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NO. 51.61
949

CLASSIFICATION **CONFIDENTIAL**

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT NO.

INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY **Cuba**

DATE DISTR. *9 Aug. 1949*

SUBJECT **Propaganda Material**

25X1

NO. OF PAGES **1**

25X1

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NO. OF ENCLS. (LISTED BELOW) **6**

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**Documentary*
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- The attached publications, including three bulletins in Spanish apparently prepared by the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) in Paris and three pamphlets printed in Prague, Czechoslovakia

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- are forwarded for your information and retention.
- Enclosures: (6) - Bulletin from Servicio de Informacion of WFDY
 Bulletin from Servicio de Articulos of WFDY
 Bulletin Numero Especial en Ocasion del XI Congreso del KOMSOMOL (USSR)
 Pamphlet: "Face to Face with Reality"
 Pamphlet: "The Czechoslovak Economic Five-Year Plan"
 Pamphlet: "Czechoslovak Women Today"

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CZECHOSLOVAK **WOMEN** TO - DAY

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CZECHOSLOVAK
WOMEN TO-DAY

by

Sylva Thelenová-Havlíčková

ORBIS-PRAGUE

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CONSTITUTIONAL EQUALITY
OF
CZECHOSLOVAK WOMEN
*

The recent war and the years of the German occupation drew a clear and incisive picture of our women, of their heroism, their spirit of sacrifice and their national awareness, in no way inferior to that of the women of other countries that had been similarly afflicted. The three years since the Revolution of 1945, and particularly the present period of ferment, creative work and enthusiasm have completed this picture of a new type of woman, fully aware of the importance of her contribution towards the reconstruction of the country. Czech women play their full part in this task, above all in the realisation of the Two-Year Plan. Through their awareness they contribute to national unity and are thus one of the principal mainstays of the National Front. At the same time, the social and political changes arising out of the People's democratic order have accorded women a new position in social and economic life and opened to them new fields and opportunities.

The Constitution of May 9, 1948, in particular, has meant the fulfilment of many demands and desires, for the realisation of which women had been struggling for many years.

Under the new Constitution, women in the People's democratic Republic enjoy full political, economic and social equality, while, on the other hand, their special position is taken into account, for it is realised that in addition to fulfilling their duties as citizens and working members of the

community they are also the mothers of future generations.

Although the Constitution of 1920 (Sections 106 and 127) formally recognised the principle that no privileges of birth, sex or occupation were to be recognised, and that the institution of marriage, the family and motherhood were to be under the special protection of the law, it remained for the new Constitution to change, by a series of concrete provisions, this formal equality of the sexes into economic and social equality.

Section 1, Chapter I, of the new Constitution states "All citizens are equal before the law", and "Men and women shall hold equal positions in the family and in society and shall have equal access to education, and to all professions, offices and honours".

Section 10 of this Chapter declares that "The institution of marriage, the family and motherhood shall be under the protection of the State".—This definition forms the point of departure for all legislation dealing with legal reform relating to marriage and the family, which is, up to now, still based on the Civil Code of 1811, that is to say, on the superiority, before the law, of a husband and father over wife and children.

Under the new Constitution it will be possible to reform family legislation so that, in future, a wife will not be obliged to adopt her husband's name on marriage, nor will she have to follow him to his place of residence; neither will children automatically carry the name of the father, but their name will be decided by mutual agreement of both parents.

The new Constitution makes it possible to revise the present state of affairs so as to do away with all provisions under which women are at a disadvantage against men, whether it be a matter of personal or property rights, family rights or entitlement to the control of children. Section 29, Chapter I, of the new Constitution contains the provision "Women shall be entitled to special care in the events of pregnancy and maternity". This principle of the protection

of motherhood is contained also in the National Insurance Act which recently came into operation. In accordance with the demands of women the provision that "Women shall be entitled to special regulation of conditions of work, in view of the circumstances of pregnancy, maternity, and child care" (Chapter I, Section 26) has been included among the provisions relating to the right to work, and *not* as a deviation from the principle of the equality of citizens.

Motherhood is now seen by society as a service to the community and will therefore no longer disqualify women from gainful occupation.

Another age-old injustice is remedied by the provision of Section 27, Chapter I: "On the same conditions of work, men and women shall be entitled to equal pay for equal work". This principle has already become part of our legal order under the Government Regulation of July 4, 1945, relating to the equality of wages of men and women. Furthermore, the Constitution proclaims that "The rights of a child shall not be prejudiced by its origin" (Chapter I, Section 11). This provision owes its inclusion to women's initiative. The legal position of all children is thus assured by law.

As in certain other provisions (which will be discussed below) the principle of equal rights for women finds practical expression, e. g. in the Act of 1947 relating to the acquisition and loss of citizenship by marriage. Under this Act, a Czechoslovak citizen does not necessarily lose her citizenship when she marries a foreign subject (provided she applies for its retention), nor, on the other hand, does a foreign subject automatically acquire Czechoslovak citizenship upon marriage to a Czechoslovak citizen, but has to apply for it to the Ministry of the Interior.

WOMEN'S PART
IN BUILDING THE REPUBLIC

The consciousness of Czechoslovak women of their duties to the Republic, and the extent of their participation in reconstruction can best be judged on the basis of a statistical assessment of gainfully occupied women. Of a total population of 12,164,095, there are 6,254,363 women; 32 %, or 2,031,022, are employed.

The number of women in employment has shown a considerable increase over the years 1921—46:

Women employed in Industry	from 21.9 % to 26.9 %
Women employed in Trades and Handicrafts	from 21 % to 25 %
Women employed in Commerce and Finance	from 30.1 % to 38.4 %

While the total number of persons employed in industry in the Czech Provinces shows an increase of 23.2 % over the period November 1, 1945—November 30, 1947, the increase in the number of women over the same period is 33.5 %, and the proportion of women in the total number of industrial employees increased from 26.5 % to 28.7 %.

The figures for Slovakia, during the period October 1 1947—March 1, 1948 show an even greater increase (Total by 63.8 % ; women by 92.9 %, while the number of women employed in industry in Slovakia was only 23.8 %) than those for the Western Provinces.

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Anžka Lodiňová-Spurná, Deputy and Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly

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Ing. Ludmila Jankovcova, First Woman Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic

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1. National Artist Marie Majerova, Writer

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National Artist Božena Slančikova-Timrava, Writer

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.. National Artist Růžena Nusková, Actress

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6 National Artist Eudmila Podgorninská, Writer

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Leopolda Dostalová, Actress

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8. National Artist Anna Marie Tilschová, Writer

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The recruitment of women into employment during the first year of the Two-Year Plan may be considered completely successful. 129,954 women, i.e. 50.5 % of all newly recruited workers, took up employment during 1947. The monthly average of recruitment for the whole year was 10,830 women.

The distribution of women workers among the various categories may be seen from the following percentage table (November 1, 1947):

Of all employees	28.7 %
Of all industrial workers	30.9 %
Of skilled workers	25.7 %
Of unskilled workers	39.9 %

On October 1, 1947, the following number of women were engaged in the chief sectors of Czech industry:

Textiles	97,547
Metal	67,688
Food	28,055
Clothing	24,820
Chemical	22,529

“Counter-planning”*, which is designed to shorten the time taken to complete the Two-Year Plan by two months, i.e., by October 28, 1948, is proving the testing ground of the skill and working morale of the great family of our people. In all sectors of work, women take a keen interest in this drive and assist materially in its realisation; the celebrations marking the successful completion of the Two-Year Plan on Independence Day, October 28, 1948, will

* “Protiplánování”: a scheme, owing its origin to Trade Union initiative, to speed up the completion of the Two-Year Economic Plan.—Tr.

be at the same time celebrations of their untiring and selfless contribution.

Women are making skilled and successful craftsmen, being deeply attached to the work which they freely chose for themselves. To-day, women no longer avoid even carpentry or the blacksmith's trade, and hundreds of girl-apprentices to-day choose occupations formerly reserved to men. Women's enterprises flourish, thanks to the skill, honesty and industry of their owners.

Women employed in the public service in 1947 numbered 101,364, while women employed in private jobs in the same year numbered 800,635.

Both in the public service and in private employment a growing number of women hold executive appointments, and their sense of responsibility, initiative and keen interest has borne abundant fruit. In view of these facts, however, it may be claimed that the number of women in executive and higher administrative jobs ought to be far greater.

28,702 of our women have chosen to enter the teaching profession and include even a number of Provincial Inspectors of Schools. The best illustration of the wide sphere of activity of our women teachers (in particular in country districts), who take a keen interest in public affairs, is the appointment of one as Government Commissioner over several villages towards the resettlement of which she had rendered valuable assistance.

Lately a completely new field of activity has been opened up to women teachers—that of instructors attached to industrial enterprises. Thus, at Zlín, some 5,000 girls and young women are in the care of about 60 women-instructors. Special care is devoted here to our working youth, thanks to the facilities which a large industrial enterprise (in this case the Bafa National Enterprise) can provide, and which are fully utilised. These instructors look not only after the physical welfare of their charges, but after their spiritual and mental development as well.

The teaching staff of Czechoslovak Universities includes 6 women Professors, 9 Lecturers, and a number of Assistant Lecturers, etc. In addition, 20 scientific workers are lecturing at University Schools. Women have entered a wide variety of professions, and work as civil engineers, designers in industry, builders, architects, even in professions that are not usually considered attractive to women, such as mechanical and mining engineering, etc.

In addition to a fair number of women barristers, women lawyers hold a number of higher appointments in the judiciary, including the juvenile court.

Some among the many women doctors are holding leading appointments as medical superintendents of public hospitals. A very large number work as qualified nurses, and every effort is made to secure a greater inflow of student nurses.* Increasing attention is also being given to the recruitment and training of midwives, of which there is an acute shortage, and which, particularly in isolated regions, render invaluable help and advice.**

The field of social welfare work, the scope of which is constantly being enlarged, attracts many recruits. New conditions of industrial work offer great opportunities to the social worker. Thus, the Ministry of Social Welfare, in conjunction with the Trade Unions and the textile industry, is running finishing courses for social workers in textile factories. Some 260 of these now care for the welfare of the large family of textile workers, and their efforts are earning them the gratitude and approval of the employees. The chief tasks of these social workers include the organisation and supervision of works canteens, the

* The number of Nursing Schools has been increased from 18 to 42.

** The number of midwifery schools has been increased and the system of training revised and intensified. The scheduled District Midwives Bill will make the members of this profession financially secure, prescribe their qualifications and define their specific tasks, in particular in country districts.

raising of the standard of accomodation, and caring for women's welfare, particularly during pregnancy. They supervise factory crèches and take the initiative in devising methods to alleviate the difficult life of working housewives.

*

The armed forces of the Republic include a large number of women of all ranks, many of whom were decorated for their achievements during the recent war. It has been shown that they are capable of proving their aptitude for the peace-time functions of the army just as they proved their mettle in the field. Under a Government Order of May, 1948, permanent commissions are granted to women who have shown their fitness for a place in the army by their courage in fighting with Czechoslovak military units abroad.

Not least, women have proved their worth in the police force. So far, the number of policewomen is small, but a growing appreciation of the importance of their work, in particular in supervising metropolitan youth, should soon swell their ranks.

Valuable work is being done by women as 'clippies' on buses and trams, and as stewardesses in the 'planes of the Czechoslovak Airlines.

Women's right to equal pay holds good in all types of employment, in accordance with the principle of 'equal pay for equal work', which was put into practice as early as 1945. Where inequalities still exist, they are largely due to lack of qualification. This element, however, is being increasingly eliminated by intensified training in finishing and continuation courses.

The chief representative of the interests of working women are the trade unions. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH), united and powerful organisation of the entire working community, includes 538,400 women among its 2,300,000 members. Women's Trade Union

Committees are set up in all enterprises employing not less than 20 women. The activity of these Committees is directed by the Central Women's Committee of the Trade Union Council. The Women's Committees, however, are not independent organisations, but auxiliary organs of the united trade union movement. Their chief tasks are, to acquaint women workers with the technical and administrative problems of production, to develop their initiative and interest in increased production, economy and quality of production, and to reduce absenteeism. They endeavour to extend the participation of women in 'counter-planning' and thus to assist in the drive to complete the Two-Year Plan by October 28th and try to gain proper recognition for the work done by women; not least, they look for ways and means of reducing the worries entailed by having to look after a household and family. Cultural interests are not forgotten: the Women's Committees establish libraries and works clubs, arrange lectures and courses.

Thanks to the Women's Trade Union Committees there are now few women who remain outside the trade union movement in industry as well as in public and private employment.

*

The great service rendered to the working capacity of the nation by women employed in agriculture should not pass unnoticed. During the period from 1921 to 1946 the proportion of women engaged in agriculture and forestry grew from 32.3 % to 55 %.

The nation is fully aware of the debt of gratitude it owes to countrywomen for their part in ensuring a steady flow of food deliveries, and in particular for the great efforts they are making to alleviate the food shortage, thus demonstrating their understanding for their duty as citizens. Many of them were made widows by war or enemy occupation; many others lost their husbands in the 1945 Revolution. Throughout the trials of these bitter years, the

women of the countryside proved themselves ready and able to take the place of their men and to carry on their own shoulders all the work and responsibility of independent farmers.

The magnificent spirit with which our countrywomen, together with their menfolk, endeavour to increase deliveries of essential food supplies shows clearly their positive attitude towards the national constructive effort.

Among the farmers who received special awards for exceptionally high deliveries there were many women, to whom falls the chief responsibility for production of milk and eggs on the farms.

Last year's drought and the resultant disastrous harvest led to a grave milk shortage during the winter. Women in agriculture, however, responded to the appeal of the women's organisations and exerted all their strength, even foregoing their own rations, so as to enable the children's milk ration to be maintained.

The initiative of the women of Borovany in South Bohemia in challenging all women in agriculture to compete with them for larger deliveries, and themselves providing a shining example, has found a ready echo among all sections of the population.

All women employed in agriculture are organised in the United Czech Farmers Association and the United Slovak Farmers Associations respectively. Women's branches of these associations are being set up even in the most outlying villages; they contribute materially towards raising the economic and cultural level of countrywomen.

The far-reaching changes wrought in our agriculture by growing mechanisation as well as by various legislative measures are proving of assistance to the countrywoman no less than to her husband, in making her exhausting work easier, and more productive. Although the results of this policy are already clearly visible in our countryside, no respite can be tolerated in this effort. It goes without saying that women fully share in all the benefits legislation

has brought to the countryside, as in the introduction of a planned economy, the unification of holdings, land reform, the Land Credits Act, the unified agricultural tax, and so forth. In the registration of holdings the wife is always cited as co-owner.

A number of measures have been designed with special reference to countrywomen. As long ago as 1945 the Minister of Agriculture established a special department of the Ministry, with branches at all District National Committees, charged with the care of countrywomen. The chief aim of this department is the raising of technical skill, of the economic, health, social, and cultural level and thus of the general standard of living of all countrywomen, particularly of those directly engaged in agricultural work. Expert advisers in these departments devote their attention to the utilisation of technical aids to assist with household work, and to its cooperative planning. They recommend new and rational methods of agricultural work based on scientific research, which are likely to increase production and thus improve the food situation as well as the countrywoman's lot. It is one of the guiding principles of this work that all technical aids should be made available to everyone, without regard to financial capacity. The Ministry of Agriculture finances and arranges lectures, courses of training, exhibitions and film performances, and instructional excursions. During the winter the Ministry arranges "Talks" with countrywomen, including discussions on agricultural topics and lectures by experts. The Ministry's experts further supervise, together with the competent departments, the production of agricultural and other machinery, so as to ensure that the technical aids provided should not only be satisfactory from a technical point of view, but should also be produced in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices.

In order to save the time and labour of countrywomen the Ministry endeavours to intensify mechanisation of all aspects of their work (e.g. electrification, watersupply and

other equipment), and to raise the standard of country housing. It supports the home-canning of food and provides instruction in the principles of correct nutrition. Crèches are set up for children of working mothers, "Houses of Culture" are being erected in a growing number of communities. Attention is given to the health services, schemes for the recreation of countrywomen are being put into operation, and mother-and-child advisory centres are being established, with the active support of the Ministry of Agriculture.

An important part of the assistance rendered by the Ministry to countrywomen includes the establishment of cooperative services—such as laundries, preserving kitchens, community feeding centres and bakeries, &c.—though a comprehensive network of these is not yet in existence, in view of the shortage of machinery. Cooperative schemes not only mean a reduction of the work of each individual, but alleviate the shortage of labour as well.

Contributions rendered by the Ministry as a rule take the form of equipment of cooperative centres. Since 1946, several hundred villages have been supplied with electric washing machines, milk separators and electric ironing machines, to the total value of 28,100,000 Kčs (£140,500). These gifts enable the community to start schemes of self-help, either at the village hall or some other building not suitable for habitation. Latterly, cooperative laundries are being combined with communal baths. 400 cooperative laundries are now operating, while several hundred more are being set up.

Model electric kitchens have been established in girls' agricultural schools, at a total cost of 4 million Kčs (£20,000). These agricultural schools cater for the education and specialised training of country girls, and provide an opportunity for women actively engaged in agriculture to take special courses in cookery, nutrition, preserving and canning of foods, and the use of mechanical household aids.

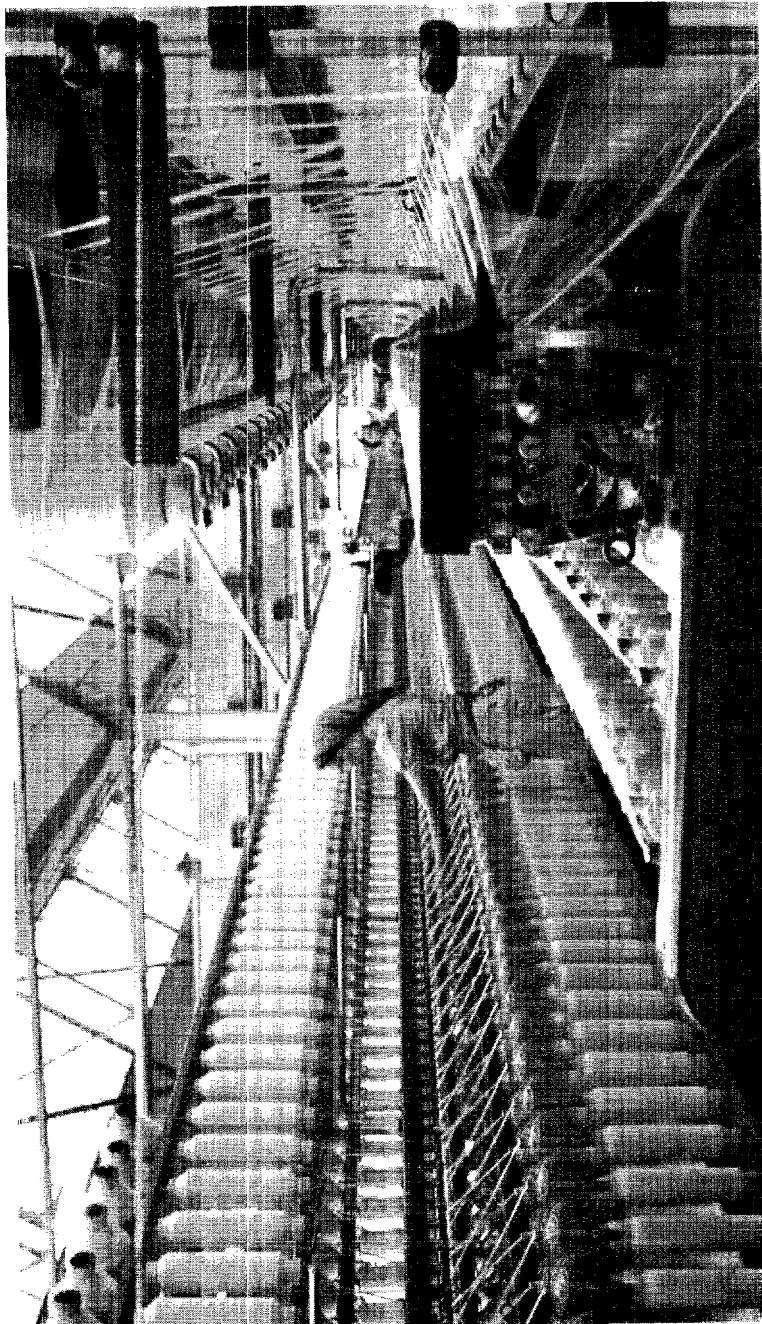
Over 3 million Kčs (£15,000) has been spent by the

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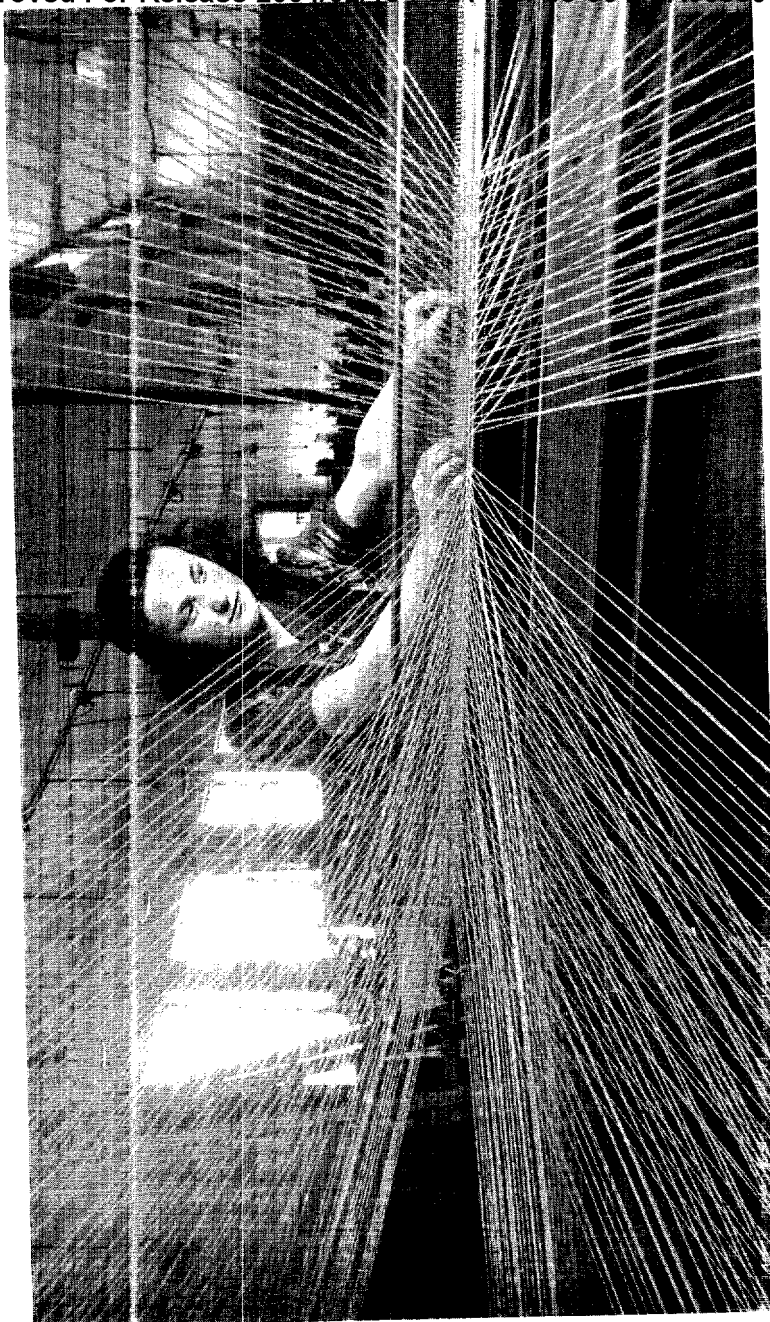


3. Women and machines get on well together

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10. The largest percentage of women workers is to be found in the textile industry

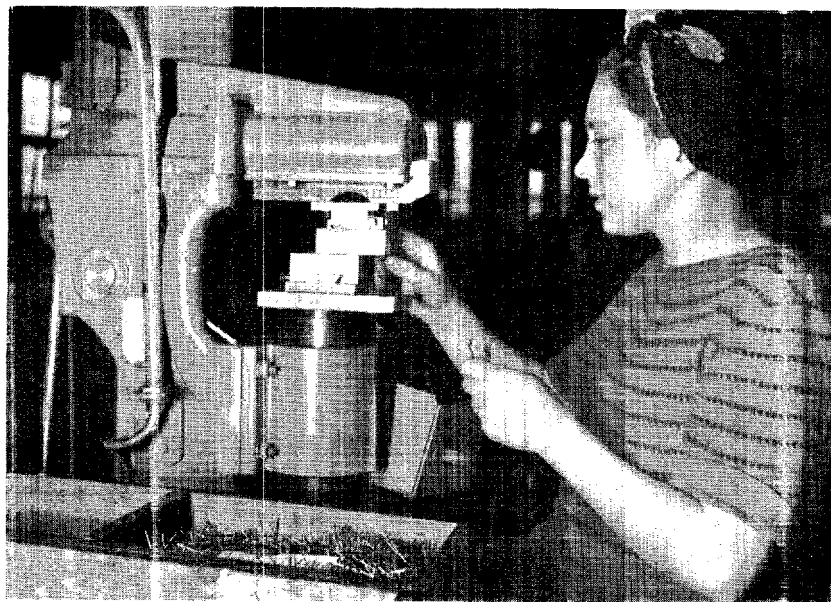


11. Women take the biggest share in the production of millions of miles of cloth

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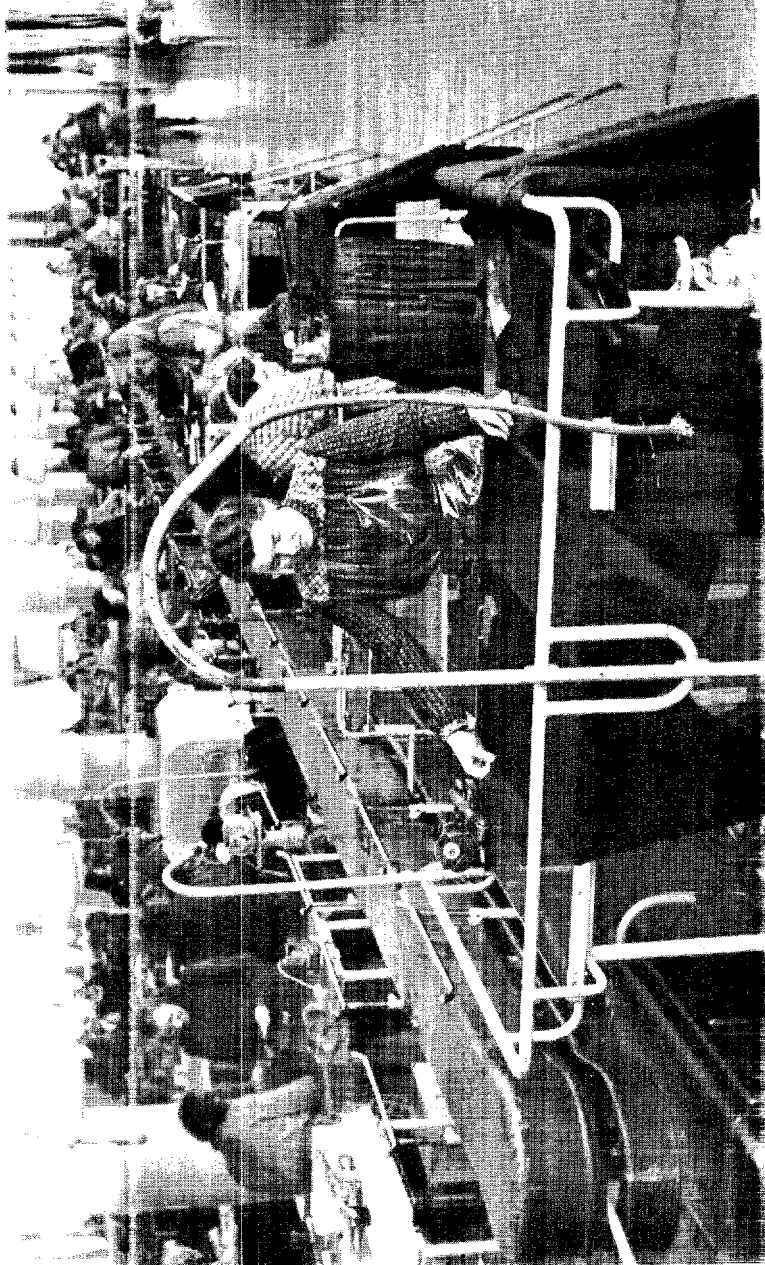
12a. Presenting Czech glass



12b. Women do well in all kinds of jobs

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13. The majority of workers in the ready-made clothing industry are women.

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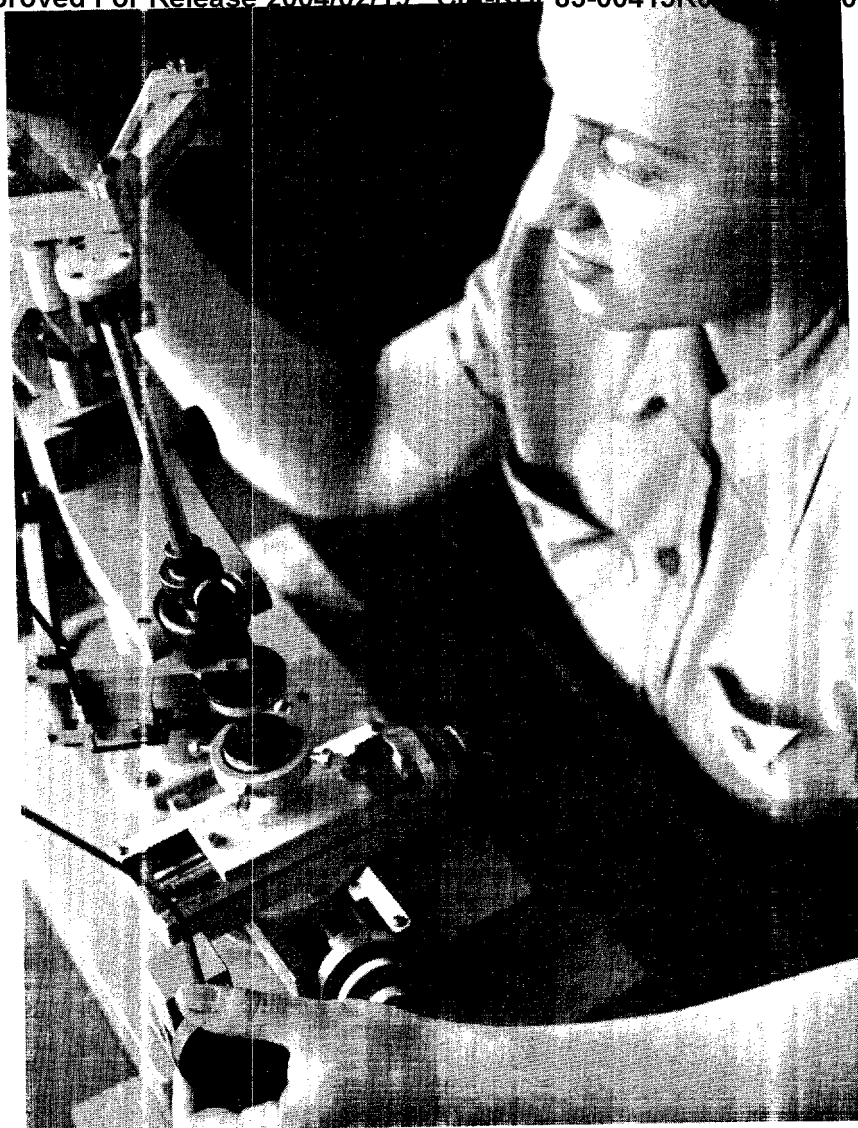
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14. Thousands of women work in jobs previously reserved to men

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15. Dext. fingers are wanted for optical work

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10. Skilful women engineers are no rarity any longer

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Ministry on the supply of sealing machines for canning, which are communal property. Winter courses of meat canning alternate with summer courses of fruit and vegetable preserving.

A scheme to provide at least one preserving kitchen in each district is now under preparation. A total amount of 3 million Kčs (£15,000) has been allocated for this purpose.

Milking machines have been distributed to a total value of 13 million Kčs (£65,000).

A total of 18,100,000 Kčs (£90,500) has been expended on the furnishing and equipment of crèches. 200 all-the-year-round and 1,580 summer crèches have been erected, the majority of which are equipped for a complete or partial meals service.

Fifty widows of farmers executed by the Germans obtained gifts of small electric home laundries to the value of 250,000 Kčs (£1,250). — 500 widows with large families, and who are in sole charge of farms, and mothers with large families were supplied with sewing machines to the value of 2 million Kčs (£10,000).

The widening of the scope of care for countrywomen indicates the new direction of our agricultural policy, under which, for the first time, the State itself cares for and supports the countrywoman's work.

CARE OF THE FAMILY AND CHILDREN

*

The increased participation of women in the economic process, in whatever sector of work, would not be possible if it did not proceed in close co-ordination with a series of social and political measures designed to eliminate women's worries about the social and economic security of themselves and their families, and to help them to combine their role of mothers with their task as workers and citizens.

The social and political changes which provided the basis of the People's democratic order in Czechoslovakia led to a number of measures which, in addition to raising the standard of living of our families and bringing security to our homes, indemnify all our people against sickness and old age, ensure the greatest possible care to children and, in particular, give concrete shape to the constitutional provisions relating to the equality of women with men and to the protection of the family.

The scale of family allowances which became law in 1945, was increased as from January 1, 1947, and is now at the following rates:

In respect of the first child....	monthly	150 Kčs	(£1.15.0)
In respect of two children....	monthly	350 Kčs	(£1.15.0)
In respect of three children....	monthly	600 Kčs	(£3.0.0)
In respect of four children....	monthly	900 Kčs	(£4.10.0)
In respect of eight children....	monthly	2,600 Kčs	(£13.0.0)
In respect of ten children....	monthly	3,600 Kčs	(£18.0.0)

In addition to these allowances, 30 million Kčs (£150,000) have been set aside for the assistance of families with not less than three unprovided children; and a special non-recurrent grant of 1,000 Kčs (£5.0.0) is being made to expectant mothers, who expect a child in 1948. This last form of benefit is conditional upon the woman being an insured person or a dependant of an insured person and submitting to a medical examination after 6 months' pregnancy. The total cost of this grant is estimated at 280 million Kčs (£1,400,000).

Further measures designed to raise the standard of living of the family include the new wages tax, involving a reduction of the tax base by variable amounts, which are, again, graduated according to the number of children. As the work done by a housewife is now receiving its proper recognition, the tax base is being reduced by 500 Kčs (£2.10.0) in respect of a wife, irrespective of whether or not she is gainfully occupied.

The child welfare services were made a public institution in 1948. The Government contributes to the education of children from the earliest age onwards, and enables them to grow up in pleasant communal surroundings by establishing crèches, kindergartens, nursery schools and youth homes. At the same time, working mothers are relieved of looking after their children during working hours.

The number of crèches is not yet sufficient, however. The total number before the war was 200, which will be raised in 1948, at the end of the Two Year Plan, to 300. Six hundred more are provided for in the Five Year Plan.

Crèches cater for children from the ages of 6 weeks to 3 years, and provide complete maintenance and care. The establishment of all-night crèches is contemplated, where mothers could occasionally leave their children overnight so as to be able to take part in cultural or political activities.

Nursery schools (which are governed by the provisions of the new Education Act) cater for children of 3 to 6

years. Here again, a comprehensive all-day service and care (including meals) is aimed at. Under the new Act, nursery schools are to be set up wherever there are not less than 20 children.

<i>Number of Nursery Schools</i>	
in 1936	1,607
in 1945-46	2,447
on January 1, 1948	4,329 (5,590 departments)
<i>Approx. 2,000 more are envisaged under the Five-Year Plan.</i>	

Students' and young workers' hostels are of outstanding importance. Altogether, the Ministry of Social Welfare expended on the erection and maintenance of crèches, kindergartens, nursery schools, hostels, &c., 16,486,000 Kčs (£82,420) in 1947. A further 200 million Kčs (£1 million) will be spent on further crèches and youth homes during the remaining period of the Two-Year Plan.

As a result of the transfer of youth welfare to the public authority State expenditure on State child welfare institutions is estimated at 480 million Kčs (£2,400,000).

