

KULAKS—SUPPORT OF THE FASCIST TITO CLIQUE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

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In 1946, Tito declared in one of his pre-election speeches: “We say to the peasants that they constitute the most firm support of our State not just because we want to get their votes but because this is the real state of affairs”, (“Borba”, November 2, 1946).

That was in 1946 when Tito and his clique carefully concealed their real counterrevolutionary countenance, and when the imperialist masters of Tito did not find it expedient to reveal their most thoroughly disguised reserves. Tito’s statement was by no means fortuitous. His “theory” about the peasantry being regarded as one single unit and as the most firm support of the people’s State was even then, an attempt to provide an “ideological basis” for the policy which was carried out by the Tito clique and which aimed at the elimination of the leading role of the working class and at the formation of support from capitalist, kulak elements—a direct attempt to conceal the policy of turning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia into a nationalist, kulak party.

This, therefore, was the theory and practice which strengthened the position of the kulaks in the countryside and which was an important element in drawing up the far-reaching counter-revolutionary Thermidorian plans of the Tito clique and of its

imperialist masters.

Lenin teaches: “They, the kulaks and parasites, are enemies no less formidable than the capitalists and landlords. And if the kulaks are not dealt with; if we do not cope with the parasites, the return of the tsar and the capitalists is Inevitable.

“The experience of every revolution that has hitherto occurred in Europe offers striking corroboration of the fact that revolution is inevitably doomed if the peasants do not throw off the domination of the kulaks”.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia was effected, thanks to the victory of the U.S.S.R. over Hitlerism and to the direct assistance of the Soviet Army, the Tito clique, in an attempt to divert the attention of the Yugoslav people from the rich experience of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the C.P.S.U.(B) in the Socialist reorganisation of the countryside, sought more and more openly to spread anti-Leninist views of the allegedly specific role of the Yugoslav kulak. This “theory” was later formulated in detail by Behler, the Titoite Vice-Minister of foreign Affairs an exposed American spy. He said; “We have no such kulaks as were in the U.S.S.R. Our rich peasants took part on a mass scale in the national liberation struggle and therefore they are politically matured... Should we eliminate the kulaks In order to satisfy the demands of petrified dogmatic survivals?

“Will it be a mistake if we succeed in making the kulak switch to ‘Socialism without class struggle?’”

Such statements are not the exception among Titoite ring-leaders. For example, Bakaric, Premier of Croatia, described the Yugoslav kulak in the following

way : “He likes Social ism and wants collectivisation”. Blagoje Neskovic, another “pillar” of the Titoite regime declared; “We should not encourage the fiction of any class struggle in our country. Our kulaks are not like those in the U.S.S.R. and therefore they should be treated like the working peasantry. We should draw the kulaks into the people’s government committees, into the People’s Front, co-operatives, and so on.”

In keeping with these principles the Tito clique began, immediately after the liberation of Yugoslavia, to carry out the policy of extending (he People’s Front by drawing in the kulaks, thus preparing support for itself in the countryside for a counterrevolutionary coup d’etat.

With this aim in view the Titoites extolled the ostensible services of kulaks during the partisan struggle, and also, in this connection, circulated conceptions negating the class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside. Such tales about kulaks who, in the course of the national liberation war, had allegedly “re-educated themselves” and had become “collectivists” and “socialists” were disseminated with the aim of preparing an unbridled nationalist campaign to accompany the obvious switch of the Tito clique to bourgeois nationalism.

The complete switch over of the Tito gang from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and to open betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia to Anglo-American imperialism, has found striking expression in the intensified development of the kulak policy of Tito fascism in the Yugoslav countryside. As is known, Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Pjade are fussing about with falsified figures concerning the growth of “planned” industrial

output, and also with the expanding figures of pseudo-co-operatives in the countryside, seeking to present this as the “building of Socialism” in Yugoslavia.

The real meaning of this refined fraud is revealed, incidentally, by the fact that the only people who are ready to testify that this is “Socialism” and who are zealously praising it are the Anglo-American imperialists, their intelligence services and agents—particularly all kind of trotskyite rabble.

The policy of the Yugoslav rulers in the countryside is of a kulak-capitalist nature. The pseudo-co-operatives forcibly implanted in the countryside, are in the hands of kulaks and their agents and are weapons for the exploitation of the broad masses of working peasantry.

The direct switch over of the Tito clique to the imperialist camp, and the counterrevolutionary nature of the power it established, have resulted in a radical, qualitative change in the economic structure itself.

