work in some of the okoliyas of the Stalin Okrug (Provadiya and Stalin city) and in Turnovo Okoliya (until the okrug Party committee intervened) to make the workers realize that the pledges were for their benefit? The okoliya and municipal Party committees work predominantly with the secretaries of the primary Party organizations, the chairmen of the farm workers' cooperatives, and the brigade leaders and do not take the necessary measures to instill in the workers themselves the desire to work and struggle conscientiously for the fulfillment of the pledges.

The Khaskovo Okoliya committee of the Party did excellent work in this respect by carrying on extensive mass agitation work among the farm workers' cooperatives' members and individual farmers in connection with collection of the pledges to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov to increase cotton yields.

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The experience of the Sofia Municipal Party organization shows very clearly the force and the effectiveness of political agitation. In 1950 eight of the largest enterprises in the capital were lagging behind in the fulfillment of the plan, including the "9 September" Shoe Plant, the Machine Plant, the "Georgi Dimitrov" Textile Factory, "Tekstilna slava" (Textile Glory), "Almus", "Tigur", etc. The administrators of these enterprises declared that it was impossible to fulfill the plan. But after strong measures were taken by the municipal and the rayon Party committees to improve the Party's political work and increase the effectiveness of agitation, the impossible became possible. During the last months of 1950 these enterprises overfulfilled their monthly plans.

Daily improvement of the political agitation work of the Party organizations at enterprises, construction projects, farm workers' cooperatives, machine tractor stations, and state farms, and its adaptation to specific tasks are decisive factors in the successful fulfillment of the pledge given by the workers to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1951 economic plan and for the constant growth of the socialist consciousness of the workers.

The force and the effectiveness of political agitation depend to a large degree on the initiative shown by the bureaus of the primary Party organizations and on their ability to provide proper leadership for the mass agitation work among the workers, so that each enterprise, farm workers' cooperative, and each village will be in a position to solve the specific problems

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confronting it. An excellent example of this is the work of the bureau of the Party organization at the "9 September" Shoe Plant, which is not satisfied only with the instructions received from the Dimitrov Rayon Party committee but itself selects important questions related to the fulfillment of the plant's plan and sees that the agitators are receiving proper instruction on them so that they can give talks to groups or individuals. For instance Shop No 5 was unable to fulfill the plan after 1 January 1951. The agitators and the Party secretary at the shop looked for the causes for the non-fulfillment of the plan. The Party bureau asked the shop foreman to instruct the agitators. The latter talked about the problem of labor discipline in the shop, the necessity of eliminating unwarranted absences during January, and the need for a strict regime of economy. After group and individual talks with the workers, the shop plan began to be fulfilled. In order to explain the state plan for the development of the national economy during 1951 and the individual plan for the plant the agitators have been making talks in shops and brigades, and at these meetings the workers have made many valuable suggestions which will aid the fulfillment of the plant plan. The Party bureau has adopted the practice of sending the best agitators to the sections which are lagging behind so that they can give talks on the spot before groups of workers or individuals.

It is to be regretted that there are few examples of similar activity. Most of the Party organizations at the enterprises and in the villages do not show enough initiative, and their mass agitation work is concentrated chiefly around

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special days of the year and the general campaigns and does not cover the specific problems connected with the fulfillment of the monthly plan. The main reason for this is that the okrug, okoliya, municipal, and rayon Party committees and also the bureaus of the primary Party organizations still do not feel enough responsibility for the fulfillment of the economic plans, they do not take measures from the start for extensive mass political work in order to assure the fulfillment of these plans, and they still rely on and apply the condemned method of administering and commanding.

It is impossible to mobilize the city and village workers for enthusiastic and devoted efforts to fulfill and overfulfill the plan for 1951 successfully unless these defects are eliminated and unless the Party organizations conduct extensive mass agitation work closely connected with the specific problems of the plan of each enterprise, farm workers' cooperative, machine-tractor station, state farm, or village. "The essence of our program," says Comrade Stalin, "is the human beings, we and you, our will to work, our readiness to work with new methods, and our resolve to fulfill the plan."

The political agitation conducted by the Party organizations must satisfy the increased and many-sided interests of the workers in international events and in the constantly intensifying fight of the nations for a lasting peace.

The Party organizations must stress the indissoluble

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connection between the struggle to fulfill the 1951 plan and the fight for peace, and they must explain to the workers that the progress of national economy increases Bulgaria's political and economic might and strengthens the powerful camp of peace and democracy.

It is necessary to explain every day the policy of the camp of peace, headed by the great USSR, to point out to the workers the unceasing growth of the forces of peace and democracy, their invincible might, and their achievements, to unmask passionately the misanthropic plans of the instigators of a new war, led by the US, and to point out their failures and the increasing opposition in the imperialist countries themselves to the policy of the ruling circles.

Comrade Stalin's interview with a correspondent of Pravda provides a powerful new weapon for unmasking the aggressive policy of the Anglo-American imperialists and for proving that a new World War is not inevitable if the nations of the world espouse the cause of preserving the peace and support it to the end. Comrade Stalin stated the peaceful policy of the great USSR with new force and exposed the base slanders of the instigators of a new war about the supposed war preparations of the USSR. This interview arms the agitators with new weapons for explaining international events, the peaceful policy of the USSR, and the inevitable defeat of the American imperialists in Korea, unless they accept the proposal of the Chinese People's Republic for the peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

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The agitators must point out the inevitable doom of the capitalist system, which cannot be avoided either by rabid war propaganda or by aggressive actions. The agitators must expose the treachery of Tito's fascist gang and its criminal designs for starting a war in the Balkans.

Correct presentation and analysis of international events inspire the workers with confidence in the invincible might of the camp of peace and the inevitable failure of the aggressive plans of the war camp and increase the readiness of the working class, the working peasants, and the national intelligentsia to work calmly and unstintingly to promote Bulgaria's prosperity and to build Socialism in the country. It is to be regretted that the Party organizations do not devote enough efforts to explaining international events. In the border okoliyas of Vratsa, Sofia, and Botevgrad okrugs there is not a constant, concrete, and well-reasoned agitation to expose the crimes of Tito's fascist gang. Such agitation as there is to explain international events is carried on only sporadically and during campaigns.

Over-all improvement of the explanatory work among the workers is an important duty of the Party organizations and the agitators and is one of the most important requirements if the workers are to be mobilized successfully for a struggle to fulfill the 1951 plan.

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The ideological level and the effectiveness of political agitation depend mainly on the agitators, their selection, and their training. Even if the subjects of the talks and the reports are well chosen, the audience will not be inspired by them if the agitator does not manage to present them in a satisfactory way. An agitator has to encounter the most varied sorts of questions which closely concern the workers, and he must be prepared to come out with satisfactory answers. For this reason the proper selection of agitators is of great importance in increasing the effectiveness of agitation.

At the Third Party Conference Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, speaking on this subject, said: "The Party's objective in the field of agitation is as follows: to strengthen the explanatory and agitation work among the population and make it to the point, specific, and militant; to select for this work the best men in the Party, who by word and deed are best qualified to lead the masses." (V. Chervenkov, "On the Agitation and Mass Political Work of the Bulgarian Communist Party, page 71)

This is not the case in the selection of agitators in a number of Party organizations. In a number of places the agitators are selected from among the persons who are free from other duties, and the activists of the primary Party organizations do not enter the agitation groups of the Party and the Fatherland Front. Very often, especially in the villages, during the time of big country-wide campaigns the Party organizations actually replace the selected agitators with activists of the primary Party organizations, who, after the termination of the

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campaign, cease to engage in agitation work. The fact that in some places even illiterate persons have been selected as agitators shows the formalistic approach to that problem. What explanation is there for the fact that there are seven illiterate persons on the staff of the agitation groups at the enterprises in the Party's Sixth Sofia Rayon? As was pointed out by Comrade V. Chervenkov in his report to the October Plenum, the improper selection of the agitators becomes evident when many of them during the economic campaigns for the sowing, state deliveries, etc., fail to set proper personal examples themselves and do not even fulfill their own delivery quotas. Just how convincing the agitation work of such agitators is <sup>(15)</sup> well known.

The Party organizations must remember that the agitators have been assigned a responsible and an honorable task, that of explaining the Party's policy to the workers. The agitators must be tested and trained Communists and non-Party men, who are qualified not only by words but also by deeds to lead the workers in the struggle to implement the Party's policy.

It is necessary to enroll in agitation work at enterprises, farm workers' cooperatives, state farms, and the villages professionals such as engineers, agronomists, technicians, foremen, etc., and also shock workers and prize winners in agriculture. The participation of the professional workers and the best shock workers from industry and agriculture raises the ideological level of agitation, stresses the role of personal example in agitation and explanatory work, and contributes greatly to the general improvement of the explanatory work on the concrete problems of

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Socialist development in Bulgaria.

The example of the Party organization at the Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant in Dimitrovgrad in the selection of agitators is outstanding. Here there was a reorganization of the agitation groups and an improvement in the choice of agitators after the resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the improvement of Party political work. The agitation group there now includes the plant director, shop chiefs, and five other engineers, 21 technicians, master-workmen, and shock workers, in a word, the entire body of Party and trade union activists. As a result of the explanatory work done there, the workers at the construction project did not absent themselves from their work during January, and the plan for January was overfulfilled.

An important condition for raising the ideological level of the agitation work is the participation of the leading Party workers in it.

In his report to the Third Party Conference, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov said: "We call on the Communists and, above all, the leading Party workers in the okoliya and the okrug to take part personally in the political explanatory work in the villages, the farm workers' cooperatives, and the enterprises, to give lectures and make reports there . . .

"The leaders of the Party organizations and the secretaries of the okoliya and okrug Party committees and of the primary Party organizations must themselves be the best and most zealous agitators

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in our Party and must serve as examples of workers of the Dimitrov type."

It must be admitted that with few exceptions the Party administrators do not engage directly in agitation work. They seldom give talks or make reports to the workers and seldom set a personal example of persuasive and well-reasoned agitation work. And yet this is one of the most important duties of the Party workers.

In order that the Party agitators may be able to carry out their honorable duties successfully, the Party organizations must take systematic measures to improve the agitators' ideo-political background. Providing the agitators with a correct explanation of the subjects on which they are to talk, including Party policy and the decrees of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers, is the responsibility of the okoliya, municipal, and rayon Party committees and the bureaus of the primary Party organizations. But this is far from being enough.

Just recently, in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, three-month courses have been started throughout the country for agitators at enterprises, farm workers' cooperatives, machine tractor stations, and state farms. The short-term okoliya and municipal courses to train the lecturers for the local three-month agitators' courses have been terminated successfully throughout the country. In a number of okoliyas, including Mikhaylovgrad, Pavlikeni, etc., the responsible officials did not make a right selection of persons

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to attend the okoliya courses, and in some others, such as Silistra Okoliya, not enough persons attended the courses. The okoliya, okrug, and municipal Party committees now have the responsibility of seeing to the successful promotion of the local three-month courses for the agitators of assuring the regular attendance of all of them from enterprises, offices, villages, farm workers' cooperatives, state farms, and machine tractor stations, and of seeing that the classes, both lectures and talks, are conducted at a high ideological level.

In certain rayons of Sofia, such as the Chervenkov Rayon, the Sixth Rayon, and others, seminar classes and courses for the agitators have now been held in which pamphlets of the Soviet "Agitators' Library" have been used. The Party organizations' work to improve the agitators' ideo-political background is unsatisfactory. The agitators are put through the Party's regular training system, but that is not sufficient, for they do not become acquainted there with the methodology of agitation work. The experiences of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevist) Party are not utilized satisfactorily. In the USSR, along with the special courses and seminars for agitators, there are rayon conferences of agitators at least once every two months, at which leading Party workers read reports on the most important resolutions of the Party and the Government and on the international and internal situation of the USSR.

Of decisive importance in raising the ideological level and effectiveness of political agitation is a constant improvement in the guidance furnished by the Party to the agitators,

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the local press, and all organizations engaged in political and cultural education work among the workers.

Mass agitation work among the people is an integral part of the many-sided activity of the Party organizations. The successes achieved in economic and cultural work depend to a large extent on the improvement of agitation activity among the workers.