Special attention is being given to the problem of ensuring an adequate milk supply to children under 6 and to expectant mothers. The price of milk for babies and expectant mothers was reduced with effect from May 1, 1947; now, the ration is being supplied free of charge twelve times a month. These measures together affect some 920,000 children under 6, and about 150,000 expectant mothers. The cost of the scheme to the State during 1947 was 210,189,000 Kčs (£1,050,995) in the Western Provinces alone. 800 million Kčs (£4 million) have been set aside for this purpose for the rest of 1948.

Additional rations of cocoa, milk and eggs were supplied to a total of 70,850 children in the Czech provinces, and to 32,000 children in Slovakia. Vitamin schemes further support the health of the youngest generation.

Another factor of great significance to child health are the large-scale recreation schemes which have been in operation since 1945. During the long holidays of 1946 some 80,000 school children and older children were housed in recreation homes, holiday camps and colonies, at a cost to the State (in subsidies) of almost 40 million Kčs (£200,000). The number of children covered by the schemes had risen to well over 100,000 by 1947.

Youth recreation schemes are not confined to the summer. During the winter of 1946/7 a total of 42,000 schoolchildren, mostly from industrial towns, were enabled to spend a week in the mountains in alternate groups. The contribution made by the Ministry of Education towards the scheme was 120 Kčs (12/-) per child per week on the average. Children from poor families were admitted free of charge; in other cases parents contributed towards the cost at a rate determined in accordance with their financial means, up to the total cost of 65 Kčs (6/6) per day. During the spring months, open-air schools are run for elementary school children, where complete classes spend one month in turn under normal teaching conditions. The cost is 35 Kčs (3/6) per pupil per day, to which the State contributes 10—20 Kčs per day. This year, some 20,000 pupils took part in the scheme.

The chief tasks devolving upon the health services under the Two-Year Plan include the development and intensification of mother-and-child care, the raising of the standard of pre-natal and maternity care, measures to reduce infant mortality, and preventive medical care, especially among children of pre-school and school age.

Prior to the Two-Year Plan there were about 137 maternity clinics in the Czech Provinces, to which 100 new ones were added in 1947; while an equal number is planned for this year, so that there will be approximately one centre in the area of each district court. These centres will provide expert advice on hygiene and general conduct, recommend medical care and instruct women on childbirth. — Child

welfare clinics increased under the Two-Year Plan by 200, from an original total of 1312.

The establishment of 20 infant welfare centres is now being prepared, which will deal with infants whose health is in danger, and at the same time provide expert training for health personnel. Some of these centres are already operating, and contribute materially to a reduction of infant mortality.

Careful attention is being given also to the dental care of young persons. In outlying regions where no dental service is so far available a number of dental ambulances are already operating. Their number will be raised so that every child, even in the most isolated village, will receive regular dental attention.

Children's departments have been established at all hospitals. The unceasing battle which is being fought against infant and child mortality is already showing noteworthy results:

1921—25 (average)	154
1931—35 "	123.2
1937	117.4
1945	137.9
1946	108.6
1947, March	98.4
1947, May	79.6
1947, June	72.6
1947, August	82.8
1947, September	80,0

preliminary
figures

1947 saw the introduction of preventive and corrective gymnastic training; this scheme is now being enlarged so as to cater for mentally and physically defective youth.— A comprehensive Tb inoculation scheme is in progress which covers children from the earliest age.— Of recent legislative measures, the Act relating to the nationalisation

of natural healing media, the Act relating to the combating of cancer, among others, are of particular interest to women, as are also the Act providing for compulsory anti-diphtheria inoculation, the anti-alcoholism Act, the intensified struggle against venereal diseases, etc.

The Government endeavours to secure the health of the nation, and in particular of mothers and children, by means of an extensive and efficient network of health service centres, and by the extension of the women's and gynaecological departments of hospitals.

No eventuality has been forgotten in this comprehensive plan to safeguard the health and welfare of the nation's children. The Act relating to payments for children's maintenance by way of Government advance provides for cases where a father refuses to fulfil his liability to support his children, and thus relieves the mother of the necessity to enforce the payment of sums which a father is liable to make under a court decision. Where a mother can prove that for three months she has been unable to recover the sums due from the father in respect of the children's maintenance, the State will enforce such payment, and pending this, advance the mother the money which the father is liable to pay. This Act, more than anything else, demonstrates the importance which the State attaches to every mother and to every child.

It has also been provided by Act that the child of the fiancée of a deceased participant in the national struggle for liberation* shall have the right to bear the deceased father's name and shall be deemed a child born in wedlock. Further under this Act the mother shall, subject to the finding of the court, be entitled to bear the deceased fiancé's name, and to be designated "Mrs" in all official proceedings and documents.

* i. e. a person who served in Czechoslovak forces abroad, was active in the underground movement at home, or took part in the Risings of 1944 or 1945.--Tr.

The People's democratic Government endeavours to make it easier for young people to be married. The Act relating to loans to newly married couples enables young couples up to the age of 35, who marry after the Act becomes operative, are without private financial means, and are Czechoslovak citizens, to negotiate a loan not exceeding 36,000 Kcs (£180) for which the State will stand security. Where the marriage issues in a child, the State will undertake to pay the interest due on the loan, and in respect of each child which reaches the age of 1 year, the State will remit one-sixth of the capital sum. This means, in practice, that for example for a family of three children, the State will pay one-half of the loan.

<i>Estimated cost of assistance to newly married couples:</i>	
in 1949	282 million Kcs (£1,410,000)
in 1950	316 million Kcs (£1,580,000)
in 1951	495 million Kcs (£2,475,000)
in 1957	590 million Kcs (£2,500,000)

(After 1957 it is estimated that the amount will remain constant)

Respect for the family and the mother and love for children are expressed also in the annual Mother's Day and the annual Week of Children's Joy.

Thirty mothers are decorated annually on Mother's Day, who have brought up or are bringing up ten or more children. In addition 150 million Kcs (£750,000) were paid out to mothers on the occasion of Mother's Day in 1947. This year, an ambitious recreation scheme for mothers with not less than 4 children under 18 is run out of public funds. The mothers taking part in the scheme are given either a fortnight's stay at a recreation home during the summer, or a week's stay in Prague during the winter. A similar scheme exists in Slovakia.

The State encourages all efforts designed to draw

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17. Countrywomen know they're helping to produce the food of the nation

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18. "Clippies" on the trams

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19. Heights don't frighten them.

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20. Many women work in the health services

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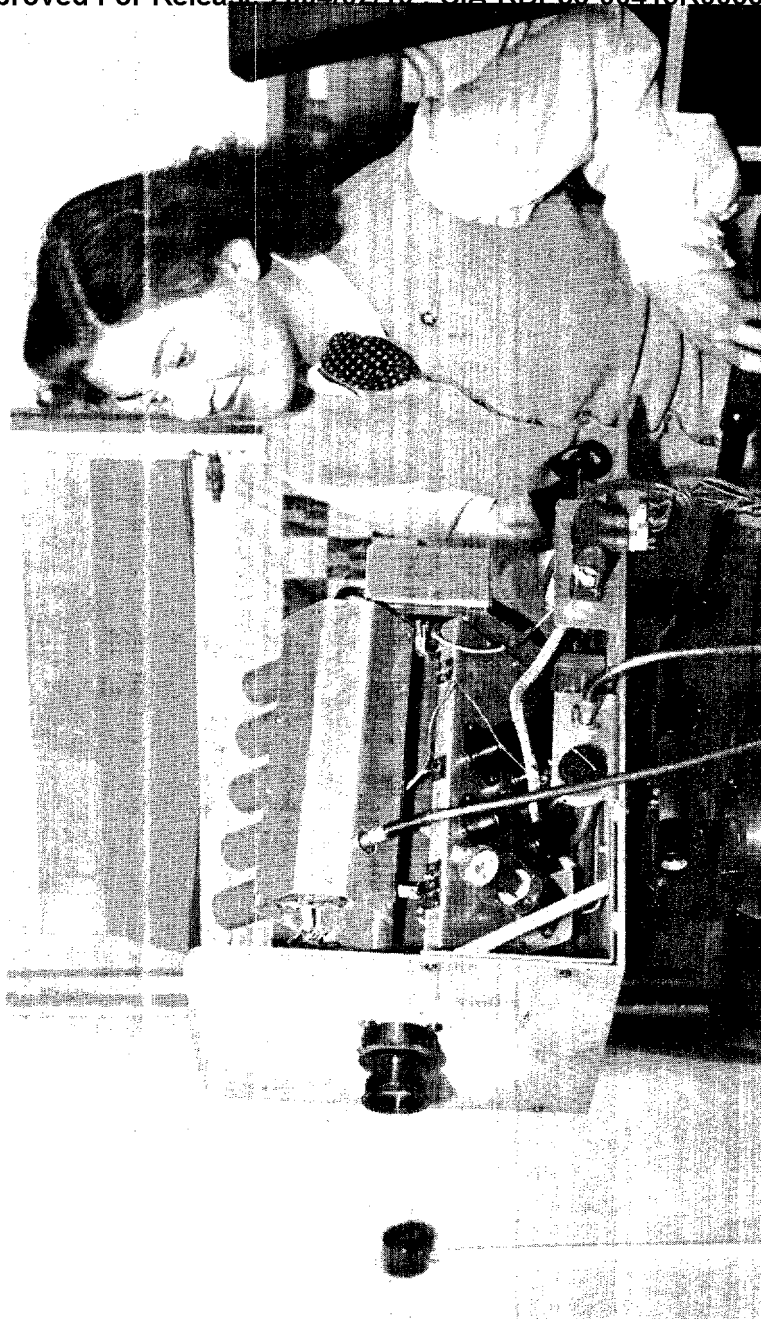
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21. A gardening school

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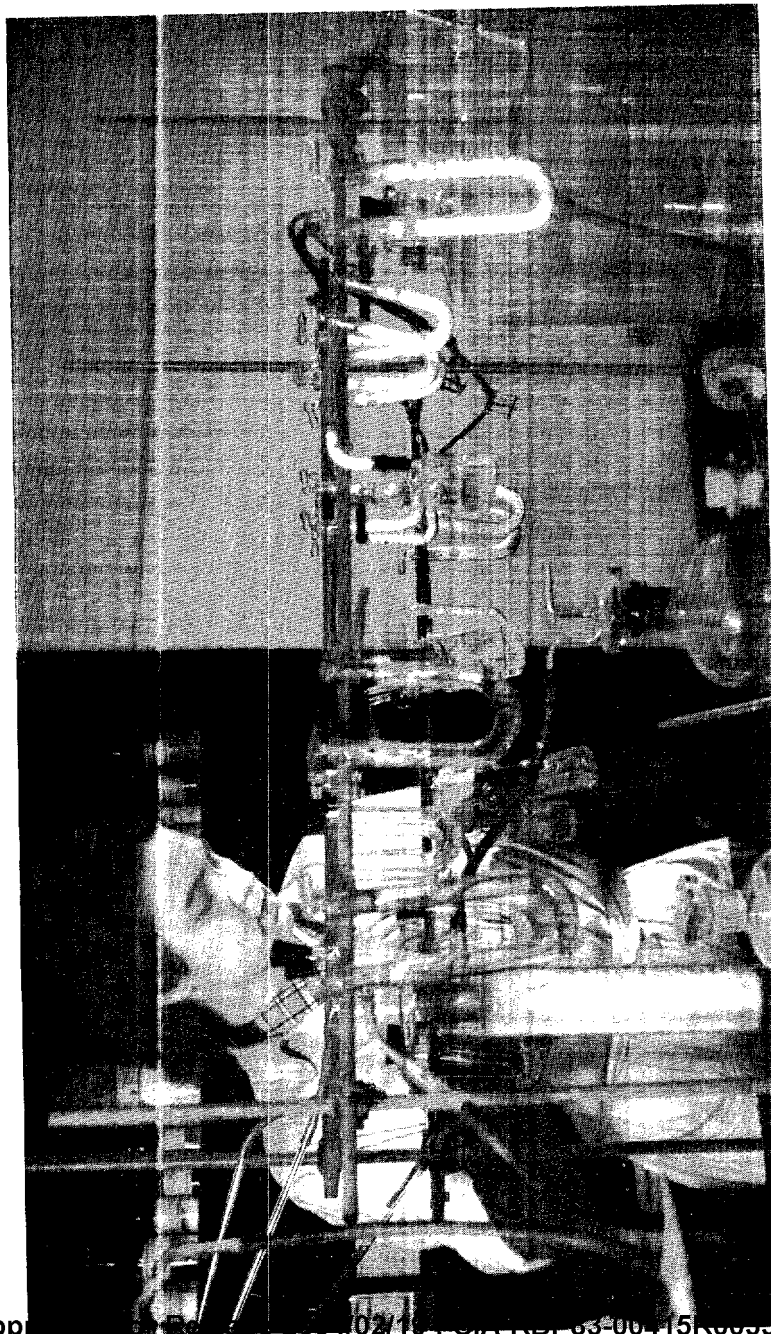
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22. Newspapers must have to be censored even at the cradle of television

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3. Women play their part in agricultural research laboratories

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Nationalised factories look after the cultural interests of their women employees

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more women into production, and at the same time to reduce household drudgery. Thus, every support is being given to the co-operative organisation "The Liberated Home" which aims at the reduction of household drudgery by setting up and equipping communal laundries, mending rooms, etc., and is gradually widening its scope so as to provide a comprehensive domestic service which will relieve women of much of the work which now prevents them from taking their full place in production or in public life. The organisation now counts some 20,000 members and its network of branches is being enlarged so as to cover country districts as well as the larger industrial towns. In 1947, the organisation received a State subsidy of 4,900,000 Kčs (£24,500).

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NATIONAL INSURANCE

*

Perhaps the most far-reaching single legislative measure in the social field is the National Insurance Act of April 1948, which was designed already in the spirit of the new Constitution and gives security to 95 % of the population in all cases of incapacity for work and loss of livelihood.

This Act is not only a major victory of our people in their struggle for social security in sickness, disability and old age, but an important milestone in women's fight for equality—for it awards to women exactly the same rights and entitlements as to men, while still taking their special position as mothers into account.

“Equality of rights” here means not only the introduction of a single scale of benefits and contributions for both male and female insured persons, but—which is the more important—the recognition of this principle even where women are only dependants, i.e. wives.

Thus, under national health insurance, all women are entitled to medical treatment at home, in out-patients departments and institutions for treatment and cure, sanatoria, convalescent homes and maternity homes, without a time limit and free of charge, to exactly the same extent as insured persons.

Increased benefit in cash which is payable under the Act in compensation of earnings foregone by reason of sickness, is payable to women on the same conditions as to men.

But the Act goes even further. In recognition of a housewife's work as an occupation it lays down that, where a woman (provided she cares for at least one child) is

unable to care for her household, because she is bedridden or undergoing hospital treatment, the insurance institution will provide a domestic help for the duration of the disease, or—in view of the prevailing shortage of labour—a money grant in lieu. Thus it is no longer necessary for a mother to leave her bed before she is really well, in order to look after her home.

Of special significance for women are the provisions of the Act dealing with maternity assistance and benefits. All women are entitled to free medical care (the services of a midwife) during confinement, and to treatment at a maternity home.

These benefits of medical attention in pregnancy will affect some 290,000 expectant mothers in the future, mainly from those regions to which least attention had previously been paid—the agricultural countryside. — National insurance will deal with some 280,000 cases of childbirth annually.

Every mother of a new-born child will receive a grant of 2,500 Kčs (£12.10.0); during the first years of the operation of National Insurance, these grants are estimated to cost, approximately:

Employed women	480 million Kčs (£2,400,000)
Self-employed women	220 million Kčs (£1,100,000)
Total (approximately)	680 million Kčs (£3,400,000)

In addition, every mother, on giving birth to a child, will be entitled to a baby's layette. The total cost of this grant-in-kind is estimated at 180 million Kčs (£900,000).

Employed women will receive benefit in cash at the rate of sickness benefit, in compensation for lost earnings, for a total period of 18 weeks (Until now, the benefit period was 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after confinement). — The cost of this benefit is estimated at some 250 million Kčs (£1,250,000) annually.

In all, women will receive, in the form of maternity grants, layettes, and benefit in lieu of earnings, some 1.100 million Kčs (£5,500,000) annually, in addition to expenses arising directly out of the confinement.

This figure, 1,100 million Kčs, shows clearly enough the extent to which women, and especially future generations, are likely to benefit by the National Insurance Act. Our women need no longer dread childbirth. The National Insurance Act and the Government's wage policy together are laying the foundations for a healthy growth of the family. They ensure that each child shall have equal chance on coming into the world. The constant single rate of maternity benefit can be seen as a symbol of the vital interest taken by the State in every mother, and in each individual new-born child.

Those parts of the National Insurance Act which relate to pensions fulfill many of women's long-standing demands. Women pensioners will be entitled to the same forms of benefit as men—i.e., disability benefit, old age and orphan's benefit, education allowance, marriage grant, single accident benefit and accident pension—and at the same rates.

In pension no less than in sickness insurance the recognition of household work as an occupation is fully maintained. Housewives will be entitled to a disability pension on becoming unable to carry on their household duties any longer, or to an old-age pension on reaching the age of 65.* Both these forms of benefit are at the same rate, for the work of a housewife is deemed of equal value in the case of all women. The ethical significance of these forms of benefit should be stressed: they are a form of compensation for loss of capacity for work, i.e. a reward given in recognition of the services rendered by housewives to the family and to the State. This view of household work is

* "Housewife's Pension Benefit" in the Act (Section 60/c) — Tr.

here introduced for the first time in Czechoslovak social legislation.

Widow's pension will be awarded to widowed mothers and disabled widows; also—unconditionally—to young, childless widows (in this latter case for a limited period of one year) in order to give these an opportunity to find suitable employment.

Every orphaned child will be entitled to an orphan's pension.

The National Insurance Act extends the principle of entitlement to marriage grant, at the rate of 5,000 Kčs (£25), to men as well as women.

Czech citizens who are disabled or have passed the age of 65, insofar as they are in receipt of no other income, will be entitled to a social pension. Old-age pensions under previous regulations will be put on a par with pensions awarded under the new Act.

Of particular importance for women is the adjustment of widows' pensions. Pensions awarded subject to previous regulations will not only be increased under the new Act, but the assessment of pensions will be more favourable altogether (70 % instead of the former 65 %).

WOMEN IN CULTURAL
AND POLITICAL LIFE

*

These efforts to improve the economic and social condition of citizens go hand in hand with an endeavour to raise the general level of culture.

One of the most important factors in this development is the new Education Act, which provides for the establishment of a unified school of three grades. Having come into operation on September 1, its first and greatest aim is to enable all children without distinction to receive a general education.

Non-compulsory nursery schools will be attended by children between the ages of 5 to 6.—Attendance at schools of the first grade (elementary) will be compulsory for children from 6 to 11, and attendance at schools of the second grade (secondary) for children of 11 to 15. Thus, every child will receive a general education up to the level of the lower grade of a secondary school.—Schools of the third grade (which are non-compulsory), will include grammar schools (gymnasium), with a classical and technical syllabus and a final examination qualifying for university study; and various types of technical schools, including agricultural schools. — To-day, the number of women studying at Universities and schools of university level is 11,184, as against 1,600 during the first years after the Great War. Technical universities and technical schools of university standard today have 1,493 women students as against 288 during 1920—21.

Complementary to the school reform under the Education Act, a far-reaching extension and intensification of extracurricular training, continuation and evening courses and other forms of further education and training is in progress.

A scheme of universal adult education was brought into being by Decree of the President of the Republic as long ago as 1945. Under this scheme, working through Public Adult Education Councils, instruction is provided in the fields of culture, politics, economics and social welfare. Women are specially catered for in these schemes by lectures on health, political, cultural and economical themes, by discussion groups and public debates ("Talks with Women"), exhibitions, film and theatre performances, and excursions.

During 1947, 900 adult education instructors were trained in 28 special courses in Bohemia alone. At the same time, more than 5,000 courses were run which a great number of women attended. These schemes are being extended further in 1948 and 1949.

Recently the direction of adult education courses for women has been transferred to the Council of Czechoslovak Women, which will work in close conjunction with the Adult Education Councils.

Greatly increased attention is being given to the cultural development of the countryside. Companies of the Village Theatre organisation and mobile cinema units visit outlying villages, and village libraries are being installed throughout the country.

A special women's radio service has been introduced which deals with women's interests and problems. The weekly illustrated journals "Vlasta" and "The Countrywoman" also cater especially for women's interests.

Women artists, writers, and cultural workers are taking part successfully in all sections of cultural life. The work of progressive women artists has been rewarded by the title of National Artist given to six women.

These are, firstly, *Ludmila Podjavorinská*, Slovak author of realistic short stories from the life of the people, of children's books and tales for young people, poet and journalist, who recently celebrated her 75th birthday; yet another Slovak, the author *Božena Slánčíková-Timrava*, received the title after a long and creative life of 80 years.—The works of *Marie Majerová*, progressive writer and steadfast fighter for the rights of the working class, have achieved well-deserved recognition far beyond the borders of her native land, and have been translated into several languages. Her many works include the novels "Přebrada" (The Dam), and "Siréna" (The Strike), - which was recently filmed and earned the First Prize at last year's Biennial Film Festival, - "Havířská balada" (Miners' Ballad), and many children's and young people's books, in addition to a life-time of work as journalist, essayist and reviewer.—*Růžena Nasková* has created more than 300 characters on the stage during the past 40 years. She has published a number of literary works and is noted for her work with our nationalised film industry.—*Leopolda Dostálová* has been the leading tragedienne of the Czech stage for almost 50 years.—The many literary works of *Anna Marie Tilschová* present a masterly panorama of the life of the urban bourgeois classes, the rise of the working class and of the struggle of the intelligentsia.

Czechoslovakia's cultural life includes many women painters, sculptors, architects, and journalists.

The recently established Folk Dance Union is aiming to revive an ancient art, the origins of which reach far into the character of our people. Many of our women dancers are renowned not only as performers but as choreographers. A number of women workers have made a name for themselves in filmwork, in particular in the production of cartoon and puppet films.

Czechoslovak musical life would lose much of its quality without our women musicians, performers and composers, many of whom have enriched the name of Czechoslovak

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25. Vilma Vrbova: Christine

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26 Julie Mezerová: *In the Yard*

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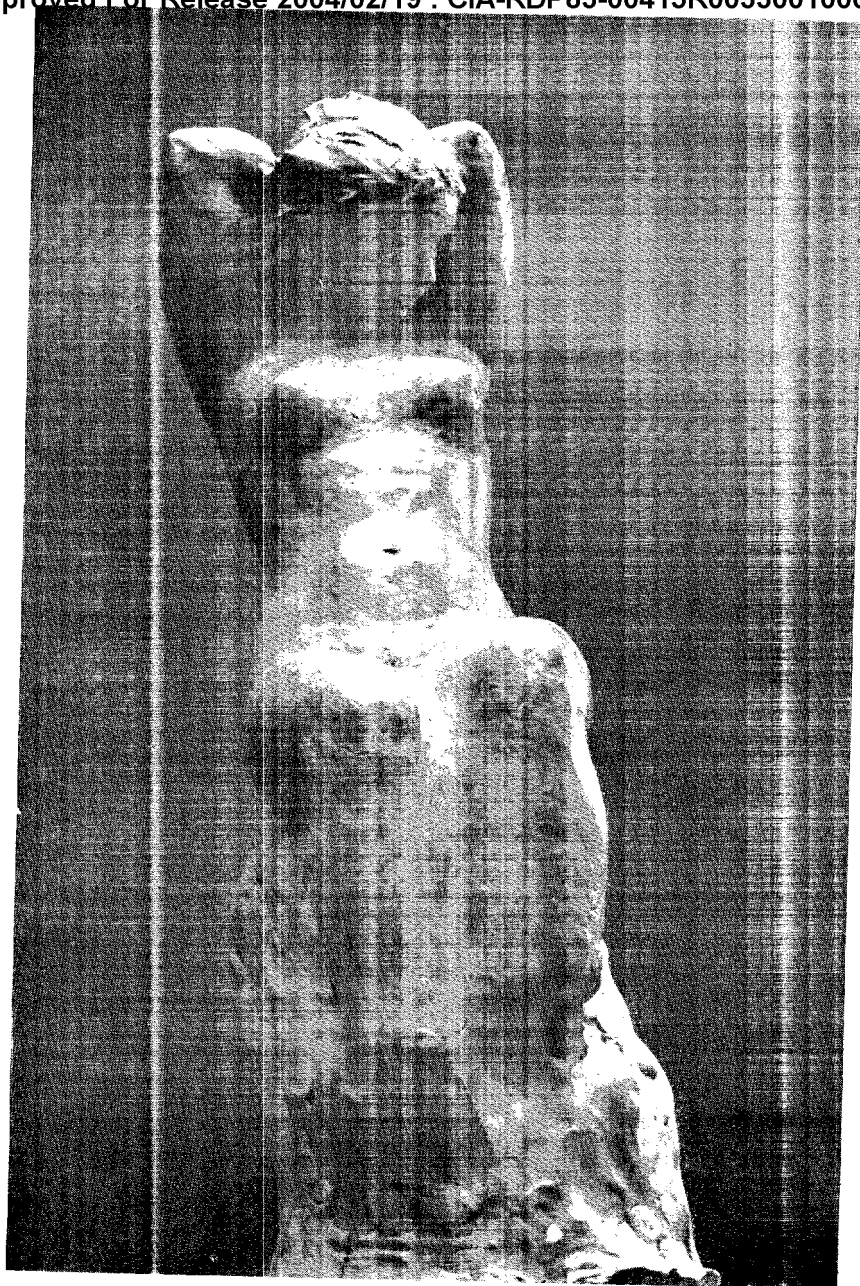
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27. Helena Johnová. The Infant Jesus of Prague

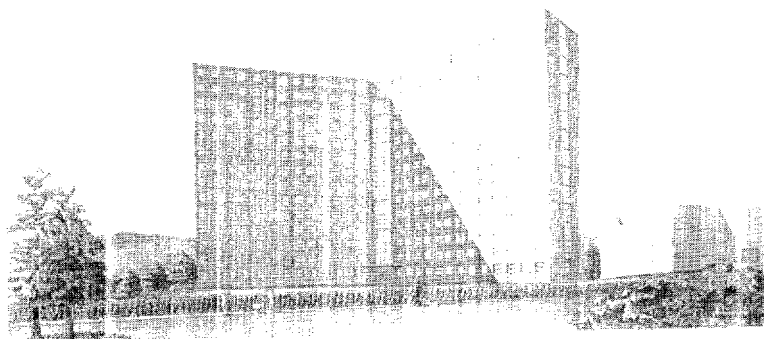
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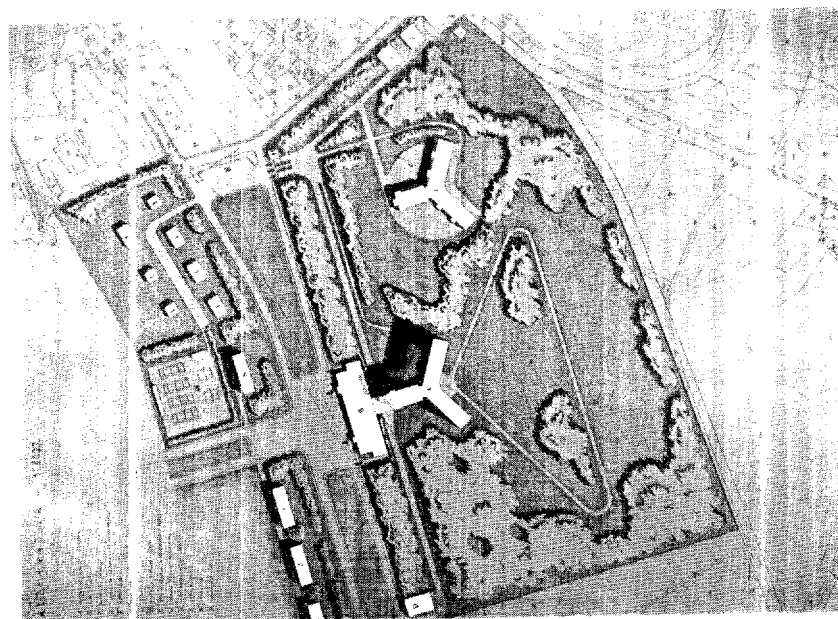
Zs. V. Dohnalová-Pesánová: Scalded Girl
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ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF A DISTRICT HOSPITAL, KARLOVY VARY (CARLSBAD) — PERSPECTIVE ELEVATION

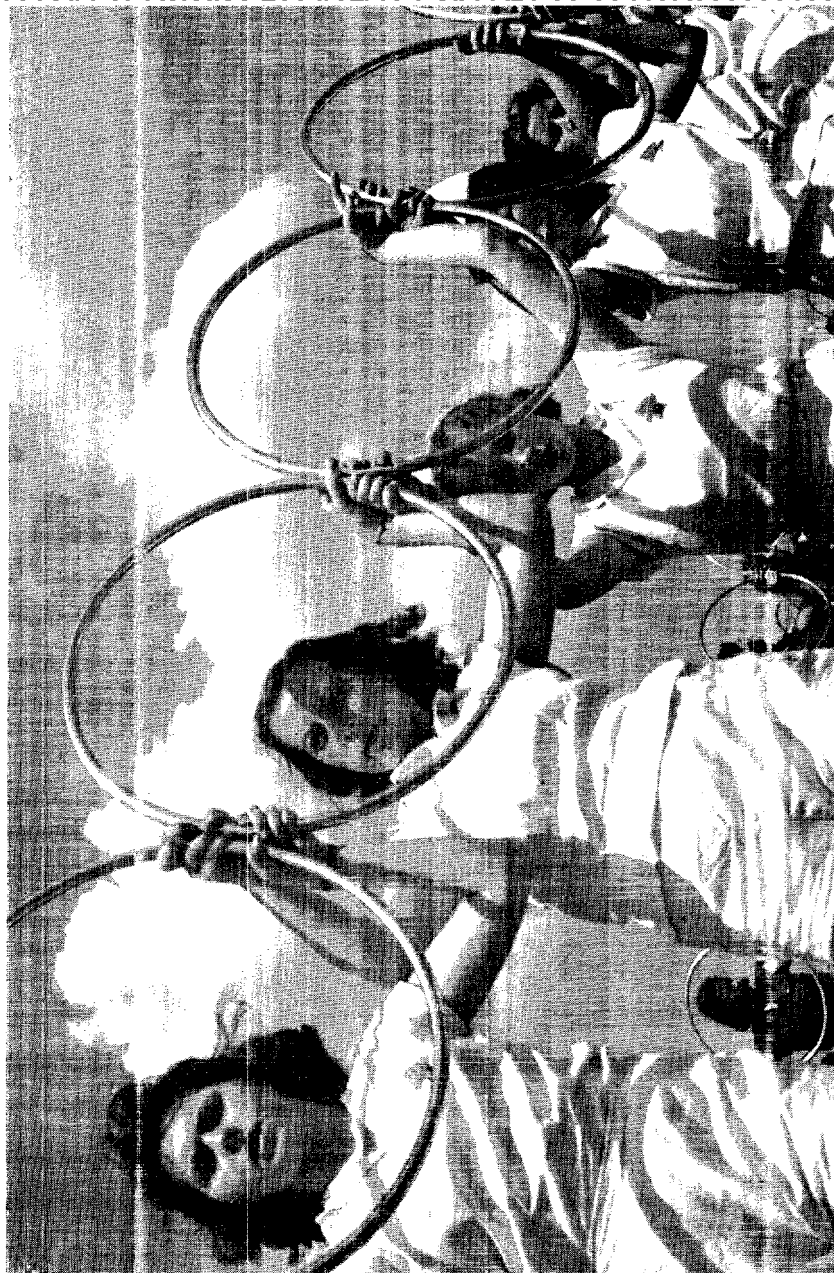
39a. Design for a District Hospital, Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) — Perspective Elevation (Ladislav Machon — Augusta Müllcrová, Architects)



39b. Design for a District Hospital, Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) — Situation Plan (Ladislav Machon — Augusta Müllcrová, Architects)

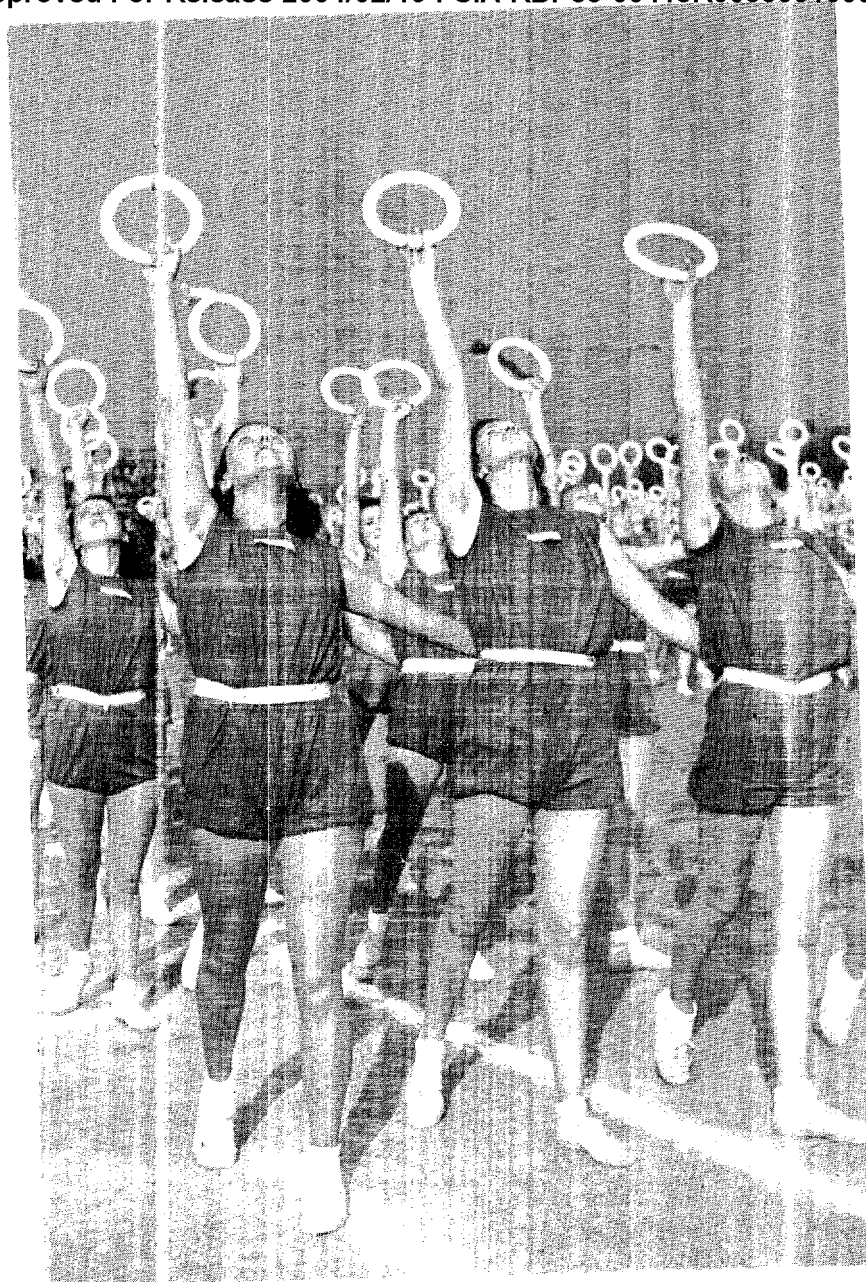
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36. Highschool girls at the 11th Spokan Falls (Stat)
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Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2
(The girls of the 11th Sokol Balla girls with rings)

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32. In crèche: and nursery schools children receive all possible care

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musical art abroad on international tours. Women are active in many branches of industrial art, such as interior decoration, ceramics, lace design and manufacture, book-design and binding. Their work contributes towards raising the taste of our consumer public and has found recognition at many exhibitions and trade fairs abroad.