In his work “About Marxism in Linguistics” Comrade Stalin gave a profound explanation of the mutual connection between the foundation and the superstructure. He said that “the superstructure is created by the foundation precisely in order to serve it, actively to help it to take shape and gain strength, actively to fight for the destruction of ‘the old foundation which has outlived itself, together with its old superstructure. It is sufficient for the superstructure to give up its subsidiary role, for the superstructure to pass from a position of active defence of the foundation to an attitude of indifference towards it, to an attitude of equal regard towards classes, for it to lose its quality and cease to be a superstructure’”. This statement assists a better understanding of the process of the

elimination of the system of people's democracy in Yugoslavia by the counter-revolutionary Tito-Rankovic clique.

The development of the events since the November 1949 Meeting of the Information Bureau shows that the fascisation of Yugoslavia is proceeding rapidly, affecting the very foundation of the economic structure. The abolition of the nationalisation of industry, by the creation of so-called "labour collectives", is a further step in the restoration of capitalism, and the introduction of a fascist corporative system—a stage on the path of the restoration of private property in industry. This means that things are so developing that, in the near future, capitalists and manufacturers who were driven away by the people's masses and who, after the Tito counter-revolutionary coup d'état, firmly settled themselves in economic enterprises as higher officials of the new regime, will take their former enterprises into their own hands.

At the same time, by unbridled exploitation and through the direct ruin of the main peasant masses, the Tito clique is speeding up the growth of capitalist kulak elements everywhere in the countryside. Kulaks—the support of the Tito regime in the countryside—have the upper hand in the political and economic life of the countryside.

The press of the Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants provides hundreds of examples of the kulaks dominating the Yugoslav countryside. Kulaks have not only established themselves in local administrative organs and in People's Front committees, but are being drawn, on a mass scale, by the fascist regime into the State, Party and economic apparatus at all levels. It is

sufficient to say, for example, that as early as 1948, five thousand kulaks had been accepted as “specialists” in the agricultural apparatus of the Yugoslav administration.

The policy aimed at an all-round strengthening of the kulaks is carried out on an increasingly wider scale by the kulaks themselves who are drawn into the fascist bureaucracy, into its officer and police corps and into the secret police and intelligence service organs.

The Titoites have actually abolished the law on agrarian reform, substituting it by number of government decrees and instructions which were drawn up in the interests of the kulaks and with the direct participation of that inveterate enemy of the people—the Trotskyite, Mose Pjade.

Kulaks are more and more buying up, at low prices, the best plots of land from the poor and medium peasants. According to “Rabotnichesko Delo”, “the law of inheritance, which provides for enormous “taxes on heirs, has become a scourge for the bulk of the peasants and a blessing for the kulaks. This law forces the peasants to yield part of their inheritance to the kulaks in order to get money to pay taxes. In Serbia alone, during 1947, 20,000 poor, and medium peasants were compelled to sell their plots to kulaks.

The Tito clique reduces taxes for the kulaks, while the additional and ever-growing burden, arising from the feverish armaments and the swelling of the Rankovic police-terror apparatus, falls wholly on the shoulders of the bulk of the peasants, on the working people of town and countryside.

Thus, the “top secret” Order No. 17 of March 18th, 1949, of the Ministry of Finance of Serbia, for example,

as stated by Todor Todorovic, former Assistant Finance Minister who fled to Bulgaria, instructs the provincial authorities to revise the kulak taxes. In the Pancevo district, taxes imposed on the kulaks were reduced from 200 million dinar to 110 million dinar; in the Negotin district, from 112 million to 65 million and in the Pozarevas district from 110 to 70 million dinar.

The policy of purchasing agricultural produce, a considerable part of which is intended for export to the capitalist countries, obviously favours the kulaks. According to the fascist decree of October 15, 1949, relating to obligatory State grain deliveries during 1950-1951, peasants possessing from 2 to 3 hectares of land have to sell up to 4.5 centners of grain per hectare from 3 to 5 hectares up to 8.5 centners, and those possessing over 15 hectares from 2.5 to 15.5 centners per hectare. This last figure of 155 centners per hectare looks very "menacing" for the kulak at first glance, but considering that he dominates the local organs of authority which define the rate of the tax, in practice we find that the poor peasant has to deliver 4.5 or 8.5 centners per hectare while the kulak is able, and mostly does, deliver considerably less, since the law provides for the lowest quota delivery of only 2.5 centners per hectare. The "just" arrangements for the Titoite meat deliveries etc. are very much the same.

The so-called system of linked prices has become a source of enrichment for the kulaks and a means of exploiting the poor peasants. This system, introduced in connection with the acute shortage of both agricultural and industrial produce, is based on the arrangement that peasants who sell produce in excess of obligatory deliveries receive special cheques, in exchange for

which they may acquire certain scarce industrial manufactured goods. It goes without saying that the kulaks who have the greatest quantity of surplus produce, amass nearly all the cheques and indulge in speculation, selling these cheques to the poor.