In his report to the Third Party Conference, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov said: "If our agitators received daily guidance from the Party committees, if they received their instructions on time, if they were able to give a good explanation of the resolutions of the Party and the Government to the people everywhere and at all times, and if they could convince the people of the correctness and importance of these resolutions, then we would be able to move mountains." (Bulko Chervenkov, "On the Agitation and Mass Political Activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party" page 63)

The Party organizations are duty-bound to give the agitators daily guidance and to help raise their ideo-political level. It is of prime importance in the guidance given the agitators by the okoliya, municipal, and rayon Party committees to give regular instructions, not less than once a month, to the leaders of the agitation groups, that is, the secretaries of the primary Party organizations, on current political events and economic objectives and to hold periodic municipal and rayon conferences with all the agitators, with the reading of reports there by the leading Party workers on important decisions of the

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Party and the Government. At the okrug and okoliya Party Plenums and at the rayon conferences which were held recently, the Party administrations were rightly criticized for the unsatisfactory and inadequate assistance which they were giving the agitators and the leaders of the agitation groups and for their infrequent and irregular issuance of instructions, which gives the agitation activity a campaign character.

The okoliya committees in Ruse and Stalin okrugs provide unsatisfactory guidance for the agitators, seldom issue instructions to them, and do not devote sufficient attention to their training. The okrug Party committees very seldom check on the situation in the agitation groups and do not take effective measures to effect a radical improvement in their work.

Thus it is that when important political and economic campaigns are being conducted the agitation activity in these okrugs is carried on <sup>at</sup> a very low ideological level, and the activity of the agitators is often not to be distinguished from that of the staff of "desetars" [leaders of foremen of ten-worker groups], which is an auxiliary administrative organ of the soviets.

Comrade Vulko Chervenkov purposely stressed at the Third Party Conference that "the greatest responsibility for the weaknesses in the political activity of the primary Party organizations is borne by the okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees, which, with few exceptions, direct the explanatory work and, indeed, the entire work of agitation and propaganda from their office and on paper." (Vulko Chervenkov,

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"On the Agitation and Mass Political Activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party." page 68)

Many okoliya, municipal, and rayon committees attach too little importance in their work to political agitation in the promotion of economic campaigns; that is, they neglect the instructions of Comrade Stalin that "economic achievements proper and their durability and continuity depend entirely and wholly on the success with which Party organizational and political activity is conducted."

The okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees are required to summarize regularly the experience of political agitation and through local newspapers and conferences to publicize the positive experiences of individual organizations. The press is a mighty medium for guiding mass agitation work. Yet the okoliya Party committees still do not make sufficient use of the press for that purpose. The okoliya papers very seldom carry materials that will help an agitator, articles on the experience of the best Party organizations.

Following the resolutions of the Third Party Conference, some okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees considerably improved their direction of mass agitation work. During December 1951 and January 1952 the Turnovo, Plevn, Sofia, Plovdiv, and other Party okrug committees summoned plenary sessions to discuss the agitation and propaganda work, and after that were held enlarged okoliya plenum meetings. In Sofia there were municipal and enlarged rayon meetings to discuss the mass agitation work of the Party organizations.

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But this is only a beginning. The bureaus of the okrug and okoliya Party committees still concern themselves too little with the problems of political agitation, seldom take up the condition of the agitation work of different organizations at their meetings, and do not take measures to raise the ideological level of political agitation.

Recently in some okrugs, including Turnovo, Khaskovo, Pleven, etc., okrug and okoliya conferences were held with the agitators and the Party secretaries at enterprises and farm workers' cooperatives for an exchange of experience and views. The experience of the Turnovo Okrug Party committee, which organized successive okrug and okoliya conferences with some agitators and agitation group leaders at enterprises and farm workers' cooperatives, is commendable and positive.

The holding of such conferences, however, is not sufficient for the wide advertising and application of the experience of the best agitation groups and agitators. Especially instructive in this connection is the experience of the Sevlievo Okoliya Party committee. Notwithstanding the okrug and okoliya conferences which were held with the agitators at farm workers' cooperatives, the committee has not taken practical measures to introduce and apply the results of the experience of the best agitation groups in the okrug and the okoliya and has not issued regular instructions to the agitation group leaders and therefore in most of the villages of the okoliya, such as Bogatovo, Lovni Dol, Dobromirka, Idilevo, and others, the agitation groups have only a formal existence and do not carry on an active and regular work.

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In order to improve the Party Committees' direction of political agitation work, it is especially important that agitation be closely linked with the objectives of the national economy. In assigning the future tasks of the Party organizations, the okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees must also immediately determine the specific tasks to be assigned to the agitators, they must give them instructions concerning those tasks, and they must show them the most appropriate forms for their work to take among the workers.

The majority of the okrug and okoliya Party committees, however, do not proceed in this manner; when they discuss the economic tasks confronting them they usually select administrative measures in order to accomplish them. Thus, at one of the sessions of the Burgas Okrug Party committee recently the fulfillment of the plan for compulsory state milk deliveries was discussed. In the announcements of these deliveries and in the discussions regarding them, very little attention was given to the political and mass agitation work of the Party organizations. As a result, seven points of the resolution adopted on this question have to do with the administrative work connected with the implementation of the decree, and only one point deals with the mass agitation work, namely, the point dealing with the holding of sectional and block conferences with the agitators. The case of the Stalin Okrug Party committee is even more characteristic in this respect. After discussing the report on the fulfillment of the plan for January in the industrial enterprises and determining that six of the 18 enterprises which did not fulfill the plan for 1950

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were still lagging behind in the first 10 days of January 1951, this committee decided to take purely administrative measures instead of defining the tasks of the Party workers and the agitators in carrying out a mass political work among the workers in order to secure fulfillment of the plan.

There are many such instances of underestimation by the okrug and okoliya Party committees of the importance of mass agitation work. The importance of political agitation in the accomplishment of the specific daily problems of the Party organizations is not yet fully realized. Some harm is still being done by the methods of administering and commanding, which were condemned by the June Plenum but which have not been abandoned as yet by many Party organizations. The overcoming of these defects is one of the most important tasks confronting the Party committees and organizations and an important prerequisite for a radical improvement in political agitation.

In spite of the resolutions adopted by the Third Party Conference, the okrug, okoliya, municipal, and rayon Party committees are not working in a satisfactory manner with the agitation groups and the agitators and do not take systematic steps to improve their work, except on the eve of large-scale political and economic campaigns, and as a result the agitators' work takes on a campaign character. The okrug and okoliya Party committees have left the daily guidance of the agitators to the primary Party organizations, which, with few exceptions, underestimate the importance of political agitation.

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It is the duty of the okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees to improve their direction of political agitation constantly and to extend greater assistance to the army of agitators, whose numbers run high into the thousands, so that they can cope with their honorable task, the Socialist education of the workers.

Systematic leadership by the Party committees for mass agitation work among the workers raises the ideological level of agitation, increases its effectiveness, and assures broader field of action for the political agitation work of the Party among all the strata of the population.

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## ELECTION MEETINGS (pp 67-72 -- Apr)

The reporting and election meetings are a high manifestation of intra-Party democracy and an important moving force in the life of the Party. They serve as a school for the education of the Communists, and they help strengthen the Party organizations and unite the Party members. Also, they help activate the entire Party through the extensive use of criticism and self-criticism, they help mobilize the Party members for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the national economic plan and an increase in the productivity of labor, they help strengthen the farm workers' cooperatives and increase the yields, and they help improve the propaganda and mass explanatory work. They mobilize the Party members for the accomplishment of all tasks assigned them by the Party and for the achievement of even greater victories in the building of Socialism.

The principal questions which were to be dealt with in the reports, discussions, and resolutions of the reporting and election meetings and which were to be given a larger place in the life of the Party were designated by the Third Party Conference and the January and October plenums.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party issued concrete instructions showing how to improve the organization of the Party's reporting and election meetings and the Party conferences. Following these instructions, the okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees started making timely

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preparations for the reporting and election meetings.

Holding the reporting and election meetings at longer intervals gave the Party organizations the opportunity to make more satisfactory preparations without neglecting their other tasks. It was now possible for the okrug and okoliya Party committees to provide better guidance and assistance for the Party organizations in their preparations for the reporting and election meetings.

The Party committees and organizations drew up their operational plans for the preparations for, and the holding of, these meetings in advance. On the basis of a resolution adopted by the Stara Zagora Okrug Party committees along with the other measures that were taken, three preparatory Party meetings were held to discuss the resolutions adopted at the October and January plenums and the Third Party Conference. The role played by these meetings was a positive one, since they aroused the interest of the Party members in the implementation of these important Party resolutions.

Some okrug Party committees became complacent because of the ample time allowed for the preparations for election meetings and during November and December had all their personnel devote themselves entirely to the tasks connected with the autumn sowing and the collection of the cotton and milk deliveries, leaving all the direction of the reporting and election meetings to the "Party, trade union, and youth" sections. During this time the okrug and okoliya Party committees took no interest in the preparation for the re-

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porting and election meetings. Up to 13 March 1951, for instance, not a single member of the bureau of the Ruse Okrug Party committee had ever attended an election meeting, and of the nine members of the Stalin Okrug Party committee only three had attended one or two meetings, and so forth. Many of the representatives of the okoliya Party committees were late in visiting the organizations and extended very little help in the preparation of the reports and resolutions and in the selection of the future members of the Party bureaus. Some of them wrote the accounting report themselves instead of helping the secretary draw it up, among these being the representatives of some villages in Pruvimay, Devin, Kubrat, Khaskovo, and other okoliyas.

In contrast with last year, efforts are now being made to include in the accounting reports, especially those of the plant and office organizations, an analysis of the work of the organizations on all questions, conclusion are drawn, and measures are proposed for eliminating the weaknesses.

Some of the reports, however, such as those of the primary Party organizations at Levski, Karlovo Okoliya, Uzovo and Kraishte, Generaltoshevo Okoliya, etc., are quite general and merely informative. At a number of reporting and election meetings, for instance at Strumski Chiflik and Pokrovnik, Blagoevgrad Okoliya, and Samuilovo, Stara Zagora Okoliya, reports have been presented which were not discussed and approved by the Party bureaus beforehand.

Substantial weaknesses have been permitted in the drawing up and deliberation of the resolutions during the preparations for

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and the holding of the reporting and election meetings. Although there is a certain amount of improvement, mainly in the work of the production organizations of the Party, many of the resolutions are general in nature, are drawn up just before the meetings, and are not distributed to the members beforehand. The deliberations and the proposals on the resolutions are insignificant and they are voted on hastily. In certain cases, as at Kraishite, Toshevsko, and Kochmar, all in Tervel Okoliya, the resolutions were actually drawn up at the meetings, and at Asen, Kazanluk Okoliya, the Party bureau copied the same resolution for the third successive year. The reporting and election meeting in Grudnitsa, Tervel Okoliya, did not adopt a resolution, simply because none was proposed.

All the reporting and election meetings of the Party have ended. They were conducted at a higher level and there was more activity on the part of the Party members than last year. In Turnovo Okrug for instance, the reporting and election meetings had been attended up to 15 February 1951 by 16,544 Party members and candidates. Of this number 8,401 members and candidates, or 50.84 percent took part in the discussions on the reports and in the deliberations on the election lists for the new Party bureaus. The members of the Gabrovo Municipal Party organization have been the most active of all. In this organization 66 percent of the Party members have taken part in the discussions. It has been determined that the activity of the smaller Party organizations is greater than that of the large ones. At Slivovitsa, Gorna Oryakhovitsa Okoliya, 24 out of the total of 26 Party members took part in the discussions, and at Dobri Dyal in the same okoliya

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all the 19 Party members participated. In the large Party organizations the members have not been so active. In the territorial organization at Strazhitsa, only 17 out of 197 Party members took part in the discussions, and in the Party organization at the farm workers' cooperative there only 16 out of 141 members participated. In the Party organization at the farm workers' cooperative at Sushitsa of 135 members only 17 took part.

At this year's reporting and election meetings reports were made of certain efforts by the primary Party organizations to improve the Party's political work and the methods used by the Party bureaus and Party organizations in the light of the resolutions adopted by the Third Party Conference. In some of the reports it was noted that collective work is a regular method of work in the Party bureaus, (For example, the "Republika" Steam Heat and Electric Power Plant, the "Georgi Dimitrov" Mine, the "Stalin" Steam Heat and Electric Power Plant, the "G. Kirkov" Enterprise at Sofia, etc.) and that the majority of Party organizations also work according to a plan previously adopted by them. All that has been done, however, to improve the methods of working is very little and does not help assure timely implementation of all Party and Government resolutions.

The reporting and election meetings have shown that the ability of Party organizations to carry on the struggle and to overcome difficulties is increasing with each day that passes. At the same time that they were preparing for and holding the reporting and election meetings the Party organizations directed and successfully carried out such important measures as the autumn

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sowing, the deep plowing, the strengthening and expansion of the farm workers' cooperatives, the feeding of livestock, the fulfillment of the production plans in industry, the spring sowing, the fight for peace, etc.