The work of several women scientists is of international renown, even in branches such as microbiology and physical research, not normally undertaken by women. Recently, recognition has come to the young astronomer *Ludmila Pajdušáková*, formerly a school teacher and now a member of the unit working at the State Observatory on Skalnaté Pleso in the High Tatras, Slovakia. Her enthusiasm and devotion to her chosen profession—qualities which are common to the whole group of scientists who work and live here under strenuous conditions—has yielded brilliant results in a comparatively short time. She discovered two comets, on May 30, 1946 and on March 13, 1948, which have been named Pajdušáková—Rotbart—Weber, and Pajdušáková—Mrkos respectively. Her work has been honoured by the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society's 1947 Science Award, and by the Pacific Astronomical Society's medal.

The interest taken by Czechoslovak women in public and political life is continually growing, guided and encouraged by the educational work of the adult education authorities and the women's associations. Not only members of the intelligentsia, but women of all classes are beginning to take a serious interest in both home and international political development, as is shown by the fact that women form one-quarter to one-third of the membership of the various political parties.

Though all public functions and offices are accessible to them, women members of the administration and of local government bodies are so far a fairly small minority, in sharp contrast to the role played by women in the economic, social and cultural life of the State.

This situation may be confidently expected to change, however, since new legislative measures have removed most of the obstacles which hitherto prevented housewives and mothers from taking their proper place in public affairs. Already in 1946, 24 women deputies were elected, and this number has now, in the recent elections of May 1948, risen to 36, 6 of whom represent Slovakia.

So far we have only one woman Minister, *Ing. Ludmila Jankovcová*, the Minister of Food.—A woman was one of the Czechoslovak delegation to the UNO General Assembly, others are Cultural Attachées at Czechoslovak Embassies abroad.

The consistently positive attitude taken by our women towards all aspects of work and of the new way of life in this country may be seen from the magnificent results which they have achieved in the National Competition for the reconstruction of the Republic. Many valuable proposals for technical improvement and economy of production have come from women, and the achievements of a large number of women are well above the average, in production as well as in all other professions.

The results of the National Competition are announced twice in each year, and women's names are never missing from the list of the awards, whether as individuals or as members of winning teams. But even more important, there are legions of unknown workers, whose energy and enthusiasm contributes in no small measure to the laying of the firm foundations of our national life.

Women are in no way behind men as regards their part played in voluntary work brigades. We can find them wherever helping hands are needed—in agriculture and forestry, and a number of them are even taking part in mining brigades. Women of all classes, age groups and professions join in this work.

Women are taking a leading part in all types of organisational work, knowing well that strength lies in collective association. In addition to the organisations we have al-

ready named—the trade union movement, the farming organisations, the youth movement—women play a leading role in the co-operative movement, the purpose of which is the raising of the standard of life of the entire population, not only as ordinary members, but as determined efficient functionaries and officers.

The supreme women's organisation is the Council of Czechoslovak Women; in Slovakia "Živena"—the Union of Slovak Women.

The membership of the Council of Czechoslovak Women includes women from town and country, without distinction of political or religious affiliation, and from the Trade Unions, the United Farmers' Association, the Central Co-operative Council, and the Youth Unions. The Council's task is to guide women to increased political awareness, to a wide participation in constructive work for the Republic, to the struggle against fascism and to work for permanent peace. This work is carried out through the many local branches of the Council.

Živena, The Slovak Women's Union, aims at raising the standard of living of countrywomen, at easing their household tasks, looks after the interests of working women in conjunction with the Trade Union Committees, and organises working brigades. Great work has been done by the Union in the reconstruction of Eastern Slovakia, which suffered considerable damage during the war. The Union further cares for improved child welfare by establishing crèches and other social measures, arranges recreation schemes for mothers and children, and carries on valuable educational activity.

The interests and activities of these organisations exceed the borders of the Republic, and, through the International Federation of Democratic Women, close contact is maintained with the work of progressive women throughout the world.

Fully aware of the importance of physical culture, our women are playing a leading part in the "Sokol" move-

ment, which represents all the physical training and sports organisations in the country. The part played by women in the 11th Sokol festival ("Slet") was not limited to their memorable performance at the stadium, but included many months of selfless organisational and preparatory work. The Sokol, whose mission is spiritual as well as physical, trains healthy, steadfast mothers of future generations and strong, physically and mentally mature young people.

The important changes which the People's democratic order has wrought in the life of the entire working community (and which are being carefully followed by our women), are reflected in their life and their position in society as well, and have not failed to leave their impact on the attitude taken by them to the way which Czechoslovakia is going.

They understand that this way, the building of a socialist society by peaceful means, forms a guarantee of everything for which many generations of women had been striving. They are therefore a firm mainstay of the People's democratic order and devote all their efforts towards the successful completion of the Two-Year Plan. They are in the forefront of the struggle for peace, for friendship with the democratic women of the world, and above all they form, with the women of the Slav nations, a united front for progress and permanent peace.

The women of Czechoslovakia will maintain their present position in the community through their loyalty to the Republic and their positive attitude to its work, being fully aware that only in this way they can make sure of a peaceful and happy life for their children and future generations.

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

CZECHOSLOVAK
WOMEN TO-DAY

by Sylva Thelenová-Havličková

Translated from the Czech by F. O. Stein

Published and printed by Orbis, Prague

October 1948

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2



**THE
CZECHOSLOVAK
ECONOMIC
FIVE-YEAR PLAN**

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC CULTURE
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**THE FIRST
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

by

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR ANTONÍN ZÁPOTOCKÝ

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Honoured National Assembly!
Ladies and Gentlemen!

On behalf of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, I present to you to-day the Government Bill of the First Five-Year Uniform Economic Plan of Development of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Section 1 of this Bill defines the purport of the Plan: the development and conversion of the Czechoslovak economy. Its aim: raising the standard of living of all sections of the working population. The means thereto: raising the productivity of labour. Its consequence will be: the restriction of remaining capitalist elements and their elimination from all sectors of the national economy, and the further progress of the Czechoslovak people's democracy towards socialism.

The necessity of this expansion and conversion of our economy was stressed already a year ago by my predecessor, the present President of the Republic, Mr Klement Gottwald, at a session of the Central Planning Commission on October 10, 1947, in these words: "*If we were to maintain our present unsatisfactory industrial structure, we should have to face the fact that our economy would be exposed to dangerous shocks, and that we should be unable to ensure its planned expansion, or to raise the general standard of living. The expansion and transformation of industry is hence the prime condition for raising the standard of living. By means of this conversion we shall,*

at the same time, facilitate the future growth of Czechoslovak industrial capacity on a firmer and sounder basis."

If I give particular emphasis to the President's statement that the expansion and rebuilding of our industry is an essential and indispensable condition of a raising of the standard of living, I do so in order to dispel at once any fond illusions that a raise in the standard of living may be regarded as a necessary corollary or, even, ought to precede the successful implementation of the Plan. The exact opposite is the truth: in order to make it possible that our material and cultural level might be raised, it will first be necessary to fulfil the Plan, i. e. to rebuild industrial and agricultural production, to attain a higher level of technique, to bring about an increased volume of production in the factories and in the fields, to improve efficiency standards and the productivity of labour, thereby increasing the national product, and then to distribute this national product justly and fairly, so that we might henceforth live better, more contentedly and more joyfully.

This task of expansion and rebuilding will not be achieved just because of the desire to see it done. Its realisation will cost a great deal of work and money. If we want to improve and expand our economy, we must invest in it, both work and money.

I should therefore like to draw your particular attention to part IV, division ii, section 24, of the Bill headed "Investments", which reads: "For the purpose of ensuring and safeguarding economic development there shall be invested over the period of the Five-Year Plan a total sum not exceeding 336.2 milliard Kčs."

This sum is to be distributed as follows: a) industry 131.9 milliard, b) agriculture 26.8 milliard, c) building 4.6 milliard, d) transport 52.9 milliard of Kčs.

This investment in key-sectors amounts to 216 milliard, 200 million Kčs; adding thereto the sum of 47.1 milliard

Kčs cited in the Bill under j) as investment of the public administration for the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, hydro-technical projects, and other public works, we get a total *production* investment of 263 milliard 300 million Kčs.

In addition, the investment programme comprises allocations to social, cultural and other services and institutions, as follows: e) commerce and tourist traffic and travel, 5 milliard, f) housing 39.3 milliard, g) social welfare 8.1 milliard, h) health services 10.3 milliard, i) cultural facilities 10.2 milliard Kčs; that is a total of 72.9 milliard Kčs.

Adding the two portions, we obtain the former global investment target of 336.2 milliard Kčs spread over 5 years, or, 67 milliard Kčs annually.

In order to make this yearly investment programme of 67 milliard possible, adequate financial means must be procured.

The expansion of the nations economy is in this direction limited by the same considerations as that of private enterprise. If someone wants to build himself a house, he has to have the money to do it with; this money may be either capital, or savings, or he can borrow it.

Investment capital may be accumulated either from the product of the labour of others—in which event, it is necessary to be able to exploit others; or from the savings of one's own work—in which event, it is necessary to save and do without many of the things that one might afford otherwise if the plan to build a house of one's own were to be given up.

Finally, the money may be procured on credit. But if someone builds with borrowed money, he must save, and do without, to an even greater extent, in order to pay back not only the borrowed capital, but interest thereon as well.

A nation's economy is governed by the same principles.

We can build: 1. with our own capital; 2. with the profits and savings of our work; 3. with foreign loans and assistance.

Now our Republic does not possess savings that could be invested in the work of reconstruction.

We inherited from the old order of society and the occupation millions of debts, and worthless shares and bank deposits. We do not want to exploit the labour of others, and we shall not adopt the way of imperialist subjection of other nations and the looting of their property.

We might borrow; there was, for instance, the tempting offer of the Marshall Plan. We refused this offer, because we will have nothing to do with money-lenders. The interest demanded on the loans under the Marshall Plan took the form of a surrender of our political sovereignty and economic independence: we should have had to reconstruct not in accordance with our own needs and plans, but in accordance with the plans and requirements of our creditor.

We can observe the results of such a reconstruction programme, carried out on someone else's account and to someone else's orders — say, in France. Some of those orders were, a restriction of the French film-industry, which resulted in thousands of cultural and technical workers becoming unemployed; a restriction of the production of automobiles, airplanes, etc., causing the dismissal of yet other ten thousands of workers in these industrial sectors — the only reason being the consideration that French production should not interfere with her capitalist rival's.

To accept American loans, then, means, in effect, to become a vassal of American capital, and of American capitalists. And this involves the final surrender of all plans of industrial expansion and of a raising of living and cultural standards.

We do not want to give up that aim. Therefore, only

one path remains open to us: to finance the expansion and rebuilding of our economy with our own labour, our own financial resources, that is, our own savings, and—I say it without hesitation—sacrifices. This fact I should like to bring to the notice of you, Deputies of the National Assembly, with particular emphasis.

During your debates of the Five-Year Plan Bill never lose sight of this one and indisputable truth—that the most resounding phrases and the most hopeful statistics of the Plan will not by themselves raise the standard of living.

In order to make a raising of the standard of living possible, it will be necessary to fulfil the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan not in some, but in all sectors of production. Both work and money will have to be invested in reconstruction. The productivity of labour must be improved. There will have to be greater economy both in nationalised industry and in the public administration. The greatest possible proportion of people must be made to take their part in the production process and their capacities and abilities must be fully and properly utilised. In short, the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is a matter of the honour and industry of the entire nation. The experiences of the Two-Year Plan are now already at our disposal, and we must learn their lessons.

Why has the general standard of living not been raised to the extent which the Two-Year Plan envisaged? Because the Two-Year Plan was not completely fulfilled in its entirety and in all production sectors.

I should like to direct your attention to the first chapter of the Government Memorandum, 'Balance-sheet of the Two-Year Plan'.

This balance shows that we had planned correctly. Production targets in industry have not only been met, but will, in the majority of industrial sectors, be exceeded.

According to the statistical returns, the Two-Year Plan

in industry (not including the food industry) was realised in 18 months to the extent of 101 per cent, in July to 104.5 per cent, in August to 101.1 per cent. The basic task of industry under the Two-Year Plan, i. e. to attain the production index of 110 as against 1937, was fulfilled also. Already in May 1948, the industrial production index was 110.9 per cent without the food industry, and 105.4 per cent including the food industry.

Of particular value are the results in mining, where pre-war production levels were exceeded by wide margins: in the case of hard coal by 15 per cent, of lignite by 36 per cent, of iron by 2 per cent, and of steel by 20 per cent. In the engineering industries, also, we are fulfilling the Plan to 100 per cent, and in many sectors we have reached pre-war production, as in the manufacture of locomotives, tractors, automobiles, etc. Other industries which have over-fulfilled their targets include the leather and rubber industry, glass, paper, timber, stone, clay and ceramics; the power, chemical, textile and clothing sectors are not far short of 100 per cent.

As far as we can judge at present, the following industrial sectors will be working above pre-war level on completion of the Two-Year Plan: mining by 18 per cent, power by 133 per cent, iron and steel by 10 per cent, engineering by 30 per cent, chemicals by 14 per cent, and ceramics and rubber by 4 per cent. Production per head of population will at the end of the year be 22 per cent above the pre-war level.

The position in transport is similar. The pre-war level has already been exceeded in rail transport, in spite of reduced rolling stock and locomotives. The number of persons carried by passenger trains is far in excess of pre-war. Road transport capacity—where the targets of the Two-Year Plan are being exceeded by as much as 40 to 60 per cent—is far in excess of pre-war.

The same success cannot be recorded in the case of river and air transport; postal transport, on the other hand, is meeting its target by a high percentage.

A quite different situation confronts us, however, in agriculture and the food and building industries. The planned targets were not met in any of these sectors, and this failure reacts on our standard of living.

In view of the fact that our grain harvest in 1947 amounted to only 1,850,000 tons instead of the planned 2,750,000—only 657,800 tons were moreover delivered to the public food administration, as against 1,059,200 in the preceding year—it is not surprising that neither the planned rations nor the planned standard of living could be maintained. If in spite of this we did not suffer famine, we owe this fact to the help rendered by our ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to our own industrial production, which, by fully implementing and in many cases exceeding its targets made it easier for us, to make up for the agricultural deficit, to export more and thus obtain the necessary resources for an increase of food imports.

Even more catastrophic than the failure of the grain harvest was the failure of animal production. The production of beef in the first half of 1948 amounted to only 46,327 tons instead of the planned 80,000 tons—or a mere 58 per cent; of pork, 71.382 instead of 133.000 tons, or 54 per cent; of milk, 10 million instead of 16 million hectolitres, or 62 per cent. It is clear that imports of meat and fats, though large, could not make up for these deficits.

The total damage in agriculture may be assessed at approximately 15 milliard Kčs. It will be readily understood that a loss of this order must necessarily exert an unfavourable influence on rations and on the standard of living.

A similar situation confronts us in building. If we consider that fulfilment of the 1947 targets for the entire

sector was only 70 per cent, and in house-building only 47 per cent, that further instead of the projected 61,000 only about 29,000 flats were actually erected, we realise that the housing crisis could not be reduced, but on the contrary, was bound to aggravate. Excuses for the failure of these sectors to realise the Plan can no doubt be found. Due regard should be given to unfavourable weather conditions, material and labour shortages, and so on. Nevertheless, the fact must not be overlooked that the private enterprise element which predominates in this sector is in many respects to blame for the failure to fulfil the planned targets.

It is a further undeniable fact that reactionary capitalist elements based their sabotage schemes on these failures to realise the Plan and on the grave disturbances wrought thereby in our economy. Those circles which had an overwhelming share in further increasing the consequences of the harvest crisis by means of sabotage, black market transactions and non-delivery, hoped and planned to exploit the famine which they expected to result from the harvest failure, for their own criminal ends.

They did not succeed. They failed, precisely for the reason that the idea of planning proved to be basically sound. The damages inflicted on our agriculture and supply by the harvest failure, by reactionary attempts to produce economic chaos, by sabotage, capitalist cupidity and black marketeering, could be, and to a large extent were, made good by harder work and by the voluntary efforts of honest citizens in town and country.

We had to put up with a number of shortages, but we did not fall a victim to famine and its attendant misery and despair. To-day, at the end of the Two-Year Plan, the standard of living of our nation and, in particular, of the working community, is far higher than during periods of

abundant harvests and general prosperity under the old capitalist economy.

We have no unemployment. In the 'First Republic'* four years after the end of the Great War, in January 1922, 112,323 persons were registered as unemployed; in December of the same year, this figure had risen to 436,710.

You may ask: what was the standard of living of this half-million people, manual and office-workers, who wanted to work, but could not find work? What was the standard of living of their children and families? What were their rations of meat, fats and bread?

Here, even during a period of shortage, there are no beggars or tramps. During the 'First Republic'* at time of maximum economic expansion, we stumbled over tramps on each step, beggars could be seen at every corner.

How many workers here enjoyed paid holidays in the third year after the Great War and what was the duration of these holidays? How many workers, in the third year after the Great War, could afford to spend their holidays in summer resorts, spas, let alone at the sea-side? To-day, every employed person, not excluding persons in domestic employment, is entitled to fully-paid annual holidays. 200,000 workers took part this year in this country in the holiday recreation schemes of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) and the Union of Czechoslovak Youth (SČM).

I do not wish to enumerate all the differences between the old order and ours. We can not only state, but prove, without exaggeration, that the over-all standard of living of the working community has in spite of all difficulties, obstacles, and shortages, the existence of which we do not

* i. e. the first period of an independent Czechoslovak state, from the liberation in 1918 till Munich. The interim period Munich to March 15, 1939, is usually referred to as the "Second Republic". — Tr.

deny, and which we must overcome, substantially improved. It has so improved, because we have made the first breach in the bulwarks of the old capitalist order of exploitation of man by man, because we have nationalised the greater portion of production and because we have been enabled thereby to lay the foundations for economic planning.

The results of the Two-Year Plan are a plain lesson that economic planning together with the nationalisation of production yields success and gives good results. They further teach us, on the other hand, that in the sphere of private enterprise planning is liable to fail, and faces grave obstacles and defects. The reason is clear—control and supervision is far more difficult, and the undermining influence of reactionary capitalist elements far more easily applied in private than in nationalised economic enterprise.

Sabotage by reactionary capitalist elements can, as we have seen, cause us considerable difficulties in spite of the realisation of carefully prepared plans, and cause painful, though temporary, damages and disturbances.

This lesson is implicit in the realisation of the plan in the nationalised sectors of industry, and in the failure to realise the plan in those sectors where private capitalist elements predominated, or dominated a crucial aspect of production. These lessons constituted a valuable guide in the preparation of the Five-Year Plan, and will be even more valuable in its practical implementation.

One thing must be clearly recognised: if we want to fulfil the Five-Year Plan and attain the goal envisaged therein, we must mobilise all necessary means and forces for its implementation. The Five-Year Plan envisages the gradual raising of the national income over the period 1948 to 1953 by 48 per cent, that is not less than one-half over and above our present national income.

If this increase is to be achieved, and if the plans for

raising the material and cultural level of the people are to be fulfilled, the total industrial product must be increased by 57 per cent. This means the following increases in the individual production sectors: engineering by 93 per cent, mining by 35 per cent, power by 52 per cent, iron and steel by 49 per cent, chemicals by 62 per cent, glass by 12 per cent, stone, clay and ceramics by 59 per cent, wood-working by 26 per cent, textiles and clothing by 68 per cent, paper by 41 per cent, leather by 43 per cent, sugar-refining by 17 per cent, spirit-distilling by 6 per cent, beer-brewing by 68 per cent, flour-milling by 30 per cent, and food processing by 79 per cent. Agricultural output is to be raised altogether by 16 per cent (in comparison with the below-average year 1947 by 37 per cent), and building, if the Plan is to be fulfilled, by as much as 130 per cent.

These mere figures demonstrate amply the magnitude of the tasks which the Five-Year Plan imposes upon us. It is, however, absolutely essential that they are fulfilled, if the material and cultural level of the people is to be raised as envisaged in part III of the Bill.

Here I should like to point out the targets listed in the Bill in the spheres of social, cultural, health and educational care and the material level by no means exhaust the list of demands, even of justified demands in these fields. The members of the Economic Council and of the Planning Commission could tell us how many justified demands in this field were put forward and how many of them, though their importance was fully acknowledged, could not be included in the Bill and cannot be realised under the Plan. You yourselves, when you come to deal with the Plan in Committee, will have to face that same difficulty.

If you allow yourselves to be influenced unduly by the narrow interests of your environment, your sphere of action, region or position, you will fail to solve your task.

It is not possible within five years to do everything that ought to be done, that we should like to do, or that should have been done long ago. The neglect of decades cannot be made good in a moment.

Thus, the Five-Year Plan is not a final plan, which will do away with all our existing shortages and difficulties. The Five-Year Plan is a plan for the expansion and conversion of our economy, aiming to remove the most urgent defects, but intended chiefly to lay the foundations and the basic facilities which will make it possible really to rebuild our fair country and all its institutions that aim towards safeguarding the material, social, medical and cultural interests of our people, step by step, so that at long last, life here might be truly happy, joyful and content.

The prime tasks of the Five-Year Plan, therefore, will be the widest mobilisation of labour and the raising of the productivity of labour.

It may be said that this is an old and hackneyed song, which we have been repeating *ad nauseam* for the past three years.

Yes, my friends, we have been repeating this song for three years now, and we shall repeat it over and again, until we succeed in convincing and re-educating, and I do not hesitate to say, compel, where need be, everyone to take this song about the necessity of work to heart and put it into action. We shall have to face obstacles, we shall not be able to realise fully our plans for the building of a new society, nor to ensure decent living standards to all members of the working population, until we have convinced everyone of the necessity of work, and have compelled those who do not want to be convinced to fulfil their duties.

We have given every one the right to work. We have confirmed this right in our Constitution and we have abolished unemployment. But every right implies certain

obligations. The right to work carries with it the duty to work. Those who try to avoid fulfilling this duty, must be compelled thereto.

This is no punishment, no force nor terror, but the free democratic right, of a state which guarantees the *right* to work, to demand unconditionally the fulfilment of the *duty* to work from each and every citizen.

We have given and ensured every one's right to a decent existence. We have guaranteed wages, rations, and social welfare. On the other hand, we have imposed on every one the duty to keep the peace and order of the State, to take his part in peaceful reconstruction and to defend the Republic. The individual's right and freedom to commit crimes against the interests of the community is no part of the conception of the people's democracy. It is a crime to-day to make common cause with the enemy, to spread false reports and rumours in order to create panic, to idle when work is required, to profiteer on scarcity and withdraw goods from the market which are essential for the maintenance of the food supply, not to deliver to the proper authorities what the harvest has provided, to waste and idle away ineffectually the working hours for which wages are paid, not to fulfil the obligations arising out of a contract of employment or service.

In speaking of the necessity of raising the productivity of labour, I should like to correct the mistake of all those who imagine that this question of raising the productivity of labour is a matter of the workers alone, that it is up to the workers, and only the workers, to work. That is not so. The question of productivity concerns us all, the entire nation. We need to raise the productivity of labour not only in the factories, but in shops, offices, and in agriculture. Do you think that the productivity of labour is not reduced and undermined by the shopkeeper who spends his day in the shop cursing and grumbling that he has

nothing to sell: if instead of grumbling and grouching, he'd go and work where he's needed, there would be more to sell sooner.

We are trying our best to keep the promises which were given to the broad masses of the population. We do not destroy, or interfere with the livelihood of those who work honestly. We have guaranteed and safeguarded wages and salaries, incomes and land. But we have always declared: We cannot and shall not tolerate that individuals, whether in work or service, in business, trade, private enterprise or agriculture, place their selfish gain and interest above the interests of the community, that for their own personal benefit they damage the cause of the community. We shall find ways and means to guard our people's democratic Republic, the realisation of our Five-Year Plan and our way towards socialism, against all efforts of saboteurs, traitors and panic-mongers.

We need to work in order to build up our economy, and in order to work we need peace, both inside and outside. We shall endeavour with all our strength to keep that peace. We are endeavouring to maintain friendly relations with all, and allied relations with all those who, as we, build the people's democratic order, try to abolish war-mongering and contribute to world peace.

In building up our economy we cannot rely on the natural resources of our own country. We are in need of economic relations, of trade and cooperation with other countries. No one is excluded from entering into trade relations with us. We trade with both East and West. Whoever maintains economic and trade relations with us, is not likely to lose thereby.

It is no secret that for our trade and economic relations we find greater understanding to-day in the East than in the West. It is no fault of ours that, for instance, the United States of America create difficulties for us and hold back

deliveries, often even those paid for in advance in dollars. Such measures may cause temporary difficulties, but cannot arrest the constructive work of building up our economy, nor our progress towards socialism.

This policy of isolation, boycott and economic blockade will in the end turn against its inventors; already the signs of the coming economic crisis are gathering on their horizon. The events of day-to-day convince us ever more clearly that we have chosen our friends wisely and well. The best proof of this are our economic relations with the Soviet Union and the people's democratic nations. Import and export turnovers are growing. The volume of mutual trade in new and wider agreements expands; the total turnover of our foreign trade with the Soviet Union in the coming year will amount to 20 milliard Kčs; under a recently concluded agreement, the USSR will deliver to us 300,000 tons of wheat, 25 million kg of fats and 25 million kg of meat, which will contribute materially to the safeguarding of our food rations and the improvement of our supply situation. Thus, the propaganda drive of our foreign enemies and the rumours spread by their agents at home, have missed their aim once again. You all know the wild rumours that circulated abroad and at home concerning President Gottwald's Crimean trip: the Republic was to be annexed by the Soviet Union, we should be drawn into the struggle for Berlin, the President would not return, and so on. Well, the President is back; the Czechoslovak Republic remains an independent, sovereign state; we shall not be drawn into a war for Berlin, for the simple reason that there will be no such war. The speculations of the war-mongers, all their attempts to create a war-hysteria, to spread panic and disquiet in order to make peaceful constructive work impossible, will be foiled. We shall not be turned back from our path of peace, of peaceable and forceful reconstruction, by anyone or anything. We shall complete the

Two-Year Plan; we shall begin to fulfil the Five-Year Plan. Let the forces of reaction at home and abroad vent their anger as they will, let them cry and rage and curse that we're going to wreck and ruin! We shall not be made to lose our temper. We shall mobilise all our labour and financial resources in order to bring the Five-Year Plan to a successful conclusion. Our development will go on. There will be no catastrophe, but the flowering of a new economic epoch, of Socialism.

In presenting the Five-Year Plan Bill, I should like to ask you, ladies and gentlemen, Deputies of the National Assembly: discuss this Bill, in the light of its significance and importance, and in the awareness of your high responsibility! Remember that the People is the only source of power in our people's democratic Republic! It is the duty of you, its elected representatives, to do its will and to ensure that your enactments help to create and safeguard a happy future for the people and the nation.

(Address delivered by the Prime Minister, Mr. Antonín Zápotocký, on the occasion of presenting the Government Bill of the First Five-Year Economic Plan of Development of the Czechoslovak Republic, in the plenary session of the National Assembly of October 7, 1948.)

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN ACT

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

ACT No. 241
RELATING TO THE FIRST
FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT
OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC
(FIVE-YEAR PLAN ACT)
DATED OCTOBER 27, 1948

The National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic has enacted the following Act:

PART I
AIM AND CONTENT
OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN

1.

(1) Economic activity in the years 1949 to 1953 shall be governed by the five-year uniform economic plan (hereinafter referred to as the Five-Year Plan). The main purport of this Plan is the development and conversion of the Czechoslovak economy; its chief aim, based on the increased productivity of labour, is the further substantial raising of the living standard of all sections of the working population of town and country, and, on this foundation, the consolidation of the unity of the workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia and the urban middle classes.

(2) The Five-Year Plan constitutes an important step in the progress of the Czechoslovak People's Democracy towards socialism, principally in that it aims to strengthen and consolidate nationalised industry, and further, in that it will step up the mechanisation and electrification of agriculture and thus lay the foundations for the introduction of socially more advanced forms of production in this economic sector. Such capitalist elements as remain will throughout this process be progressively restricted and eliminated from all sectors of the national economy.

2.

The aim of the Five-Year Plan shall be attained through a general and constant growth of production in such manner that the national income be raised by one-half. The stability of the progress of our economy and its capacity of resistance to economic crises shall be safeguarded by means of its effective development and re-deployment, and by means of an intensification of economic relations and co-operation with States with a planned economy. The foregoing measures shall further serve to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Republic.

3.

There shall be set out in the further provisions of this Act a detailed plan for effecting a growth of production in the several sectors of the economy (part II), for the raising of the material and cultural level of the people, as a result of the growth of production (part III), the premises of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan (part IV), the distribution of the tasks of the Five-Year Plan over the planning regions, in particular with a view towards Slovakia (part V), and the means of implementing the Five-Year Plan, as well as the control and supervision of that implementation (part VI).

PART II

GROWTH OF PRODUCTION

DIVISION I

Industry and Handicrafts

4.

Industrial production shall be so stepped up that its total value in 1953 shall be 454 milliard Kčs as against 288 mil-

liard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 57 per cent. At the same time, and to this end, there shall be effected, in particular:

- a) an accelerated development of production, primarily in the metallurgical industries, in the engineering industries (especially in the heavy engineering sector), further in the mining and chemical industries; and there shall also take place an expansion of the sources of power, as being the basis of industrial production, through the construction of new thermal and hydro-electric power stations,
- b) a progressive increase in the production of building materials,
- c) an increase in the production of agricultural machinery,
- d) an expansion of the production of consumer goods.

5.

There shall be produced in industry in 1953:

- a) in the *mining industry*, chiefly:

hard coal	20.8 million tons
lignite (brown coal)	32.2 million tons
coke	8.0 million tons
iron ore	1.4 million tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 17.8 milliard Kčs as against 13.2 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 35 per cent;

- b) in the *power industry*, chiefly:

electricity	11,200 million kWh
gas	2,900 million cubic metres

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 14.1 milliard Kčs as against 9.3 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 52 per cent;

c) in the *iron and steel industry*, chiefly:

pig-iron 2.7 million tons
crude steel 3.5 million tons
rolled iron strip 2.5 million tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 40.4 milliard Kčs as against 31.2 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 49 per cent;

d) in the *engineering industries*:

in the foundry sector

products to the total value of 7.1 milliard Kčs
thereof
castings 0.6 million tons

in the heavy engineering sector

products to the total value of 22.4 milliard Kčs
thereof
locomotives 480
railway coaches (in terms of
freight cars) 7,700

in the mechanical engineering sector

products to the total value of 13.7 milliard Kčs
thereof
sewing machines 155,500

in the general engineering sector

products to the total value of 6.2 milliard Kčs
thereof
agricultural machinery to the
value of 2.3 milliard Kčs
central heating plants,
domestic plants and mount-
ings to the value of 1.4 milliard Kčs

*in the sector of road transport and light transport ve-
hicles and airplanes*

products to the total value of 15.4 milliard Kčs

thereof
tractors 20,000
motor lorries and cars (in
terms of motor lorries 24,000
motorcycles 75,000
bicycles 330,000

in the other branches of metal manufacture

products to the total value of 9.2 milliard Kčs
thereof
enameled hardware, domestic
and kitchen utensils and
equipment 19.0 million kg

in the electrical engineering sector

products to the total value of 18.3 milliard Kčs
thereof
electric motors up to 25 kW . 890,000
wireless receivers 300,000
telephones 150,000

the gross value of the production of the entire engineering
sector shall reach 92.3 milliard Kčs as against 47.8 milliard
Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 93 per cent;

e) in the *chemical industry*, chiefly:

heavy chemical products to
the total value of 7.8 milliard Kčs
thereof
nitrate fertilisers 42,900 tons
phosphate fertilisers 68,000 tons
pharmaceutical products to
the total value of 1.7 milliard Kčs
thereof basic drugs 309,000 kg
synthetic fabrics 18,000 tons
rayon 11,000 tons
soap 53,000 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 35.1 milliard Kčs as against 21.7 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 62 per cent;

f) in the *glass industry*, chiefly:

hollow ware	137,100 tons
sheet glass	113,700 tons
small ware	9,500 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 4.6 milliard Kčs as against 41.1 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 12 per cent;

g) in the *stone, clay, and ceramics industry*, chiefly:

cement	2.6 million tons
bricks	1,300 million
tiles	214 million
lime	1.3 million tons
technical porcelain	15 million kg

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 12.1 milliard Kčs as against 7.6 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 59 per cent;

h) in the *paper industry*, chiefly:

paper	320,000 tons
cardboard	105,000 tons
cellulose	320,000 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 9.9 milliard Kčs as against 7 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 41 per cent;

i) in the *wood (processing) industry*, chiefly:

sawn timber and logs	2.8 million cubic metres
household furniture to the value of	1.3 milliard Kčs
building construction products to the value of	0.5 milliard Kčs

commercial veneers and cross
bendings 15.2 million square
metres

plywood 111,500 cubic metres

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 12.5 milliard Kčs as against 9.9 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 26 per cent;

j) in the *textile and clothing industries*, chiefly:

cotton yarns 114,200 tons
woollen yarns 41,800 tons
linen yarns 12,800 tons
cotton and silk thread from 2,500 tons of yarn
cotton, linen, and silk fabrics
from 104,700 tons of yarn
woollen fabrics from 30,200 tons of yarn
knitwear and hosiery from 25,700 tons of yarn
thereof socks and stockings 79.0 million pairs
outer garments (men's and
boys') 3.8 million
outer garments (women's
and girls') 6.9 million
working garments 5.4 million
underwear (men's and boys') 19.4 million
underwear (women's and
girls') 6.5 million

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 77.4 milliard Kčs as against 46 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 68 per cent;

k) in the *leather and rubber industry*, chiefly:

leather footwear 33.7 million pairs
lightweight shoes 8.6 million pairs
rubber footwear 30.2 million pairs
tyres of all kinds 7.4 million

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall

reach 21.8 milliard Kčs as against 15.2 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 43 per cent;

l) in the *printing, gramophone and film industries*, respectively:

in the *printing sector*, the gross value of all products shall reach 4 milliard Kčs as against 3.4 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 18 per cent;

in the *gramophone sector*, chiefly:

gramophone records 6 million

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 660 million Kčs;

in the *film sector*, chiefly:

full-length feature films . . . 56

short features 143

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 575 million Kčs as against 370 million Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 56 per cent;

m) in the *sugar refining industry*, chiefly:

refined sugar 790,000 tons

molasses 183,000 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 10.2 milliard Kčs as against 8.7 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 17 per cent;

n) in the *spirit distilling industry*, the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 5.6 milliard Kčs as against 5.3 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 6 per cent;

o) in the *beetbrewing and malt industry*, chiefly:

beer 11.7 million hectolitres

malt 312,600 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 9.6 milliard Kčs as against 5.7 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 68 per cent;

p) in the *flour-milling industry*, chiefly:

edible wheat flour products 600,000 tons
edible rye flour products 267,700 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 4.7 milliard Kčs as against 3.6 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 30 per cent;

r) in the *food industry*, chiefly:

artificial edible fats 70,000 tons
dairy butter 48,700 tons
tinned milk products 13,700 tons
fresh milk for consumption 1,125 million litres
cheese 30,200 tons
meat products to the value of 2.8 milliard Kčs

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 61.8 milliard Kčs as against 34.5 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 79 per cent;

s) in the *tobacco and salt industries*, chiefly:

cigarettes 11,700 millions
cigars 60 millions
pipe tobacco 3,700 tons

the gross value of the production of the entire sector shall reach 12.8 milliard Kčs.

6.

(1) Handicraft production and activity shall be so stepped up that the gross value thereof in 1953 reaches 59 milliard Kčs as against 49 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 20 per cent.

(2) The total value of 59 milliard Kčs shall be distributed as follows:

a) engineering 12.9 milliard Kčs
b) chemicals 1.3 milliard Kčs

c) glass	0.4 milliard Kčs
d) stone, clay, and ceramics . . .	1.4 milliard Kčs
e) paper	0.9 milliard Kčs
f) wood processing	4.8 milliard Kčs
g) textiles and clothing	10.6 milliard Kčs
h) leather and rubber	3.7 milliard Kčs
i) flourmilling	3.8 milliard Kčs
j) food processing	16.1 milliard Kčs
k) ancillary trades	2.4 milliard Kčs

(3) The cooperative movement in handicraft production shall be further developed and improved.

DIVISION II

Agriculture and Forestry

7.