The Tito clique tries to cover up all this policy of shameless exploitation of the mass of the peasantry, encouragement and the strengthening of the kulaks, by noisy talk about the “speedy growth of Socialism in the countryside” in the shape of pseudo-producer co-operatives, so-called “zadrugi” which, according to Yugoslav statistics for January 1, 1950, now number 6,615 embracing 329,650 farms and 1,812,000 hectares of land.

The Titoites have the insolence to compare this statistical data of the growth of the kulak pseudo-co-operatives with that of the development of producer cooperatives in the People’s Democracies, a movement, which, in the ever-sharpening struggle against the kulaks unites, on the voluntary principle, ever-wider masses of poor and middle peasants into collective enterprises of a Socialist type.

The experience of the People’s Democracies teaches us that this movement develops all the more quickly, the more consistently and ably the Communist and, Workers’ Parties exercise, in practice, the Lenin-Stalin instruction: “Rely on the poor peasant, strengthen the alliance with the middle peasant and fight against the kulak.”

The very modest experience as yet, of the development of producer co-operatives in people’s Poland proves, without a doubt, that as soon as producer co-operatives spring into being without a sharp

struggle against the kulaks, and as soon as vigilance becomes weaker in the leadership of the producer co-operative and even among its rank and file members, so soon to kulaks or their henchmen penetrate and the very character of the co-operative is distorted and all its economic and political activities take a wrong turn.

Lenin taught that co-operatives within a capitalist state are collective capitalist enterprises.

In the conditions of the Titoite terrorist regime, which uses force to drive the poor and middle peasants into the “zadrugi”, this kulak pseudo producer co-operative develops into a compulsory collective enterprise which is a special form of development of capitalism in the Yugoslav countryside.

The producer co-operatives created in Yugoslavia are not Socialist either in form or content but have become a specific form of intensified exploitation of the poor and middle peasants by the kulaks.

The chairman of the Titoite “zadrugi” in the village of Knezpolje in Bosnia, is the brother of the Titoite general, Vlaiko Silegoric, a kulak and bourgeois politician prior to the war and Deputy of the Skupshtina from the Radical Party. The poor cultivate his land of 100 hectares. His income in cash and kind exceeds the income of all 15 members of the “zadrugi” put together.

In the co-operatives of the so-called general type, the kulaks receive large incomes, derived from compensation for implements, draught animals and land, whereas the poor receive only a minimum payment for their labour. Thus, for example, Gav Istvan, a kulak from the village of Rusko Selo, received over a million dinar for his implements.

Newly organised “zadrugi” often unite the communal land which is still cultivated by the poor. For instance, in the villa Vrezešnaitsa, 92 farmsteads of the rural poor and, in the village of Raja, 30 farms of the poor peasants have been deprived of the right to use communal lands.

Some of the co-operatives consist only of the rich. For example, near Osjek, the kulak Zarenko, who before the agrarian “reform” possessed almost 180 hectares of land, organised a producer “cooperative” of 30 kulak farms. The fascist authorities naturally welcomed his “activities”.

The policy of unrestricted exploitation and oppression of the peasant masses, the ruthless rule of the Titoite hangmen is causing rising indignation among the toiling peasantry giving rise to resistance which is spreading throughout the country and assuming different forms, including armed defence against the Titoite bashi-bazouks.

The resistance of the toiling peasantry to the Titoite regime is displayed mainly in unfulfillment of sowing plans. According to official data in Serbia, by May 8, 36 per cent of the acreage remained unsown; in Croatia, 55 per cent; Bosnia and Herzegovina, 49 per cent; Slovenia, 63 per cent; Macedonia, 65 per cent; Montenegro, 75 per cent. From this it follows that only 45 per cent of the arable land in Yugoslavia was sown. Resistance is also revealed in the mass slaughter of cattle by the peasants, in the disintegration of many “zadrugi” where the peasants openly revolt against kulak exploitation, and also in the increasing number of occasions when peasants refuse to supply compulsory State deliveries and so forth.

As a result, the question of supplies in Yugoslavia is becoming ever more difficult. Even Tito, the wealthiest landlord in Yugoslavia, could not, in one of his election speeches in February 1950, hide the fact that “we are experiencing serious difficulties in the matter of supplies” and that “there arises the question why, with every year, the situation is deteriorating instead of improving.”

The people’s masses in Yugoslavia are beginning to see ever more clearly that the catastrophic economic situation and the increasing exploitation of the working people come from the servility of the Tito clique before U.S. imperialism. The people’s masses of Yugoslavia who fought so selflessly alongside the Soviet peoples for independence, freedom and a better life, will never reconcile themselves to seeing Yugoslavia transformed into an American colony; into a military base for aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies.

On the basis of the constantly rising consciousness of the working masses of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Communists, loyal to proletarian internationalism, are developing and strengthening in the new difficult conditions, the militant alliance of the workers and peasants, which, in essence, signifies an irreconcilable struggle against the fascist Tito regime and its support—the kulaks.