Criticism in the reports and the discussions is comparatively satisfactory. The Party bureaus practise personal criticism of the weaknesses of the members of the Party bureaus and organizations. The Party members are criticizing the Party secretaries, the bureaus, and the other responsible comrades more boldly. Self-criticism, however, is at a lower level. In the majority of cases the comrades who are subjected to criticism try to excuse themselves by invoking objective reasons and do not seek to analyze their guilt for the weaknesses that have been tolerated. The reporting and election meetings also show that in a number of Party organizations there are serious loopholes in, and unsatisfactory application of, criticism and self-criticism. "What happened at Kula and at Yablanitsa is definite proof of the lack of criticism and self-criticism, which has brought with it a lack of vigilance and in some places a complete inability to recognize the enemy, a loosening of the ties with the workers, unwillingness to listen to them, and pure and simple administering and command. It is not at all strange, then, that in Kula Okoliya the defects have become perversions, and the perversions have been welcomed by the enemy, who has not lost any time in taking advantage of them. Wherever there is no criticism or self-criticism, wherever the Party and government workers do not keep in touch with the people, but, on the contrary isolate themselves from them and avoid them, wherever they do not

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tolerate criticism and do not pay any heed to it, and wherever they do not join with the people in correcting errors and defects, there is where the enemy finds a fertile soil for his activity against the People's government and where he achieves his aims and causes trouble." (Excerpt from the 29 March 1951 editorial of Rabotnichesko Delo)

What explanation is there for the conduct of Veselin Gerov, the chief of the Militia at Balchik, who, when he was criticized at the reporting and election meeting because of his chronic drunkenness and his failure to take his duties seriously, stood up, banged on the table, and forbade anyone to talk? It is obvious that Comrade Veselin Gerov does not feel himself bound by the Party resolutions, the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the January and October plenums, and of the Third Party Conference, and all the instructions given by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and by Comrade Vulko Chervenkov personally with respect to the development of bold criticism and self-criticism in the Party ranks and the enrollment of the broad masses of the people in the fight against the defects and perversions in the Party's work. If the high-ranking comrades at Balchik have such an attitude towards criticism no progress will be made. This explains to a certain extent the perversions which were permitted to occur in Balchik Okoliya during the collection of the compulsory state deliveries.

The reporting and election Party meetings which have been held show that a large part of the weaknesses which have been

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tolerated are due mainly to the failure of the Party bureaus to supervise and check up on their work. At the Party meetings very little is done about requiring the Party secretaries to report on the execution of the resolutions that have been adopted. The Party bureaus carried out very unsatisfactorily the resolutions of the Third Party Conference on the proper organization of Party meetings. In the report of the Party organization at the farm workers' cooperative in Voditsa, Popovo Okoliya, there is this statement: "The Party members do not attend the meetings, do not take part in the discussions of the agenda, and do not give the Party bureau the assistance it needs."

The primary Party organizations, especially after the Third Party Conference, have been trying to improve the social composition of the Party's membership, as a result of which the worker element in the Party increased 1.7 percent over 1949. In this respect the Party organizations at Ruse organized their work satisfactorily and accepted 803 workers as candidate members during the year. In general, however, the increase of the worker element in the Party organizations is quite unsatisfactory, in view of the possibilities. For instance, the Party organization at the "Stalin" Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant has accepted only 10 candidate members, and in the Party organizations at the "Beli Bryag" and the "Tolbukhin" pits only two candidate members have been accepted. The Party organizations at Ezerche, Razgrad Okoliya, at Bogets, Plovdiv Okoliya, at the "Tekstilna slava" Factory in Sofia, at the farm workers' cooperative at Studena, Dimitrovo Okoliya, etc. have not accepted a single candidate Party member

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during the year. The work to improve the social composition of the rural primary Party organizations is especially unsatisfactory. The majority of the Party organizations in Sevlievo Okoliya <sup>is</sup> making no effort to improve <sup>its</sup> social composition.

The social composition of the newly elected Party bureaus shows a considerable improvement. The okrug and okoliya Party committees paid more attention this year than last to the selection and the composition of the future Party bureaus. In Sofia as of 15 February 1951 44.8 percent of the persons elected to the bureaus were workers and 18.4 percent were women. For Stalin Okrug the figures were 40.5 percent workers and 25.5 percent women. In some okrug Party organizations, however, the percentage of workers in the Party bureaus is very low in comparison with that of the white-collar workers. In Stara Zagora Okrug around 15 February 1951 the percentage of workers in the Party bureaus was 19.9 and of the white collar workers 35.5. The poor peasants are inadequately represented in the Party bureaus in Turnovo Okrug, their percentage there being only 14.7.

The percentage of women in the Party bureaus is also very low. As of 15 February 1951 the percentage of women in the Party bureaus in Blagoevgrad Okrug was only 5 percent, in Kolarovgrad Okrug 8.5 percent, in Turnovo Okrug 10 percent, and in Stara Zagora Okrug 13 percent. The figures show that there are serious weaknesses in the work of the Party organizations in the above-mentioned okrugs among the women; they also show that in actual practice the women are underestimated as an important force in

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the building of Socialism and that not enough women are being drawn into public, political, and Party life.

The reporting and election meetings showed that in the process of accomplishing the objectives assigned by the Party and the Government the unity and the combat-readiness of the Party organizations and bureaus have been strengthened. The okrug and okoliya Party committees used the preparatory work for the reporting and election meetings to strengthen the primary Party organizations and to help heal the badly functioning Party organizations that were being consumed by intra-Party strife by cleansing them of hostile elements that had managed to infiltrate them. A number of Party organizations in which intra-Party strife had been raging during the past year managed to strengthen and restore their unity during the preparations for the reporting and election meetings. In Stara Zagora Okrug, for instance, by 15 February 1951 the Party work of 28 organizations had been improved and the disputes in the Party organizations at Tsurkva, Dimitrovo Okoliya, at the "Kurilo" Steam Heat and Electric Power Plant, and other places had been eliminated.

At the reporting and election meetings there has been very inadequate discussions of the problems of working with the active Party and non-Party members, and of strengthening the Party organizations' ties with the masses. The Party bureaus and organizations do not devote attention to this question, in spite of the resolutions of the Third Party Conferences and the failures which the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

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strongly condemned before the entire nation in its decree relating to the events in Kula and Yablanitsa. The work of the mass organizations, that is, the Trade Union Federation, the Fatherland Front, the Dimitrov Youth League, and the People's Soviets, has been discussed at very few meetings, and then only perfunctorily and there has been no reporting on or criticism of the work of the Communists who occupy positions of leadership in these organizations.

Mass agitation work is one of the weakest links in the activity of the primary Party organizations. It has not yet become regular and specific, and it does not explain all problems to the workers, while the agitators are not trained systematically but work only during certain important campaigns. In spite of this, not enough attention has been given at most of the reporting and election meetings to the problems connected with the agitation work of the Party among the broad masses of the workers.

The work of the propagandists is receiving more attention at the reporting and election meetings. In most places a considerable improvement is reported for the current school year as compared with last year. It is a great achievement for the primary Party organizations that they have been able to enroll most Party members and many non-Party individuals in the various classes and courses for Party education. For example, the Party organization at Marikostino has enrolled all the Communists and 14 non-Party men in Party education courses and at the "Tsareva krusha" pit 90 percent of the Party members are enrolled. The discipline in Party schools, study circles, and seminars has improved, but the

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quality of the instruction work is still unsatisfactory.

Along with the positive features, the reporting and election meetings have also exposed many essential weaknesses and defects in the work of the Party bureaus and organizations. Mindful of the weaknesses that have been reported and of the resolutions that have been adopted, the newly elected Party bureaus and committees must develop a large scale activity to raise the level of the Party's political and organizational work and to accomplish successfully the tasks assigned by the Party.

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**RESTRICTED****POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (pages 109-113)**

Itso Samuilov and Ivan Daskalov

Lecture propaganda on Marxism-Leninism and on political and scientific subjects has an important place in all the ideo-political work of the Party.

Well prepared and theoretically sound lectures are a great help to the propagandists and to those who are engaged in self-study of Marxism-Leninism.

Utilizing the experience acquired in Bulgaria and profiting by the rich experiences of the USSR, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party adopted a resolution in the summer of 1950 on the organization of the work and the objectives of the central and the okrug lecture groups. This resolution clarified the question of the place and the importance of lecture propaganda. This year was the first time that the problem of the proper organization of lecture propaganda throughout the country was put so clearly, cogently, and comprehensively.

Lecture propaganda has met with considerable success during the current Party school year. Lecture groups were set up at all the okrug Party committees. These lecture groups organized lecture series to help the propagandists and those who were studying Marxism-Leninism by themselves. They developed an extensive public lecture propaganda in cities and villages and at enterprises and farm workers' cooperatives. The propagandists and those who are

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studying Marxism-Leninism by themselves attend the lecture series regularly and in great numbers, since they realize these are of great importance for their work and for more profound mastery of the lessons in their study materials.

Notwithstanding its achievements, however, lecture propaganda suffers from serious defects.

The formation of lecture groups at the okrug Party committees took place long after the beginning of the Party school year. Then more time elapsed before the lecture groups got the lecture series and the public lecture propaganda started in a planned and organized manner. The Turnovo, Vratsa, Stara Zagora, Sofia, Kolarovgrad, Khaskovo, and Stalin okrug Party committees formed lecture groups at the very beginning of the Party school year, but at the end of 1950 these were leading an anemic sort of existence and were giving only a few lectures at irregular intervals.

The okrug Party committees have paid very little attention to the make-up of the lecture groups. In many places the two lecturers provided for in the organization tables have not been appointed yet. The okrug Party lecture groups in Vratsa, Plovdiv, Kolarovgrad, and Blagoevgrad have not yet appointed a lecture group chief yet.

Some of the lecture groups still have very few non-staff lecturers. At Stalin there are only 19, in Kolarovgrad 21, in Stara Zagora 35, and in Plovdiv 18. With so few lecturers it is

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impossible to hold the lecture series prescribed by the plan on Marxism-Leninism in all the okoliyas. The selection of the lecturers for the lecture groups is not very satisfactory. In the okrug lecture groups there are lecturers who are not very well prepared in either theory or method. Comrades who are well prepared theoretically, such as Party workers in the state administration, outstanding public men, and the Party intelligentsia, are still not enrolled as lecturers.

The okrug Party committees must take the necessary steps immediately to appoint the lecturers provided for in the organization tables. A thorough check must be made on the quality of the work of each lecturer, and the mediocre ones must be dismissed and new lecturers, well prepared theoretically, appointed, so that during the new Party school year the lecture propaganda can successfully cope with the tasks confronting it.

A basic defect in lecture propaganda in Bulgaria is the lack of planning. Although there is an approved yearly plan for the subjects of the lectures and a quarterly plan for the dates of lecture series to assist Party education, the okrug lecture groups do not make the necessary effort to fulfill them 100 percent. The Burgas Okrug lecture group has given only 40 lectures of the 125 called for by the plan, the Stara Zagora lecture group only 27 of the 78 lectures planned, etc., The fulfillment of the lecture propaganda plan in all the rest of the okrugs is equally unsatisfactory.

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The okrug lecture groups in Sofia, Ruse, Khaskovo, Burgas, and other places hold lectures mainly on certain special dates on the international situation and on campaign objectives.

It is a common practice to give lectures only in the okrug centers and the larger okoliya centers.

The okrug Party lecture groups still fail to realize that their main duty is to organize the giving of series of lectures in order to help the propagandists and those who are studying Marxism-Leninism by themselves. The giving of series of lectures appears to be the most effective and fruitful way to help them. Through the lecture, the listeners acquire systematized knowledge of the fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, and this is of great assistance to them in their independent studies and in looking up references.

The "Propaganda and Agitation" sections of the okrug and okoliya Party committees do not fully appreciate the importance of the lecture series on the history of Marxism-Leninism and therefore fail to organize them and do not exercise supervision over the quality and the contents of the lectures. In Sofia, Ruse, Stara Zagora, Khaskovo, and other okrugs very few lecture series are held, those that are held are conducted unsatisfactorily, many of them are of low quality, and attendance is poor.

To what are the weaknesses in the organization of the lecture propaganda on Marxism-Leninism due?