Agricultural production shall be so stepped up that its gross value in 1953 reaches 105 milliards Kčs as against 90.5 milliard Kčs (being the value prescribed under the original production plan for 1948), that is an increase of 16 per cent; and as against 76.3 milliard Kčs (being the value prescribed under the reduced production plan for 1948), that is an increase of 37 per cent. Towards this end and at the same time,

- a) the growth of animal production shall be speeded up,
- b) the mechanisation and electrification of agriculture shall be continued,
- c) all farmers shall be enabled to use selected seeds and seedlings, and shall be ensured adequate quantities of fodder and fertilisers,
- d) hydro-technical installations and the area of fisheries shall be extended,

- e) the growth of all sections of the farmers' cooperative movement shall be supported.

8.

There shall be produced in agriculture in 1953:

a) in *plant production*:

on the basis of the planning of sown areas and planned yield per hectare, in particular of:

wheat	1.5 million tons
rye and mixed corn	1.0 million tons
barley	1.3 million tons
oats	1.1 million tons
maize	0.3 million tons
leguminous crops	65,000 tons
potatoes	9.7 million tons
sugar beet	5.5 million tons
oil crops	69,000 tons
mixture for seed	119,000 tons
forage crops (in terms of hay equivalent)	12.8 million tons

the gross value of the entire plant production shall reach 55.2 milliard Kčs as against 49.5 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 11 per cent;

b) in *animal production*:

on the basis of the planning of quantity of livestock and the planned utility of domestic cattle, in particular

horned cattle fattened	366,000 tons live weight
hogs fattened	498 000 tons live weight
milk	47 million hectolitres
eggs	2 milliards

the gross value of the entire animal production shall reach 49.8 milliard Kčs as against 26.8 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 86 per cent.

9.

There shall be produced in forestry by the end of 1953, 55 million cubic metres of timber (in terms of units measuring not less than 7 centimetres across the smaller ends), at a total value of 18.8 milliard Kčs, whereof

	softwoods	hardwoods
	million cubic metres	
timber (in terms of units measuring not less than 7 cm across the smaller ends)	40.0	15.0
thereof		
round logs	24.0	3.2
sleepers	0.02	1.6
mine-timbers	3.4	—
bulkwood	7.7	1.1
pole-wood	0.6	0.2
other types of stacked wood for structural purposes	0.1	0.4
for fuel	4.18	8.5

Towards this end,

- a) forest growth shall be renewed and non-afforested land shall be afforested,
- b) a system of selective planting shall be introduced, low forests shall be converted into timber forests and pure growth shall be converted into mixed growth,
- c) exhausted afforested land shall be improved and damages wrought in forests by war economy shall be made good,
- d) the mechanisation of lumbering and transport shall be carried further and the network of roads and paths in forests shall be extended.

DIVISION III

Building

10.

(1) Building construction shall be stepped up so that the gross value thereof in 1953 shall reach 46 milliard Kčs. Towards this end, in particular

- a) support shall be given to the progressive transformation of building to an industry which shall be mechanised to the highest possible degree, and which shall utilise standardised construction parts, in particular mass-produced pre-fabricated ferro-concrete structural sections, so as to safeguard the planned reconstruction, development and conversion of all sectors of our economy,
- b) the production of standardised structural components shall be introduced and fully developed so as to reach in 1953 the total level of 1.3 million tons at a value of 1.2 milliard Kčs

(2) Over the period of the Five-Year Plan, building construction shall reach a total value of 176.9 milliard Kčs, whereof new buildings shall account for approximately 135 milliard Kčs.

(3) The global target of 176.9 milliard Kčs shall be broken up into specific construction targets for the various sectors of the economy, as follows:

- a) industry and handicrafts . . . 44.6 milliard Kčs
- b) agriculture 11.8 milliard Kčs
- c) building 0.7 milliard Kčs
- d) transport 23.1 milliard Kčs
(1.2 milliards of which shall
be spent on the postal
services)
- e) commerce and tourist traffic . . . 1.9 milliard Kčs

- f) house-building 39.3 milliard Kčs
- g) social, health and cultural purposes 14.4 milliard Kčs
itemised as follows:
 - social 4.3 milliard Kčs
 - health and National Insurance 5.0 milliard Kčs
 - culture 5.1 milliard Kčs
- h) roads and bridges, hydro-technical installations and other projects of the public administration 41.1 milliard Kčs.

DIVISION IV

Transport

11.

Transport capacity shall be so stepped up that the total capacity in 1953 shall exceed the total capacity in 1948 by 40 per cent. To this end there shall be ensured, chiefly by means of an effective distribution of the total capacity over the several sectors (in particular the rail and road sectors) that the transport capacity be adequate to meet the requirements of increased economic activity.

12.

The transport capacity shall be stepped up in the various sectors in 1953

a) in rail transport

freight transport shall reach 17 milliard ton-kilometres net (that is an increase of 39 per cent as against 1948), and shall carry 100 million tons of goods and travel 56 million kilometres;

steam-propelled passenger transport shall travel 70 million kilometres (that is an increase of 11 per cent over 1948)

and motor-propelled passenger transport shall travel 32,6 million kilometres (that is an increase of 80 per cent over 1948). The total rail passenger transport capacity shall thus be increased by 27 per cent over 1948;

b) *municipal transport*

shall carry 1,075 million passengers (that is an increase of 19 per cent over 1948) and shall travel 104 million kilometres;

c) in *road transport*

freight haulage shall reach a capacity of 441 ton-kilometres net (that is an increase of 39 per cent over 1948) and shall carry 26,3 million tons of goods and travel 224 million kilometres;

passenger transport shall carry 307 million passengers (that is an increase of 36 per cent over 1948) and shall travel 127 million kilometres;

d) in *river transport*

the capacity shall be increased by 70 per cent over 1948;

e) in *air transport*

13,6 million kilometres shall be flown (that is an increase of 120 per cent over 1948).

13.

In postal transport there shall be over the period of the Five-Year Plan

a) newly installed

telephone services in 6,155 parishes, so that the number of parishes connected to the telephone grid shall be greater by 61 per cent than in 1948;
120,000 subscribers' telephones, so that the number of telephones installed shall be greater by 54 per cent than in 1948;

b) the telegraph services further developed;

- c) the mechanisation and motorisation of all telephone services further developed.

DIVISION V

Internal Trade

14.

The effective and economical organisation of internal trade, based primarily upon the socially more advanced forms of distribution, shall ensure the adequate circulation of commodities, in keeping with the planned rate of economic growth. Internal trade shall be so directed on a planned basis as to ensure a constant flow of consumer goods, especially among the working population, and so as to extend and improve progressively the services rendered.

PART III

RAISING

OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL

OF THE PEOPLE

15.

(1) The aim of the development of production under the Five-Year Plan is to raise the material and cultural level of the people in such a manner that their mental and physical capacities may develop to the fullest extent.

(2) At the same time and to this end, consumption, wages, and earnings in general, as well as prices, shall be so planned that the living standard of each citizen progress in proportion to his achievement and desert.

(3) So as to contribute towards the raising of the material and cultural level of the people, there shall be stepped up progressively:

- a) social consumption ; that is to say, the social services of the public administration, being social, health, and cultural and educational care (sections 16 to 18), shall be expanded and improved ;
- b) individual consumption ; that is to say, the quantity and the quality of consumer goods on the home market, and the services rendered (sections 19 and 20), shall be progressively raised and improved.

(4) Total social and individual consumption, wherein the raising of the living standard is directly manifest, shall increase over the period of the Five-Year Plan, at the same time assuming the anticipated increase in the productivity of labour (section 21), on an average by 35 per cent per head.

DIVISION I

Social Consumption

16.

Social Welfare

(1) In order that the growth of the working capacity of the population be fully assured, and thereby also its living standard be raised, the social services shall be further developed through the expansion of existing and the introduction of new social facilities ; at the same time, social welfare shall be improved and rendered more economical.

(2) In particular, the following improvements as against 1948 shall be effected up to the end of 1953 in the several spheres :

care of employed women:

- a) 15,400 additional children shall be accommodated in crèches and day nurseries,

- 6,375 additional children shall be accommodated in permanent homes :
- b) 180,000 additional children shall be catered for in school canteens ;
 - c) an additional 11 million kg of laundry shall be washed in cooperative laundries ;

care of working youth:

50,000 additional persons shall be accommodated in youth hostels ;

recreational care:

200,000 additional children, 48,000 additional working youths, and 300,000 additional adults shall be accommodated in recreation centres ;

institutional care of youth:

accommodation shall be increased :
in children's homes by 3,500 beds,
in hostels attached to schools for defective children by 240 beds,
in institutions for physically defective young persons by 1,030 beds.

(3) National Insurance shall :

- a) ensure to all persons medical care and treatment and endeavour to provide such care and treatment in keeping with the contemporary level of medical science ; for the implementation of this task there shall be set aside 9.5 milliard Kčs in 1953 as against 4.3 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 121 per cent ;
- b) secure to all persons who are, through no fault of theirs, incapable for work, a more appropriate standard of living ; there shall be set aside for the implementation of this task 22.8 milliard Kčs in 1953 as

against 12.5 milliard Kčs in 1948, that is an increase of 82 per cent;

- c) endeavour through the constant improvement of medical care to eliminate production losses arising out of reduced capacity for work;
- d) contribute towards the elimination of production losses by bringing the services of National Insurance within closer reach of the working population, primarily through the establishment of branch offices of the district national insurance institutions outside the latter's headquarters.

(4) There shall further be devoted greater and more systematic care to:

- a) the socio-political enlightenment of employed persons, and their vocational education and re-education, technical and specialised training, initial training and re-training for different occupations;
- b) the effective and hygienic equipment of places of work;
- c) the planned construction of health and technical protective equipment and facilities, the development and perfection of the unified State supervision of safety measures in all types of work, as well as an increase in the number of works doctors and safety technicians, and other health and social welfare personnel at places of work; the enlightenment of workers regarding accident prevention;
- d) the improvement of transport to and from work;
- e) an increase in the number of persons catered for by works canteens;
- f) the improvement and extension of institutional care for elderly persons, persons who are incapable for work, and physically defective persons.

17.

Health Service

(1) The raising of the health standard of the population shall be attained through planned preventive and medical care. At the same time and to this end,

- a) 119 health centres (regional, district, and branches in health districts), 51 National Insurance polyclinics (regional, district, and branches), 129 national health institutes (regional, district, and branches), shall be established;
- b) 7,800 beds in hospitals and specialised institutions of treatment shall be provided;
- c) 14 mother-and-child clinics with a total of 800 beds for infants and 360 beds for mothers shall be established;
- d) the number of beds in convalescent homes and preventive medical institutes (institutes for calmatisation) shall be raised by an additional 730;
- e) an additional 80 beds shall be established at the Institute for the Treatment of Infantile paralysis at Janské Lázně, and a further institute of 100 beds shall be built;
- f) 8 veterinary research and diagnostic institutes shall be established, and existing institutes further developed;
- g) the number of medical practitioners shall be increased by 5,350, of social health workers (female) by 2,800, of nurses by 5,870, of obstetric assistants by 1,270, and of other health workers by 3,300.

(2) Care for the health of the people shall be further provided by the departments for public hygiene, for epidemiology, for other preventive medicine and health care, by the training and enlightenment of the population in health matters, the correct distribution of health workers,

the improved production and distribution of drugs, health measures in the sphere of nutrition and veterinary health work.

18.

Culture and Education

(1) The cultural level of the people shall be raised by planned educational and instructional service, and by the planned extension and improvement of existing, and the establishment of new cultural facilities. In particular, the following improvements shall be effected to this end:

a) in school instruction

the number of classrooms shall be increased by 3,700,

b) in science, art and cultural monuments

the establishment and equipment of scientific and technical libraries, museums, picture galleries, theatres and concert halls shall be carried further,

c) in popular education and enlightenment

58 houses of culture, 62 popular education halls, and additional travelling libraries shall be erected or established by means of adaptation and conversion,

d) in films

the number of cinemas shall be increased by 1,380,

e) in radio

the building and equipment of two radio centres shall be continued, and two additional radio centres established, and centres for short-wave and long-wave transmission shall be created,

f) cultural facilities at places of work

works libraries, cinemas and physical culture facilities shall be established.

(5) Towards the support of physical culture a Tyrš University School of Physical Culture, and 1000 gymnasiums, 2,700 sports grounds, 40 swimming pools, and 15 physical training centres shall be established.

DIVISION II

Individual Consumption

19.

Food Consumption

(1) Adequate and correct nutrition shall be provided through a gradual increase of the quantity and constant improvement of the quality of the food products on the home market. At the same time, and to this end, the consumption of higher-grade food products, such as milk, fats, pork, eggs, cheese and white bread (rolls) shall primarily be stepped up.

(2) There shall be delivered for the home market in 1953 food products, in quantities exceeding the quantities delivered in 1948, as follows:

Dripping	by	67,000 tons
milk and dairy produce (in terms of milk)	by	22.5 million hectolitres
meat	by	289,000 tons
eggs	by	1 milliard
sugar	by	206,000 tons
wheat flour	by	194,000 tons

(3) The catering service in works and school canteens, and the number of existing canteens shall be further expanded.

20.

Individual Consumption of Other Products

(1) In order to supply the population's essential necessities, the quantity of consumer goods other than food products destined for the home market shall be progressively increased and their quality systematically improved.

(2) There shall be delivered in the home market in 1953 consumer goods, in quantities exceeding the quantities delivered in 1948, as follows:

woollen fabrics (in weight of yarn)
by 9,700 tons
cotton fabrics (in weight of yarn)
by 25,660 tons
silk and semi-silk fabrics . . . by 27.4 million metres
footwear by 14.3 million pairs
chief classes of metal goods,
in terms of money value . . . by 2.6 milliard Kčs
household furniture in terms of
money value by 1 milliard Kčs
utility glassware, in terms of
money value by 270 million Kčs

(3) The standard of housing accomodation shall be raised through the extension, by means of new building or adaptation, of the living area by 9.7 million square metres.

PART IV

PREMISES OF THE REALISATION
OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

DIVISION I

Productivity of Labour and Production Economy

21.

Productivity of Labour

(1) The realisation of the Five-Year Plan is conditional upon heightened responsibility and initiative on the part of every individual worker and of the broad masses of the working population, and upon an increase in the productivity of labour. The productivity of labour shall be raised in industry by 32 per cent, in building by 53 per cent, in agriculture and forestry by 20 per cent, and in transport by 30 per cent.

(2) The united trade union organisation and its branches as well as managements of works and enterprises, offices and institutions, shall endeavour in constant mutual co-operation to secure an increase in working efficiency chiefly by means of :

- a) political and economic enlightenment of employees,
- b) supporting the creative initiative of workers,
- c) an extension and intensification of working competition within and among enterprises,
- d) constant recruitment of capable employees for the purpose of training for positions of greater responsibility and leadership,
- e) the perfection of efficiency standards and transition to a system of progressive piece-work rates,
- f) the utilisation of new production methods,
- g) improvements in the organisation of work in accordance with the principles of scientific production layout,
- h) an improvement of technical safety measures, and social and health facilities at work,
- i) endeavouring to eliminate absenteeism and the undesirable fluctuation of labour.

22.

Increase of the Labour Force

(1) All Czechoslovak citizens shall share equally in the implementation of the tasks prescribed under the Five-Year Plan. In all works and offices not more than an absolutely essential number of workers shall be employed at suitable posts, and working hours shall be utilised to a maximum.

(2) In order to ensure the fulfilment of production targets, the labour force in the national economy shall be increased by 5.6 per cent over 1948, that is to say, the number of persons employed in industry shall be increased

by 18.5 per cent, and the number of persons employed in the building industry shall be increased by 50 per cent over 1948.

- (3) New labour shall be recruited by means of
- a) the planned influx of young persons,
 - b) an increase in the number of employed women,
 - c) recruitment of persons not hitherto working,
 - d) support of re-immigration,
 - e) the employment of persons with reduced capacity for work,
 - f) utilisation of labour in economically backward areas, through the creation of opportunities of work in these areas,
 - g) utilisation of redundant or expendable labour for the tasks of the Five-Year Plan.

(4) The training of young workers shall be carried out in a new, progressive manner, primarily through the universal establishment of special technical training centres, which shall serve as one of the means towards creating reserves of labour.

23.

Raw Materials, Ancillary Materials and Power

(1) Raw materials, ancillary materials and power required for the fulfilment of production targets under the Five-Year Plan shall be met under conditions of a constant improvement of economy in the consumption thereof.

(2) Economy in the consumption of raw materials, ancillary materials and power shall be effected in particular by means of

- a) the constant supervision and technical maintenance of all equipment whereby raw materials, ancillary materials and power are, as the case may be, produced, processed, or distributed,

- b) the systematic elimination of waste in the consumption of raw materials, ancillary materials and power, and a reduction of the quantity of scrap and rejects,
- c) an appropriate and economical choice of raw materials and ancillary materials, as well as of synthetic materials, in accordance with binding consumption standards for the consumption of raw materials, ancillary materials and power,
- d) the maintenance of adequate reserves of raw materials and ancillary materials in accordance with binding standards and regulations relating thereto,
- e) organised collections and full utilisation of scrap and other waste materials,
- f) the full utilisation of all local resources of raw materials, ancillary materials and power,
- g) an elimination of wasteful transfers of raw materials, ancillary materials and power from the place of output or manufacture thereof to the place of utilisation,
- h) planning, regulation and control of the quality of products,
- i) systematic and constant care of all inspection and testing equipment and other workshop aids.

DIVISION II

Investment

24.

(1) For the purpose of ensuring economic progress there shall be invested over the period of the Five-Year Plan a total sum not exceeding 336.2 milliard Kčs.

(2) Of the total investment of 336.2 milliard Kčs, there shall be invested in

a) industry	131.9 milliard Kčs
b) agriculture	26.8 milliard Kčs
c) building	4.6 milliard Kčs

d) transport	52.9 milliard Kčs
e) commerce and tourist traffic	5.0 milliard Kčs
f) housing	39.3 milliard Kčs
g) social welfare	8.1 milliard Kčs
h) health services and National Insurance	10.3 milliard Kčs
i) cultural services	10.2 milliard Kčs
j) roads and bridges, hydro-technical installations, public building projects and other investments of the public administration	47.1 milliard Kčs.

(3) In addition thereto, 5 milliard Kčs shall be devoted to the furtherance and improvement of parishes and districts, which shall be carried into effect without withdrawals of labour and with a minimum consumption of such raw materials as are important for other tasks of the Five-Year Plan.

(4) Capital development shall be carried out only where the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan cannot be met even with the fullest utilisation of productive capacity (comprising, in particular, the introduction of additional shifts), and where the said investments are wholly essential for the development and conversion of the economy. The distribution of investments shall be carried out with a view to the requirements of the balanced development of all planning regions.

DIVISION III

Works Organisation

25.

Works organisation shall be so improved and perfected as to contribute towards greater efficiency in all sectors

of the economy, and to greater economy in individual enterprises, as well as to the improvement of the quality of products and services. In particular,

- a) works organisation shall be developed and intensified according to the principles of scientific production layout,
- b) the production programmes of industrial enterprises and the programmes of activity of other enterprises shall be simplified,
- c) the standardisation of products and components shall contribute to the simplification of industrial production programmes,
- d) the uniform organisation of works accountancy shall be further developed, facilitating the introduction in industrial enterprises of advance production budgets and the planned reduction of production costs.

DIVISION IV

Foreign Trade

26.

(1) Foreign trade shall be so organised and directed that by means of essential imports the implementation of the targets set by the Five-Year Plan be ensured, and that by means of exports, the expenditure incurred through imports be defrayed and the national budget balanced.

(2) Foreign trade shall be so stepped up in all its aspects that its volume shall increase in 1953 by approximately 40 per cent as against 1948. At the same time there shall be ensured, by means of long-term economic agreements—in particular with the countries with planned economies—the constancy of our economic progress and the resistance of our economy against crises.

DIVISION V

Intensification of Research

27.

(1) Research, in particular technical, economic, social and health research, shall contribute towards the full development of the national economy, the fullest utilisation of resources of all kinds and the purposes of economic planning.

(2) With a view towards the requirements of research, scientific work shall be coordinated in research institutions, scientific institutes shall be established and increased care shall be given to the training of scientific workers. There shall further be ensured that scientific research be as close as possible to practice. Research shall be effectively centralised, and shall be equipped with adequate financial resources.

DIVISION VI

Perfection of Planning Methods,

Organisation and Technique

28.

(1) Planning methods and technique shall be broadened to include production accountancy (which latter shall serve to contribute towards the greater precision of planning) and shall cover all sections of the planning service.

(2) By means of the planning of incomes, prices, taxes, consumption, and trade, there shall further be ensured that a proper balance be maintained between the increased cash earnings of the population and the planned increase in the supply of consumer goods and services. Planning methods and technique shall be further perfected by the planning of production and distribution costs. The preparation of financial plans shall be safeguarded and the financial super-

vision of enterprises shall be facilitated thereby. Towards this end production accountancy shall be more fully introduced and extended to hitherto neglected sectors, and local planning of work in individual enterprises shall be perfected. The premises for the preparation of global financial plans shall thus be laid.

(3) A further premise of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is the simple and efficient organisation of the planning service. Simultaneously with the reorganisation of the central planning service the branch and regional sectors thereof shall be developed. The training of an adequate reserve of planning personnel shall be secured by means of systematic economic enlightenment and training.

PART V

REGIONAL PLANNING UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

DIVISION I

Economic Development of the Planning Regions

29.

(1) It is the aim of the Five-Year Plan gradually to attain a balance of the economic levels of the regions, which will contribute towards the balancing of standards of living in all parts of the State.

(2) Regional progress shall be achieved chiefly by means of an effective distribution of production and investment targets under the Five-Year Plan. Towards this end,

- a) priority in the allocation of production and investment targets shall be given to economically backward regions, provided that the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is not jeopardised thereby,
- b) production equipment in all regions shall be fully

- utilised and new equipment shall be allocated to those regions where the greatest facility for the utilisation of local resources (labour, raw materials, power, transport, etc.) exists,
- c) excessive concentration of production and investment targets in regions or centres of production in which that concentration may jeopardise the realisation of the Five-Year Plan or the attainment of its aims, shall be guarded against,
 - d) in regions where conditions are not propitious for the development of any other economic activity, all existing facilities shall be utilised for the promotion of tourist traffic and for the recreation of the working population,
 - e) the development of towns and villages shall proceed on modern principles of town and country planning,
 - f) a systematic investigation shall be carried out in all regions, with a view towards their economic and natural potentialities or resources, and to their economic and social requirements.

DIVISION II

Economic Development of Slovakia

30.

The economic progress of Slovakia shall be accelerated by a gradual transformation of the economic and social structure of that country. This conversion shall be carried into effect chiefly by means of:

- a) a continuation of the industrialisation already begun,
- b) raising the productivity of labour in agriculture,
- c) a broader distribution of cadres of skilled workers, chiefly of those qualifications which are essential for the development of industrial production over all economic sectors,

- d) an intensive investigation of all natural resources in Slovakia, in particular of mineral resources.

31.

Growth of production and the raising of the material and cultural level of the people under the Five-Year Plan shall be secured,

1. *in industry:*

- a) by stepping up production so that its gross value in 1953 will exceed that of 1948 by 75 per cent,
- b) by creating approximately 90,000 new opportunities for work;

2. *in agriculture:*

- a) by so stepping up total output that its gross value in 1953 will reach 27.4 milliard Kčs, that is an increase over 1948 of 37 per cent,
- b) by so stepping up animal production that its gross value in 1953 will exceed the gross value thereof in 1948 by 98 per cent, and the share of animal production in the total agricultural production shall be raised by 42 per cent,
- c) by the rationalisation of agricultural production, increasing mechanisation and the productivity of land and the utility of domestic cattle, the unification of scattered holdings, the determination of the boundaries of pastures and forests, the introduction of effective cultivation on land given over to pasture and the afforestation of land unsuitable for cultivation;

3. *in building:*

- a) by so stepping up production that the gross value thereof in 1953 will reach 15 milliard Kčs,
- b) by increasing the labour force by an additional 35,000 workers;

4. *in housing and in the social, health and cultural services:*

- a) by increasing the housing area through new construction or adaptation by 3.39 million square metres,
- b) by accommodating an additional 14,500 persons in youth hostels, the establishment of crèches with an additional 2,650 beds, seasonal children's hostels to cater for an additional 5,000 children, and school canteens to cater for 70,000 children,
- c) by the enlargement of hospitals by an additional 3,400 beds, of special institutes of treatment by an additional 500 beds, the establishment of an additional 420 beds in infant institutions, the erection of 5 calmatisation centres with 250 additional beds, the establishment of an institution for the treatment and cure of infant paralysis, with a capacity of 100 beds, the creation of 36 health centres and 86 branches of the National Health Institute,
- d) by an increase in the number of classrooms by 2,080; in the university sector, in particular by the development and completion of technical universities at Bratislava and Košice, of a medical faculty at Košice, of new institutes attached to the medical faculty at Bratislava and of a school of music at Bratislava.

32.

(1) To safeguard the fulfilment of production targets and of the conversion of the economic and social structure there shall be invested over the period of the Five-Year Plan a total sum of 96.2 milliard Kčs, that is 28.6 per cent of the total national investment.

(2) Of the total sum of 96.2 milliard Kčs there shall be invested in

- a) industry 30.9 milliard Kčs, or 23.4 per cent of the national investment in this sector;

- b) agriculture 9.8 milliard Kčs, or 36.5 per cent of the national investment in this sector ;
- c) building 1.6 milliard Kčs, or 34.8 per cent of the national investment in this sector ;
- d) transport 13.9 milliard Kčs, or 26.3 per cent of the national investment in this sector ;
- e) housing reconstruction 13.7 milliard Kčs, or 34.9 per cent of the national investment in this sector ;
- f) commerce and tourist traffic, social and health services, National Insurance and cultural services 10.9 milliard Kčs, or 32.5 per cent of the national investment in this sector ;
- g) roads and bridges, hydro-technical installations, public building projects and other investments of the public administration 15.3 milliard Kčs, that is to say, 32.4 per cent of the national investment in this sector.

33.

The provisions of section 29, relating to regional economic development, shall be understood to apply equally to the economic development of Slovakia (sections 30 to 32).

PART VI

REALISATION OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

DIVISION I

Operative Plans

34.

(1) For the purpose of realising the Five-Year Plan the Government shall draw up annual, or, as the case may be, quarterly operative plans, wherein the tasks allotted for the said period shall be set out.

(2) The carrying out of the tasks set out in parts II to V shall be ensured by means of the operative plans so that all sectors of the economy progress, with a view towards the Five-Year Plan, in mutual harmony, and so that the implementation of the Five-Year Plan may be adapted to altered circumstances. In the drawing-up of the operative plans, particular attention shall be paid to all possible sources of new reserves of labour and the recruitment thereof, and thus to the possibility of exceeding the targets prescribed under the Five-Year Plan.

(3) The Government shall, with a view towards the provisions of sections 21 to 33, take all further steps necessary for the realisation of the tasks prescribed by the operative plans.

DIVISION II

Implementation of the Operative Plans

35.

Functions of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister shall arrange to obtain a systematic and continuous survey of the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and shall balance and harmonise the administrative and economic measures taken by the central authorities towards the carrying into effect thereof.

36.

Tasks of the Central Authorities

It shall be the duty of the central authorities to subordinate to the Five-Year Plan such aspects of their activity as affect its implementation. For the purpose of ensuring the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the central authorities or the authorities (organs) authorised by them, shall within their respective spheres of competence, allot

the tasks prescribed by the operative plans, insofar as the Government does not prescribe otherwise. The central authorities shall within their spheres of competence take steps to ensure that in accordance with the relevant provisions all measures required towards the successful implementation of the operative plans be taken.

37.

Tasks of the National Committees

(1) The national committees shall participate in the drawing-up of the operative plans (section 34). It shall further be the duty of the national committees to participate in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and within the framework thereof to plan, carry into effect and supervise economic, social and cultural development within their territories. The national committees shall in the operation of this function be subject to the instructions and directives of the superior national committees and other authorities.

(2) There shall be established and attached to the Regional or, as the case may be, the District National Committees, organs of the regional planning service (section 28, subsection 3), which latter shall in the preparation of regional plans rely on the direct participation and initiative of the working population and of the national committees.

(3) The structure and tasks of the organs of the regional planning service shall be prescribed by way of Government Order.

38.

Tasks of the Citizens and of the People's Associations

(1) The fulfilment of the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan shall be the civic and honourable duty of every individual, for the realisation of the Plan and thus the general progress of the economic strength of the State and of the standard of living of each citizen are conditional upon the proper

and honest carrying out of the work. It shall therefore be the duty of every one who is allotted any task soever in the implementation and realisation of the Five-Year Plan, to carry out that said task conscientiously and economically to the limit of his personal and economic capacities. Persons and bodies corporate shall be liable to adapt their economic activity to the Five-Year Plan.

(2) The united trade union organisation shall participate in the preparation, implementation and supervision of the Five-Year Plan. Details shall be regulated by Government Order.

(3) The farmers' unions and the branches thereof, the Central Cooperative Council, and all other people's associations of wide popular scope shall within their respective spheres of competence endeavour to increase the efforts devoted to the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and shall endeavour to ensure that ever greater economy is practised in the implementation of the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan.

DIVISION III

Supervision of the Implementation of the Five-Year Plan

39.

Functions of the National Assembly

The National Assembly shall pay constant attention to the implementation and realisation of the Five-Year Plan through a committee set up for the supervision of the Five-Year Plan, in particular on the basis of reports rendered to the said committee by the Government as a rule once in each quarter year, or at any time the said committee so requests.

40.

Local Control

The public administration and the national enterprises shall supervise the implementation of the Five-Year Plan on the part of subordinate bodies and shall without delay take steps to remove such defects as may arise.

PART VII

OPERATIVE REGULATIONS

41.

Operative Orders

(1) The Government may, where a substantial change occurs in the premises upon which the preparation of the Five-Year Plan was based, or where necessary for other compelling reasons, re-define the tasks allotted under the Five-Year Plan by way of Orders.

(2) The Government may by way of Order issue regulations relating to the implementation of the Five-Year Plan. It may in particular issue regulations whereby

- a) essential raw materials, ancillary materials, power, semi-finished products, machinery and other equipment and consumer goods are procured,
- b) the supply of manpower and legal matters connected therewith are regulated,
- c) terms of production (output, processing), supply and delivery, consumption and competition are prescribed, and production, supply and delivery, and warehousing liabilities are regulated,
- d) the full exploitation of economic facilities and reserves in production, transport and the circulation of commodities, and the distribution of power, are secured,

- e) increased productivity, economy and improvements of the quality of products are ensured,
- f) the premises upon which the implementation of the plan of foreign trade is based, are ensured,
- g) the necessary conditions for the realisation of the Plan in building construction are given,
- h) a survey of the premises affecting the progress of the Five-Year Plan, and the course of the implementation of the Plan, are obtained,
- i) the principles of the distribution of production and investment tasks within the framework of regional planning are set out,
- j) the allotment of tasks among individual enterprises, or, as the case may be, persons, is regulated.

(3) Government Orders under subsection 2 of this section may delegate detailed provision to the general administrative regulations of Ministries, national committees, as well as of other authorities.

(4) Individual Ministers may issue regulations by way of Order for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, provided that the said Orders regulate matters set out in subsection 2, paragraphs a) to j) of this section.

(5) Economic measures of a general nature such as the central authorities are empowered to take under other legal powers, shall only be taken in concurrence with the Prime Minister insofar as they affect the preparation or implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

42.

Powers of the Government

(1) The Government is hereby empowered during the period ending on December 31, 1953 to take by way of Orders measures necessary for the realisation of the tasks

prescribed by the Five-Year Plan, including such measures as would otherwise require enactment. Such measures shall be countersigned by the President of the Republic and shall require his concurrence.

(2) The power conferred under subsection 1 of this section shall not relate to :

- a) the regulation of Constitutional matters,
- b) the adoption of the State Budget, the negotiation of loans and the regulation of the State debt,
- c) the regulation of taxes, customs duties, dues and other public levies within the sphere of the State finance administration, or to the regulation of the State financial monopolies,
- d) the regulation of currency matters.

(3) The Government shall be liable to place Orders issued under subsection 1 of this section before the National Assembly within one month after the date of publication. Where the National Assembly in a ballot taken by roll-call rejects the said Order by an absolute majority of votes, the said Order shall cease to be valid on the thirtieth day after the date of the decision, save where the National Assembly prescribes a different period. The Prime Minister shall in this event make known without delay in the Collection of Acts and Orders that the said Order has ceased to be valid, and the date on which it ceased to be valid.

43.

The provisions of section 41, subsections 2 to 5, shall be deemed to apply, where appropriate, also to measures whereby premises are to be created for the preparation and implementation of the economic plan succeeding the Five-Year Plan.

PART VIII

GENERAL AND FINAL PROVISIONS

DIVISION I

General Provisions

44.

Central Planning Commission

The Central Planning Commission (section 7 of the Decree of the President of the Republic, No. 63 Sb.,* relating to the Economic Council, dated August 25, 1945) shall during the implementation of the Five-Year Plan

- a) be an advisory organ of the Prime Minister and of the Government in the realisation of all tasks under this Act, in particular in the preparation of operative plans (section 34) and Government Orders (sections 41 and 42), as well as in matters relating to prices,
- b) exercise the competence of the State Statistical Council under the Act No. 49, Sb., relating to the organisation of the statistical service, dated January 28, 1919, and under the Government Order, No. 634 Sb., relating to the composition, competence and manner of proceedings of the State Statistical Council (the State Statistical Council Statute), dated November 28, 1919.

45.

Directives

The general secretariat of the Economic Council shall by way of binding directives regulate the progress of plan-

* *Sb.*: Sborník zákonů a nařízení republiky Československé = Collection of Acts and Orders of the Czechoslovak Republic.

ning operations, as well as the scope and the manner of the implementation thereof.

46.

Permanent Planning Prices

The data expressed in money values in this Act shall be understood to be expressed in prices current on January 1, 1948 (permanent planning prices).

47.

Uniform Planning Year

For the purpose of implementing the Five-Year Plan, to meet the requirements of the economic statistical service and to meet the requirements of works accounting, a uniform economic year shall be introduced. The beginning and end of the uniform economic year, the division into periods thereof, and the industries and industrial sectors to which it shall be applicable, shall be prescribed by Government Order. At the same time, the Government may adapt the regulations relating to time-limits.

DIVISION II

Final Provisions

48.

Until such time as the Regional National Committees shall begin to function and take their part in economic planning, the competence conferred upon them under this Act shall be exercised by the regional organs of the planning service, the headquarters, composition and areas of activity whereof shall be prescribed by Government Order.

49.

Operation and Implementation

This Act shall be operative as from the day of publication; it shall be administered by all members of the Government.

(signed) *Gottwald*

Dr. John

Zápotocký

(signed) *Široký*

also on behalf
of the Minister

Dr. Clementis

Fierlinger

Dr. Ševčík

also on behalf
of the Minister

Dr. Šrobár

arm. gen. *Svoboda*

Dr. Gregor

Nosek

Dr. Dolanský

Dr. Nejedlý

(signed) *Dr. Čepička*

Kopecký

Klíment

Ďuriš

Krajčír

Petr

Dr. Ing. Šlechta

Dr. Neuman

Erban

Plojhar

Ing. Jankovcová

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CONVERSION TABLE
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1 Centimetre (cm) — 0.393 in.
1 Metre (m) — 39.37 ins. — 1.09 yds.
1 Kilometre (km) — 0.62 mile.
1 Squ. Cm. — 0.155 squ. in.
1 Squ. M. (Centiare) — 1.196 squ. yds.
1 Hectare (ha) — 100 Squ. Ms. — 2.471 acres.
1 Squ. Km. — 247.1 acres.
1 Cub. M.* — 114.28 cub. ft.

*

1 Kilogramme (kg) — 2.2 lbs.
1 Metric Cent. (q) — 100 Kgs. — 220 lbs.
1 Metric Ton (t)** — 1,000 Kgs. — 2,204.6 lbs.
1 Litre (l) — 0.22 gal. — 0.35 cub. ft.
1 Hectolitre (hl) — 100 Lit. — 22 gals.

*

1 £ sterling — 200 Kčs approx.
1 US \$ — 50 Kčs approx.

* In the timber trade, the term "Full Metre" (*plm*) is used to denote a volume of 1 Cub. M. filled with lengths of timber of standard size (i. e. 7 cm. across the smaller ends).

** In agriculture &c., the term "freight car" (*vagon*) is frequently used and equals 10 Metric Tons.—Tr.

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A second edition, extended by the Government Memorandum
to the Five-Year Plan Act, will be published shortly.