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They are due to poor methods of work and to the failure of the okrug and okoliya Party committees to realize the role and the importance of lecture propaganda. For example, the lecture propaganda in Sofia, Turnovo, Blagoevgrad, Khaskovo, Ruse, Vratsa, and Burgas is not made the business of the bureaus of the okrug Party committees but is left to the Party consulting offices and the chiefs of the lecture groups. The okrug Party committees do not supervise or direct the lecture propaganda. The third secretary of the Petrich Okoliya committee says that it is not necessary for the okrug lecture group to spend money for lectures by the okrug lecture group since better lectures can be given with local talent. The propaganda and agitation secretary at Razlog publicly stated that giving lectures was a formalistic work, that it took the Party workers of the section away from their work, and that the benefit derived from the lectures did not justify the effort. Naturally, when such a formalistic and totally inexcusable attitude is taken towards lecture propaganda, the results will be insignificant, and it is not at all surprising that most of the lectures that were scheduled to be given at Petrich and Razlog, under the plan for the okrug lecture group at Blagoevgrad, were failures, even though the lecturers put in an appearance, because of the negligence of the okoliya Party committees. The story is the same in Pleven, Kolarovgrad, Stara Zagora, Ruse, Plovdiv, and other okrugs. The Kolarov Rayon Party committee at Sofia accuses the Sofia Municipal Party committee of forcing it to give lectures on the history of the Bulgarian Communist Party and yet these were actually provided for in the plan. The Rayon committee took no measures to

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secure a suitable hall and to assure attendance at the lectures. The result was instead of the nine lectures planned for the first quarter only one was actually given.

The okrug lecture groups do not devote the necessary amount of attention to the quality of the lecture propaganda. The fundamental factor in lecture propaganda is its ideological and theoretical content. Each lecture must be full of profound meaning, must be up to the Party level, and must be delivered with Bolshevik passion. Yet there are lecturers who do not prepare themselves adequately, who underestimate the importance of lecture propaganda, and who deliver unsatisfactory lectures. Comrade Garvanov at Stara Zagora delivers his lectures in very high-sounding language which goes over the heads of his listeners. Yordan Danchev at Lukovit delivered a long and boring lecture which followed no plan and contained errors. K. Kovachev delivered a dry, empty, and long lecture at Sandanski. When he was asked: "What is a kulak?" he simply replied: "The biggest landowner in the village." Many more examples of badly delivered lectures can be cited. The okrug lecture groups do not put forth adequate efforts to improve the quality of the lecture propaganda.

Frequently the okrug and okoliya committees arbitrarily postpone the lectures prescribed by the plan. The "Propaganda and Agitation" section of the Turnovo Okrug Party committee postponed the scheduled lectures on "Dialectical Materialism, the Marxist-Leninist Party View of the World" and "Historical Materialism as the Science of the Laws of Social Development" in Gabrovo, Turnovo,

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and Gorna Oryakhovitsa without the knowledge of the Party bureau, and since the okoliya committees concerned were not notified in time of this postponement, large audiences awaited the arrival of the lecturers. Similar cases have been observed at Pleven, Burgas, Ruse, Stara Zagora, Khaskovo and other places.

A number of lectures are not given because the lecturers default. At Pavlikeni and Sevlievo Comrades Nikola Ninov and Marin Bonev did not turn up to give their assigned lectures, and since they had failed to notify the okrug Party committees, the audiences were left waiting.

Sometimes two or three lectures are scheduled for the same time in an okoliya center. The Lom Okoliya Party committee scheduled a meeting and two lectures for the same hour on 20 March 1951, and as a result the meeting and the lectures were failures. At Lukovit and at Levski on 20 and 23 March 1951, respectively, the lectures were postponed although the lecturers were on hand, because the magician "Mister Senko" was putting on performances at the same time. The Party committees considered it more important for them and the public to go to his performances than to attend the lectures provided for by the plan.

The okoliya Party committees do not take the necessary measures to assure regular attendance of listeners and propagandists at the lecture series. In Pleven Comrade Khristo Shanov's lectures on the subject "What Should Be Done" were attended by 35 listeners and at Yambol the lectures are attended by 12 to 30

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persons. Although they are aware of this irregularity, the okoliya Party committees are not taking the necessary steps to put an immediate end to it.

The success of the lecture propaganda depends above all on proper Party guidance. The okrug Party committees must give the lecturers regular assistance in increasing their skill and must keep a careful check on the quality of lecture propaganda.

In order to provide effective assistance for the lecturers in preparing themselves, conferences and seminars must be conducted with them so that their lectures and work can be subjected to discussion. It is to be regretted that some okrug Party committees still do not grasp the significance of this important task. The "Propaganda and Agitation" sections of the Party committees do not organize discussion of all lectures by the lecture group sections. In order to assure better quality in the lecture propaganda, every lecture, before it is actually delivered, should be read by a well qualified lecturer before the lecture group and then it should be discussed there. It would be a good thing if some of the lectures were taken down by stenographers when they were being given and copies were distributed among the lecturers for study so that the positive sides and the defects of a lecture could be examined. The lecture groups must work as creative collective bodies, discuss the contents of all lectures, eliminate the defects uncovered in them, and help increase the methodological skill of the lecturers

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The work in the lecture groups must be organized on the basis of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

It is desirable that the "Propaganda and Agitation" sections of the okrug Party committees examine the entire work of the lecture groups at least once every two months and outline concrete measures for eliminating the defects. The okrug Party committees must keep the lecturers regularly informed of important Party resolutions and on political and economic objectives to be tackled by the Party organizations.

The Bulgarian press must publicize extensively the positive experience in the work of the lecture groups, must secure the services of the lecturers in the elaboration of important propagandist problems, must publish theoretically sound lectures, etc.

The lecture groups are called upon to accomplish an important and responsible objective in their propaganda work on Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and the achievements of the Bulgaria's Socialist culture and to extend regular assistance to those who are studying Marxism-Leninism by themselves and to the propagandists, the leaders of the various study centers in the system of Party education. There is no doubt that with radical improvement in the leadership, assistance, and supervision provided by the okrug Party committees, the lecture groups will acquit themselves honorably <sup>for</sup> the tasks assigned to them.

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## POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (pages 114-116)

In his report to the Third Party Conference, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov assigned to the Party executive committees and organizations the task of "giving wide publicity to the experience of the innovators and the best production workers and of working with might and main for the application in production of the things they have learned, including especially multi-loom and multi-spindle operation in the textile factories, the multi-drilling system and work on a broad front in the mines, high-speed cutting of metals in the machine-building industry, etc." (Vulko Chervenkov, "On the Organizational and Mass Political Work of the Bulgarian Communist Party", page 150).

In order to achieve this important objective the okoliya and municipal Party committees in Gabrovo held a special session in January 1951 to discuss measures to be taken for the further strengthening and expansion of multi-machine operation, of shock work, and of rationalization among the workers in the enterprises. After that their example was followed at almost all enterprises. The Party organization at the "G. Genov" Factory discussed measures for shifting the shock workers from the two to four-loom operation and from four to six-loom operation. As a result of these measures and of the explanatory work and the personal example of the communists in the enterprise, a "Stalin" Brigade has been formed for multi-machine operation, with all the members operating four or six looms each. Similar measures have also been taken at the

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"23 December" Factory and other enterprises.

On the initiative of the Party officials and organizations production conferences are held regularly at a number of enterprises, such as the Machine Plant, the "Zoya" Factory, the "23 December" Factory, and others, for exchange of experiences among the shock workers and rationalizers. At these conferences many workers, following the example of the prize winners in production, have pledged themselves to shift to multi-machine operation and to fulfill their individual yearly production plans in ten months. In order to increase the production skill of the shock workers and rationalizers at certain enterprises, other specific measures have been adopted in addition to the regular production conferences. At the "23 December" Factory, for instance, the shock workers and rationalizers are being given technical training by the best master-workmen so that they can acquire a better knowledge of the machinery and the technological process.

The Party committees and organizations are also taking steps to improve the living and cultural standards of the shock workers and the rationalizers. At a number of enterprises the shock workers and the rationalizers are lodged in the best living quarters. In the canteens there <sup>are</sup> specially decorated corners for them and by decision of the municipal Party committee, the municipal People's soviet, and the administration of the municipal reading room they are given free admission to the movie houses and theaters. All this is welcomed by the other workers and inspires them to overtake and surpass the prize winners in production.

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It must be pointed out, however, that some Party committees and organizations do not have a proper attitude towards the creative initiative of the workers and that they fear innovations on their part and obstruct them. At the "Uspekh" Factory 30 workers applied for permission to shift to multi-machine operation. Instead of supporting and encouraging this excellent initiative of the workers, the bureau of the Party committee at the enterprise decided to restrict multi-machine operation on the pretext that its introduction at the enterprise would lead to the dismissal of more than 60 workers. The execution of this incorrect decision was prevented by the intervention of an instructor of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Such an attitude towards the creative efforts of the working class is incompatible with Bolshevik methods of leadership, which require the Party and the economic administrators to wage an uncompromising struggle against mere routine performance of work, slow-downs, and lags, and to give every possible encouragement to the innovations and creative efforts of the toiling masses. "Our Party and economic administrators," says Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, "must be found at the head of the innovation and rationalization movements, the movement to perfect the production process, at the head of the new men of labor; and they must study, sum up, and publicize the creative endeavors and the valuable experience of these men in production." (Vulko Chervenkov, "On the Organizational and Mass Political Activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party," page 152)

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The greatest defects are to be found in the work of the Party committees and organizations to raise the political consciousness and the general education of the shock workers and rationalizers to a higher level. In spite of certain achievements in this respect, there are not a few cases of indifference towards the political and cultural improvement of the shock workers and rationalizers. For example, Comrade Georgi Kostov, the multi-milling machine operator at the Machine Plant, was not enrolled in any political education class and was not given any specific Party political work, and as a result he withdrew from the Party. The shock worker Dovzhenko, who is the leader of the "Stalin" Brigade for multi-machine operation at the "G. Genov" Factory was also not enrolled in any political education class. As a result, he fell under the influence of enemies of the state and was absent from work for two days. The shock worker Mara Khristova Yoncheva at the "Balkan" Factory, who runs 1,000 spindles, is illiterate.

These and similar cases in other enterprises at Gabrovo show that some Party committees and organizations greatly underestimate the importance of the work to increase the political consciousness and the general education of the shock workers and rationalizers and of the workers in general. It is a well known fact that there can be no enduring successes in the building of Socialism in Bulgaria unless there is a constant rise in the socialist consciousness and the general education of the workers.

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**RESTRICTED****CANDIDATE MEMBERS (pages 116-118)**

The Bulgarian Communist Party is strong because of the high Bolshevik qualities of its members, because of their high Bolshevik ideology and discipline, and because of their ability to join with the masses and lead them in the accomplishment of the objectives set by the Party and the Government. For this reason the work to raise the role of each Party member to a higher level and to give greater importance to the title "Party member" is a primary and continuing task of the Party committees and organizations. "We must strive to raise the name and the importance of Party membership higher and higher." ("Lenin and Stalin on Building up the Party", page 288) These words of Lenin, uttered in 1903, serve as a fixed rule in the work of the Bulgarian Communist Party. "The main task we have to tackle, if you will, is to raise the role of the individual Communist and the name of the Party member to a higher level" says Comrade Vulko Chervenkov. (Vulko Chervenkov, "On the Organizational and Mass Political Work of the Bulgarian Communist Party, page 83)

The introduction of the institution of candidate membership in the Bulgarian Communist Party is of enormous importance in the fulfillment of that task. Candidate membership in the Party is a real school for Bolshevik education and provides a way of checking on the individual qualities of the future members of the Party. During the period of candidate membership a check is made on the way in which the future Party member studies the program, the Constitution, and the resolutions of the Party, how

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he masters the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, how he performs his production and official duties, and how he participates in Party and social work.

The greatest responsibility for indoctrinating the candidate members and training them to be Party members rests with the primary Party organizations and their bureaus. They are required to see to the Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of each candidate, that is, they must enroll him in the appropriate Party education groups, assist him constantly in the mastering of Marxist-Leninist theory, and assign to him specific production, Party, and public duties and check on his performance of these duties.

Many primary Party organizations, especially at the enterprises, have organized their work with the candidate members satisfactorily. The primary Party organization at the "9 September" State Industrial Enterprise at Plovdiv, for example, has accepted 18 candidate members from among the best production workers as Party members. The Party organization and its bureau work systematically with the candidates. All candidates are enrolled in political and general education schools and have been assigned specific duties in the work in the mass organizations and in production. Thus the candidates develop into good production workers and administrators. The candidate member Comrade Mariya Chuchupanova, for instance, is the leader of the best production brigade in the enterprise. Comrade Velichka Petrova is a multi-spindle operator and is at the same time the leader of a production brigade. The Party organization at the book-binding

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division of the State Printing House is also doing satisfactory work with the candidates. Of the 12 candidate members in this organization seven are enrolled in a political school, two in a study circle devoting itself to the history of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and three in a general training course. In addition, this Party organization has assigned each candidate work of a responsible nature in the mass organizations and in production. The candidate member Kiril Doychinov is the leader of a production brigade, Aneta Bozhinova is secretary of the plant committee of Dimitrov Youth League, Georgi Nikolov is chairman of MDSO section in the division, and so on.

But there are other Party committees and organizations which do not concern themselves with the training of the candidate members. They do not explain the Party Constitution to them, do not assign specific Party or other tasks to them, and in certain cases display inexcusable indifference towards them. In the primary Party organization at the railroad center at Pleven, for instance, the worker Nedyu Todorov was a candidate member for two years and yet nothing whatsoever was required of him. It was only after Comrade Todorov made vigorous protests about the indifference displayed towards him by the Party bureau that the latter decided to consider the question of accepting him as a Party member. The work with candidate members is especially unsatisfactory in the rural Party organizations, a large part of which still are not accepting candidate members. The number of such organizations is especially large in the Swishtov, Ruse, Razgrad, and other okoliyas.

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The defects in the work of the primary Party organizations with candidate Party members are due, to a large extent, to the fact that many Party committees do not exercise supervision over their work with the candidates and do not give them any assistance. The okrug, okoliya, and municipal Party committees must constantly supervise the work of the Party organizations with the candidates, publicize the experience of organizations which have done good work in this matter, and not permit the candidate membership period to become a mere formality in many places.

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ELECTION MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES (pages 106-114)

Stanko Todorov, First Secretary  
of the Burgas Okrug Party Committee

By correctly implementing the resolutions and instructions of its Central Committee the Burgas Okrug Party organization has had considerable success in mobilizing the workers in the okrug for the struggle to fulfill the state economic plan and for laying the foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria. The industrial plan for 1950 in the Burgas Okrug was successfully fulfilled. Considerable savings were realized. For example, the Burgas Salt Mines saved 95 million leva, the "Rosen" and "Vurli Bryag" Copper Mines 49 million leva, the "Tolbukhin" State Industrial Enterprise 22 million leva, etc. The industrial plan for this year is also being successfully fulfilled. In the First of May competition the workers of the Burgas industrial enterprises won seven national banners for the best work. The agricultural plan for 1950 was also successfully fulfilled. Especially great successes were achieved in the consolidation and expansion of the farm workers' cooperatives. The number of farm workers' cooperatives in the okrug increased to 218. The farm workers' cooperatives now have 52 percent of the total number of rural households and 46 percent of all the workable land in the okrug. The struggle to achieve high yields in agriculture and to fulfill with honor the pledges given by the working peasants to the Party, the Government, and Comrade Vulko Chervenkov personally is being carried on successfully.

The successes achieved in the economic and cultural fields by the workers in Burgas Okrug are the result of the extensive

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political and organizational activity carried on by the Communists in the okrug among the masses. The prestige and influence of the okrug Party organization have increased considerably. The network of primary Party organizations in industry, in the villages, in educational institutions, etc. has been enlarged, and at present they number 787. This shows that the Party organization is penetrating farther and farther into all sides of okrug life, that it is coming into closer contact with the non Party population, and that the role of the Party members, the primary organizations, and the entire okrug Party organization is growing.

However, the successes achieved in Party organizational and political activity in the okrug Party organization are still far from enough. Life is making new and ever greater demands of the Party leadership and all the Party organizations.

In the struggle to make further progress in Party work and to eliminate the existing weaknesses and defects, the reporting and election meetings and conferences have great importance. They play a huge role in the development and application of internal Party democracy, in the development of criticism and self-criticism among the Party members, and in increasing their activeness and initiative. The Party masses, as Comrade Stalin points out, exercise a check on their Party officials at the conferences and congresses by listening to the reports on their activity, by criticising their defects, and, in the last instance, by electing or not electing particular comrades to the leadership of the Party organization.

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The reporting and election Party meetings and conferences held during recent months in the Burgas Okrug Party organization were conducted at a high ideological level and showed the increased activity of the Party members. The meetings were attended by 87 percent of the total number of Party members and candidates and 43 percent of those present took part in the discussions on the reports of the Party secretaries and bureaus. The meetings also showed, however, that notwithstanding the considerable achievements of the primary organizations there are also serious weaknesses: a considerable portion of the organizations do not work according to plan; they do not make proper preparations for the Party meetings or conduct them properly; they neglect the Party political work and use the methods of administration, thus supplanting the administrative offices; they do not assign Party tasks to all Party members and candidates; they do not require the Party members and candidates to render an account for the work they have been assigned; and they do not guide the activities of the mass organizations closely.

The election meetings and conferences showed that some Party organizations, such as those at Krushevo, Karnobat Okoliya, Veselinovo, Burgas Okoliya, and other places, have been infiltrated by foreign elements, who are undermining the organizations from within and are obstructing their development. Many Party organizations in the okrug, such as those at Zhitovet, Surnevo, and Venets in Karnobat Okoliya, Gaberovo and Ravnets, Burgas Okoliya, and other places, do not actually exercise Party leadership and in many cases are far behind the times. The election meetings and conferences also showed that some okoliya Party

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committees do not direct the work of the Party organizations or give them on-the-spot assistance and often perform their duties from their offices with circular letters and written instructions.

The statements made at the election meetings and conferences showed a feeling of great responsibility for the accomplishment of the tasks facing the Party organizations, an uncompromising attitude towards shortcomings, and concern for the future improvement of the work of the Party organizations. The proposals made by the Party members at the Party election meetings and conferences are of special importance also because they come from the rich experience of the Party masses, tried and tested in everyday life.

The decisions made at the reporting and election meetings and conferences should serve as a guide for the Party officials and the Party organizations and members until the next Party reporting and election meetings and conferences.

Is this true of the activity in the Burgas Okrug Party organization? Was the Okrug Party committee guided in its activity throughout the entire reporting period by the resolutions adopted at the Party election meetings and conferences? It must be admitted that the resolutions adopted at the okrug conference did not serve as a guide to the okrug Party committee during this period. The reason is not that these resolutions were incorrect and unsatisfactory but that they were forgotten and shelved by

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the okrug Party committee and were dug out only when it started drafting the resolutions to be proposed at the new Party okrug reporting and election conference. During the entire reporting period the okrug Party committee did not once find time at any of its sessions to see how the resolutions of the okrug Party conference were being carried out. This is a serious and very grave weakness in the work of the okrug Party committee and a serious violation of the Party Constitution. In the preparation and adoption of monthly or quarterly plans for the work of the committee and its sections, the bureau of the okrug Party committee does not take the resolutions of the okrug Party election conference into consideration. To be sure, the greater part of the objectives fixed by the resolutions of the Party okrug conference have been achieved, but this is due to the fact that the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party required the accomplishment of these tasks and not that the okrug Party committee guided itself in its work by these resolutions.

It must be pointed out that a similar formalistic attitude towards the resolutions of the Party reporting and election conferences was also displayed by the okoliya Party committees in Burgas Okrug. This also applies very much to the primary Party organizations, at which the resolutions of the reporting and election meetings very often could not be found when they were needed for reference.

All this goes to show that the Party committees and the bureaus of the primary Party organizations in Burgas Okrug have

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not acted in a Bolshevik manner with respect to the resolutions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences of the Party and that they have not been guided by them constantly in their work but at many localities have buried them in their archives.

"Just what is a Party resolution?

"There are Party workers in some places who think of it as some sort of announcement: a meeting was held, there was a discussion, a decision was made, a resolution was drawn up and then signed and published, and the thing was finished.

"Such an idea of a Party resolution has nothing in common with the Bolshevik idea of a Party resolution." (V. Chervenkov, "On the Organizational and Mass Political Work of the Bulgarian Communist Party", page 42)

This statement, made by Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, in his report to the Third Party Conference, is still applicable in all its force to most of the Party administrations in the Burgas Okrug. This makes it necessary to put an immediate end to the harmful practice of burying in the archives the resolutions of the Party election meetings and conferences, and to take the necessary measures to make them a living reality.

The okoliya Party reporting and election conferences which were held recently showed a certain amount of improvement in the work and methods of the leadership of the okoliya Party committees during the reporting period. This improvement consists of their ridding themselves to an ever greater extent of the methods of

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commanding and administering and of their devoting more and more attention to the Party political work in the direction of all activity in the okoliya.

The okoliya Party reporting and election conferences showed that there are also some okoliya Party committees which are permitting serious defects in their work. They continue to occupy themselves with problems which lie outside their field, in many cases taking the place of the administrative and economic officials and assuming their functions, piling all the work on their own backs and on the backs of the Party organizations, while neglecting and falling behind in their Party political and organizational work. For example, the bureau of the Elkhovo Okoliya Party committee has assigned to committees of members of the Party committee, which have thus lost dozens of work days, the duty of inspecting public foodstores, bakeries, dairy products stores, dairies, mills, carding shops, and general cooperatives in the okoliya. The committees have reported to the okoliya Party committee's bureau through administrative channels. They have reported on everything, including such facts as that the wine containers are not good, that the premises of this store or that are not adequate, that the teeth of the carding machine at Mamarchevo are stuck, etc. Not a word has been said, however, as to whether there are Party members and organizations at these enterprises and establishments, what their activity amounts to, and what should be done to improve their work. It should be understood, of course, that there are an okoliya People's Soviet, and industrial combine, and a rayon cooperative federation at

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Elkhovo which are responsible for the situation at these establishments and enterprises, but the okoliya Party committee has not done what it should have done to activate these institutions, by extending direct assistance to the Party members working in them and by demanding an accounting for mistakes that have been permitted to occur. It is obvious that instead of trying to improve the work of these institutions, the Elkhovo Okoliya Party committee has assumed their functions and is doing their work itself.

As the ruling party the Bulgarian Communist Party bears the responsibility for the condition of the national economy and the direction of economic construction. The economy is the material basis of the social structure and every failure to reach the economic objectives hurts the vital interests of the people and the state. For that reason the achievements of each Party organization are measured mainly by the actual results attained in the realm of the national economy. The question is how and through what means can and must the Party organizations achieve successes in all fields of economic construction.

The Party bodies are required to occupy themselves with the economic problems at industrial enterprises, farm workers' cooperatives, state farms, construction projects, etc., but they must go about solving the economic problems with their own methods, that is, through political guidance. This means that the Party bodies, although they are interested in all phases of economic life without exception and are deeply concerned with economic work, must not take over the actual performance of routine economic tasks,

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which are a direct responsibility of the economic workers. The duty of the Party organization is to exercise control over the way in which the Party line is followed in actual practice in the economy, to control the activity of the economic workers, and to help them by using its mass political work to mobilize the workers for the accomplishment of the economic tasks. In this way the local Party bodies direct and shape the course of the entire economic activity by localities. Consequently, the first and most important objective of the okoliya Party committees as a political guiding force in the okoliya is to master the Bolshevik method of guiding the economic organs, which, in the words of Comrade Stalin, means giving regular assistance to these bodies, strengthening them constantly, and directing the national economy by going through them and not by by-passing them.

Not only do most of the okoliya Party committees occupy themselves with matters lying outside their proper field and load themselves down with the work of the administrative and economic organs, but their bureaus examine many problems from a purely administrative point of view. In a number of reports discussed in bureaus of Party committees everything else is mentioned, but very little or practically nothing is said about the Party political and organizational work and the role and the duties of the Party members and organizations.

At the Third Party Conference, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov said:

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"The okoliya Party committees must discard functions that do not belong to them, and they must not become slaves to "current activities" but must apportion the current work as equably as possible among the Party workers so that the latter can study the phenomena and facts, acquire practical experience, train themselves, become better theoreticians, put themselves in a position to gain a deep insight into the work of the state, economic, public, and cultural organizations and practise political leadership, organize the political work among the people, direct, and supervise."  
 (V. Chervenkov, "On the Organizational and Mass Political Activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party," page 39)

These instructions of Comrade Chervenkov have not yet been completely implemented and adopted in the Party's everyday activity.

Because of insufficient planning, the okoliya Party committee in the okrug held too many sessions during the reporting period. The bureau of the Pomorie Okoliya Party committee, for example, held 118 sessions during the reporting period, and this means that it was in session almost four months of the year. Besides that, because of the unsatisfactory preparations made for them, some sessions have dragged on for two days and have turned into talking marathons. At one session of the bureau of the Elkhovo Okoliya Party committee with an agenda of seven points, 128 questions were asked and 90 statements were read. The cramming of the sessions and the insufficient preparations made for them inevitably lead to the adoption of too many decisions, while little attention is

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devoted to organizing the actual implementation of the decisions and even less to checking on the implementation. As a result of inadequate and tardy check-ups on the part of the okoliya Party committees in the okrug, the same problems are often discussed more than once, decisions are made on them at more than one meeting, and in the end they remain unsolved.