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**THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK
ECONOMIC FIVE-YEAR PLAN ACT**

Translated from the Czech by F. O. Stein. Cover Design by Josef Istler
Published by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Information and Public Culture
First Edition, December 1948. Printed by Orbis, Prague

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Face to Face

with

Reality

by Ladislav Štoll

Orbis—Prague

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

L A D I S L A V Š T O L L

*Face to Face
with Reality*

1 9 4 8

O R B I S P R A G U E

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Three outstanding events characterised spring 1948 in Czechoslovakia. In the tense political situation brought about by the resignation of various ministers, a congress of 8,000 representatives of the trade union organisations and works councils from all over the Republic took place in Prague on February 22nd, 1948. This congress called for further nationalisation in the sphere of industry and wholesale trade and at the same time demanded that a new Government of the renewed National Front should be set up under the leadership of Klement Gottwald, the present President of Czechoslovakia.

A week later a huge congress of representatives of Czech and Slovak farmers and peasants took place on Wenceslas Square in Prague. This congress welcomed the new Government of Klement Gottwald and called for a revision of the old land reforms.

Finally, on April 10th and 11th, a congress of national culture took place in the large hall of the Lucerne Palace in Prague at which various representatives of Czechoslovak cultural life, including artists, scientists and theoret-

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

icians, spoke on leading questions in Czechoslovak spiritual life. This congress was attended by several foreign guests. The principal speeches were made by the Minister of Education, Professor Zdeněk Nejedlý, who spoke on the traditions of Czech national cultural life, the Minister of Information, Mr. Václav Kopecký, who spoke on the distribution of culture, the Slovak Regional Minister of Education, Mr. Laco Novomeský, who outlined the problems facing cultural workers in Slovakia, and Ladislav Štoll, professor at the Academy of Political and Social Sciences, who spoke on creative problems in art and the social function of art.

This publication contains the speech made by Professor Ladislav Štoll.

The Publisher.

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Dear friends,

I have been entrusted with the task of talking to you at this vitally important meeting about the creative problems of our culture.

It is the first time in our history that our broad cultural community has met like this, on such a large scale and in such varied composition. In the dramatic days of February¹ not so very long ago, our workers met together in the Palace of Industry. A week later, our peasants and farmers assembled on Wenceslas Square. And today it is the representatives of our cultural world who are meeting here.

The connection is obvious. This is an expression of the united will of the three fundamentally productive sections of society which create all the material and spiritual riches of the nation.

The heavy burden of ballast from the old world has fallen from the nation's shoulders. What we witnessed in February resembled a magnificent straightening of the nation's body. It was the realisation of what all the great figures in our culture have dreamed about. When did it

ever please any of them—and think back on that whole line of personalities so dear to us, Němcová, Neruda, Smetana, Mánes, Aleš, Wolker, Vančura, Kratochvíl, the Čapek brothers, Malířová, S. K. Neumann²—to see the working man submissively crumpling his cap in front of the sly careerist?

All of them looked forward, convinced that one day things must come to this and that the Czech people would finally rid itself of all its schemers.

All of us are aware that one stage of our development has ended and that a new one has begun, that what has happened has illimitable possibilities, that it is not only a question of profound changes in our economic, social and political life but that these alterations will have profound revolutionary effects in the realms of the spirit, thought and feeling as well and will change the whole situation of our cultural life from the very roots. Culture cannot exist outside life.

All of us feel this new atmosphere; thousands of new strengths are being born in our country and the air hums with activity as on a building-site. Freed from the curse of capitalism, our people are laying the foundations of a new social order. We are striding across into new centuries. We all of us feel how geological progress is taking place under our very feet, how the whole com-

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plex of relations between man and man is being changed at the roots, how a historically new design of mutually humane relations is being fashioned, infinitely more clean, more transparent and more humane.

And what strikes the thinking individual most about this spectacle is the fact that it is being brought about premeditatedly, as a result of scientific education, that it can take place on the basis of the experience already endured by the first Socialist state. Furthermore, that it is all happening on the initiative and with the enthusiastic participation of all clear-sighted working people in the towns, in the country, in the factories, workshops, offices—in all corners of our country.

At such a time every citizen of this country must ask himself about his own share in this tremendous, audacious, national act, and in a general way the entire community of Czech and Slovak cultural workers must ask itself the same question and ponder on it. That, then, is the real reason why we have met together today.

How often have we heard the enemies of Socialism, under the pretext of protecting the autonomy of culture from politics, maintain that Socialism will require poets and artists to forswear their mission, that it will require them to versify political leaders, to write political theses in rhyme, to decline the word "people" in all its cases,

to write, paint and compose propaganda, to create tendentious art *à la thèse*, etc. etc.; in short, that it will require the equivalent of breaking up a piano to heat the rooms with.

It will, therefore, be necessary for me first to address myself to those gentlemen on the fundamental function of art and poetry in society, and particularly under Socialism.

★

When I use the word poetry, I am using it in the broad sense of the word and consistently have in mind that blessed, mankind-inspiring, revolutionary force which speaks to us as strongly from verse as from prose, from music as from paintings or works of sculpture, in short that living light which shines through all cultural and social activity.

Scientific socialists are more aware than anybody else that this rejuvenating force has its historic mission, its revolutionary function without which humanity might even deteriorate into savagery. And besides, is it not a fact that scientific socialism, the workers' revolutionary movement of the new age, has every right to boast that really great art, great poetry, and spiritual greatness, have from the very outset been its most loyal companions? It is sufficient to cast a look round the gallery of figures in modern Czech literature.

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It is comical, to say the least, to listen to people who come forward with objections and warnings of this sort.

That is the usual way people speak who, posing aristocratically as princes of poetry, vaunt their loyalty in the service of pure beauty, unsoiled by life, people without the burning, creative inner soul of the artist. It is also the usual way people speak who live remote from real life, who formally and laboriously seek out the decoration of unusual associations of words, colours and forms for the cold speculations of their brains, to cover their own embarrassment, so that they can thereby hide their spinelessness and inability to breathe into their work strong, original, truthful ideas inspired by life itself, and hence give it a newly discovered form.

Not only are these people incapable of creating powerful art, they are not even capable of creating good works on occasion.

Great artists, such as for instance Neruda, Neumann, Majakovsky, or, if you will, Dante and many other poets with warm, creative hearts, never had such scruples. They helped the people in their struggle for freedom, and out of their share in the common fight there grew up their great work as artists, their immortality. Herein also lies the secret of poetic insight, that everything it touches turns into poetry, herein lies the strength of

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poetic creative vision, that it makes poetry out of ever new things even though they are supposed not to be poetic. To make poetry out of stock poetic subjects is equivalent to writing trash.

Scientific Socialist aesthetics has never required the artist to create art *à la thèse*, to preach or moralise. But this does not mean that art should not express great ideas, great vital truths. The artist must express great thoughts; however, unlike the philosopher who speaks with the help of syllogisms, the artist expresses himself with his own particular concrete means and sensual images; both must speak the truth, discover new hidden aspects of life, both must convince. Zdeněk Nejedlý³ is absolutely right when he says about art: "Nothing can be beautiful which is not truthful, morally healthy and great in thought content."

Once, after reading through the manuscript of a drama by Lassalle, Marx sent the author a letter in which he advised him to write more like Shakespeare and less like Schiller. Is that not also a clear attitude towards this question? And it is the attitude of the great critics as well, the revolutionary Russian democrats, Bjelinsky and Chernyshevsky, and of Gorky, it is the point of view of scientific Socialist aesthetics which sees in artistic talent a great gift to humanity, a gift which will only be able

to flourish completely and assert itself fully in a Socialist society.

If we examine how this gift has asserted itself in society in the past, we see that great art has always been produced as a result of an elemental longing to break old conventions, to shake the hidden sediment of prejudices in man, to kindle all the natural, human impulses, in short to make man free. We further see that such art has always allied itself with the progressive forces in society and that it has always been popular in the true, noble sense of the word, that it has been conscious of its close bond of affinity with the working man, that it has strengthened him and struggled for his liberation.

Let us stop to consider this question for a short while. Once again, there are people who come forward with the aesthetic objections of experts and maintain that the claim that art belongs to the people and must be made popular means its vulgarisation, the sacrifice of beauty to the utilitarian interests of the crowd. Let us put on one side the political and historical aspect of this matter and see how a specialist in aesthetics looks at the relationship between poetry and the people.

In the preface to "Puppets and the Workers' Gods" we find a remarkable observation of Šalda's. F. X. Šalda⁴ here writes that his experience has shown him that no-

bility of feeling and understanding for poetry are not to be found in those in the towns who are either half-educated or not fully educated but in the people, whether those on the land or those in industry. In matters of poetry he finds the townspeople to be often nothing more nor less than civilised barbarians.

Šalda then ponders on this experience life has given him and tackles what is from the aesthetic point of view an extremely important problem. This is what he says:

“Their (that is, the workers’ and peasants’) serious and genuine relationship towards manual work is clearly the key to the secret of poetic creation, elucidating it and making it accessible.”

In this sentence Šalda has undoubtedly got to the crux of the matter. Yes, nobility of feeling and understanding for poetry are born out of a creative relationship towards the world, and this relationship exists in the case of both the poet and sculptor, the carpenter, blacksmith or farmer. That which is known as the worker’s mentality, or the mentality of the working man, long ago captivated and inspired real poets.

This assertion could be supplemented by innumerable quotations from world literature. Convincing proofs could be found not only in Czech literature, Russian literature, or Slav literature in general, which have grown

up from the people as from its most natural roots; the great poets of the western nations could equally well be quoted. I am intentionally choosing my only quotation from a great American poet—Whitman—who wrote as follows:

“Only a rare and universal artistic spirit can grasp the many-sided broad qualities of the people, but the so-called elegant classes who deprecatingly dub them the plebs are always against them and cannot understand them.”

The so-called man of the people, the worker, peasant, craftsman, represents in fact a particular mentality, he has a different relationship towards the world, towards nature, towards the people, an absolutely different way of living, something which is foreign to the mentality of the so-called elegant world, the bourgeois world. And here one must realise where this mentality springs from, what is the secret of the difference between the two mentalities. The answer is on the whole easy. The worker, peasant, craftsman, in short the working man, acquires his mentality, his way of living, from the labour process, in other words, from that active, creative relationship to the real and material world of nature which he is daily changing and moulding in his ardent hands for the benefit of all people.

And what is the labour process? Let us see how the founder of scientific Socialism, Karl Marx, replies to this question:

“The labour process... is purposeful activity for the creation of useful values, the adaptation of what is given by nature to human needs, the general condition for the exchange of materials between man and nature. It is the eternal condition of human life and hence not dependent on any forms this life may take, or rather, is common to all its social forms.”

From this it is clear that the labour process concerns the imperishable, let us say, the eternal side of human activity. Throughout all time people will change and adapt nature to their needs, create useful values and through them meet both their material and spiritual needs. Of course, and this it is important to realise, people will not eternally be producing for profit nor will they always look upon human necessities as objects to be financially juggled with.

In the past human necessities have become objects for financial juggling, namely, in the epoch of production for money, for profit, and this epoch in the history of humanity reaches its culmination in the period of capitalism when money relationships everywhere produce a terrible sameness, where almost every object which is

needed by man or useful to him, even human labour-power itself, becomes a marketable ware, a form of goods. And all these things have acquired double properties, and people have learnt to look at them from two points of view—that of their direct, concrete usefulness and that of their abstract value, as exchanged for money. All of you are sure to know the sort of non-smoker who accepts every cigarette he is offered not because it satisfies his concrete need, but because he sees the other side of the matter, because he sees it as being worth five crowns.

The money fetish has outshone all the rich sensual beauties of the world in the same way as the monotheistic abstract God outshone all the pagan gods of the Homeric age, that is of the age when the gods were beings with real senses like ourselves, noble but human, when each one of them was, as Gorky observes, a master in some craft or other, an accomplished blacksmith, hunter, shepherd, seaman, musician, carpenter, and when the goddesses were likewise experts in their trades, seamstresses, needlewomen, physicians and so on, when there was no contradiction between religion and art.

The genius of Marx lay in the fact that he showed how the first concrete, intended, useful aspect is eternal while the other abstract aspect is historically transitional, transient.

And now let us return to Šalda's question. In the case of the worker, the peasant, the craftsman, with their serious relationship towards manual work, with their active, creative relationship to the world, nature and objects, it is primarily the eternal side of human activity that asserts itself, but in the case of the financial juggler and bourgeois, what determines a person's relationship to the world is primarily the second, historically transient side of the matter.

The first, the worker's relationship to the world, is essentially a purposeful, warm, plastic, creative relationship. The second is cold and cynical, the relationship of the financial speculator. Consider how a tinsmith, for instance, looks at a piece of copper plate, or how a potter looks at a lump of potter's clay, how a carpenter sees a plank of ash-wood when a sweet-smelling spiral shaving curls up under his hand on the plane. That is the relationship in which matter, to use Marx's words, smiles upon man with its poetic splendour.

Šalda was right. It is this relationship which creates the secrets of poetic creation, whether in plastic art or in literature.

The money-minded individual, or speculator, naturally looks on the matter quite differently, since he sees in the object only a marketable article, only its abstract

expression, the fetish. A man of this sort is completely indifferent as to what he buys or sells, whether the plate is of copper or iron, whether the plank is of pinewood or ashwood. In such a man rich, radiant, creative life, creative imagination is extinguished, his brain is developed at the expense of his heart and passions, and abstract, speculative considerations kill any fine, human, creative potentialities he may have, not only in his relationship to the world of objects, but also in his relationship to people, to women, to children, to nature, to the nation or to a work of art. For such individuals, people are only real in so far as they have money. A person like this never asks his neighbour if he is hungry or thirsty, if he loves, admires or hates, but only if he has got money.

The activity of the senses in a person of this type is finally reduced to mere animal sense experiences. Ultimately, he becomes accustomed to buying and selling everything, even the inclination to love, friendship, convictions and human virtues.

In short we are dealing here with a phenomenon which is peculiar to a certain stage of history but mercifully only a transitional stage, a phenomenon which future generations will probably call "homo pecuniarius", or "money-minded individual". We are dealing here with a peculiar being who appears in the likeness of a human.

being, with a cynical mask of courtesy, decency and conventional refinement on his face.

We meet this being in history throughout the epoch of production for money; but in the culminating period of this epoch of manufacturing goods—that is, capitalism—it manifests itself in the likeness of a rapacious, magnificent beast which has been admirably depicted by Lillian Hellman, for instance, in her “Little Foxes”, or by Charlie Chaplin in his “M. Verdoux”, though the latter, powerful as it is from the artistic point of view, is very problematic from the ideological point of view. Chaplin’s Verdoux is a polished figure for whom existence has become typified into a life-long counting over of dollars, pounds, marks, francs, Dutch guildens, etc. etc.

In describing the collapse of ancient, primitive, natural economy and the beginning of money economy, the collapse of feudal patriarchal relations between people, Marx described the advent of capitalism as follows:

“Finally there came a time when everything that men had considered as inalienable became an object of exchange, of traffic and could be alienated. This is the time when the very things which till then had been communicated, but never exchanged; given, but never sold; acquired, but never bought—virtue, love, conviction, knowledge, conscience, etc.—when everything, in short,

passed into commerce. It is the time of general corruption, of universal venality, or, to speak in terms of political economy, the time when everything, moral or physical, having become a marketable value, is brought to the market to be assessed at its truest value. Everything became so much goods."

In the "Communist Manifesto", apropos of the same subject, Marx writes as follows:

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egoistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade."

From the point of view of the history of art and from the aesthetic point of view we now come up against an interesting question which many art historians still find a great riddle when passing judgment on artistic works. The period of capitalism, the period of bourgeois do-

minion, was a period of essential, historically logical progress in relation to mediaeval patriarchalism.

But how could an artist adopt a positive attitude towards the growth of the cash nexus between man and man, how could he accept such tendencies in social progress? The art historian must therefore not be surprised to find that great poets and great humanists, authors of works of genius, who were unaware of the logic of historical development, often opposed this new society, opposed progress, and often turned with profound nostalgia to the old golden age of patriarchal idylls and the "natural", if brutal, open relations of the period of natural economy when money was of no use, that many writers became reactionary romantics, or rather, that their truthful realistic work has its reactionary romantic side.

The capitalist social order has in essence been hostile to art from the outset. Artists experience an insoluble inner conflict between the ideal and the real. And so it has come about that their clear-sighted, rich and concretely realistic outlook on reality has often led them to a reactionary, romantic outlook on the world, so that Shakespeare, for example, who had condemned the yellow murderer—gold—so magnificently in "Timon of Athens" could put the following words in the mouth of one of the characters in "As You Like It":

“O good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service sweat for duty, not for meed.”

Many other instances of this could be quoted. Thus, for example, that great master of realism, Balzac, who tore the mask from the faces of the bourgeois of Paris, the merchants, bankers, umbrella-makers, perfumers, notaries, lawyers, journalists, who unveiled the venality running right through French bourgeois society at the beginning of the last century, this same Balzac could nevertheless be so politically and romantically reactionary as to side with the legitimate monarchy, the feudal world. Or a genius like Gogol could publish, side-by-side with his immortal works, his “Correspondence with a Friend” which brought forth an embittered protest from Bjelinsky. And it is interesting to read what that great Russian critic wrote to this deeply loved artist:

“You have a profound knowledge of Russia as an artist, but not as a thinking person.”

Lenin also drew attention to a similar disparity when writing about Tolstoy. Romain Roland, who loved Tolstoy, also observed the same thing and wrote about it as follows:

“When Tolstoy makes her speak (the heroine Truth), nobody can equal him as an artist. But he is weak when

he begins to speak himself. He is the greatest of artists, but a weak thinker; when he expresses his thoughts, he does so in a way which is at variance with his intuitions. He had the eyes and heart of a man of genius, but his reason often failed him."

The riddle of this disparity is nothing new for scientific aesthetics, and one could add to it numerous quotations from the greatest works of world literature. It is a riddle which appears in the most varied forms: either as a question of a spontaneous and conscious element in art, or as a question of talent and world outlook, or as a question of the poet's participation or non-participation in a political movement, or as a question of an intuitive and rational element in the artist's work and so on and so forth. The worst of the matter is that there are some theoreticians of aesthetics and literature who look upon this disparity as an eternal, natural disparity, and who use its existence as a ground for combating the ideological side of a work of art, who advise artists that they should not think about it at all, that it is harmful to art, that the artist as a thinking being should not occupy himself with social problems, that he should live only by his intuition, by the depths of his subconscious, who in short attempt to kill or suppress all honest, social ideas in a work of art; and these shameful aesthetic theories are

to be found today in the most varied, abstruse forms of the most varied subjectivisms and solipsisms whose most recent examples are so-called existentialism and all sorts of other theories about man being free and independent of the laws of society. One and all, these theories reflect the profound decay and disintegration of man in the "money-minded" stage; they are all harmful, and the unhealthy influence they exert can be observed by all who are in the least bit interested in art. These endeavours to drive thought out of works of art were particularly characteristic of the arid, mechanistic, lifeless ideas about subject-less art of certain Surrealist theoreticians from whose ranks all progressive creative elements have long since split off while the remnants have waded even deeper into the impotence of reactionary literature.

The theoreticians of scientific Socialist aesthetics are well aware from their study of the history of art of that supposed insoluble conflict between the ideological and artistic sides in a spiritual artist. But they realise at the same time that this conflict is a typical product, a typical contradiction in capitalist society, that it is not an eternal conflict but a historically transient one and that it will vanish with all the other conflicts which are rampant through the world of capitalism.

My friends, I believe we can better appreciate the

historical importance of the February events when we realise that those days meant that the roots of the power of that great pimp—gold—were severed and with them the social roots of an age-old contradiction.

That this would be the case was clear to the very earliest enlightened thinkers who recognised in the working class the protector of humanity. For artists the immediate effect of this recognition was that the *insoluble* conflict between dreams and reality had disappeared. From that very moment, and particularly since the appearance of a Socialist state, the poet's dream of society became the recognised ruling force, working in harmony not only with the desires of the broad masses but also with the aim of the Socialist state to reach a higher and happier level of social development.

The disparity between the artist's dream and reality, which naturally will continue to exist within the artist himself in the form of eternal restlessness and as the spur to his creative activity, will be solved by the ever greater harmonious work of the whole of society in which the revolutionary artist will no longer be considered as an abnormal individual, an eccentric condemned to fight a partisan battle, but as an essential joint-creator of the new life.

In this connection let us recall Pisarev's words which

Lenin quoted in his famous work "What is to be done?"

This is what the Russian critic, Pisarev, said:

"There are differences and differences. My dream may run ahead of the natural progress of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction to which no natural progress of events will ever proceed. In the first case the dream will not cause any harm; it may even support and strengthen the efforts of toiling humanity... There is nothing in such dreams that would distort or paralyse labour power. On the contrary, if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could never run ahead and mentally conceive in an entire and completed picture the results of the work he is only just commencing, then I cannot imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and fatiguing work in the sphere of art, science and practical work... Divergence between dreams and reality causes no harm if only the person dreaming believes seriously in his dream, if he attentively observes life, compares his observations with the airy castles he builds and if, generally speaking, he works conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies. If there is some connection between dreams and life then all is well."

Thus far Lenin's quotation from Pisarev. The Socialist

outlook on the world as the theoretical expression of the desires of millions of working people of all races and nations is not some ideological tendency which is mechanically incorporated into an artistic creation from outside, but constitutes the organic, homogeneous, ideological contents of every great work of art of modern time, because it grows out of the same roots of real throbbing life as those from which the humanising force of true poetry and true art springs. It is this that is historically new in our culture. This is the foundation of a realism that is qualitatively new, socialist realism!

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And so, crossing the threshold of the new epoch, we begin to look upon the period of capitalism with the eyes of a historian.

We have seen how capitalism devastated human nature, what monsters the old world of money-changers brought forth, how it crippled, dehumanised and impoverished mankind both materially and spiritually. And here we see that our first positive task is to remedy these wrongs committed on humanity, this impoverishment and robbery of mankind, as soon as possible. What is necessary is that we should promise that we all of us want man to be rich. We are concerned about creating a new man, rich and with all his faculties developed. But let us

insist at the very outset that our idea of human riches has nothing in common with the bourgeois idea of riches. A rich person in the Socialist age is quite different from a rich person in the capitalist age. Indeed, the rich man of capitalism is a terribly poor man. How many works of literature there are in the world in which the authors have striven to depict this poverty of wealthy capitalists in the most varied types, Harpagon, Grandet, Tchertkov and so on. Private capitalist ownership has so robbed, emasculated and crippled man in his inner being that the Socialist world and its culture will still have scores of years' hard work ahead of them before they can put these crimes right. It is not only the worker who is liberated and humanised by Socialism, but all mankind.

The bourgeoisie long ago wrote on its banner that private property is sacred; and even in those days the first socialistic humanists perceived that this private capitalist ownership was leading man to rob himself in his inner being.

The truly human way of appropriating the world's riches is that by which man really overcomes the world, in other words, with all his senses, concretely. And here it is not a question only of the five physical senses, for unlike the animals man has a whole series of glorious human senses, not only the senses of sight, hearing, smell,

taste and touch, but also a sense for music, a sense for poetry, a sense for the plastic arts, a sense for science, a sense for mathematics, a sense for history, crystallography, etc. etc. It is only when a man begins to satisfy the needs of these glorious human senses, which one and all are the product of historical development, that he can appropriate to himself all the beauties of the world and become genuinely rich. This is the sort of rich person we Socialists, we Socialist cultural workers, want to see in the world.

Capitalism replaces this rich human life, this truly human way of appropriating the world's riches, by a single, abstract sense, the sense for private property, in other words, as Marx has designated it, by a particular, historically transient substitute "sense" which plunges man into the terrible inner sickness of a dehumanised world. In place of many-sided, active, concrete appropriation of life and the world, through which the individual says not only "I see, I hear, I smell, I taste, I touch", but also "I work, I study, I love, I admire, I struggle for a happier tomorrow"—in place of all this wealth of emotion capitalism makes one single emotion supreme: "*I have!*"

We have declared a noble aim. We want to liberate and enrich humanity in mighty, harmonious co-operation

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with all the creative forces of the nation, with the workers and peasants.

And here we have to bear in mind that this positive side has its reverse side as well.

It might seem that nobody would prevent us going forward with this aim, that only a madman would want to frustrate the work of culture. But it would be a mistake to assume that. Socialism liberates and enriches all people, but not all people want this liberation and enrichment. To be a master or to be a slave is an equally wretched, equally ignominious role and therefore both require to be liberated—even against their wishes. But this liberation can only be brought about by fighting on the side of the enslaved.

We are children of a great revolutionary epoch. We are witnessing the death of the old bourgeois social formation and the birth of the new, higher, Socialist social formation. This, however, is not a spontaneous process which comes about of its own accord. It has to be fought for by people; here there is no evading the issue. The dividing line between the two worlds, the old and the new, does not run only as a visible line on the political map of the world, it also runs within nations, within man.

“Being exposed to the attraction of two historic forces, the bourgeois past and the Socialist future, people ma-

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nifestly vacillate", wrote Gorky. "The emotional principle draws them to the past, the intellectual to the future."

We cannot remain indifferent to this great contest between two historic forces, the past against the future, capitalism against Socialism, a struggle which permeates the inner man as well. We must not imagine that we can raise ourselves as "objective" onlookers above this conflict, describing interesting psychological realities of life. This is a struggle to preserve as many people as possible for the future, and we must take an active part in it. The old and dying world will strive to drag with it into the grave hecatomb after hecatomb of its victims, everything living which allows itself to be swept under. And here those who are threatened first and foremost are the vacillating and the irresolute. We want to save them and bring them to the new life. And so it is not possible not to take sides, not to join in the struggle.

This is a matter entailing immense responsibility. This inflammable spark of militant realistic humanism, this explosive mixture of poetic dreaming and real human longings, unlike the old descriptive, un-lived realism and naturalism, is the inevitable sign and attribute of the culture of *Socialist realism*.

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The situation of our poetry was naturally changed at once when, at the beginning of the nineteen twenties, the name of Lenin flew through the world, like a stroke on a bell. It is sufficient to recall how Czech poetry welcomed this name. The entire outlook of Czech culture changed; the old individualistic, nonconformist defiance, the old ironical outlook on life were transformed. And if we examine what brought about this radical change in the social outlook of culture, we see that it was the historic appearance of the working class on the scene with its clear proclamation, thanks to Lenin, of its programme for the future. (Moreover, even before the first world war, the working class was the most reliable supporter of Masaryk in his fight against the Middle Ages.)

Then, after the first world war, the old fighters representing the conscience of our culture and the guardians of man's purity of inspiration, Zdeněk Nejedlý, S. K. Neumann, F. X. Šalda, welcomed the younger Wolker generation. But not only did they welcome it, they also used their own formidable weapons to protect the young seed of the new culture, the seed of the glorious hopes of proletarian, Socialist poetry, against the unceasing attacks of the old world.

Here is how Šalda welcomed the new poetry in a polemic with the editor of the "Tribune":

Art and culture, springing irresistibly from their rich source, the incorruptible, creative passion for truth, have always had a militant mission, because injustice, lies, cynicism and selfishness have never throughout the course of history retreated before right, truth and human respect, at least never voluntarily retreated. It is sufficient to look at the past fifty years of Czech history.

As the typical era of popular rebirth passed away in Bohemia with the figures of Smetana and Neruda and world capitalism took root in the soil of our country, and as new elements from the Young Czech bourgeoisie took over the task of representing the nation for some scores of years so that the money-makers were victorious in our country as well, we see how the best poetry at the end of the last century was full of longing, sadness, loneliness and individualist defiance.

There was, of course, something tragic, even heroic, about this individualistic nonconformity. The reason for the gloom in Czech culture was not only, of course, the omnipotent tendency of the cash-nexus, the curse of universal venality, to spread everywhere, it was also the fact that even the working class movement, saddled with the curse of opportunist leadership, was not in a position to point poetry to a guiding star, that there was confused thinking, even over the question of the liberation of the nation.

“The poet is returning to his social function. And this means that he is once again becoming nameless. Every new, real force—and mark this—is from the outset anonymous, because it serves. It is useful and not decorative. It is honoured by the praise of being needed and not by the praise of words and the frankincense of names. I know no theatre finer than this. The poet is once again as he has been in all primitive times, namely, the straightforward strength of social love, of social faith, social desires and service. Only a simpleton can imagine that his poetic individuality is lost or threatened by this. It is precisely this discipline of self-denying love and devotion which is the best school for true, genuine individualists.”

Our profoundest and most clear-sighted critics have seen in self-denying service of the people the pre-condition for the rise of a new culture.

This, of course, is something which infuriates our small self-important individualists who in the sphere of culture form a sort of counterpart to the wealthy Young Czechs and who at the present time are puffing themselves out to bursting point. Šalda, Nejedlý and Neumann pilloried all these scarecrows of lying individualism, lying humanism, lying culture, who poisoned the Czech atmosphere up to the February days of this year. In the

same way as these individualists had greeted the young proletarian poetry of the Wolker generation a quarter of a century before with their articles on the "ninenobodies", reproached that purest fount of the new people's poetry, Jiří Wolker, on the grounds that his poetry showed bad, hackneyed cabaret taste, and shabby decorativeness, hypocritically felt themselves attacked by the alleged banality of Wolker's ballad "The unborn child" in that he and she fell in love under a street lamp on the quayside, so after May 5th 1945 they attempted cynically and sentimentally to stamp on the young branch of our people's democracy and rubbed their hands when the 'dregs of our society insulted a dying poet because as a stalwart guardian of poetry and the interests of the Czech people he fulminated against the tyranny of gold from his death-bed.⁶

Here we have an example of the magnificent fighting tradition of Czech culture which shares with the Czech people the honour of having, in the days of February, ended the era of universal venality, the era in which dollars could be used for buying and selling not only human honour, journalistic talent, the revered artistic treasures of the nation, as we have recently read in the news from Italy, but even national freedom itself.

Czech culture should rejoice with all its strength and proclaim to the whole world its joy that it has once again

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been restored to its true mission, and that "homo pecuniarius" who for decades on end had called the nation's tune should now have effected his historic metamorphosis and changed himself into that strange, contemptible phenomenon known as the black-marketeer.

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It would be incorrect to suppose that with the February victory of the creative forces of our nation the significance of that magnificent fighting tradition we have just talked about, which was born in the second half of the past century as a brother of the modern labour movement, now ceases to exist and that in the future things will be merely administered.

And here we come to the question of our new criticism.

We have to realise the important fact that in the last few years the outstanding critical minds of two generations have left us in quick succession, F. X. Šalda, Otakar Fischer, Václav Tille, Jindřich Vodák, S. K. Neumann, Julius Fučík, Bedřich Václavek, Eduard Urx, Jan Krejčí, Kurt Konrád, Stanislav Brunclík⁷—an entire hecatomb of eminent men of culture, men of outstanding nobility of spirit, with profound knowledge of the arts and sciences, guardians of the truth, health and splendour of artistic expression.

This tragic fact helps to explain very many of the mistakes, shortcomings and legitimate complaints often obtaining in our cultural life. But it is not only a question of explaining; this terrible wound has to be healed. And this is a question of process, a cause for our achieving greater maturity and education, a matter for our new schools, for planned, scientific, ideological work.

Let us recall what our great Czech criticism has been able to achieve, what Nejedlý, for instance, has done in Bohemia for Smetana and Czech music, what Šalda and Neumann have done for Czech poetry and the plastic arts, Tille, Vodák and Fischer for the theatre, Fučík and Václavěk for Czech literature, all that modern Czech culture owes to these people, to their cultured, sensitive feeling for art, their magnificent intellectual armament.

Many, very many Czech artists today rightly complain about our criticism not carrying out its function as it should, about its having broken faith with the glorious fighting tradition which grew up side by side with the worker's movement in the great epoch of national upsurge associated with Masaryk. With a few exceptions, our critics through their irresponsibility and lack of comprehension are insulting to the artist, and hence paralyse his creative urge; alternately, by irresponsibly praising what ought to be condemned, they bear out the truth of

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Wilde's statement to the effect that personal acquaintance means the death of the critic.

On numerous occasions we see this type of unrepentant critic passing clever judgments on thin volumes of verse, presumably because such works are not a great strain to read, while a whole series of significant works of modern prose are irresponsibly disposed of. We have some outstanding works and numerous prose works, and yet no critic has yet arisen among us who is capable of examining these works from the new Socialist point of view and estimating their value as historical works, who could blaze the trail ahead for further creative work. I am not talking here only about formalistic appreciation of construction and expression but of the need for criticism to use psychological and sociological analysis as a means of getting the public thoroughly interested in the problem of the truthful representation of our epoch in concrete people, the problem of creating character-figures and their moral conflicts. Let us remind ourselves, for instance, of how Russian criticism could make theatrical, romantic figures like Tchatsky and Moltchalin of Gribojedov, Tatiana and Onjegin of Pushkin, Olga and Oblomov of Gontcharov, the figures of Gorky, Turgenev, Sholokhov, etc. the subject of nation-wide discussion over whole decades of years, how profoundly art and criticism

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influenced the entire education of the national character.

But I am not concerned here only with modern writing. I have in mind Czech and world classics as well. It is a fact that the great majority of our people do not know the Czech and Slovak classics and in many cases have even adopted an ironical attitude towards them. They consider writers like Kollár,⁸ Němcová, Jirásek,⁹ Stašek¹⁰ or Tolstoy, Rolland, Balzac and so on to be something we have left behind us which has nothing in common with modernity. Many of them, in so far as they do read at all, either wallow in lyrical works of a subjective type or else go in for shallow, adventure literature. There are naturally far-reaching reasons for this, but one of these reasons is that our literary critics and theoreticians have not so far proved themselves able to make the great classics an object of interest to the wide public. One of the great, theoretical tasks of our new culture is to achieve a Socialist outlook on the whole treasury of classical, national and world literature, an outlook that completely revalues everything today.

I recall how in the Soviet Union writers, artists and those in charge of youth education, acting on the words of Lenin to the effect that man could only become a new being if he absorbed the culture of past epochs, were able to awaken and kindle a patriotic and humanistic love in

the younger generation for the great works of classical art and literature, how in their numerous studies, portraits, lectures, painstaking commentaries and prefaces they opened up the glorious, ennobling treasury of national and world culture. By putting an end to cramming and enforced swotting and by teaching young people to think instead, teachers and lecturers there have succeeded in getting young people to read with love and sensitive enjoyment, and not just as a school task, not only Pushkin, Tolstoy, Saltykov-Shtchedrin, Gorky, Majakovsky, but also Homer, Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Rousseau, Rolland, Moore, Saint-Simon, Morrelly and so on. And here we can state with pride that Soviet youth is reading with enthusiasm Julius Fučík's book as one of their most loved and most widespread books.

Our literary theoreticians should take note of this, should assemble and organise their forces with a view to settling how best to approach this great task in our country. For instance, we have no first-class, reliable history of modern Czech literature. In comparison with the histories of Jakubec and Vlček, Novák's¹¹ history is a degenerate work. Julius Fučík spoke of this unfortunate fact on several occasions and was painfully conscious of it. He considered it as one of his duties to remedy this

state of affairs. He made very careful preparations for writing at least one literary-historical treatise which he wanted to call "The Silenced and Forgotten"; here he aimed to reinstate and place in a new light all our classic writers, especially those proud democratic spirits whom bourgeois literary historiography has misrepresented or hushed up.

Here, I think, it is high time for an organised attempt to be made to hasten this great work of revaluation. Such a task is really the duty of our young writers. In carrying it out they will, of course, have to deal first and foremost with all these existentialisms, personalisms, subjectivisms, solipsisms which are paralysing the natural inspiration of our young people and turning their eyes away from this great positive social task. In this struggle the youngest generation will have a real contribution to make to the health of the nation. Merely to be young is not a programme; true rejuvenation will come about through positive work at this young task.

I am convinced that as soon as the unfortunate ideological influence of the old world whose stench of disintegrating money-making blows directly on to mankind, as soon as this influence has been broken, our young cultural workers will proudly take up the heritage of Fučík and spread the honour and glory of our nation throughout

the world. Fortunately our youth among the workers is much more aware of this than our youth at the universities.

The predominantly formalistic and aesthetic orientation of our criticism contains a great danger for the future development of our culture.