Engrossed as they are in long and frequent sessions, the okoliya Party committees have less time to devote to real, specific, and effective guidance of the primary Party organizations. The okoliya committees often send their regular and special representatives out to the primary Party organizations, but the results of their work are still unsatisfactory because in many cases they act more as administrative officers and less as Party representatives sent to assist the Party organizations in giving a better and more correct explanation of various matters and in mobilizing the Party members and the non-Party workers for the accomplishment of their assigned tasks. The okoliya committees do not devote enough study to the Party documents, (reports, memoranda, plans, statements, etc.) which they receive from the primary Party organizations. The experience of the Party organizations are not summed up on the basis of these documents, although they contain many valuable ideas and proposals originating in the local organizations.

After accounting for and discussing these and other weaknesses in the work of the okoliya Party committees, the Party reporting and election conferences adopted a number of resolutions to improve the work of the okoliya committees and their

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methods of leadership. In the resolution adopted by the Burgas Okoliya Party reporting and election conference there is the statement: "The conference requires the Okoliya committees and Party organizations to direct all their efforts to the organizational and ideo-political strengthening of the primary Party organizations and especially those at farm workers' cooperatives, state farms, and machine-tractor stations, to increasing these organizations' initiative, to eliminating the harmful administrative methods, to raising the level of the mass political and organizational activity to the level of the political objectives, to creating rural Party groups of activists, capable of explaining, organizing, and persuading the workers to carry out all Party and Government measures, to extending the Party's internal democracy and applying the collective method of work, to developing criticism and self-criticism and assigning specific tasks to each Communist, and checking on their accomplishment."

In the resolution adopted by the Karnobat Okoliya Party reporting and election conference there is the statement: "The work of the farm workers' cooperatives must be improved and the establishment of Party groups in brigades and squads must be completed. The Party organizations should periodically hear reports on the work of the farm workers' cooperatives from the chairmen and the responsible Party members in brigades and squads. The model Statutes and the decrees of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on organization and wages must be observed most strictly."

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The resolution adopted by the Aytos Okoliya Party reporting and election conference says: "The okoliya Party committee and the Party organizations must help the okoliya people's soviet and the local people's soviets draw a large group of workers into active work in the permanent commissions to assist the soviets in accomplishing the tasks before them. The okoliya Party committees and primary organizations must require periodic reports on the work of the Communists who are working in the soviets."

The resolution adopted by the Elkhovo Okoliya Party reporting and election conference contains the statement: "All measures must be taken to organize the termination of the Party school year and to make a proper selection of propagandists for the 1951-1952 school year. The quality of the Party educational activity must be improved."

The above-mentioned decisions are only a small part of the decisions written up in the resolutions adopted at the recently held okoliya Party reporting and election conferences in the okrug. The thing to do now is to implement and carry out these correct decisions so that there can be a further improvement in the work of the okrug Party organization and all its subdivisions. In this connection the okrug and okoliya Party committees, admitting the extremely harmful and formalistic attitude which they displayed last year towards the implementation of the decisions of the election meetings and conferences, took a number of steps this year to implement these decisions.

One of these measures is the holding of a monthly seminar with the okoliya secretaries in the okrug and with the secretaries

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of the primary Party organizations in each okoliyas on the problems of Party organization and current issues. At such seminar studies three or four subjects have been taken up in all the okoliya committees. Preparations are now being made to conduct the third seminar with the okoliya secretaries on the subject: "The proper coordination of Party political, economic, and administrative work." Another measure of the same sort is the holding of plenums of the okrug and okoliya Party committees, at which the activity of the people's soviets and of the responsible Communist workers in them has been discussed.

In execution of the decisions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences were taken a number of measures to assure the successful termination of the Party school year in the entire okrug Party organization. As a result 96 percent of all the Party education classes in the okrug were brought to a successful end. In this respect the best work was done by the Karnobat Okoliya Party organization, in which all the Party education classes were brought to a successful ending.

What must be done in order that the decisions in the resolutions of the Party reporting and election meetings and conferences may be implemented successfully and completely?

First of all, it must be properly understood that the decisions of the Party reporting and election meetings and conferences are not mere formal statements but a guide for the work of the Party committees between two reporting and election conferences. They contain the many-sided experience in Party work of the primary and okoliya Party organizations, their criticism

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of the defects in the work of the Party bureaus and committees, and the measures which will raise the Party political and organizational work to a higher level. From this it follows that in planning the work for each quarter and each month the bureaus of the okrug and okoliya Party committees and the primary organizations must be guided by the directives and the instructions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the decisions contained in the resolutions of the Party reporting and election meetings and conferences. This means that the decisions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences are not to be perused merely occasionally. They must serve as a guide in the daily work of the Party committees and the bureaus of the primary Party organizations. Also, the decision must be rendered more specific and detailed since they are given in a very concise and general form in the resolutions.

Regular supervision of the implementation of the decisions must be organized so as to make sure that they are carried out. Successful carrying out of the decisions of the Party reporting and election meetings and conferences is impossible without a regular check-up of the implementation, and this happens to be one of the greatest weaknesses in the Party's work. A report on the manner in which the decisions of the Party reporting and election meetings and conferences are carried out must be made not only by the bureaus of the okrug and okoliya Party committees but also by their plenums. The okrug and okoliya Party committees must also make more frequent check-ups on the spot through their members and instructors to see how the primary Party organizations are carrying out the decisions of the reporting and election meetings



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and conferences and to give them all possible assistance to that end.

What has been accomplished up to now by the okrug Party committee, the okoliya committees, and especially the primary Party organizations in Burgas Okrug in carrying out the decisions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences is altogether inadequate. The formalistic attitude towards the decisions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences has not been done away with as yet, and this makes it difficult to improve further and raise the level of the Party's leadership and of all its activity.

The Party organizations in the okrug must undertake to implement the decisions of the reporting and election meetings and conferences in a Bolshevist manner and must rid themselves of their present tendency to underestimate them and of their formalistic attitude towards them.

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THE TRAINING OF PROPAGANDISTS (pages 115-120)

Rosen Petrov

The Bulgarian Communist Party is taking important measures to promise the Marxist-Leninist training and political toughening of the Party officials and members in all the fields of Party, state, and economic work. These measures are easy to understand.

The entire practical activity of the Party, which consists of building the Socialist economy and culture and erecting the structure of the Party and the state, is based on the theory of the political economy of Socialism, on the Leninist-Stalinist teachings on the Party and the state, on the Leninist-Stalinist ideas of socialist culture, etc., in other words, on Bolshevik theory and practice in general.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and relying on the brotherly assistance of the USSR, the Bulgarian Communist Party is leading the workers of Bulgaria from victory to victory in the struggle to build Socialism. The political and labor activity of the working class and the working peasants, whose entire efforts are directed towards the fulfillment of the state economic plan -- the plan for speeding up Bulgaria's development ██████████ on the road to Socialism -- is growing greater day by day. Their political and labor activity and their socialist consciousness are growing in the struggle against the remnants

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of capitalism and private ownership in national economy and in the minds of the people, and in the struggle against hostile bourgeois ideologies and concepts. Under these conditions the role of the Party workers has increased greatly in importance, and the level of their ideo-political education must be constantly raised in order to assure the success of each endeavor and each measure of the Party and the people's democratic state. Comrade Stalin says: "We must accept it as axiomatic that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the workers in any branch of state and Party activity is, the better and more fruitful the work itself will be, and the more effective the results of that work. And on the other hand, the lower the political level and the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the Party workers is, the more probable it is that there will be failures in the work, that the workers themselves will take a narrow attitude and will be transformed into pedants, and the more probable their decadence."

During the past school year the Party accomplished a great deal for the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members and the non-Party activists closest to the Party.

The Party has created the conditions for a thorough study of Marxism-Leninism by the Party members. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and also those of the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party are being published in large printings; lectures are being given; consultants and reference books are being made available; and a majority of the Party members are enrolled in the various study circles for political education. The

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number and the skill of the propagandists, who work as leaders of study centers, political schools, and general education schools and as consultants, is constantly increasing. During the 1949-1950 Party school year the number of propagandists was 12,000, and now they number 19,400. During the new school year the Party will have more propagandists. This will make it possible to enroll many more Party members and candidates in the Party's training classes, to increase the number of non-Party individuals in the study circles and the political schools, and to provide a certain number of Communists for propaganda work in the Dimitrov Youth League.

The basic factor in Party education is the assurance of high-grade propaganda and a high ideological level in the classes. All the decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the problems of Marxist-Leninist indoctrination direct the attention and the efforts of the Party organizations not only to more extensive enrollment of the Party members in the Party's instruction system but also, and even mainly, to the improvement of the quality of Party instruction, its ideology and theoretical level.

It is on the propagandist and his training in theory and method, more than anything else, that the quality of Marxist-Leninist instruction depends. "It is well known," says Comrade Chervenkov, "that in any kind of work it is the persons who are doing it that determine its success or failure. Nowhere else, perhaps, is this felt so acutely as in the organization of

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Marxist-Leninist instruction and propaganda. Here almost everything depends on the personnel, that is, the lecturers, the propagandists, and the consultants." Therefore, the principal task of the Party organizations in their struggle to improve the quality of political instruction is to make a careful selection of propagandists and to spare no efforts to increase their training in theory and their mastery of method.

The experience of the past school year provides cogent evidence of why it is necessary to solve this problem without delay and correctly. The negligent attitude of some Party committees in the summer of 1950 towards the problem of the choice of propagandists had a harmful effect on the studies of many Party members. The check on the propagandists which was made by the Party committees in May 1951 revealed that of 19,350 propagandists, 2,250 or 11.4 percent, have an inadequate training and cannot be used during the new school year. This means that studies in 2,250 study circles, political schools, and general training schools were not carried on in a satisfactory manner and that more than 30,000 Party members and candidate members did not have skilled assistance during the school year in their study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Especially unfortunate was the selection of propagandists in Stara Zagora Okoliya, where 34 percent of the leaders of study classes have inadequate training, in Sandanski Okoliya, where the figure is 36 percent and also in Tervel, Tolbukhin, Belen, Plovdiv, and Pleven okoliyas. The low level of the classes in the study circles and schools in these okoliyas and the failure to ful-

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fill the study plans there are to be explained mainly by improper selection of propagandists.

In Troyan, Gabrovo, Karnobat, and other okolias where the leaders of the study circles and schools are comrades who are well grounded in theory and the percentage of the inadequately trained propagandists is very low (from 1 to 8 percent), the political education of the Party members is set on a solid basis and the failures in the work are insignificant.

The Party committees and organizations are required to make a good choice of propagandists in order to provide skilled leaders for the study circles, political schools, and general instruction schools during the new Party school year 1951-1952.

This means that only leaders who have done their work well during the past year should continue to conduct the work in the study circles and schools. In addition, Party workers, officials in state and economic work, teachers, and other high-ranking comrades, who are capable of providing high-quality political instruction should be brought in as new propagandists for the new school year.

The approval of the propagandists by the bureaus of the okoliya and municipal Party committees will contribute to the improvement of the propagandist staffs and the consolidation of a permanent body of propagandists which will give firm support to the Party organizations in the latter's work of training the Party members and the non-party activists in Marxism-Leninism.

During the past year permanent seminars were organized to

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give assistance to the propagandists in both theory and method. It is to be regretted that a number of Party committees did not use the seminars as the principal way of extending assistance to the propagandists and that the classes were not held regularly at a number of places in Plovdiv, Dimitrovo, Belen, and other okoliyas. Not infrequently the lectures given in these seminars were of low quality, the problems to be taken up at the next classes in the study circles and schools were not thoroughly discussed and very little attention was devoted to classroom method. As a result the quality of many propagandists' work does not satisfy the increased demands of the listeners. The inadequate grounding in theory of many propagandists and their lack of methodological habits and propagandist experience have permitted Formalism and alien methods to make their way into Party propaganda. Instead of lively discussions and deliberations on the subjects under study the dominant features at many study circles, political schools and general training schools are the question-and-answer method and dry and boring classes, which hamper the thorough mastering of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the listeners.

Many propagandists still cannot tie theory with practice, with the most important objectives of the Party, and cannot show their listeners clearly the scientific basis of Party policy and inspire them with the creative enthusiasm of fiery fighters for Socialism.

The great expansion of Party education is putting more and more and more demands on the propagandists.