A recent case of a poet turning traitor is a grave warning to us.¹² Poet and treason are two words which, I consider, are mutually contradictory. That corrupt journalists should betray their nation can be explained, but that a poet who, it would seem, is in full possession of his senses, whose eyes have feasted on the Czech countryside and whose heart is full of love for the Czech people, that such a poet should turn traitor, forsake this world of his and go over to the multi-millionaires, that is something incomprehensible. And yet under the Protectorate we saw a poet who dreamed of a hundred years of slavery.

Can such poetry be called poetry? Can poetry exist without a fierce and passionate belief in freedom and in man's happiness in the historical realisability of such visions?

In 1840, the great Russian critic, Bjelinsky, wrote these words:

"I envy our grandchildren and great grandchildren who are destined to see Russia in 1940 when she will

stand at the head of cultured humanity, legislating for science and art and receiving the respect of all enlightened humanity as grateful tribute.”

And the great Russian writer, Gogol, wrote in 1846:

“A few more decades will pass and you will see Europe coming to us to buy not only hemp and furs, but also wisdom, which is no longer sold on the European markets.”

This fierce and passionate belief in the realisability of their great dreams is in essence the social meaning of all great art and all great criticism.

It is interesting that it is the Russian critics who have best understood the real meaning of the work of Cervantes. There are people who say that Cervantes' famous hero is a fool, that this eccentric who strides through life with his friend Sancho Panza, a son of the people, pursuing the beauty of Dulcinea, is crazy, an abnormal fellow, because he blithely believes in something that is unrealisable. That is precisely where the problem lies. Who is really normal and who is abnormal? Our warm-hearted Helena Malířová, when speaking about the hero of Cervantes' famous book, quite rightly posed this challenging question:

“Who'll say he is mad or a comic misfit,
Who presume such a sin to commit?”

And now notice, for example, how the head of what is alleged to be our highest critical tribunal, "Kritický měsíčník", how Dr. Václav Černý¹³ explains the significance of Cervantes' lesson of intellectual chivalry. This lesson, he says, is "all the more sublime for being unrealisable".

It is not to be wondered at, then, when one reads the following words from the mouth of this critic in his book "Personality, Creation and Struggle":

"...blessed art thou, cynicism, great in thy imprudence, incapable of returning and withdrawing thy offence, better in thy small immorality than great injustice!"

"Greetings to thee, ironical treason! Thou art the greatest, the most honourable loyalty! Thou stirrest up sickness and deliverest no medicine. Thou makest wounds and refusest to heal them. Thou callest forth questions and intendest not to answer them. Thou torturest and causest people to suffer. For thou art honourable and chaste."

And this critic who not only failed to protect our greatest contemporary poet against the insults of society's dregs but also allowed him to leave us without the slightest recognition, this critic is still considered by some people as the heir of the critical "Struggles for Tomorrow".¹⁴ There is no more tragic mistake, and it is possible only because Fučík and Václavek are not with us today.

This is not criticism of poetry, it is the murder of poetry.

When we consider this we are led to the conviction that it is essential to lay the foundations of a new outlook on aesthetics, a new Socialist science of art, a new criticism. And in this connection we should once again call to mind the legacy of our great militant humanists and at the same time should make a real effort to get our youth acquainted with what in our country is an almost unknown source of great and profound wisdom, namely, the classics of Russian criticism, Hertsen, Bjelinsky, Tchernyshevsky, Dobroljubov, Gorky, Majakovsky.

It was men like these who preserved for mankind the greatest treasure of world culture, namely, the sublime belief in the realisability of true humanity. Today particularly we pay tribute to those great Russian humanists who were unwavering and singleminded in the passionate defence of their conviction, to which they consistently remained true in their actions, that the cause of humanity was realisable, not of course through Platonic day-dreaming, but through the infinite strength of the people's revolutionary aspirations.

It is to this sublime, unbreakable faith of theirs in humanity, on which both Lenin and Stalin and millions of heroes in the Soviet Army were brought up, a faith

which has become an immense social force on a world scale, that we are indebted for being able today to look the world proudly and boldly in the eyes, for being able to look truthfully—as Gorky put it—with irony on the past, with realism on the present and romantically on the future. In this way of looking at things is hidden the whole secret of the new culture, the secret of Socialist realism.

This is not some new idea on artistic expression, some new “ism”, but the basic tendency of the new epoch, a tendency with all the force of law.

★

The bustle on the building site of the new social order calls loudly: away from seclusion, face up to the reality of life. It is laughable indeed at this time to want to repeat the individualistic and subjectivist attitude of the end of the last century, to ape the nonconformists who quite rightly refused to have anything in common with the world of the rich Young Czechs since the latter at that time were becoming the managers of the country and only required culture as an additional decoration to their Japanese screens and artistic palmtrees.

When Šalda welcomed the Wolker generation after the first world war, he saw that its greatest contribution lay in the fact that it was overcoming that accursed sub-

jectivism, that ironical relationship towards the present, which was the last branch of reactionary Romanticism and sentimentality, that it was hastening towards the reality of life, to objectivism, in conscious service of the people.

Today that tendency, after being held up in its development for a decade by the old world, is forging ahead at full speed.

Today it is no longer a question of snobbish tastes, or a private picture gallery of Mr. Preiss¹⁵ and his like. Today it is a question of the new tastes of those living, receptive, working people about whom Šalda declared that he had found nobility of feeling and understanding for poetry in them.

Everywhere throughout the country it is as though the spring rain had fallen—new people are administering and guarding over our national culture, people who are not motivated by the profit urge, who have absolutely new ideas of human wealth and happiness. Throughout the country new centres of cultural life are springing up—in the workers' clubs, in the national corporations, everywhere where Czech working people assemble. In the Czech villages new cultural centres and new houses of culture are springing up and will continue to spring up in their thousands.

The quality of the cultural values that fill this new life will depend upon the responsible, active part played by the Czech and Slovak cultural communities. What is wanted here is not culture as a sort of decoration, as a façade, as a mere ornament, but culture which makes people more human, more democratic. The new culture must be a great and vital stimulus, a liberating force. This is something that our new society needs just as surely as it needs water-power, dynamos and locomotives without which Socialism is impossible.

An immense, revolutionary, qualitative change is taking place in the mind of the Czech working man.

Workers in whose mouths human brotherhood is not a mere phrase but the truth of deeds, people who up to quite recently were vegetating both [materially and spiritually, who appeared to many individuals as a grey mass of human units in proletarian caps, like the robots in R.U.R.,¹⁶ people [who were insulted and humiliated, people who were quite understandably indifferent to organisation or the fate of factories, works or landed estates, these people who toiled the whole day long and often rebelled so that at least in the evening in their wretched rooms, at table or in bed they might live like human beings a bit, these people are today beginning to live full social lives, to love their country, their national-

⁴ Face to Face with Reality

ised factories, their machines, their works, their big concerns. And if you stop and talk to them, they will tell you with all the pride of statesmen and lords of nature, with that magnificent, practical sense of experts, thousands of noteworthy incidents connected with the new moral conflicts, the miraculous power of machines, the organisation of work, new inventions, the blessings of modern productive forces which no longer bring about hunger and overwork, which are no longer sources of deprivation but are instead sources of wealth for us all. And then only do you come to realise what has been taking place in the minds of the Czech people.

But the age is also reploughing equally deeply the reality of life in our villages. The Czech village of yesterday with its tragedies of made over property as at Dra-hobudice,¹⁷ its bartered brides and bought bridegrooms, is beginning to be a thing of the past. On the thousands of national committees new people are arising with ideas of statesmanship. The liberating energy of machines is saving human labour, the national insurance scheme is ridding people of their fears of not being provided for in their old age; and all this with the new architecture, new houses of culture, a uniform educational system, cinemas and theatres is beginning to narrow the gulf between the town and country.

These new people who are everywhere arising in embryo, workers and peasants, these defenders of humanity are waiting for you. These people are no longer those paupers who were once an object of sympathy for bad poets. These are conscious people with a magnificent pride in their work. They need better art, better ideas to answer thousands of burning human questions. But they also know thousands of vivid answers to our questions.

Let us not forget that in the middle strata of society and among the intellectuals in our larger towns many people exist who have never seen a smith at his anvil in their lives, or a potter at his bench, a carpenter with his adze, who have never seen a common or garden tumbler, or an electric light bulb, or a thousand other things in daily use being made, who cannot distinguish a grain of rye from a grain of wheat, and who are even sometimes proud about this.

These are what Šalda has called the half-educated or not fully educated people of the towns who in matters of poetry are often nothing else than civilised barbarians, whose world of ideas is formed by the reactionary foundation of their mentality.

Many of these people would seem to think that these riches fall from the sky, or some mystic realm, straight

into the shop fronts, with the prices marked in Czechoslovak crowns.

That magnificent and beautiful creative blaze of the labour process, full of adventurous life, of colours, scents, smells and sounds, deafening blows and dazzling flashes, that world of human ingenuity and bold technical fantasy, that world of simple, everyday human heroism, is for them an abstract conception; and this is perhaps because these blind individuals have been brought up in families and schools with prejudices against this world of the workers out of whose faces a human being looks at us, because here Socialism was born, because here revolution was born.

No vital poetry (novels, poems, theatre, paintings, music) can be born in the minds of such abstract-thinking people; the best that can be born from such book-inspired thoughts is distilled distillation and speculation which these people give out as pure poetry unstained by life but which has nothing in common with real art.

On the other hand it is sufficient to look only at the thematic side of our greatest literature, Bezruč¹⁸ for instance, to see how much of life and people there is in it.

And so we must have our eyes open to this new creative world that is being born, and show the thousands of blind and unseeing persons who have so far been too hypnotised by the money fetish to notice anything where

the world is going. And we must show them those new glorious, truly heroic faces of the new personalities that are rising from among the people and that whole world of work which is now being born.

This new reality is so vitally new, so progressive that it is not afraid of truthful artistic representation so long as our new art comprehends this remarkable activity in all sectors of our national life, undistorted, unidealised, with all its light and shade, with all the most delicate nuances of the entire complex of its dramatic conflicts between the old and the new man, the old and the new morality, beauty and ugliness. So long as all this is truthfully represented, not only will a new form be found but also a source of the new, truly modern emotionalism of Socialist realism which will then have sufficient power among the waverers to overcome that tendency of man (as Gorky has noted) to gravitate to the past.

There will be an end to all those dilemmas which some artists lead people into in their pictures, plays, poems and novels, those uncertainties which used to be expressed in the dishonest, irritating word "interesting".

It is essential that some of our writers and artists should cease to be ashamed of their natural human feelings, of their burning enthusiasm, that they should cease to smother the utterance of all their bolder thoughts.

People want to be gripped by an artistic work. And they are quite right in wanting this. Whether in the theatre or at the cinema, whether looking at a picture or reading a book, people want to be carried away by tenderness or anger, they want to be moved to tears or to laughter, they want their hidden feelings of lyricism or heroism to respond. They want to be so captivated that they follow the brilliance of the dialogue, the tension of the situation breathlessly, they want to be carried away, charmed by poetry, music and painting. They want to be so excited by their artistic experience that when they leave the theatre or whatever it is they can go on talking at length to their friends at home, their family, their mates, about their experience, and send them also to the theatre, to the cinema, to the library, to the bookseller's, to the exhibition stand, to the concert hall. This will come about if the ideological and artistic education given in our schools, our science of art, our theory and criticism fulfil their great tasks. Then the character of the nation will change as well. Writers and artists who give this to the people without playing false to genuine art can be and usually are completely indifferent to what critics think about them.

Such artists, such great and creative individuals live in the spirit of the time, live from the reality of life and not

from paper; and if they succeed in expressing all that vibrates in the moral atmosphere of the time strongly, movingly and convincingly, then such creative people win not only admiration but also gratitude and are never forgotten.

Such poets, even if they speak of their most intimate feelings, always say something significant, liberating.

But not only that; the more truthfully our art captures our new life, the more it absorbs the complexion, excitement and atmosphere of our life, so much the more will it arouse interest beyond our frontiers, for we are fighting out new historical realities before the eyes of the world, awakening the attention of the international world. Herein is the prerequisite for the most essentially Czech elements in our art to match up with these realities and experiences and become international, to become greater than contemporary Western culture.

When reading a novel or watching a play, the people, who form the new public, do not want to meditate on the creative problems of the author; for them the author is all the greater as an artist in so far as he is not to be seen or felt in his work. An artist of genius disappears completely in his work, as was the case with Shakespeare who effaced himself so completely that some historians have even denied his existence.

Yes, some works of art, some dramas, films, pictures, novels and poems, not only among the classics but also among modern works, are so great that all we can do is to gasp in amazement at them when we first comprehend them, and it is only when the emotion has fully died down that we realise that it was an illusion, that that wonder, that miracle, was created by human beings—the author, who crossed out and wrote again, the producer, who flew into tempers and insisted on gestures being countlessly repeated, the actor, who tried out all sorts of facial expressions before the mirror, the painter, who sketched and erased. How lasting such experiences are, how human, how radiant, how precious!

The less of an artist a man is the more we hear of his personal problems, the more distastefully do we see how his own uncertainties, his own inner insoluble contradictions speak to us through the mouths of the phantom figures in his work.

The true spectator of a play or reader of a book does not want to make critical speculations, he wants to thunder his applause. This is what Šalda called the praise of being needed.

We can see this most clearly in the case of Russian dancing, theatres and films. And to our great pleasure we have also seen it in more than one Czech film, in more

than one modern work produced by our writers and artists.

In this connection and from this point of view it becomes clear that what was called modernism and avant-gardism, which yesterday fulfilled their progressive mission in capitalist society, is now out of date in the new stage of development whereby the whole nation has taken a great step forward on its road. This is the law of development for all new forms. What yesterday was a stimulus to development is today a brake on development.

The main prerequisite for the success and victory of the new art is a conscious return from the world of abstract ideas to the full-blooded reality of life.

This also means that there must be personal and intimate mutual contact between Czech culture and the new manager of the country, the Czech people and the new problems ahead.

As far as the question how, the question of form, is concerned, that is a matter for the artist's feeling. It is a matter for his personality, and no laws and regulations can be laid down about it. The mark of every great personality, of every significant subjective artist is that he experiences what the age is going through more powerfully and more significantly than his fellows and that he

is therefore able to give it objective, liberating expression. Such questions are not solved by the theoretician or the critic, they are solved by art itself. It is certain that art remains and will remain a revolutionary force, that it will continue to ferment and disturb the human heart, stir up the sediment of prejudices, awaken new flights of fancy, inspire dissatisfaction with all that is old, out-lived and convention-ridden, and that it will continue to strive for deeper and greater freedom.

And in this connection we must realise with the profoundest joy what is new in the situation, namely that the artist can now remain a revolutionary without coming into conflict with the state, with the ministers and representatives of the state who in fact are striving after the same thing and working in common with artists to break the old curse of gold and set up new human rights in place of hypocritical charity and philanthropy.

There were times when the only people who represented the people and defended and interpreted their interests were the poets while statesmen and politicians only represented the interests of the so-called elegant classes.

Today Czech poets, Czech artists and all those who create culture meet here on common ground with our beloved Premier, Klement Gottwald, who has shown

himself capable of giving such energetic expression to that wonderful, liberating slogan "Forward, not a step back!" and with our ministers, Zdeněk Nejedlý and Václav Kopecký,¹⁹ who are so devoted to our people's cause. Today our creative writers and artists enter on this common task not as a decoration for the State set-up, but as a fellow ruling force in the State.

This is in essence the same historically new phenomenon as we have witnessed in the personal friendship of Gorky, Lenin, Stalin and Romain Rolland.

Poets and statesmen have a common road.

¹ In February 1948 a Government crisis was provoked by the reactionary ministers who by handing in their resignations aimed to overthrow the people's democratic régime of Czechoslovakia. Immense demonstrations of workers and peasants forced these ministers to retire definitively from political life, and with a new Government of the reorganised National Front Czechoslovakia set out resolutely on the road to Socialism.

² *Božena Němcová* (1820—62), distinguished classical Czech writer and founder of modern literary Czech. *Jan Neruda* (1834—91), founder of modern Czech poetry. *Bedřich Smetana* (1824—84), outstanding Czech composer. *Josef Mánes* (1820—71) and *Mikoláš Aleš* (1852—1913), two of Bohemia's greatest painters. *Jiří Wolker* (1900—24), one of the most gifted representatives of post-war proletarian poetry; died very young. *Vladislav Vančura* (1891—1942), one of Bohemia's leading novelists; executed by the Nazis. *Jaroslav Kratochvíl* (1885—1945), prominent Czech realistic novelist and historian of the resistance movement during the first world war; tortured to death by the Nazis. *Karel Čapek* (1890—1938), world-famous Czech writer, dramatist and translator. *Josef Čapek* (1887—1945), outstanding modern painter and writer (brother of Karel Čapek); perished in a concentration camp. *Helena Malířová* (1887—1940), Czech writer. *S. K. Neumann* (1875—1947), leading Czech poet who had a great influence on several generations of poets; in his ideological development and influence can to a certain extent be considered as a Czech counterpart to Maxim Gorky.

³ *Prof. Zdeněk Nejedlý* (born 1877), now Minister of Education. Prominent scholar, historian and art theoretician—founder of the chair of musical science at Prague University. Author of important studies on Smetana, Masaryk and Lenin.

⁴ *F. X. Šalda* (1867—1937), founder of modern Czech criticism who in spite of being an individualistic and philosophic idealist associated himself with the Socialist movement.

⁵ The chief editor of the "Tribune" at that time was F. Peroutka, a reactionary political journalist.

⁶ The poet in question is S. K. Neumann who wrote a poem against American imperialism as he lay on his death bed in 1947. The poem led to diplomatic intervention on the part of the American Embassy. The dying poet became the target for the vilest, insulting attacks by anonymous fascist persons.

⁷ *Otakar Fischer* (1883—1938), professor in Germanic languages at Charles University, poet and writer, prominent critic and translator of Goethe. *Václav Tille* (1867—1937), professor of comparative literature at Charles University; prominent critic and an authority on the theatre. *Jindřich Vodák* (1867—1940), dramatic critic. *Julius Fučík*, *Bedřich Václavěk*, *Eduard Urx*, *Jan Krejčí*, *Stanislav Brunclík*—the most gifted representatives of the generation which entered cultural and political public life in common with the Communist Party after the first world war and which represented the greatest hope of a new Socialist Czech culture. All these noble creative artists were murdered by the Nazi hangmen when they were just about to reach the height of their powers. The name of Julius Fučík has become internationally known as the name of the author of the book: "A Reporter's Notes under the Gallows."

⁸ *Jan Kollár* (1793—1852), classical Czech poet and herald of the Slav idea.

⁹ *Alois Jirásek* (1851—1930), the most widely read Czech historical novelist.

¹⁰ *Antal Stašek* (1843—1932), Czech novelist.

¹¹ *Jan Jakubec* (1862—1936) and *Jaroslav Vlček* (1860—1930), professors at Charles University and founders of modern Czech literary historical science. *Arne Novák* (1886—1939), professor at Brno University; author of "A survey of Czech literature".

¹² The poet in question is a minor Czech poet, *Ivan Blatný*, who after the events of February fled to England where he proceeded to spread lying reports about his country.

¹³ *Dr. Václav Černý* (born 1905), professor at Charles University. Romance scholar.

¹⁴ "Struggles for Tomorrow", one of the first great works of Šalda at the end of the last century which had an important influence on the new Czech poetry.

¹⁵ *Dr. Jaroslav Preiss*, Governor of the Živnobanka, during the First Republic; representative of Czech finance capital.

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¹⁶ *R. U. R.*, world-famous play of Karel Čapek.

¹⁷ *Drahobudice*, a village in Bohemia where a family tragedy which shocked public opinion took place in the 1930's. A man murdered his mother because he knew that she did not intend to bequeath to him certain parts of her landed property.

¹⁸ *Petr Bezruč* (born 1867), distinguished and much honored poet of the Silesian people; fought against social and national oppression; his verses caused a great stir at the end of the last century.

¹⁹ *Václav Kopecký* (born 1897), outstanding political representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and prominent cultural political personality. Minister of Information since 1945.

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Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Face to Face with Reality by LADISLAV ŠTOLL

Translated from the Czech by Stephen Jolly. Cover design
by Josef Istler. 1st edition 4,200 copies. Printed and published
by Orbis, Prague, October 1948

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2



SERVICIO DE INFORMACION

DE LA FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

21bis, RUE DE CHATEAUDUN, PARIS-FRANCE - TEL. : TRU. 16-95 - DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA : JEUNESMONDE

NUMERO 43

Reproduccion Autorizada

25-3-1949

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LA SEMANA MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD

La Semana Mundial de la Juventud se está celebrando en el mundo entero. A las informaciones ya publicadas hay que añadir las siguientes:

Union Internacional de Estudiantes. - El Secretariado de la U.I.E. ha enviado a la F.M.J.D. con motivo de la Semana Mundial, un mensaje en el que se destaca la tarea común de la F.M.J.D. y de la U.I.E. en la movilización de la juventud del mundo entero por la paz.

Polonia. - Se celebraran numerosas reuniones en todo el país con la participación de delegados del Viet Nam, España republicana, Grecia, Albania. Varios festivales tendran lugar en la misma ocasión. En Proclaw se han celebrado grandes manifestaciones en las que han participado más de 10.000 jóvenes.

Bulgaria. - En cada club de la Union de la Juventud Popular, se ha hecho una reunion dedicada a la F.M.J.D., a la lucha por la paz y a la preparacion del Congreso y Festival. Habra grandes mitines en 20 ciudades y en 20 pueblos, en los que participaran miembros del Comité Central de la Union. Se ha efectuado una gran campaña de prensa e informacion.

Estados Unidos. - Entre las actividades previstas figura una colecta de fondos para el viaje de la delegacion al Congreso y Festival, la difusion de una peticion por la paz y la recoleccion de un folleto.

Francia. - Dirigentes y personalidades han lanzado un manifiesto de la juventud por la paz en el cual se declara especialmente: "Sin hacer dejacion de nuestras convicciones, invitamos a todos los jovenes de Francia, ya sean o no miembros de una organizacion a reunirse amistosamente en el curso de la Semana Mundial del 7 al 14 de Abril para proclamar bien alto y con firmeza su voluntad de paz, condenar la guerra y hacer que triunfe la paz". En Francia, la Semana Mundial de la Juventud sera del 7 al 14 de abril a causa de las Elecciones municipales de fin de marzo.

Belgica. - La Juventud Popular de Belgica ha llamado a los jovenes a manifestar por la Paz durante la Semana, y ha declarado: "No queremos servir de carne de cañon sino que queremos vivir en una Belgica prospera en la que el porvenir nos sonria". La J.P.B. organiza una serie de "Bailes de la Paz" en las grandes ciudades, en los que intervendran los dirigentes de la juventud belga.

HACIA EL CONGRESO MUNDIAL Y EL FESTIVAL

La FMJD y sus organizaciones afiliadas prosiguen activamente los preparativos para el Festival Mundial de la Juventud y de los Estudiantes y el 2º Congreso Mundial de la Juventud. Numerosos paises han nombrado ya sus delegados para el Comité Preparatorio del Congreso. Las organizaciones juveniles de RUMANIA, AUSTRIA, DINAMARCA, BELGICA, HUNGRIA, CANADA, FRANCIA, CHECOSLOVAQUIA, ALEMANIA, INGLATERRA y la Juventud Socialista Unificada de España han dado ya publicidad al Congreso. Varios paises han confirmado el numero de delegados para el Congreso: AUSTRALIA 15, ARGENTINA 25, CHECOSLOVAQUIA 25, DINAMARCA 10, HUNGRIA 25, YUGOSLAVIA 25, POLONIA 30, CANADA 15.

El llamamiento del Comité Ejecutivo de la FMJD, en el que se convoca al Congreso Mundial, esta siendo difundido ampliamente. Acaba de ser editado en octavilla en frances. Ha sido reproducido en la prensa de la Juventud Libre Alemana. Ha sido publicado en el periodico "LA VOZ DE MEXICO" y en el Boletín quincenal de la Juventud Comunista de Mexico.

Hungria. - Diversas organizaciones se han comprometido a pagar los gastos de participacion en el Festival de 300 jovenes de los paises coloniales. Una gran campaña de venta de boletines ha sido lanzada con el fin de ayudar a la juventud colonial a venir al Festival. Una primera entrega de 450 florines, recogidos por un grupo de jovenes obreros de un taller, ha sido entregada en un mitin celebrado en Budapest. La ciudad de Bolcsalmas ha invitado a 20 jovenes extranjeros a que residan durante todo el Festival.

Costa de Oro. - (Africa). - El Comité de organizacion de la juventud ha anunciado para fines de marzo una Conferencia de la juventud en la que se elegiran los delegados para el Congreso Mundial.

Escocia. - Se ha convocado una conferencia de las organizaciones juveniles, culturales, sindicales y obreras para establecer el Comité Escoces pro-Festival y para celebrar la Semana Mundial de la Juventud. Se esta redactando un manifiesto por la paz que sera enviado a todos los intelectuales, artistas, poetas y sabios escoceses; este sera enviado a Budapest, despues de haber recogido miles de firmas. Otro manifiesto de paz y amistad circula entre la juventud. Las dos mayores organizaciones culturales de Escocia, "La Sociedad del Renacimiento" y el "Grupo de Artistas, poetas y autores de la Clyde" estan preparando exposiciones que seran enviadas a Budapest despues de haber circulado en Escocia. Las organizaciones deportivas estan preparando un desfile que se celebrara en Glasgow y que tendra como fin popularizar el Festival.

SOLIDARIDAD CON LA JUVENTUD COMBATIENTE

La condena de muerte pronunciada contra Manuel GLEZOS por un tribunal militar de Grecia ha levantado una ola de protestas de todos los rincones del mundo. Glezos, redactor jefe de "EPISOPASTIS", es el héroe que arranco la bandera nazi del Acropolis en 1941.

Numerosas personalidades y organizaciones democraticas han dirigido protestas a la ONU, al gobierno de Atenas y al ministerio de la justicia.

Hungria.- La Union Popular de la Juventud Hungara ha celebrado el 6° Aniversario del EPON, con la participacion de Nikos Stergion, representante de la Grecia democratica. Durante la campana de ayuda a Grecia, 10.000 jovenes hugaros han enviado paquetes a la juventud de Grecia.

Holanda.- Un grupo de Amsterdam de la Union General de la Juventud Holandesa ha dirigido un mensaje al EPON en ocasion de su 6° aniversario.

Inglaterra.- El dia 8 de marzo, una delegacion de organizaciones estudiantiles y juveniles se presencio en la Embajada de Grecia en Londres para protestar contra la condena a muerte de 5 estudiantes griegos. La Embajada se nego a recibir a los delegados. El 13 de marzo, un centenar de jovenes asistieron a un mitin de protesta organizado por el Consejo Internacional de la Juventud, en el que intervino el diputado J. Platts-Mills. El dia 18 del mismo mes fue organizada otra manifestacion ante la embajada griega.

Continua el terror en España.- Despues del asesinato de Carrero, Valverde, Puig y Mestres en Barcelona y la condena a muerte del dirigente obrero Jose Satue, que el franquismo ha conmutado en cadena perpetua ante la protesta internacional, nuevos actos de barbarie han sido cometidos por los franquistas.

Madrid.- 7 patriotas de los cuales una mujer han sido condenados a muerte por un consejo de guerra.

La Coruña.- 4 campesinos de los cuales dos mujeres han sido asesinados por la guardia civil.

Sevilla.- La pena de muerte ha sido pedida contra los democratas Jose Mallo, Manuel Lopez y Campos Osaba.

Badajoz.- Dos campesinos han sido asesinados en aplicacion de la "ley de fugas".

LA JUVENTUD LUCHA POR LA PAZ

SE PREPARA EL GRANDIOSO CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ

Respondiendo al llamamiento lanzado por el Buro Internacional de Enlace de los Intelectuales y por la F.D.I.M., de todo el mundo llegan mensajes al Comité de Preparacion del Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz que se celebrara en Paris del 20 al 23 de Abril proximo. Dicho Congreso tendra una gran importancia para el fortalecimiento de la accion y de la unidad de todos los pueblos democraticos del mundo que desean la paz y que quieren combatir en defensa de la paz contra las fuerzas de guerra y de reaccion, que preparan activamente una nueva guerra, prosiguiendo asi sus objetivos de agresion y de dominacion del mundo.

En numerosos paises se han constituido comites nacionales. El Secretariado de la R.M.J.D. ha llamado a las organizaciones afiliadas a participar activamente en los preparativos del Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz, a prepararlo en colaboracion estrecha con todas las organizaciones democraticas, especialmente con las organizaciones juveniles, y a nombrar delegados para el Congreso.

Las adhesiones continuan llegando a Paris. Entre esas adhesiones estan las de las organizaciones juveniles de Francia, Checoslovaquia, Polonia, Italia. Un telegrama de la Union Popular de la Juventud Hungara nos anuncia que "700.000 jovenes hugaros se adhieren con entusiasmo al llamamiento pro-Congreso de los Partidarios de la Paz, saludando y apoyando esta iniciativa que marcara una nueva victoria decisiva de las poderosas fuerzas de liberacion y de paz".

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En una resolucion, el Comité Antifascista de la Juventud Sovietica, "expresa

su ardiente voluntad de participar en el Congreso" y "llama a todos los jóvenes democratas del mundo, sin distinción de raza, sexo, color, religion o profesion, y a todos los que aman la causa de la paz y de la libertad a que se unan al movimiento de los Partidarios de la Paz y se alcen en barrera infranqueable en el camino de los que intentan desencadenar una nueva guerra sangrienta".

El gran cantor Paul ROBESON, en el mensaje que ha enviado a la Juventud britanica con motivo de la Semana Mundial de la Juventud, declara lo siguiente: "El Congreso de la Paz que se celebrara en Paris el mes proximo en presencia de dirigentes obreros, intelectuales y jóvenes, marcara una gran paso adelante en la lucha por la paz".

El Comité de Preparacion del Congreso ha sido designado, cuyo Presidente es el famoso sabio F. JOLIOT-CURIE. El Presidente de la R.I.J.D, Guy de Boysson, ha sido nombrado miembro del Secretariado de dicho Comité.

Francia.— El Comité Frances de la Juventud Democrática ha dado su adhesión al Congreso y durante la celebracion de la Semana Mundial de la Juventud una gran atencion sera dedicada a la preparacion del Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz.

Polonia.— Respondiendo al llamamiento pro-Congreso, la Union de la Juventud Polaca que agrupa a 800.000 jóvenes ha dado su adhesión al Congreso. En la carta de adhesión, la U.J.P. declara: "Nosotros vamos en la cooperacion fraternal de los países amantes de la paz, de los cuales el Congreso sera la expresion, la garantía segura, inquebrantable de la seguridad y de la independencia de nuestro país".

Brasil.— La Union Nacional de Estudiantes del Brasil ha dado su adhesión al Congreso. Ha lanzado un llamamiento a todos los estudiantes y jóvenes del país pidiendo que se participe en masa en la preparacion del Congreso. (Ver texto del manifiesto en pagina 7) Un Congreso Nacional por la Paz se celebrara del 9 al 11 de abril, en preparacion del cual la U.N.E. ha convocado para el 30 de marzo una Conferencia de la Juventud Carioca en defensa de la Paz y la Cultura. Tambien en otras ciudades como Sao Paulo, etc. se celebraran conferencias estudiantiles por la Paz.

LA ACCION DE LA JUVENTUD CONTRA EL PACTO ATLANTICO

En los diversos países interesados, junto a las fuerzas democráticas que se manifiestan con fuerza contra el Pacto Atlantico de agresion, esta la juventud democrática. Así por ejemplo, en Italia los jóvenes han tenido una parte muy activa en las amplias manifestaciones que se han desarrollado y se estan desarrollando contra la participacion de Italia en el Pacto; en Suecia, la Union de la Juventud Socialdemocrática ha tomado posicion contra la participacion de su país en el Pacto; en Dinamarca, la organizacion "ESTUDENTERS AUFUNDET" ha condenado la adhesion de Dinamarca; los "Jóvenes Progresistas de America" han dirigido una carta a la juventud de Leningrado en la que se dice que el Pacto Atlantico, el Plan Marshall etc. tienen como fin la preparacion de la guerra contra la Union Sovietica y que ellos estan dispuestos a luchar en todo momento con esa guerra. En Francia la campaña de la juventud por la paz adquiere proporciones impresionantes y esta sera intensificada durante la Semana Mundial de la Juventud (7 al 14 de abril en Francia). Actualmente esta circulando un "Mensaje de la Juventud por la Paz" que ha sido firmado por personalidades de todas las organizaciones de la juventud francesa, excepto las de "accion católica", mensaje que llama a los jóvenes a intensificar los esfuerzos por la paz, principalmente durante la celebracion de la Semana Mundial de la Juventud. La campaña contra la guerra en el Viet Nam continua desarrollandose con gran éxito. En los últimos quince días, varias manifestaciones han tenido lugar en diversas ciudades de Francia. Varios jóvenes manifestantes han sido detenidos.

LA JUVENTUD DE AMERICA LATINA

Continua la Represion en Venezuela. - Recientemente tuvieron lugar en el pais varias huelgas y movimientos de protesta contra la dictadura militar y por la liberacion de los numerosos presos politicos. Varios obreros fragicos y el presidente de la Confederacion de Trabajadores de Venezuela hubieron de ser liberados ante la presion popular.

Despues de la ilegalizacion de los sindicatos por la Junta Militar de Caracas el ministro de la Educacion Nacional ha clausurado el Instituto Nacional de Pedagogia de Caracas, echando a la calle a mas de dos mil estudiantes. Los estudiantes de pedagogia habian realizado, 24 horas antes del decreto de clausura, un gigantesco mitin pidiendo la liberacion de los dirigentes estudiantiles y el cese de la represion contra el movimiento juvenil.

Nueva protesta de la RJD a la Junta Militar de Caracas. - El dia 10 de Marzo, la F.J.D. dirigio una nueva protesta a la Junta Militar de Gobierno de Caracas, en la que se dice lo siguiente:

"La Federacion Mundial de la Juventud Democratica ha sabido que la Junta Militar continua cometiendo arbitrarios actos de represion sobre jovenes estudiantes y trabajadores cuyo unico delito es el de exigir el restablecimiento de las garantias constitucionales consagradas por la Constitucion del pais. En efecto, la RJD esta enterada, por ejemplo, de la muerte de un estudiante de apellido Cordero echada a consecuencia de las heridas recibidas en el curso de un salvaje atentado cometido por la policia contra los estudiantes del liceo "Lisandro Albarado" de Barquisimeto (Estado Lara), asi como del arresto e incomunicacion, entre otros muchos, del estudiante Leopoldo Figarella de la Universidad Central de Caracas, y de la expulsion de numerosos estudiantes de los institutos educacionales de ese pais, y, en particular, la expulsion de los jovenes Hector Rodriguez Bauza, Jose Avellaneda y Elie Novellino del liceo "Fermín Toro", y de Elia Borges, Evaristo Bracho, Hugo Guillen y E. Gonzalez del Instituto Pedagogico Nacional. Se sabe tambien que las organizaciones sindicales de ese pais han sido declaradas ilegales recientemente, lo cual constituye una medida que solo puede ser dictada por un gobierno enemigo de la democracia y de los derechos de los trabajadores.

La RJD considera un deber comunicarle que tales violaciones flagrantes de los más elementales derechos democraticos de los jovenes no pueden pasar desapercibidas ante los millones de jovenes del mundo entero que siguen con interes la lucha que sostiene la juventud venezolana por la vigencia de los principios democraticos de la republica y que no dejaran de condenar el proceder de la Junta Militar.

Es por eso que la RJD, defensora de los derechos de los jovenes, reitera, en nombre de sus 50 millones de jovenes afiliados de mas de 60 paises, su mas enérgica protesta contra tales arbitrariedades y exige firmemente el cese inmediato de las persecuciones a que se somete a la juventud venezolana asi como la libertad de los jovenes hasta ahora arrestados por haber defendido sus derechos democraticos. Le comunicamos que se ha enviado una protesta, motivada por los mismos hechos arriba mencionados, ante la Organizacion de las Naciones Unidas."