Once he has assumed the responsible and noble task of help-

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ing the Party members master Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the propagandist is duty-bound constantly to increase his skill in theory and his knowledge and to master the art of propaganda. The Party organizations must assist the propagandists daily in achieving this difficult objective.

As they did last year, the Party committees will organize courses during the summer months of this year to give more theoretical and methodological training to the propagandists. In addition, there will be seminars for the better trained leaders of study circles and schools, for the leaders of propagandist seminars and for consultants.

The municipal and rayon Party committees will organize night courses and seminars for the training of leaders of study circles, political schools, and general training schools, so that they can be attended without any interruption in production, and the okrug and okoliya Party committees will organize courses and seminars for training propagandists from the villages, who will give up their regular work during this time. The propagandists of the Dimitrov Youth League and the Fatherland Front in the cities will also be trained in the Party's evening courses and seminars.

In these courses the propagandists will study subjects which are included in the study programs of the study circles and schools. In the seminars basic questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and Party policy will be studied. In addition, an important place will be given in the courses and seminars to the proper methods to be used in the work in the study circles and political schools and in self-study. During the first year the following subjects will be of great importance in helping the instructors of the political schools

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master the methods: "The study plan, objectives and organization of the work in a political school", "the training of the propagandist for the studies in a political school", "the methods of presenting a subject", "the work of the listeners with reference books, taking notes on the subjects taught, drawing a prospectus", etc.

It is well known that the high ideological level of the studies in the study circles and the schools depends not only on the propagandist's training in theory but also to a large extent on his skill in presenting the material to his listeners. The study circles and schools in the Party's training system should arouse in the listeners an interest in mastering the theory, should give them a thorough knowledge of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Party policy, and should show them how to develop the habit of self-study.

The objective of the courses and seminars is to train the propagandists so that they can organize and ~~conduct~~<sup>conduct</sup> their classes in such a way as to enable the listeners not only to remember separate facts and events, but also, and mainly, to acquire the ability to orient themselves in the material understudy, to summarize it, to make correct deductions, and to apply the knowledge they acquire in their everyday work.

The study of the problems of methods will be more thorough and fruitful if it is based on the experiences of the propagandists, for whom the past <sup>year</sup> was a good school. Many of them learned to grasp the essentials of a subject, to bring questions pertaining to current events and problems into their lectures and discussions, and to present the essence of the Marxist-Leninist ideas in a clear

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and adequate form. Thorough summation in the courses and the seminars of propagandists' experiences is an important factor in raising the quality of Party training during the new school year.

The training of a large number of propagandists all at one time, and also at the same time that intensive efforts are being made to harvest the crops on time and to turn in the compulsory state grain deliveries, makes it necessary for the Party committees and organizations to devote special efforts and measures to the organization of courses and seminars.

Last year a number of courses were poorly organized, and the work in them was at a low level. A considerable number of Party members who lacked the proper qualifications for becoming good propagandists were enrolled in these courses. Many courses started late and did not have the prescribed numbers of students.

The course organized by the Stara Zagora Okrug Party committee began its classes with 17 students instead of the prescribed 31, and at Chirpan there were 30 instead of 36. Some propagandists joined the courses two or four days after they had begun. The evening courses at Khaskovo, Yambol, Plevna, and other places were attended by only 50 to 60 percent of the propagandists who were supposed to attend them. In addition, skillful lecturers were not secured for all the courses.

The Party committees and organizations must make maximum use of the experience acquired last year, and they must avoid the mistakes made last summer and improve their organization of the

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courses and the course work. Correct and timely choice of students and instructors is of primary importance in getting good results from the courses and the seminars and in assuring a high quality of work. Only those comrades who have been approved by the bureaus of the okoliya and municipal committees for propaganda work should be accepted in them, and the instructors must be the regular lecturers in the permanent courses, the lecturers in the okrug lecture groups, and other responsible Party workers.

The timely distribution of the lectures among the instructors, the strict observance of the study plan, and the proper conduct of the studies are an important factor in attaining a high ideological level in the studies in the courses and seminars. If the lectures are ideologically sound and are well prepared, and if the listeners are given assistance in their self-study, then the work of the propagandists will be successful and the basic points in the subjects being studied will be grasped. If the propagandists give empty and dry lectures and take an attitude of indifference towards individual study by the propagandists, the discussions will be empty and the study discipline will suffer, and as the final result the work of the courses and seminars will prove fruitless.

Formalistic methods of work must not be tolerated in the courses and seminars. For they kill the listeners' interest in theory and make profound study of the material difficult.

This year seminars will be held for the propagandists during the summer months for the first time. The okoliya and municipal Party committees must be punctual in supplying those participating in these seminars with lists of the subjects and the reference

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books relating to them and must supervise their independent work with the reference material. This is an indispensable condition for conducting the classes at a higher ideological and theoretical level and for increasing the skill of the propagandists and the consultants.

The Party consulting offices can be of great assistance in the training of the propagandists. These offices in addition to organizing group and individual consultations with the lecturers and the propagandists, must find reference material, visual instruction materials, and other pertinent materials on the individual subjects and must summarize the positive experiences of the propagandists during the school year and publicize them through the courses and the seminars.

The proper training of the ~~propagandists~~<sup>propagandists</sup> will depend to a great extent on daily and direct supervision of the work in the courses by the Party committees. The Party committees must know what is being taught and must keep a check on the quality of the lectures and see to the strict fulfillment of the study plans. This means that more care is taken in the work done in the courses and the seminars and trains the propagandists to feel a responsibility for performing the duties assigned them by the Party.

The words of Georgi Dimitrov: "Let us learn and fight, and let us fight and learn; let us learn how to coordinate the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin with Stalinist toughness in our work and our struggle, with the Stalinist resolve not to compromise with the class enemy and the deviationists from the Bolshevik line, with Stalinist fearlessness in the face of difficulties, and with Stalinist revolutionary realism," will

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actually become the <sup>guiding</sup> ~~rule~~ rule in the work of the courses and seminars if the Party committees organize them properly and if they create all the proper conditions so that the studies in them can be carried on at a high idec-theoretical level.

The successful conduct out of the educational work during the Party school year 1951-1952 will largely depend on the way in which the Party committees and organizations are able to organize the work of selecting and training the propagandists.

An important and responsible duty of the propagandists is to spread the great Marxist-<sup>Leninist</sup> ~~teachings~~ teachings among the workers and to educate the Party members and the workers politically. An important duty of all Party committees and organizations is to assist the propagandists in the performance of this noble task and to see to it that the courses and seminars for propagandists are conducted on schedule and efficiently.

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## PARTY ORGANIZATIONS TO IMPROVE COOPS (pages 121-125)

The primary Party organization at the farm workers' cooperative at Novo Selo, Ruse Okoliya, has only 46 members. But since it is well set up organizationally and politically it represents a great force at the farm workers' cooperative and plays a large share in its achievements. The entire activity of the Party organization is directed towards assisting the cooperative's economic council in the successful accomplishment of the farm's organizational and economic tasks. Observing the Bolshevik rule that the force of the Party lies in the activeness and the personal example of its members and in their skill in explaining matters to the non-Party workers and in persuading and leading them, it assigns specific organizational, political, and production tasks to its members; it strives to keep their political and production activity increasing constantly; it exercises regular supervision over the activity of the responsible Communists; and it does daily explanatory work among the farm members and mobilizes them for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned.

The Party organization and its bureau often discuss the fulfillment of the economic tasks at their meetings and sessions, and they strive to keep informed on all current economic problems and to know at all times in which sections and for what reasons the work is satisfactory or unsatisfactory. In order to be able

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to do this they have the Communists in responsible positions and the chairman of the cooperative farm present reports to them on economic problems.

In order to have a detailed acquaintance with the situation at the cooperative and perform its guiding role, the Party organization has assigned all its members to brigades, farms, and squads. It has sent its most capable members to the spots where the work is the hardest. For instance, after the acceptance of many new members in the cooperative great difficulties cropped up in the raising and protecting of the cooperative's livestock. The situation became exceedingly critical during the winter. Because of unsatisfactory care there were about 40 very weak and sick horses, which were not expected to survive by many of the cooperators. But the Party organization was of a different opinion. At one of its meetings it discussed the question and decided that the horses which were expected to die could be saved and be raised as healthy animals. This difficult task was assigned to the Party member Comrade Dimo T. Dimov. Comrade Dimov justified the confidence of the Party organization and the cooperative members. By working hard day and night he succeeded in saving the sick horses, and in the spring they were put to work. Comrade Dimov's example was followed by the other herdsmen of the cooperative's livestock, a lively competition for good stock-raising took place, and as a result the farm workers' cooperative lost no livestock because of bad care.

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The Communists are the initiators of every new thing that is done at the farm workers' cooperative and are foremost in the competition for high yields. The brigade led by Party member Todor Marinov collected more than 6,000 kilograms of animal manure and scrap lumber, Nikola Khristov's brigade collected more than 5,000 kilograms of manure, etc. On the initiative of the Communists all the brigades at the cooperative conducted a crop-cultivation campaign and engaged in a mass fight against weeds.

Conscious of the fact that the strength of the Party lies not only in its numerical size but also in its solid ties with the non-Party masses of the workers and in its skill in making the masses more active and winning their support, the Party organization pays great attention to the work with the non-Party members of the cooperative, seeks their advice, assists them in their work, and helps get the most conscientious and industrious among them promoted to responsible administrative positions in the farm workers' cooperative. The result is that non-Party cooperative members who are honest, industrious, and devoted to the cooperative have been appointed as leaders of five production brigades at the farm.

The Party organization takes extensive measures to promote the development of the explanatory work among the cooperative members in brigades and squads and a constant improvement in the quality of that work. The principal objectives of the mass political work at the cooperative at present are the fulfillment

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of the pledge given to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov by the cooperative members to secure high yields, the successful gathering of the rich crop, and the delivery of the first grain to the state. In order to increase the skill of the agitators at the farm a three-month agitator course is being conducted, and it is being attended by 60 agitators, both Communists and non-Communists.

The primary Party organization at the farm workers' cooperative at Bresovo, Aytos Okoliya, has also organized its work satisfactorily. Up to 1950 this Party organization had led an anemic existence and had not made itself felt in the cooperative. The entire work was being done by the general village Party committee. After the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party decided to disband the general village Party committees and to strengthen the primary Party organizations, especially at the farm workers' cooperatives, the picture changed completely. The Party organization's consciousness of its responsibility for the condition of the farm workers' cooperative increased. The initiative and the activity of the Party organization also increased, and it became a real guiding force at the farm.

The Party organization now interests itself in all the economic, organizational, and personnel problems of the farm workers' cooperative. The Party bureau hears reports each month from the chairman of the cooperative, from the brigade leaders who are Communists, from the leader of the youth squad, and from

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other Communists in responsible positions on the accomplishment of the economic and other tasks. In this way the Party bureau and the Party organization keep informed on the entire economic life of the cooperative, are acquainted with the good sides and the defects in the organization of the work in the various brigades and squads, the qualifications of the different administrators, and the feelings and the needs of the cooperative members, and take the necessary measures to keep the work running smoothly. The opinions of the Party bureau and the Party organization command the respect of all the cooperative members. Therefore, the economic council has now made it a practice to consult with the Party bureau and to ask for the assistance of the Party organization in solving all important personnel, economic, and other problems.

In order to perform its directive work more effectively the Party organization has grouped its members by their brigades and these groups regularly discuss measures for improving the work in the brigades, for strengthening labor discipline, and for extending competition. They engage in explanatory activity and work to increase the Marxist-Leninist consciousness and activity of the Party members. Each Party member at the cooperative receives and reads the paper Rabotnichesko Delo.

The Party group in the stock-breeding brigade is especially active. This brigade also had to overcome great difficulties in breeding and protecting the cooperative's livestock. Thanks to the personal examples set by the Communists, who worked day and

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night, and the explanatory work of the agitators, both Communists and non-Communists, the difficulties were surmounted and the livestock were saved. At the most difficult moments the Party group has held daily meetings to discuss measures for improving the work. It explains the decrees of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the cooperative members, and organizes collective reading of appropriate articles in Rabotnichesko Delo, Otechestven Front, Chernomorski Flot, and other papers.

In this way the Party organization is increasing the political and labor consciousness of the cooperative members, and the objectives of the farm are being achieved. By 12 April the farm workers' cooperative had fulfilled its plan for the state milk deliveries, in May it fulfilled its plan for state wool and lamb (meat) deliveries, and on 30 May the sheep-breeding brigade fulfilled the pledge it gave to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, for the high sheep productivity.

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NEED FOR REGULAR COMPLIANCE WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE REPORTING AND  
ELECTION MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES (pages 123-125)

Realizing the great importance of the resolutions of the municipal Party reporting and election conference and of the reporting and election meetings of the primary Party organizations, the bureau of the Plovdiv municipal Party committees discussed on 16 June 1951 the manner in which these resolutions are being implemented by the Party organizations. The bureau pointed out that the greater part of the Party organizations in the city are actually observing the resolutions of the municipal Party reporting and election conference and of their own reporting and election meetings and that as a result their work has improved greatly. The Party organizations at the "Vasil Kolarov" Automobile Repair Plant, at the Bolt Factory, at the "Madara", "9 September", "Maritsa", "Yordanka Chankova", and other enterprises enter into their work plans specific measures for intensifying the fight for peace, for the fulfillment of the pledges given to Comrade Vulko Chervenkov to fulfill the production plans ahead of time, for increasing the revolutionary vigilance of the workers, for improving the work in the mass organizations, and for the accomplishment of other tasks included in the resolutions of the Party reporting and election meetings and the municipal Party reporting and election conference. The Party organizations at these enterprises have heard reports on the activity of the committees for safeguarding the peace and have adopted specific measures for its improvement.

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On their initiative courses have been organized at the enterprises to increase the skill of the workers, specific measures have been proposed and adopted for economizing on basic and supplementary materials, the mass political work has been improved, etc. The Party organizations have also achieved noteworthy successes in their efforts to secure mass enrollment of the workers in Socialist competition. At the Bolt Factory, the "Sasho Dimitrov", "Yordanka Chankova", and a number of other enterprises more than 90 percent of the workers have enrolled in the competitions.

However, there are still some Party organizations which in actual practice put too little stress on the accomplishment of important and urgent tasks assigned by the Party municipal reporting and election conference and the reporting and election meetings. The Party organizations at the "Edinstvo", "Napreduk", "Dub", and other enterprises have not as yet adopted measures to carry out the resolutions for improving their numerical and social composition. The Party organizations at the locomotive depot and the traffic section at the Plovdiv railroad station have not concerned themselves even once up to now with the problem of improving their vigilance, in spite of the fact that the resolutions adopted at their reporting and election meetings obligate them to do so immediately.

There are also Party organizations whose bureaus have simply filed the resolutions away and have done nothing to implement them. Such a formalistic attitude towards the resolution of the municipal Party reporting and election conference

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and the reporting and election meeting is displayed by the bureau of the Party organization at the "Anton Ivanov" Plant.

A great share of the blame for the formalistic attitude of the bureaus of some Party organizations toward the resolutions of the municipal Party reporting and election conference and the reporting and election meetings attaches to the municipal Party committee and its instructors, who, when inspecting the organization's work, do not check to see how they are carrying out these resolutions.

In order to see that the resolutions of the Party municipal reporting and election conference and meetings are carried out, the Party's municipal committee and its instructors must supervise their implementation regularly. Of special importance for the practical implementation of these resolutions is the regular supervision exercised by the Party organizations themselves over the work of their bureaus. For that purpose the bureau of the municipal Party committee has decided that all the Party organizations in the city are to have heard reports from their bureaus by the end of June on the implementation of the resolutions of the municipal Party reporting and election conference and of their own reporting and election meetings.

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WOMEN ACTIVE IN PARTY (July, pages 84-88)

Katya Avramova

Realizing the defects and the weaknesses in the Party's work among the women and the needs of the moment, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has decided to organize women's sections in all Party committees. The principal task of the women's sections is to assist the Party in enrolling the women in the work of building Socialism in Bulgaria. The creation of the women's sections puts the Party committees under definite and specific obligation to carry on and direct the work among the women.

The first obligation in this respect is the correct and prompt creation of the women's sections. This means that women Party members with wide organizational experience and experience in work among the women should be selected for leadership of, and membership in, these sections and that they are to be actual assistants to the Party committees in their work among the women. Also, the work of the women's sections must be so organized as to dispel the erroneous idea that only these sections or any other bodies specially set up for this purpose are to work among the women. The same goes for the bureaus of the primary Party organizations.

Work among the women is a duty of the entire Party and of all its organizations and committees.

The women's sections, like all the other sections, are

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supplementary bodies, that is, they neither lead nor make decisions. But the success of their work will depend on how they organize their work, how they unite the women activists around themselves, and how they assist these activists. The quality of the work done by these sections and organizations will depend to a large extent on how they cooperate with the women's commissions in the Fatherland Front committees, with the women's sections in the Fatherland Front organizations and with the deputies of the chiefs of the political sections at the machine-tractor stations for work among the women.

The special training of women personnel will depend largely, if not exclusively, on the work of the women's sections. The women's sections must know the women activists very well and know what kind of work each of them is best fitted for. They must follow their progress closely and be prompt in proposing their appointment to positions for which they are qualified, and they must check regularly to see how they discharge their new duties and assist them in every way.

However, unless another organization is overcome, the Party can hardly achieve its objectives among the women. This is the problem of the number of women in the Party organizations. If the Party does not have strong groups of Party activists at the farm workers' cooperatives, the enterprises, the machine-tractor stations, the women's sections, etc., on which it can depend and through which it can carry on its work, then it cannot keep in constant contact with the masses of the women and its work will be sporadic and occasional, coming to life

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only during campaigns or when there has been a failure in the work in a particular locality.

As long ago as the Fifth Party Congress Georgi Dimitrov pointed out in his report that the percentage of women members in the Party was much too low, being only 13 percent, which is far from enough to assure the execution of the Party's policy among the broad masses of the women, and he declared that increasing this percentage was an important objective.

At the Third Party Conference, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov stated that this objective had not been achieved and issued a more emphatic call for the solution of the problem.

Just how the Party organizations have complied is shown by the figures given below. Since the time of the Fifth Party Congress the percentage of women in the Party as a whole has increased from 13.84 percent to 14.58 percent, the breakdown by principal categories being as follows:

	Fifth Party Congress	Party Third Conference	First quarter of 1951
Blue-collar workers	18 percent	19 percent	21.65 percent
Peasants	44 percent	40 percent	37 percent
White-collar workers	16 percent	21 percent	19.49 percent

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These figures show that during more than two years the increase in the number of women in the Party has not even reached one percent and that this increase has been among the women blue-collar and white-collar workers, while there has actually been a considerable decrease for the peasant women.

These are the figures for the whole country. If the figures for individual okoliyas are examined it will be seen that the Party organization in a number of villages does not have a single woman member.

Information from eight okrugs shows that 1,702 primary Party organizations in them do not have a single woman member or candidate member. In Ardino Okoliya there are no women members in 54 primary Party organizations out of 60, and in Krumovgrad Okoliya there are not women members in 101 out of 110 primary organizations.

It is not only in okoliyas populated by Turks and Bulgarian Mohammedans that this situation is found. Even in Plovdiv Okoliya there are no women members in 60 Party organizations. Such villages exist in all the okoliyas in the country.

It is appropriate to point out here that in comparison with the Communist and workers parties in the People's Democracies the percentage of women members in the Bulgarian Communist Party is one of the lowest. For instance, in Rumania it is 18.37 percent, in Poland 20 percent, in Hungary 28 percent, in Czechoslovakia about 30 percent, etc.

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What does this show? It shows an incorrect attitude towards the women and the complete indifference of the Party committees towards the work among the women.

The Party organizations in these villages do not have the support they need from the women. And this is so at a time when very fundamental changes are taking place in the villages, when the masses of the peasants are flocking to the farm workers' cooperatives, and when the resistance of the kulaks is becoming more desperate and indiscriminate every day.

It is harmful and dangerous to let this state of affairs continue any longer. The Party must establish strongholds among the masses of the women in the villages and particularly in farm workers' cooperatives. Such strongholds are the women's Party groups at farm workers' cooperatives, in the brigades and squads. For this purpose candidate members should be enrolled from among the best women cooperative members and they should be so located that in each brigade and in each squad in which there are women workers there will be women Party members or candidates. Around the groups of women Party activists in the brigades and squads there should be built up groups of non-Party women activists.

Georgi Dimitrov used to say that women are born agitators. They have proved the accuracy of this opinion of Bulgaria's leader and teacher in important campaigns. These abilities of the women must be utilized by the Party and the Fatherland Front, which must take measures to raise the quality of the women's agitation work and to direct it in an organized and proper manner against the

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rumors circulated by the enemy about the inevitability of a war, the imminent arrival of the Americans, the failure of the farm workers' cooperatives, etc. All this makes it necessary for the Party organizations and especially the Party secretaries, who are directly responsible for the work of the agitation groups, to bring more women into the agitation groups and to guide them in their work in the enterprises, city blocks, farm workers' cooperatives, brigades, and squads.

In the second place, maximum efforts must be made to improve the Party education of the new women Party members so that the level of their political literacy can be raised. An interesting phenomenon can be observed in many Party organizations. The women members usually have nothing to say at the meetings, as if they had no opinions on the questions under discussion. And yet in their work these same women make the proper approach to the tasks assigned to them and work hard to accomplish them. This behavior of the women at the meetings is the result of their lack of confidence in their own knowledge and of the prevailing attitude towards them. The women's self-confidence must be increased, their political education in particular must be stepped up, their work at the political schools must be supervised, and more women must be enrolled in the Party courses and schools.

In the third place, the Party organizations and committees must see to it that women are appointed to responsible Party, public, and economic positions. The women who are appointed to responsible positions in the Party, the Fatherland Front, the

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people's soviets, and economic enterprises and farm workers' cooperatives are still not given enough freedom of action. Very often when women and men workers have the same abilities and training the men receive preference, and frequently more demands are made of the women than of the men. Even now, seven years after the Liberation, the raising of women to responsible positions is not considered a public obligation on which the utilization of their enormous latent abilities depends, but as an obligation imposed from above. The appointment of women to responsible positions is especially necessary at the farm workers' cooperatives, where they, together with the youth, represent an absolute majority of the workers. At the Second Conference of the farm workers' cooperatives, Comrade Vulko Chervenkov said: "Enroll the women more extensively in the administration of farm workers' cooperatives as brigade leaders, squad leaders, and managers of stock farms. The farm workers' cooperatives cannot be built up without the active participation of women in them." (V. Chervenkov, following along the Road of Georgi Dimitrov" page 502).

Since the women are in the majority at the farm workers' cooperatives and since farm workers' cooperatives cannot be built up without their active participation, it is absolutely necessary and justifiable that they be appointed to responsible administrative positions. All this is shown by the rich experience of the kolkhozes and the experience of Bulgaria herself. At the okoliya Party conference at Byala it was pointed out that the livestock situation during the winter had been very bad. At certain villages the problem had been tackled by appointing various cooperative members to keep watch over the livestock for

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two weeks, and at others the kulaks who had infiltrated the farm workers' cooperatives, had volunteered "to take care" of the livestock. As a result of their "care" many animals had died during the winter. And nobody had the courage to put the women in charge of this important work. The secretary of the Party organization at Tolovitsa, Belogradchik Okoliya, comrade Iv. Bolzurski, states:

"We have two women at the stock farm. One milks the cows and the other takes care of the calves; both do excellent work, especially the latter. Since she took over this work it has been a pleasure to look at the calves. Whereas they used to be dirty and underfed, they are now washed and clean, and when she enters the barn they follow her as children would. She is not a Party member."

Examples like this are not rare. Indeed, there are many of them, and they are encouraging. Following the examples set by Peshka Rangelova, Fanka Saturdayska, and A. Chervenashka, hundreds of women are carrying on a determined and successful struggle for high yields at farm workers' cooperatives. Such women should be given responsible positions, and confidence must be placed in them. This is to the advantage of the farm workers' cooperatives, the national economy, and the work of building Socialism in Bulgaria.

The problem of increasing the skill of the women must also be taken up in all seriousness. As has been noted, many women have left their households and gone into public production in factories, machine tractor stations, and farm workers'

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cooperatives. These women must be assisted in acquiring more skill and must receive encouragement and assistance for them to be well organized. This applies equally to all women, both workers and peasants. They must be enrolled in the various kinds of courses and study circles so that they can increase their knowledge: the workers, their skill, and the members of farm workers' cooperatives, their agrotechnical knowledge. Women who have distinguished themselves must be sent to courses and schools for brigade and squad leaders and must be encouraged to learn new trades and especially urged and helped to train for work at the machine-tractor stations.

Keeping in view the requirements of the transition period and copying the rich experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevist) and of the USSR in working among the women, the Bulgarian Communist Party must focus its attention on the work among the women and must organize it and provide daily direction for it so that the great latent forces of the women can be brought into active participation in the building of Socialism.

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