LA JUVENTUD DE GUATEMALA LUCHA CONTRA EL IMPERIALISMO

El problema creado en Guatemala por la voraz intransigencia de la "United Fruit Company" (compañia frutera yanqui), que pretende saltar por encima de las leyes nacionales guatemaltecas y que atenta a la soberania del pais con el cierre injustificado de trabajos que deja en la calle a miles de trabajadores, ha suscitado la indignacion por Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

La Alianza de la Juventud Democrática Guatemalteca, que está en la vanguardia de la lucha por la defensa de los intereses de los jóvenes y por la salvaguarda de la democracia guatemalteca, ha dirigido un manifiesto al pueblo de Guatemala en el que, entre otras cosas, se dice lo siguiente:

"Frente a la provocación cobarde de la compañía frutera que pretende liquidar nuestra libertad por medios económicos-coactivos, A.J.D.G. se apresta a denunciar públicamente, que el objeto de estas medidas que son el reflejo de una acción política coordinada internacionalmente para intervenir en nuestra política nacional, merece las más grandes movilizaciones del pueblo y fundamentalmente de su juventud, en defensa de nuestra democracia y autodeterminación política, como una demostración liquidacionista a la continuación de esta acción defasta de los consorcios monopolistas que atenta en contra de la libertad de de nuestros pueblos.

.....

Exigimos al Gobierno que con la comprensión presentada hasta hoy por su parte al problema en mención, continúe buscándole solución inmediata, pidiendo a la compañía frutera respeto a las leyes de nuestro país, a nuestra independencia política y aplicar las leyes necesarias para castigar acciones tendientes a socabar nuestra soberanía nacional.

A los trabajadores del Muelle de Puerto Barrios, Bananera del Norte y Tiquisate, enviamos nuestro patriótico mensaje de aliento y solidaridad en su lucha en defensa de sus intereses propios y de nuestra liberación nacional; exhortando a nuestros afiliados en toda la República para realizar movilizaciones en solidaridad con los liberantes amenazados por la compañía frutera, y de apoyo a la política del Gobierno en defensa de nuestra soberanía."

**MARINOS YANQUIS PROFANAN EL MONUMENTO DEL
HEROJE NACIONAL CUBANO JOSE MARTI**

Las visitas de la escuadra yanqui a Cuba son muy frecuentes. El día 11 de marzo se encontraban anclados en el puerto de La Habana un portaaviones, tres dragadores de minas y un remolcador norteamericanos. En la noche del mismo día, varios marinos de la tribulación, en estado de embriaguez, profanaron el monumento erigido en la capital al héroe nacional José MARTI. Tan repugnante ultraje provocó la indignación de toda la población habanera. La juventud respondió energicamente a tal acto de villanía. Cientos de estudiantes manifestaron ante la Embajada de los Estados Unidos al grito de "Fuera los Yanquis!" Las ventanas de la Embajada fueron apedreadas y el Embajador, que quiso hablar a los manifestantes, tuvo que retirarse ante la calera de la multitud que se manifestó con gritos y silbidos.

La juventud cubana, celosa defensora de su independencia nacional, y fiel al recuerdo de sus héroes, ha manifestado en esta ocasión su odio contra los imperialistas yanquis.

Hace algunas semanas, con motivo de otra visita de varias unidades de la escuadra de guerra norteamericana a los puertos cubanos, la Juventud Socialista de Cuba hizo circular entre los marinos de la tripulación una octavilla redactada en inglés en la que se condenaba la acusación de los dirigentes del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos y se decía, entre otras cosas, lo siguiente:

"La Juventud Socialista de Cuba denuncia y condena la política de opresión imperialista del gobierno de los EE.UU., que impone a Cuba la cláusula 202-E, y que ha dirigido, a través de la policía política del imperialismo yanqui, los G-men, la división del movimiento obrero, el asesinato de sus líderes Jesús MENENDEZ y Aracelio IGLESIAS y que espía los movimientos políticos, juveniles y obreros y a los empleados del gobierno, etc. Esta política traiciona los verda-

deros sentimientos del pueblo norteamericano que son los sentimientos de solidaridad y amistad mundiales.

¡Marinos Norteamericanos! Haced conocer al pueblo de los EE.UU. el mensaje de solidaridad de la Juventud Socialista de Cuba en la lucha común contra el neofascismo norteamericano. Compartinos vuestro ideal de paz y estamos contra los avidos fautores de guerra yanquis que tratan de dominar el mundo por medio de sus monopolios y trusts."

MANIFIESTO DE LA UNION NACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES DEL BRASIL EN DEFENSA DE LA PAZ

He aquí el texto del manifiesto que la U.N.E. ha dirigido a los estudiantes:

"Cumpliendo dispositivos de su Constitución y determinaciones de la Declaración de Principios aprobada por el XI Congreso Nacional de los Estudiantes, se lanza la UNE en la campaña por la defensa de la Paz, campaña que se hace más urgente y necesaria a medida que aumenta el peligro de una nueva conflagración mundial.

En verdad, cada día que pasa, mejor se perfila el espectro de la guerra. La carrera armamentista, es, hoy, la mayor preocupación de los gobiernos. Se multiplican las declaraciones belicistas y los pactos "defensivos". Se profundiza la división del mundo y se llega hasta afirmar abiertamente que la única solución es la guerra.

Pero la guerra no es una solución. La guerra significa destrucción, miseria, lucha. "El mundo está cansado de ser la víctima de pasiones, rencores, matanzas inútiles". Es preciso que los estudiantes levantemos la voz en este momento, para poner fin a la locura de los "señores" del mundo. Los pueblos que sufrieron para derrotar a la Alemania de Hitler, los millones de supervivientes, los mutilados, los que perdieron sus padres o hermanos están ahí para afirmar que la guerra no puede ser una solución.

Necesitamos la paz. Solo la convivencia pacífica entre los pueblos permitirá resolver los difíciles problemas de nuestro tiempo y construir el mundo mejor que se nos había prometido.

"No es con la guerra como se construye el futuro. Se necesita la guerra cuando se le gana al futuro". Y la juventud a pesar de todo, cree en el futuro porque tiene confianza en sí.

¡Colegas! La guerra no es inevitable. Los errores de los gobiernos de hoy no destruirán el camino trazado por Roosevelt: "Me opongo decisivamente a los que vociferan que la Carta del Atlántico y las Cuatro Libertades son absurdas, porque no se pueden realizar. Solamente los esclavizadores de pueblos, los enemigos de la libertad, los despotas inchados de odios y venganzas, solamente estos y sus camarillas pueden decir que aquellos principios no se pueden realizar". Es preciso que los que se mantienen fieles a sus palabras y sus ideas, sepan defenderlas con el coraje y el ardor necesarios.

A nosotros, estudiantes, que tanto empeño pusimos en la declaración de guerra a los países del Eje y que luchamos contra ellos en el frente y en la retaguardia sin regatear sacrificios, a nosotros nos corresponde librar la batalla por la defensa de la paz por la que se movilizan ahora todos los pueblos de la tierra. 55 millones de seres humanos murieron para que el mundo pudiera resolver sus problemas pacíficamente. No debemos permitir que la locura o la ambición de hombres o grupos, vengán a destruir lo que tanto ha costado hacer.

Por eso, basada en esas razones, la UNE llama a todo el estudiantado, a las Uniones Estudiantiles y a los Directorios Académicos a movilizarse inmediatamente, colocándose a la vanguardia de la lucha por la Paz.

En Abril próximo serán realizados, en los Estados y en el Distrito Federal Congresos de la Paz y de la Cultura, entidad en cuya dirección participa la UNE. El objeto de estos eventos estudiantiles y nacional, es el dar expresión de unidad al sentimiento pacifista del pueblo brasileño. Queremos que los delegados que representarán nuestro país en el Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz, en París.

XI Congreso del KOMSOMOL -Es el 29 de marzo cuando se abre, en Moscú, el XI Congreso del Komsomol. Numerosos delegados extranjeros asistirán al Congreso. La F.M.J.D. ha enviado al Congreso un mensaje de solidaridad.

XIV Congreso de los Estudiantes Chinos -Al final de este Congreso, que se llevo a cabo en HEIPIG del 1º al 6 de marzo en presencia de 202 delegados que representaban 1 millón de estudiantes de toda China, fue enviado un mensaje a la F.M.J.D., la U.I.E. y la juventud del mundo, que declaraba, entre otras cosas, lo siguiente: "Nuestro Congreso ha examinado los resultados del movimiento estudiantil chino en los últimos 30 años y nosotros pensamos que el camino de activa participación en la lucha revolucionaria del pueblo chino recorrido por el movimiento estudiantil, es correcto y, ahora, victorioso. Este pasado nos conducirá todavía a mas exitos en el porvenir. Transmitid a los estudiantes del mundo entero nuestra esperanza y nuestra certeza de que los estudiantes de los países que luchan por la democracia, la paz y el progreso podrán, junto con los pueblos de esos países, alcanzar sus objetivos. Esperamos que los estudiantes de todos los países cooperaran estrechamente en la lucha comun."

III Congreso Nacional Ordinario de la C.J.M. -En la ultima semana del mes de abril se celebrara en la ciudad de Mejiico el III Congreso Nacional Ordinario de la Confederacion de Jovenes Mejiicanos. La F.M.J.D. invita a sus organizaciones afiliadas a que envíen mensajes fraternales, muy particularmente a las organizaciones latinoamericanas que esperamos se esforzaran en enviar delegaciones fraternales al Congreso.

El Paro en los Estados Unidos. -Ante la amenaza del paro que ya afecta, nada mas que en el estado de Nueva York, 100.000 trabajadores, de los cuales muchos son jovenes, los "Jovenes Progresistas de América" han convocado para el 2 de abril una conferencia de la juventud trabajadora. Esta conferencia estudiara principalmente las reivindicaciones siguientes: A trabajo igual, salario igual - Salario minimo de 1 dolar por hora - Lucha contra el paro por medio de vastos programas de trabajos publicos - Organización del aprendizaje.

(Viene de la pagina 7) Manifiesto de la U.N.E. del Brasil.

A los estudiantes y a sus entidades corresponde apoyar esta realizacion que marcara el comienzo de una nueva fase en la lucha contra la guerra.
"La Paz que ansiamos es esta: Paz de justicia social y de respeto de todos los derechos".

Rio de Janeiro, 14 de Marzo de 1949."

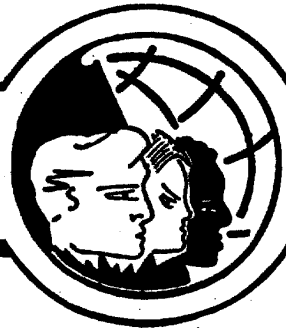
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Adr. Télég. JEUNESMONDE

NUMERO 9

Marzo de 1949

Reproduccion Autorizada

!JOVENES, UNIOS! !ADELANTE POR UNA PAZ DURADERA!

Por Frances DAMON (E.E.UU.)
Tesorera de la F. M. J. D.

La Federación Mundial de la Juventud Democrática, desde su fundación en la Conferencia Mundial de la Juventud, celebrada en Londres en Noviembre de 1945, se ha dado como tarea primordial luchar resueltamente contra todos los instigadores imperialistas de una nueva guerra mundial, luchar por una paz duradera, con lo cual ha expresado el profundo deseo de toda la nueva generación mundial.

Los delegados que cooperaron en la fundación de la FMJD han guardado, gravado en la mente, el recuerdo de los sacrificios de sus camaradas caídos, de aquellos cuya sangre ha empapado las tierras de ciudades como Stalingrado, o de los que han muerto en las cámaras de gas y en los crematorios de Auschwitz o de Belsen. Millones de jóvenes tomaron parte en las grandes batallas que edificaron la derrota del fascismo hitleriano y de los imperialistas japoneses. La voluntad de luchar por una paz duradera, por un mundo liberado de toda miseria y de todo temor, fue expresada por sus representantes en Londres, en el compromiso que contrajeron en la Conferencia histórica de Noviembre de 1945:

"Nos comprometemos a construir la unidad de los jóvenes en todo el mundo,

Sin distinción de razas, color, nacionalidad y creencia,

Para que desaparezcan de la tierra todas las huellas del fascismo,

Por una profunda amistad internacional sincera de todos los pueblos del mundo,

Por una paz justa y duradera,

Por la eliminación de la miseria y del paro forzoso.

Estamos aquí para asegurar la unidad de todos los jóvenes.

Saludamos a todos los camaradas que han caído, y a los que han hecho la promesa de evitar que manos hábiles, inteligencias grandes y jóvenes entusiastas sean sacrificados en la guerra."

Los jóvenes demócratas del mundo han sido fieles a su promesa de defender la paz justa y duradera, de eliminar de la tierra toda huella de fascismo e impedir así el retorno a una nueva guerra. No han olvidado a sus camaradas caídos y no pueden olvidarlos hoy cuando a diario se demuestra que la sangrienta tiranía del fascismo no ha cesado de existir, que todavía hay quien esta celoso de Hitler entre los fomentadores de guerra de las fuerzas anglo-americanas imperialistas.

"Oponerse resueltamente a toda tentativa de preparacion de una nueva agresion imperialista."

tal fue el llamamiento que la Conferencia, que fundo la FMJD, lanzo a las organizaciones juveniles democraticas de todo el mundo. Bajo la bandera de la FMJD, millones y millones de jovenes democraticas del mundo han respondido a ese llamamiento demostrando activamente, con su lucha, la firme resolucion de condenar al fracaso las tentativas de Wall Street y de sus satelites que intentan hacer retroceder la marcha del progreso humano para reducir a la humanidad a la esclavitud y sacrificarla en una nueva guerra mundial.

En sus tentativas febriles de preparar una nueva guerra mundial, Wall Street y sus aliados han lanzado ataques furiosos contra las fuerzas democraticas del mundo, y, sobretodo, contra la gran Union Sovietica y las Democracias Populares. Pero, como dice el mensaje lanzado por el Comité Ejecutivo de la FMJD, en su reunion de diciembre ultimo,

"La fuerza de la Federacion reside en el hecho de que obra de acuerdo con las fuerzas unidas de la Democracia y del Progreso que tienen en su filas a los pueblos de la gran Union Sovietica, de los paises de democracia popular, de los paises coloniales y dependientes, los pueblos progresivos del mundo entero, la Federacion Sindical Mundial, la Federacion Internacional Democratica de Mujeres, todas las gentes progresivas del mundo. Esas fuerzas aumentan cada dia su potencia e impiden que los rapaces imperialistas desencadenen una nueva guerra mundial. "

Durante los tres años de su existencia, en todas sus actividades, la FMJD ha luchado constantemente por una paz duradera, por la democracia, por la independencia nacional de los pueblos, por una vida mejor para todos los jovenes, y ha denunciado la amenaza imperialista que pesa sobre el porvenir de la joven generacion.

Desde 1945, la FMJD ha organizado amplias campañas mundiales contra el terror en España y en Grecia, campañas de ayuda a la juventud que lucha contra el fascismo que existe en esos paises gracias al apoyo de los imperialistas anglo-americanos. La FMJD no ha cesado de protestar contra la division de Alemania, contra el mantenimiento del fascismo y la creacion de un arsenal de guerra en la Alemania Occidental bajo el manto de la presunta "ayuda" del Plan Marshall. La FMJD ha desplegado una accion de solidaridad en favor de las organizaciones democraticas de la juventud que estan siendo objeto de una represion feroz en el Sureste Asiatico, en Africa del Norte, en el Medio Oriente, en America Latina, en los EE.UU. y en otras partes. Delegacion de la FMJD y comisiones internacionales juveniles han visitado diferentes paises del mundo, llevando un gran apoyo al combate y a la unidad de la juventud democratica. En 1947, la FMJD organizo el Festival Mundial de la Juventud, en el que 17.000 jovenes de 72 paises manifestaron por la paz. La Conferencia de la Juventud del Sureste Asiatico, celebrada en Calcuta en febrero de 1948 y el Congreso de la Juventud Democratica de America Latina, celebrado en Mexico en junio de 1948 movilizaron a la juventud antiimperialista de esas regiones, esclavizada en los paises coloniales y semicoloniales. En agosto de 1948, la FMJD organizo la gran Conferencia Internacional de la Juventud Trabajadora, la primera de ese tipo, en la que estaban representados 45 millones de jovenes trabajadoras del mundo. El tercer aniversario de la FMJD, el 10 de noviembre de 1948, ha sido motivo de una gran movilizacion de la juventud por la paz, de apoyo de las resoluciones de las Naciones Unidas por la reduccion del armamento, por la prohibicion de la bomba atomica y por la formacion de un control internacional eficaz en el Comité de Seguridad de la ONU.

Al decidir la celebracion del Segundo Congreso Mundial de la Juventud, que tendra lugar en Budapest, del 2 al 8 de Septiembre de 1949, el Comité Ejecutivo de la FMJD lanzo un llamamiento a todos los jovenes a unirse bajo la egida de la FMJD -UNIDAD POR LA DEFENSA DE LA PAZ- que es indispensable a la nueva generacion para luchar contra los imperialistas que amenazan su porvenir, contra los fomentadores de guerra y sus agentes, para que se evite una nueva guerra mundial.

Hoy, la necesidad de fortalecer la unidad en las filas de la FMJD, es mas necesaria que nunca para poder derrotar a los fomentadores de guerra. Consideremos algunos de los hechos mas destacados de la situacion actual;

Las tentativas de Wall Street para obtener la supremacia mundial -como sucesor de Hitler-, su deseo de desencadenar una guerra agresiva se ven cada dia mas claros. Los grandes monopolistas de los Estados Unidos, fabulosamente enriquecidos durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, intensificaron sus esfuerzos para obtener lo que Henry Luce proclamaba en 1942 como la cruzada por el "Siglo Americano", o, mas tarde, como el sueño del "Imperio Americano". Las medidas de inflacion, la expansion imperialista, la preparacion de otra guerra mundial, enriquecen de nuevo a los grandes monopolistas. Solamente durante el año pasado, los beneficios netos de Wall Street han alcanzado el record de 21 billones de dolares.

Este año, el Presidente Truman ha anunciado, en Washington, el presupuesto de guerra para el año proximo que asciende a mas de 42 billones de dolares, lo que representa un aumento de los gastos para el ejercito y organismos agregados de 66'3% a 79%.

En cambio, para el bienestar social, salud publica, seguridad social, vivienda, educacion y trabajo, en conjunto, no se ha atribuido mas que el 7'8% del presupuesto total, mientras que para la "guerra fria" contra la Union Sovietica y para la preparacion de la guerra verdadera (gastos militares directos, Plan Marshall, Doctrina Truman, Energia Atomica) se dedica el 52% (21,8 billones de dolares) ademas del pago de la ultima guerra que se eleva al 27% del presupuesto total.

Como si esas pruebas de rearme para la guerra no fueran suficientes, el Presidente ha prometido mayores sumas para el armamento del Pacto Militar del Atlantico del Norte y el Plan Forestal, para dar una ayuda militar en todas las partes del mundo, cantidades que se elevan a dos o tres billones de dolares.

A medida que Wall Street y Washington aumentan los preparativos de guerra, aumenta la evidencia de una crisis creciente en la estructura economica de los Estados Unidos. Paralelamente al enriquecimiento de los monopolistas, sedientos de poder, disminuye rapidamente el nivel de vida del pueblo americano.

Solamente en el mes de enero, las estadísticas oficiales de los Estados Unidos señalan un aumento de 700.000 parados (hay que decir que las estadísticas oficiales no mencionan mas que los parados que estan inscritos, pero dejan de lado voluntariamente a esas categorias de obreros "sin trabajo", de jovenes que andan buscando en vano su primer empleo, etc. En esas estadísticas no mencionan tampoco los trabajadores cuya semana de trabajo ha sido disminuida y los que no trabajan todo el tiempo). Ademas del paro que se manifiesta en todas las industrias, se nota, a pesar del "remedio" del Plan Marshall, una grave y rapida superproduccion, que se ha agravado con la reciente disminucion del comercio exterior, que es de un 24%.

Para tratar de evitar una crisis inevitable, para salvaguardar sus beneficios, la sola solucion de Wall Street es la de intensificar los preparativos de guerra. Para extraer nuevos beneficios de la enorme produccion de guerra, Wall Street se esfuerza en impedir toda gestion que tienda a consolidar la paz. Los circulos de Wall Street temen a la paz como a la peste. Hablan del "peligro" de la paz.

Poco despues de haberse escuchado la voz melodiosa del Presidente Truman en Kansas City, el 27 de diciembre, diciendo que "debemos convencer al Gobierno Sovietico de que lo que nosotros queremos es la paz", el propietario del periodico oficioso "U.S. News and World Report" (14 de Enero) decia lo que Wall Street quiere en realidad. Describia que "el mayor peligro economico que amenaza a America es el del retorno subitito a la paz" y mas adelante continuaba diciendo que si habia paz,

.../.

"lo que sostiene enteramente la estructura de los Estados Unidos desaparecería brutalmente, trayendo una crisis económica de una fuerza y una intensidad incalculables".

Por si existían aun dudas sobre sus intenciones agresivas, uno de los más famosos oradores de los círculos dirigentes de los Estados Unidos, hizo un informe de una franqueza sorprendente en Cleveland, el día 8 de marzo. John Foster Dulles, el orador en cuestión, declaró: "No conozco un solo funcionario, militar o civil, en el gobierno de los Estados Unidos o en otro gobierno, que crea que la Unión Soviética tiene en proyecto, ahora, una conquista por medio de una franca opresión militar." Por eso no hay un solo pacto de los que han preparado los imperialistas norteamericanos, desde el Río de Janeiro hasta el de Bruxelles o del Atlántico del Norte y de los que han sido propuestos para el Mediterráneo y el Pacífico, que pueda ser considerado como un pacto de "defensa". Los pactos, junto con la Doctrina Truman y el Plan Marshall forman parte de la política agresiva de expansión imperialista y de los preparativos de una nueva guerra mundial contra los pueblos del mundo.

Pero de la misma manera que Wall Street y sus lacayos se demuestran cada día más claramente, las fuerzas por una paz duradera y por la democracia se fortalecen de día en día.

Dentro de algunas semanas, del 20 al 23 de Abril, un grandioso Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz reunirá en París a las fuerzas unidas de todos los que están al servicio de la paz: sindicatos, movimientos femeninos y juveniles y sus federaciones internacionales, organizaciones campesinas, grupos corporativos, religiosos, organizaciones culturales de sabios, de escritores, de periodistas, de artistas, y hombres de estado demócratas. La F.M.J.D. da todo su apoyo a dicho Congreso, lo que muestra la determinación de la juventud democrática de luchar por la paz.

La juventud democrática del mundo, que está preparando el Segundo Congreso Mundial de la Juventud, que se celebrará en Budapest, en Septiembre de 1949, y el Festival Mundial de la Juventud y de los Estudiantes, que tendrá lugar inmediatamente antes del Congreso, continuará a luchar en las filas de todas las fuerzas democráticas, con mayor firmeza que nunca, para que triunfe la consigna de la F.M.J.D.:

"¡Jóvenes, uníos! ¡Adelante por una paz duradera,
Por la Democracia,
Por la independencia nacional de los pueblos,
Por un Porvenir Mejor!"

Francis DAMON

PUBLICIDAD PARA EL 14 DE ABRIL

Los dos articulos que reproducimos en este servicio tienen como objeto el difundir la lucha de la juventud republicana española durante la preparacion y la celebracion del 14 de Abril, Jornada Internacional de Solidaridad con la Juventud democratica de España. Rogamos se les de la mayor publicidad.

LA JUVENTUD ESPAÑOLA NO SE SOMETE AL FASCISMO

Por Ignacio GALLEGO
Miembro del Comité Ejecutivo FMJD

En estos días se cumplen diez años de martirio y sufrimientos del pueblo y de la juventud de España. Diez años de fascismo que significan diez años de terror sangriento, de persecuciones salvajes, de explotación despiadada, de hambre, miseria y analfabetismo. En estos momentos es oportuno hacerse esta pregunta: ¿Consiguió el fascismo someter a la juventud española, ganándola para su política criminal? A esta pregunta respondemos que no. Es un hecho evidente para todo el que vea de cerca nuestro país, que entre la juventud el odio al fascismo tiene proporciones enormes. Quisieron los fascistas destruir en nuestros jóvenes su amor a la libertad y a la democracia, su fidelidad a la clase obrera y al pueblo. Con este fin asesinaron y continúan asesinando a miles de muchachos y muchachas, cuyo único delito consiste en odiar al fascismo. No pasa día sin que los fascistas no aumenten con sus piquetes de ejecución la lista de mártires de la juventud democrática de España. Aun esta fresca la sangre de cuatro jóvenes valerosos que han luchado contra el fascismo desde que eran niños. Los nombres de estos héroes son pronunciados por nuestra juventud con amor y respeto. Numen Mestres, Valverde, Carrero y Pidemunt, no han retrocedido ante el sacrificio de su vida para que España vuelva a ser libre. Escuchad el lenguaje de Numen Mestres frente a sus verdugos en el momento de ser condenado a muerte:

"Pertenezco a la J.S.U., donde he sido un activo propagandista, porque la J.S.U. es una organización de vanguardia, porque satisface todos los anhelos y todas las aspiraciones de la juventud y de mi pueblo. Si tuviese que comenzar emprendería de nuevo el camino que señala la J.S.U. en su lucha."

El espíritu combativo de nuestra juventud se mantiene vivo incluso en las cárceles franquistas. Nuestros presos no se consideran vencidos; son combatientes a los que el enemigo no puede someter ni doblegar. En una de sus cartas, los jóvenes presos dicen: "Nosotros no somos gente vencida; somos combatientes activos de la causa democrática que tiene que vencer".

Las fieras franquistas se rompen los dientes frente a la voluntad granítica de nuestros jóvenes. He aquí otro ejemplo. Entre los guerrilleros de Galicia, Levante y otras regiones, figuran bastantes muchachos hasta de 16 y 17 años. Son jóvenes que prácticamente han estado toda su vida bajo el fascismo. Sin embargo, el fascismo no pudo doblegarles. ¿Por qué? Porque esos muchachos son hijos de un pueblo que lucha por su libertad con las armas en la mano y continúa la lucha resuelto a triunfar. Con razón los obreros curtidos en las luchas revolucionarias, los trabajadores y todos los demócratas se enorgullecen de tener hoy a su lado jóvenes que siguen el camino del pueblo, el camino de la libertad.

Si en las guerrillas los jóvenes están prestos en todo momento para realizar las acciones más arriesgadas y audaces, en las fábricas son también un ejemplo de coraje en las huelgas y demás luchas. En una fábrica de Muzkadi tuvo lugar hace algún tiempo este hecho: Un grupo de aprendices se declaró en huelga para exigir que les aumentaran el salario. Los fascistas los detuvieron y martirizaron salvajemente. Querían arrancarlos a toda costa quien les dirigía, quien les enseñaba a hacer huelgas. Los muchachos resistieron valientemente hasta el martirio

sin decir una palabra. Por fin, uno de los apredices hablo, pero no para denunciar a sus camaradas, sino para arrojar a la cara de sus martirizadores lo siguiente: "Sois vosotros con vuestro regimen de explotacion y miseria quienes me enseñas a mi y a todos los jovenes a luchar, porque si no luchamos nos matais de hambre". /o/mas dificil/

Efectivamente, el fascismo significa la muerte por el hambre para miles de jovenes. Jamas hubo en España tantos tuberculosos, jamas fue para la juventud poderse hartar de comer. Bastara con señalar el hecho siguiente: Con el salario medio de un aprendiz apenas es posible comprar medio kilo de pan, teniendo en cuenta que en España el pan es el alimento fundamental de los trabajadores. Desde que el fascismo domina en España, los precios de los productos subieron en el 613%, mientras que el salario solo se elevó en el 175%. Si a esto unimos el paro creciente, las jornadas de 12 y 14 horas, el abandono en que se encuentra la sanidad y muy particularmente las condiciones higienicas en las fabricas, las minas y otros lugares de trabajo, es posible imaginarse el estado fisico de la joven generacion bajo el fascismo.

Al hambre de pan se une el hambre de saber, de libros, de distracciones. Para no referirse a las ciudades secundarias y los pueblos, donde el fascismo ha destruido completamente toda la obra cultural que realizo la Republica, fijemos nuestra atencion en la ciudad mas grande de España, en Barcelona. De 203.421 niños que se calculan en edad escolar el Estado franquista tiene escuelas para 28.570.

La inmensa mayoria de los niños no han pasado por la escuela y no pasaran hasta que no haya sido derrocado este regimen.

Mientras tanto, Franco y su banda dedican 8.796 millones de pesetas de su presupuesto para fines de guerra y de represion. Esto tiene su explicacion. El fascismo solo puede mantenerse a base de un imponente aparato de terror, que absorbe la casi totalidad de los recursos economicos del pais. Hacia el exterior Franco realiza la politica de guerra que conviene a sus amos, que convenia a sus amos de ayer, los hitlerianos, y que conviene a sus amos y protectores de hoy, los imperialistas yanquis. Amos y protectores de Franco son los millonarios de Estados Unidos y de Inglaterra. Y hay que decir que sin esa proteccion hace mucho tiempo que nuestro pueblo habria conquistado su libertad. Las mismas gentes que con la hipocrita politica llamada de "No intervencion" hicieron posible el establecimiento del fascismo en España, hoy se esfuerzan en impedir que el pueblo español se libere. De ahí que nuestra juventud odie no solo a Franco y su camarilla de asesinos, sino tambien a los imperialistas anglosajones y sus servidores los socialistas de derecha que ayudan a Franco a mantenerse en el poder.

La ayuda que los imperialistas prestan al verdugo Franco tiene como objetivos hacer de España una base militar para los planes de guerra contra la Union Sovietica y las nuevas democracias y convertir el pueblo español y su juventud en carne de cañon barata. Los viles propósitos de los instigadores de la guerra hacia la juventud española pueden verse en las siguientes palabras del periodico ingles "Daily Mail": "Entre las clases y soldados predomina la poblacion campesina española y es uno de los mejores materiales de lucha del mundo. Con una lata de sardinas y un pedazo de longaniza en un bolsillo y un trozo de pan en el otro, son capaces de combatir durante dias, durmiendo bajo sus capotes en cualquier sitio".

Saben los imperialistas que cuentan con Franco para arrastrar a nuestra juventud a la muerte, para hacer de España una colonia y, por eso, le apoyan. Franco les ha concedido ya importantes bases militares, los aerodromos y los puertos mas importantes. Las ramas fundamentales de la economia española estan igualmente bajo el control de los imperialistas yanquis. Franco hace todo lo que puede para demostrar que es el lacayo fiel de los incendiarios de la guerra.

Pero nuestra juventud lucha y luchara cada vez con mas decision en defensa de la paz frente a los que preparan la guerra contra la Union Sovietica y las nuevas democracias. Los jovenes españoles profesamos profunda amistad y amor a los pueblos de España, a los países de democracia popular, nuestros mejores amigos en la lucha contra el

fascismo, por la liberacion de nuestra Patria y por el restablecimiento de la democracia en España. Inspirandonos en su ejemplo y ayudados por la juventud democratica de todo el mundo, estamos resueltos a continuar la lucha hasta la derrota del fascismo y el triunfo de nuestra libertad.

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LA JUVENTUD ESPANOLA LUCHA POR LA LIBERTAD
Y LA INDEPENDENCIA NACIONAL

Por Federico MELCHOR,
Miembro de la C.E. de la JSU de España

¿Quereis una demostracion manifiesta del caracter antidemocratico y belicista de la politica del gobierno de los Estados Unidos de Norteamerica? Mirar hacia España. Traspasar el muro de silencio sobre lo que alli sucede opuesto por las agencias informativas (?), controladas por norteamericanos y britanicos. Y vereis a los representantes politicos, financieros y militares yanquis, en cordial mano a mano con los fascistas españoles sumamente ocupados en transformar España en un inmenso campo de operaciones y maniobras militares.

En semejante tarea, una fase esencial es el sojuzgamiento del pueblo español. Con el no se puede contar voluntariamente. Primero porque sus sentimientos son profundamente democraticos y de amistad hacia todos los pueblos, muy principalmente hacia la Union Sovietica. Segundo, porque no es complicado adivinar la respuesta de un pueblo al que se le propone que sirva de campo de batalla para una guerra destructiva. Tercero, porque los amigos de nuestros enemigos no pueden ser nuestros amigos, por lo que los norteamericanos amigos de Franco no pueden ser recibidos como amigos del pueblo español.

Los dirigentes norteamericanos aparecen en España con su autentico rostro de reaccionarios, protectores del fascismo. Cuando estrechan en el Pardo la mano del verdugo Franco son consecuentes con su ideologia y su caracter de representantes de un regimen imperialista. Y es entonces cuando aparece plenamente claro el contenido de lo que ellos llaman "civilizacion occidental". Franco a caballo sobre el pueblo español, los millonarios y latifundistas españoles "prosperos" sobre la miseria y la desolacion de millones de seres, ¿que mejor marco para la civilizacion de los linchadores de negros, de los capataces petroleros y mineros de Latino America, de los nuevos señores feudales del Medio y Lejano Oriente?

Ellos se entienden perfectamente con Franco. Con quienes jamas podran entenderse es con nosotros, los hombres, mujeres y jovenes privados de toda libertad politica, sometidos a una brutal explotacion social. Los patriotas españoles que comprendemos que el plan norteamericano consiste en convertir toda España en una docil colonia. En un nuevo y gran Gibraltar.

Los hechos son mas fuertes.

Ya pueden los gobernantes norteamericanos pagarse la mas cara publicidad sobre la calidad "democratica" de su politica. La publicidad puede permitirles vender mas botellas de Coca-Cola pero no sirve para hacer invisibles las obras en los aerodromos militares, en las bases navales y puertos, en las lineas ferreas y rutas de comunicacion.

Aparte de que su cinismo imperialista les hace, en ocasiones, proclamar publicamente sus propositos, como se ha hecho desde el periodico "United Stats News" al escribir:

"En la guerra futura, las fuerzas aereas encontraran en España bases bien protegidas por las montañas y los cursos de agua. Se ignora generalmente el hecho de que los Estados Unidos han, hasta cierto punto, conservado el control de los aerodromos de España. Si las tropas de los E.E.UU. tuviesen que entrar mañana en accion sobre el territorio europeo, podrian desembarcar sobre los aerodromos españoles, PERFECCIONADOS Y EQUIPADOS POR LOS NORTEAMERICANOS. El acuerdo a este efecto firmado por Franco

Approved For Release 2004/02/19 : CIA-RDP83-00415R003300100001-2

Firmado por Franco y POR LOS NORTEAMERICANOS, claro esta. Lo que prueba que ya en 1945 el gobierno de los Estados Unidos realizaba esta politica de complicidad con el franquismo.

Disponer del regimen franquista para una guerra reaccionaria y anti-democratica no es dificil. Los falangistas lo proclaman diariamente, esa es su guerra, la guerra de los fascistas. Como fue su guerra ayer la de los hitlerianos. Por eso Franco ofrecio ayer a Hitler un millon de soldados y ofrece hoy a los Estados Unidos no ya un millon sino millones de españoles.

Pero ayer y hoy, Franco ofrece lo que no tiene. Ni los trabajadores espanoles, que hicieron la heroica guerra de 1936 a 1939, ni sus hijos crecidos en estos 10 años de dictadura fascista, estan dispuestos a ser mercenarios de los imperialistas.

La Juventud Socialista Unificada de España, cuya organizacion clandestina se fortalece y extiende constantemente su influencia entre las grandes masas de la juventud, proclama en su reciente llamamiento:

"Proclamemos por todos los medios a nuestro alcance: nuestra voluntad de impedir que el franquismo y sus amigos imperialistas arresten a nuestra juventud a la muerte.

No permitiremos que Franco arroje nuestra patria bajo las pezuñas de los agresores yanquis, que quieren amontonar nuevas riquezas sobre la destruccion y el dolor de los pueblos.

No lucharemos contra nuestros hermanos los jovenes sovieticos."

La lucha por la paz, es la lucha por nuestra libertad e independencia nacional.

Los franquistas unen su destino a la realizacion de los planes de guerra norteamericanos. Saben que para prolongar su vida economica y politica no tienen mas camino que la venta incondicional de España y el sacrificio de millones de españoles.

Por eso, la lucha contra semejantes planes es una de las fases esenciales de la liberacion politica y nacional de nuestro pais. Porque lo entendamos así, la Juventud Socialista Unificada de España se esfuerza por ganar a toda la juventud a la accion contra la guerra imperialista, para fortalecer en la nueva generacion la conciencia clara de que la dependencia de los norteamericanos representa la continuidad de la esclavitud fascista y del hambre y desastres presentes.

Tenemos confianza consciente en nuestro pueblo y en nuestra juventud, porque conocemos su odio al franquismo y su amistad y cariño hacia las fuerzas democraticas y antiimperialistas del mundo. A las razones de las luchas pasadas se unen las de las condiciones presentes. Una juventud que 10 años de sangrienta dictadura no ha podido corromper ni someter, que pese a las coacciones y el terror rechaza las organizaciones falangistas, que admira y apoya la accion de los guerrilleros y las organizaciones clandestinas y se mantiene junto a la clase obrera, junto a sus padres trabajadores de los que heredan el odio al fascismo, no es una juventud que se transforme en instrumento ciego de los imperialistas y provocadores de guerras.

Cuando Numen Masters, nuestro heroico camarada asesinado hace unas semanas en Barcelona, declaraba ante los verdugos franquistas que si comenzase a vivir de nuevo volveria a combatir en las filas de la JSU contra el franquismo simpolizaba el temple moral de nuestra juventud. De una juventud a la que se puede hacer confianza cuando afirma:

"!Jovenes españoles!

Para hacer frente a esta conspiracion contra la existencia de España y nuestra propia vida, para defender la causa de la paz y la libertad, para acabar con los verdugos franquistas y conquistar un regimen democratico TODOS LOS JOVENES PATRIOTAS, LOS HIJOS DE LOS TRABAJADORES, DEBEMOS ALZARNOS UNIDOS, NEGANDONOS A SER LAS VICTIMAS DE LA GUERRA DE AGRESION DEL IMPERIALISMO YANQUI Y SUS LACAYOS."

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NUMERO 2

MARZO DE 1949

NUMERO ESPECIAL
en ocasion del
XI CONGRESO DEL KOMSOMOL (U.R.S.S.)
(Moscu, 29 de marzo 1949)

PUBLIÉ PAR LA FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
PUBLICADO POR LA FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
PUBLISHED BY WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

21 bis, Rue de Châteaudun, PARIS 9^e France

Adr. 1616gr. : JEUNESMONDE.

Publicamos aqui ciertos materiales sobre la Juventud Soviética en ocasion del XI Congreso del KOMSOMOL que se abriera el proximo 29 de marzo en Moscu. Estos materiales incluyen un articulo de N. A. Mijailov, Secretario del Comité Central del Komsomol y Vicepresidente de la F.M.J.D., que ya hemos publicado anteriormente pero que consideramos lo suficientemente importante para publicarlo en esta ocasion, y documentos suplementarios sobre el Komsomol y la Juventud Soviética. Rogamos que se dé la mas amplia publicidad posible a las informaciones y los materiales incluidos en estos dos articulos

LA LIGA DE JUVENTUDES COMUNISTAS-LENINISTAS DE LA UNION SOVIETICA.

La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas (Komsomol) fué creada hace 30 años en el Primer Congreso Pan-Ruso de las Ligas de Juventudes Obreras y Campesinas. El 29 de octubre de 1918, día de apertura del Congreso, esta considerado como la fecha de fundacion del Komsomol.

ACTIVIDADES DEL KOMSOMOL:

En el cumplimiento de sus tareas el Komsomol hace amplio uso de varias formas de trabajo educativo: organiza conferencias y charlas, crea toda clase de circulos de estudio, organiza escuelas, cursos y diversiones, publica literatura politica y de imaginacion, etc. La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas dispone de clubs, stadiums, y posee casas editoras que publican libros, periodicos y revistas.

Mas de 3.120.000 miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas y otros jovenes asistieron a los circulos y escuelas de educacion politica durante el año escolar 1947-1948.

La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas de la Union Sovietica es una organizacion de masa, no ligada a ningun partido, que reune en sus filas a amplias secciones de la juventud avanzada y politicamente educada de las ciudades y las aldeas, y que se da por tarea la de ayudar al Partido Comunista en la educacion de la joven generacion en el espiritu del comunismo. El Komsomol enseña, segun lo establece su programa, a los jovenes obreros y campesinos, asi como a los jovenes intelectuales, a ser ciudadanos soviéticos leales, educados, valientes y decididos, a no retroceder ante las dificultades y a dar pruebas de tenacidad y firmeza de caracter en el alcance de sus objetivos. El Komsomol inculca en sus miembros y en toda la juventud elevadas cualidades morales tales como la ideologia comunista, el amor y el respeto del trabajo y del trabajador, el respeto de la libertad y la independencia de todos los pueblos, grandes y pequeños, el espiritu colectivo, la solidaridad fraternal y la comprension de sus deberes para con la sociedad.

El Komsomol realiza entre los jovenes un trabajo de educacion politica, propaga las ideas del comunismo, se esfuerza en elevar el nivel cultural de los jovenes, les ayuda a educarse y a desarrollar sus capacidades, y atrae las masas hacia el movimiento de cultura fisica. El Komsomol exige a sus miembros que participen en toda la vida politica y social del pais. Todo miembro de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas debe estudiar sin descanso el marxismo-leninismo, debe dar el ejemplo en el trabajo, en el estudio y en la defensa de la Patria.

La casa editora del Comité Central de la L.J.C. de Moscu, "La Joven Guardia", es una de las mas grandes del pais. En sus 25 años de existencia ha publicado mas de 8.000 obras con un total de 300 millones de ejemplares.

El Komsomol publica, en varios idiomas, 60 periodicos y alrededor de 30 revistas para jovenes y niños. El "Komsomolskaya Pravda", diario central de la juventud, tiene un tiraje de 700.000 ejemplares, y el "Pioneerskaya Pravda", periodico central de los niños, es publicado en un millon de ejemplares. Estos periodicos y revistas alcanzan un total de 4 millones de ejemplares por numero.

En 30 años de existencia, la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, que era al principio un pequeño movimiento de 22.000 miembros, se ha convertido en una poderosa organizacion social y politica de varios millones miembros que goza de una gran autoridad, posee amplios poderes y juega un papel importante en la vida del país.

Un año después de su fundacion, el número de miembros del Komsomol habia subido ya a 96.000, y un año más tarde, 400.000; la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas cuenta hoy con 3 millones de jovenes soviéticos de ambos sexos.

Durante la guerra mas de 10 millones de jovenes se unieron al Komsomol; en los dos primeros años de la post-guerra -1946 y 1947- adhirieron 3.600.000, y en los primeros 8 meses de 1948, mas de 1 millon. Durante ese mismo periodo, varios millones de jovenes pasaron del Komsomol a las filas del Partido Comunista.

El Komsomol participa en todas las campañas politicas del país, en todas las decisiones importantes adoptadas por el Partido y el gobierno. La L.J.C. tiene sus representantes en los organos del poder del Estado y en las organizaciones publicas. El Komsomol tiene el derecho de discutir los asuntos concernientes al trabajo de las empresas y establecimientos publicos; tiene también derecho a hacer proposiciones al gobierno y a los diferentes ministerios. Por iniciativa del Komsomol, importantes decisiones han sido adoptadas sobre la capacitacion industrial de los jovenes, la creacion de escuelas para los jovenes obreros y campesinos, el mejoramiento de las condiciones de trabajo de los jovenes durante la guerra, etc.

El Komsomol participo activamente en las elecciones nacionales del Soviet Supremo de la U.R.S.S., de los Soviets Supremos de las Republicas de la Union y de los Soviets locales que se llevaron a cabo en 1946 y 1947. Junto con otras organizaciones, la L.J.C. presento sus candidatos para la diputacion. Miembros de la L.J.C. trabajaron en las comisiones electorales y realizaron trabajos de organizacion electoral en el seno de la poblacion. En Moscú, mas de 2.000 jovenes de la L.J.C. eran miembros de las comisiones electorales para las elecciones del Soviet Supremo de la U.R.S.S. Ciento ochenta mil jovenes de la L.J.C. participaron en la organizacion de las elecciones en Ucrania y 61.000 en Bielorrusia. La L.J.C. organizo 200.000 círculos para el estudio de la Constitucion de la U.R.S.S.

El Komsomol despliega mucha actividad para estrechar las relaciones con la juventud democratica del mundo. El Comité Antifascista de la Juventud Soviética, creado por iniciativa del Comité Central de la L.J.C., ha establecido relaciones con mas de 200 organizaciones juveniles de 70 países, y participa activamente en el trabajo de la F.M.J.D. en su lucha por la paz y la democracia, por la unidad de las fuerzas democraticas contra el fascismo y la reaccion, contra los incendiarios de una nueva guerra. Invitados por el Comité Antifascista, 65 delegaciones de jovenes de 22 países han visitado la Union Soviética. Los intereses de la juventud trabajadora y los derechos nacionales de los pueblos coloniales y dependientes han sido vigorosa y consecuentemente defendidos por los jovenes delegados soviéticos en las conferencias juveniles de los países del Sudeste de Asia, de América Latina, en la Conferencia Internacional de la Juventud Trabajadora celebrada en Varsovia y en otras. La juventud soviética envio una delegacion de 475 miembros al Festival Mundial de la Juventud Democratica que se celebro en Praga.

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LO QUE EL KOMSOMOL DA A LA PATRIA.

Toda la historia de los 30 años de existencia de la L.J.C. constituye una lista de los inestimables servicios hechos al país y a las ideas del comunismo, una crónica de las gloriosas realizaciones en pro de la felicidad del pueblo y de la joven generación. La ley que rige la vida del miembro de la L.J.C. es la de estar siempre en la vanguardia, donde quiera que se necesite el esfuerzo tenaz, el entusiasmo juvenil, la abnegación y la iniciativa. El Komsomol inicia las nuevas empresas patrióticas y da siempre el ejemplo que ha de seguir la juventud.

LA GUERRA CIVIL.

DURANTE la Guerra Civil y la Intervención (1918-19--20), el Komsomol dirigió tres campañas de reclutamiento en toda Rusia para fortalecer los diferentes sectores del frente. Veinticinco mil jóvenes combatientes fueron incorporados al Ejército Rojo. Decenas de miles de voluntarios se engancharon en el ejército. No menos de 75.000 miembros de la L.J.C. lucharon en las filas del Ejército Rojo contra los interventores y los guardias blancos, o sea, uno de cada tres miembros de la L.J.C. estaba en el frente.

Los jóvenes de la L.J.C. lucharon heroicamente. En reconocimiento de la valentía y del heroísmo de que ellos dieron prueba, el Gobierno Soviético condecoró a la L.J.C. con la Orden de la Bandera Roja.

LOS PLANES QUINQUENALES STALINISTAS.

Ya en 1926, mucho antes de que fuese creado el primer Plan Quinquenal, la organización del Komsomol de la fábrica "Krasny Treugolnik" de Stalingrado, formó una brigada de 120 trabajadores que aumentó considerablemente el rendimiento del trabajo por medio de la racionalización y una mejor organización del trabajo. Esta fue la primera brigada de choque del país. Brigadas similares comenzaron a formarse en otras empresas. Así comenzó un nuevo movimiento patriótico que llevó a los trabajadores de choque a la cabeza de los obreros y cuyo resultado fue la formación de cientos de miles de nuevos trabajadores de choque.

Bajo el Primer Plan Quinquenal, lanzado en 1928, para el desarrollo de la economía nacional, se comenzó la construcción de centenares de inmensas empresas. La escala gigantesca de la construcción exigía una gran cantidad de obreros. La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas dirigió en todo el país la inscripción de todos los que deseaban participar en el trabajo de construcción. Siete mil jóvenes de ambos sexos fueron a Stalingrado a construir una nueva fábrica de tractores, 66.000 jóvenes se inscribieron para trabajar en la construcción de fábricas siderúrgicas y minas en Siberia y los Urales, 36.000 se presentaron para trabajar en las hulleras de la cuenca del Donetz, 20.000 en los trabajos forestales y el transporte de la madera, etc. En un corto período de tiempo y por intermedio de las organizaciones de la L.J.C., más de 200.000 jóvenes de ambos sexos acudieron a los sitios en que se realizaban las construcciones más importantes del Plan Quinquenal. Según cifras moderadas, había no menos de 350.000 jóvenes de la L.J.C. trabajando en la construcción de las nuevas empresas del Primer Plan Quinquenal.

En muchos lugares, la mayoría de los obreros estaba formada por jóvenes. Por ejemplo, en la construcción de la Central Hidroeléctrica del Dniéper, los jóvenes formaban el 70% de los trabajadores; en la fábrica de cojinetes de Moscú, el 70%; en las fábricas siderúrgicas de Magnitogorsk, el 60%. En la remota "taiga" del extremo oriente, la ciudad de Komsomolsk fue construida en un tiempo record por los jóvenes voluntarios. Decenas de miles de jóvenes moscovitas construyeron el Metro de Moscú (Tren subterráneo). En Magnitogorsk, en Stalánsk y en las fábricas de la cuenca del Donetz, existen altos hornos, hornos regeneradores Siemens-Martin y talleres que llevan el nombre de "Komsomol" en honor de los jóvenes trabajadores de choque que los construyeron. El Komsomol y los jóvenes que éste dirige han estado siempre a la cabeza de la emulación socialista de masas para realizar estas grandes obras.

jado, los planes de desarrollo industrial del país.

En 1930, con el objeto de promover la organización de granjas colectivas, el Comité Central de la L.J.C. envió 20.000 de sus miembros a trabajar como contabilistas en las oficinas de las granjas colectivas.

La Orden de la Bandera Roja del Trabajo le fue concedida a la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas por sus hazañas de trabajo, su iniciativa en el desarrollo del movimiento de trabajadores de choque y por su emulación socialista que aseguraron la feliz realización de los planes para el desarrollo de la economía nacional. Por la movilización de sus miembros para la construcción del Metro de Moscú y por sus servicios excepcionales en la lucha por el carbón, las organizaciones de la L.J.C. de Moscú y de la cuenca del Donetz fueron condecoradas con la Orden de Lenin.

En un discurso pronunciado en el VIII Congreso de la L.J.C., en 1928, J. V. Stalin hizo un llamado a los jóvenes para que aumentaran sus conocimientos y para que organizaran una campaña en la cual la juventud revolucionaria iría a "tomar por asalto la fortaleza de la ciencia". La juventud respondió entusiastamente a este llamado del líder. Miles de jóvenes de ambos sexos comenzaron a llenar las bibliotecas de los institutos de enseñanza superior. En los primeros dos años, las organizaciones del Komsomol enviaron 15.000 de sus miembros a las facultades obreras (facultades preparatorias anexas a los institutos de enseñanza superior y abiertas a los jóvenes trabajadores que no habían terminado la enseñanza secundaria), 20.000 a los cursos preparatorios para la enseñanza secundaria y 5.000 a los institutos pedagógicos.

Durante los años de los dos planes quinquenales stalinistas (1928-1937), el Komsomol dio al país 118.000 ingenieros y técnicos, 69.000 agrónomos y 9.000 médicos.

El Komsomol inició, en las empresas, la organización de cursos de capacitación técnica para los jóvenes obreros. También ayudó a crear centenares de escuelas técnicas. En 1934, más de 1 millón de miembros de la L.J.C. y otros jóvenes obreros, o sea el 60% del número total de los jóvenes que tenían ocupaciones importantes en la industria, presentaron los exámenes del minimum técnico (el conocimiento técnico mínimo que requieren los obreros de diferentes especialidades).

En el período que va de 1931 a 1934, fue adiestrado un total de 2.500.000 mecánicos, conductores de tractores y cosechadoras, y del cual los 4/5 estaban formados por jóvenes.

La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas jugó un gran papel en el desarrollo del movimiento stajanovista, método principal del trabajo socialista. Alexei Stajanov, joven minero de Donbas, dedicó su primer record, establecido en 1935, a la Jornada Internacional de la Juventud. En el transporte ferroviario, las bases del movimiento stajanovista fueron echadas por un joven ingeniero-conductor, Pyotr Krivosos, miembro de la L.J.C., cuyo tren recorrió su ruta en la mitad del tiempo fijado. En la industria ligera, las dos jóvenes tejedoras Yevdokia y Maria Vinogradova, miembros de la L.J.C., fueron las primeras stajanovistas. Praskovya Angelina (una chica), Konstantin Borin y Praskovya Kovardak (una chica), miembros de la L.J.C., comenzaron el movimiento entre los conductores de tractores y cosechadoras.

LA GUERRA PATRIA.

Durante la Gran Guerra Patria, la L.J.C. movilizó todas sus fuerzas para la defensa de la Patria socialista. Doscientos sesenta mil miembros de la organización del Komsomol de Moscú se incorporaron al servicio activo del Ejército y a los destacamentos de guerrilleros. Cien mil jóvenes moscovitas respondieron al llamado del Komsomol para la construcción de fortificaciones de defensa alrededor de Moscú. El 90% de los miembros del Komsomol de Leningrado fueron al frente. Los miles de chicas de la L.J.C. que estaban en el Leningrado bloqueado, mantuvieron el orden en la ciudad, participaron en la defensa antiaérea y auxiliaban los enfermos y las víctimas del hambre. De los 28.000 miembros del Komsomol de Odessa, 18.000 estaban en el frente.

El 60% de los guerrilleros que operaban en el territorio ocupado por el enemigo estaba formado por jóvenes pertenecientes a la L.J.C. Durante la ocupacion de Ucrania, 213 comités clandestinos, urbanos y distritales, del Komsomol y 268 organizaciones clandestinas del Komsomol, operaban bajo la direccion de las organizaciones clandestinas del Partido. Ciento cincuenta mil jóvenes de ambos sexos, de los cuales 53.000 eran miembros de la L.J.C., lucharon en las filas de los guerrilleros bielorrusos. Los grupos de guerrilleros que se dedicaban al sabotaje y al reconocimiento, estaban casi completamente formados por miembros de la L.J.C.

Los primeros en recibir el titulo de Heroes de la Union Soviética durante la GUERRA PATRIA fueron tres valientes jóvenes aviadores, Mijail Zhukov, Pyotr Jaritonov y Stepan Zhukov, que derribaron aviones enemigos durante la defensa de Leningrado.

Hay toda una pléyade de miembros de la L.J.C. que realizaron hazañas inmortales. Se pueden citar, por ejemplo, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya (chica); joven estudiante de 18 años de edad que hizo frente a la muerte con una valentia y una voluntad incomparables; Alejandro Matrosov, joven de Ufa de 19 años de edad y miembro de la L.J.C. que tapo con su cuerpo una aspillera de un fortin enemigo; Yuri Smirnov, soldado del Ejército Rojo que fué torturado hasta la muerte por los monstruos nazistas; Nikolai Gastello, joven piloto que estrello su avion en llamas contra un grupo de vehiculos alemanes que transportaban combustible; Oleg Koshevoi, Ulyana Gromova, Lyuba Shetsova, Sergei Tyulenin, Ivan Zamrajov, jefes de la "Joven Guardia", organizacion clandestina del Komsomol que operaba en Krasnodon durante la ocupacion alemana; y se podria citar muchos otros.

Tres millones y medio de jóvenes combatientes y oficiales, de los cuales 100.000 muchachas, fueron condecorados por su valentia y heroismo en el combate.

Once mil combatientes recibieron el titulo de Héroes de la Union Soviética por sus acciones particularmente sobresalientes. Alrededor de 7.000 de éstos eran jóvenes de menos de 30 años de edad que pertenecieron o pertenecen a la L.J.C. Ciento una personas, 60 de las cuales, miembros de la L.J.C., recibieron dos veces el titulo de Héroes de la Union Soviética. Los aviadores Alejandro Pokryshkin e Ivan Kozhedub, ex-miembros de la L.J.C., recibieron tres veces ese mismo titulo.

Cincuenta mil jóvenes guerrilleros han sido condecorados; 99 jóvenes guerrilleros, de los cuales 12 chicas, han recibido el titulo de Héroes de la Union Soviética.

En la produccion para el frente, que no cesaba de crecer, los movimientos patrióticos lanzados por los trabajadores de la retaguardia tuvieron una gran importancia. Esos movimientos fueron conocidos bajo el nombre de "200 por cien" (movimiento de los trabajadores que sobrepasaban la norma en un minimo de 200%, es decir 100% para su propio trabajo y 100% por un camarada del frente) y el de "Brigadas del Frente". Esa consigna fue lanzada por la primera vez en 1941 por el ajustador Bukin, miembro de la Liga que trabajaba en la fabrica Stalin de Gorky. Esa consigna provoco un gran entusiasmo en todo el país. Hacia fines de 1941, habia ya decenas de "200%". En las fabricas de Moscu, Leningrado y del Ural, de cada 3 miembros de la Liga uno supero las normas de 200% por lo menos.

Las brigadas de las fabricas que sobrepasaron las normas de 200% eran llamadas "Brigadas del Frente" La primera de esas brigadas fue formada por los miembros de la Liga de una empresa del Ural. Hacia el fin de la guerra, habia 154.000 "brigadas del frente" compuestas por mas de un millon de miembros de la Liga y otros jóvenes de la industria.

Durante la guerra, los alumnos de las escuelas profesionales produjeron, durante sus estudios, objetos valorizados en 5.000 millones de rublos.

280.000 jóvenes de ambos sexos conductores de tractores participaron en una emulacion socialista de brigadas de tractores, organizada en 1942 por la LJC. En 1944, 64.000 grupos de jóvenes, con un total de 500.000 personas, participaron en una campaña de emulacion por la obtencion de la mejor cosecha. En 1945, mas de 190.000 grupos compitieron entre sí.

Los miembros de la LJC y otros jóvenes acumularon 1.000 millones de rublos colectando fondos y ofreciendo su trabajo gratuito en los días de reposo. Esas sumas se destinaban a la compra de armamento para el Ejercito Sovietico. Tambien colectaron 270 millones de rublos para ayuda a la infancia. Los miembros del Komsomol de las empresas industriales recogieron cerca de 8 millones de toneladas de metal viejo para entregarlos a las fundiciones.

Mientras se proseguia la guerra, el trabajo de reconstruccion se desarrollaba ampliamente en las regiones liberadas. En 1943, 23.000 jóvenes voluntarios, reclutados por el Comité Central de la LJC fueron a reconstruir Leningrado. Respondiendo al llamamiento de la LJC de Ucrania, 44.000 jóvenes de dicha region fueron voluntarios para participar en la reconstruccion de las minas de hulla de la Cuenca del Donetz. Solamente en 1944, la juventud de Leningrado ha dado 8.500.000 horas suplementarias para la restauracion de la ciudad.

Durante la guerra, decenas de miles de jóvenes trabajadores recibieron diversas condecoraciones sovieticas. Numerosas personas han recibido el Premio Stalin. 40 jóvenes inventores recibieron el titulo de Heroes del Trabajo Socialista.

Por los servicios excepcionales realizados durante la guerra y por su gran trabajo de educacion de la juventud sovietica en el espiritu de la lealtad ilimitada a la Patria, la LJC recibo la tercera distincion: la Orden de Lenin.

Por los servicios rendidos en la movilizacion de la juventud contra los invasores alemanes y por las hazañas realizadas, las Ligas de las Juventudes Comunistas Leninistas de Ucrania y de Bielorussia fueron condecoradas con la Orden de la Bandera Roja.

EL PLAN QUINQUENAL DE LA POST-GUERRA

Cuando el país volvió al trabajo de reconstruccion pacifica, la Liga de Juventud Comunistas Leninistas tomo una parte activa en el esfuerzo nacional por la reconstruccion y el desarrollo de la economia y de la cultura. El Komsomol, guiado por el Partido Comunista, esta a la cabeza de la lucha por la rapida realizacion del Plan Quinquenal Staliniano de la post-guerra, dando el ejemplo en todos los sitios de iniciativa y de eficiencia.

La LJC ha patrocinado la reconstruccion de 15 ciudades de las mas antiguas que fueron destruidas por el ecupante: Voronejk, Novgorod, Smolensk, Sebastopol, Orel, etc.

En cuanto a los mayores trabajos tales como la construccion de la fabrica de metales de Kazakhstan, la fabrica de automoviles de Dniepostroy, las fundiciones de Georgia, la fabrica de automoviles y de tractores de Bielorussia, etc., las organizaciones del Komsomol de las diferentes Republicas y regiones los han patrocinado. Como antes de la guerra, la LJC envia sus mejores miembros a esas construcciones y controla el trabajo. Por ejemplo, la LJC de Ucrania ha enviado 10.500 jóvenes a la construccion de la fabrica de automoviles de Dnieprepetrovk, 15.000 al Dniepostroy y 200.000 a la restauracion de las minas de hulla del Donbas. En Total, medio millon de miembros del Komsomol ucraniano estan empleados en los grandes trabajos de la Republica.

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Las LJC han hecho gran numero de proposiciones muy interesantes relacionadas con nuevos metodos de trabajo. Esto tiene una gran importancia para la realizacion y el exito del Plan Quinquenal Staliniano de la post-guerra. Los metodos aplicados en todos los sitios para la perforacion rapida en las minas, han sido elaborados por Nikolai Lukichev, joven minero del Donbas. Maria Volkova, tejedora, ha definido un metodo para trabajar simultaneamente en varias tejedoras. Klavdia Zenova, miembro del Komsomol y jefe de una brigada de jovenes montadores en cadena, comenzo una campana de masa por una produccion de mejor calidad. El joven tornero de Leningrado, Butkevich, fue el primero en adoptar un nuevo metodo para trabajar con mayor rapidez en la fabrica. Ana Kuznetsova, miembro del Komsomol que trabaja en una fabrica de automoviles de pequeno modelo de Moscu, realizo en 1947 la cuota de trabajo que le correspondia ejecutar hasta 1950; miles de jovenes obreros estan utilizando actualmente sus metodos de trabajo. La campana de economia de trabajo, de materias primas y de tiempo, en la que participan millones de trabajadores, es de una importancia grandisima para la industria, y ha sido lanzada por una brigada de jovenes cuyo jefe es un joven fundidor de Stalingrado, Pyotr Deitsev, miembro del Komsomol.

En 1947, 302 jovenes koljozianos recibieron el titulo de Heroes del Trabajo Socialista por haber logrado cosechas extraordinariamente altas. La mayoria de ellos son miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas. De los 22 dirigentes koljozianos que recibieron esa honrosa distincion, 12 son miembros del Komsomol. (koljozianos de la region de Voronezh). En la region de Stavropol, de las 6 personas que han sido condecoradas con el titulo de Heroes del Trabajo Socialista, 4 son miembros de la L.J.C. En Ucrania, 62 koljozianos recibieron ese mismo titulo, 53 de los cuales son miembros del Komsomol.

Las organizaciones rurales del Komsomol han enviado 118.000 jovenes a las escuelas de mecanicos. En 1947, 34.000 miembros de la L.J.C. cursaron estudios de tractoristas, organizados por las estaciones de tractores y maquinas. Mas de 2,3 millones de jovenes campesinos asistieron a los cursos de agrotécnica organizados por la L.J.C. en el otoño de 1947 con el objeto de proveer a los jovenes con el minimum de conocimientos agrotecnicos indispensables.

En 1947, Medallas de Oro y de Plata fueron otorgadas a 1.010 graduados de las escuelas secundarias, de las cuales 827 eran miembros de la L.J.C. En Leningrado, de los 284 egresados de las escuelas secundarias que recibieron la Medalla de Oro, 191 eran miembros del Komsomol.

EN HONOR DEL ANIVERSARIO DE LA REVOLUCION DE OCTUBRE.

El pueblo soviético celebra tradicionalmente la Revolucion de Octubre ofreciendo regalos de valor a la Patria, aumentando la productividad del trabajo, sobrepasando las cuotas de trabajo y alcanzando nuevas etapas en el arte, la literatura, los estudios y los deportes. Este año, el trigésimo primer aniversario de la Revolucion de Octubre coincidió con otra fecha importantísima, el 29 de octubre, trigésimo aniversario de la fundación del Komsomol. Para la joven generacion éste fue un dia de doble celebracion.

Los jovenes obreros de la fabrica "Elektrosila" se comprometieron a sobrepasar los planes previstos hasta el dia de la gran celebracion produciendo 10 alternadores, 100 bases para armas maquinas y 20 estaciones de magnetos. Ellos lograron no solo cumplir lo prometido sino también sobrepasar dichas cantidades: el 13 de octubre se habian fabricado 32 estaciones de magnetos, 18 alternadores y 130 bases.

Los jovenes mineros del Donbas extrajeron cerca de 200.000 toneladas de carbon mas de la cantidad prevista. Los miembros de la L.J.C. y otros jovenes de la cuenca del Krivoi Rog extrajeron decenas de miles de toneladas de mineral por encima de las cantidades previstas. Los jovenes obreros de Moscu y de la Region de Moscu produ-

jeron un excedente por un valor de 1.200.000 rublos.

En las fabricas de Moscu y de sus alrededores, mas de 200.000 jovenes obreros han llenado antes de tiempo las cuotas de trabajo fijadas para 1948. Diecinueve mil jovenes moscovitas han realizado ya las cuotas de trabajo que les correspondian segun el plan quinquenal. Ocho mil jovenes de Leningrado, 4.000 jovenes obreros de Ucrania y 2.000 jovenes bielorrusos han completado sus cuotas del presente plan quinquenal y estan trabajando ahora para el proximo.

Se estima que en toda la Union Soviética las tareas a efectuarse en el año 1948 han sido ya realizadas por mas de 1 millon de jovenes trabajadores. Dos cientos cincuenta mil jovenes trabajadores han completado las tareas previstas para todo el Plan Quinquenal. Como consecuencia de la campaña de economia iniciada por la L.J.C. y la juventud, se ha logrado, durante los 10 primeros meses de 1948; economizar 100 millones de kilovatios-hora de energia eléctrica, 400.000 toneladas de combustible, 725 millones de rublos de materias primas.

La juventud campesina ha terminado para el dia de celebracion del aniversario, la construccion de 1.000 instalaciones de energia electrica para los nuevos koljoses. En Sverdlovsk, los jovenes han construido 49 plantas electricas, en Kirov 26, en Zhitomir 36, en Gorki 30, etc.

Doce nuevos records fueron establecidos en las recientes competencias nacionales de atletismo ligero que tuvieron lugar en la ciudad de Kharkov. Todos esos records fueron dedicados al 30 aniversario de la fundacion de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas. En honor de ese mismo aniversario se organizaron competencias en la ciudad de Stalinabad, para las Republicas del Asia Central; en Yerevan, para el Transcaucaso; y en Riga, para las Republicas balticas.

En Georgia se celebro un concurso de alpinistas en honor del 30 aniversario de la L.J.C. Los 527 participantes, 67 de los cuales eran mujeres, iniciaron el ascenso del Pico Kazbegi de 5.053 metros de altitud. Trescientos treinta y seis participantes de la competencia eran miembros de la L.J.C. y todos ellos alcanzaron la cima del pico.

Conferencias especiales sobre la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas fueron organizadas para los miembros del Komsomol y demas jovenes de Moscu, por el Comité Central de la L.J.C. y por la Sociedad de la Union para la Difusion del Conocimiento Cientifico y Politico.

Las conferencias comenzaron el 13 de octubre. La primera conferencia del ciclo "El Partido Comunista (bolchevique) de la Union Soviética, organizador y conductor del Komsomol", fue dictada por N. A. Mijailov, Secretario del Comité Central de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas de la Union Soviética. Algunas conferencias fueron dictadas tambien por los obreros V. N. Ivanov y A. G. Klimov, secretarios del Comité Central de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas.

Una conferencia hecha por S. V. Kaftanov, Ministros de la Enseñanza Superior, tenia como tema la lucha del Komsomol por iniciarse en la avanzada ciencia soviética y en la técnica. Otra conferencia, cuyo titulo era "El joven ciudadano soviético en la literatura soviética", fue dada por A. A. Fadeyev, Secretario General de la Union de Escritores Sovieticos.

El 30 aniversario del Komsomol y el 31 aniversario de la Revolucion de Octubre fueron brillantemente celebrados por los escritores y los trabajadores del arte y la cultura. Un cierto numero de libros fue publicado con ocasion del aniversario. La Union de Escritores Sovieticos publico un libro intitulado "Al Komsomol" que contenia extractos de las mejores obras sobre la vida de los jovenes en la Union Soviética. En Moscu, Leningrado, Kiev, Sebastopol y otras ciudades, se celebraron actos que reunian a escritores y a jovenes. La casa editora "Joven Guardia" publico muchos libros nuevos sobre el Komsomol y la juventud y entre los cuales se cuentan "Tareas de las ligas de jovenes" de Lenin, "Años de Guerra", que pone en relie-

ve la participacion de la juventud en la Gran Guerra Patria, poemas escogidos de Vladimir Mayakovski, un libro ilustrado con documentos sobre la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, un libro de sketches sobre los jovenes guerrilleros, una coleccion de trabajos de autores extranjeros sobre la situacion de la juventud en los paises capitalistas, etc.

Los teatros soviéticos presentaron 100 nuevas piezas sobre la juventud. Un festival de piezas de teatro interpretadas por jovenes se celebro en Moscu, en octubre de 1948. Jovenes actores y actrices de todas las Republicas de la Union acudieron a la capital en esa ocasion, y muchos de ellos participaron en las veladas organizadas en honor del aniversario o en los conciertos que se llevaron a cabo en las numerosas salas de conciertos de Moscu.

Una exposicion de obras de jovenes artistas se realizo en Moscu, en el Museo de Bellas Artes que lleva el nombre de Pushkin. Fueron expuestos 750 cuadros, grabados y esculturas de jovenes artistas de las 16 Republicas soviéticas. En otras ciudades y capitales de las Republicas de la Union se organizaron tambien exposiciones artisticas en honor del aniversario.

En ocasion de su 30 aniversario, la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas fué condecorada con la Orden de Lenin por los notables servicios que ha prestado a la Patria y a la educacion comunista de la juventud soviética y por su activa participacion en la construccion del Socialismo.

Por el heroismo de que dieron pruebas durante la Gran Guerra Patria y por su activa participacion en la construccion del Socialismo, las organizaciones del Komsomol de Moscu, Leningrado, Sebastopol y Odesa, fueron condecoradas con la Orden de la Bandera Roja en ocasion del 30 Aniversario del Komsomol.

LA JUVENTUD EN LA UNION SOVIETICA.

La joven generacion es objeto de una atencion especial de parte del Estado Soviético y del Partido Comunista y estos ven en ella un activo participante en la construccion del Socialismo y la consideran el futuro y la esperanza del pueblo. Esta dentro de los intereses del Estado Soviético el que la joven generacion posea aquellas cualidades necesarias a los constructores de la nueva sociedad comunista: ideologia comunista, amplia cultura y elevados principios morales. En la U.R.S.S., los jovenes han adquirido amplios derechos y disponen de todos los medios para alcanzar el mas completo desarrollo fisico y mental; el papel que ellos juegan y su posicion en la sociedad son extraordinariamente importantes.

La juventud goza, al igual que los otros ciudadanos, de todos los derechos y libertades civiles proclamados por la Constitucion Soviética: el derecho al trabajo, el derecho al reposo, el derecho a la instruccion, el derecho a participar en la administracion del Estado.

Esta igualdad constituye un principio inmutable y es independiente de la raza, la nacionalidad, los bienes poseidos, el origen social o de cualquiera otra consideracion.

LOS DERECHOS DE LA JUVENTUD SOVIETICA.

Los jovenes mayores de 18 años de edad, independientemente de su raza o nacionalidad, sexo, religion, instruccion, domicilio, origen social, bienes poseidos o actividades pasadas, tienen el derecho de votar en todas las elecciones para todos los cargos del poder del Estado, desde los Soviets locales hasta el Soviet Supremo de la U.R.S.S. Todo ciudadano, a partir de los 23 años de edad, es elegible para el Soviet Supremo de la Union. Los mayores de 21 años de edad son elegibles para los Soviets Supremos de las Republicas de la Union y, a partir de los 18 años, para los

Soviets locales. El 1946, fueron elegidos 293 diputados del Soviet Supremo de la U.R.S.S. cuya edad estaba comprendida entre 23 y 35 años. Alrededor de un tercio del numero total de diputados de los Soviets Supremos de las Republicas de la Union esta formado por jovenes. Centenaras de miles de jovenes han sido elegidos diputados de los Soviets urbanos y rurales.

La Constitucion de la U.R.S.S. garantiza a los jovenes, como a los demas ciudadanos sovieticos, el derecho de crear sus propias organizaciones sociales, de unirse en sindicatos, cooperativas, organizaciones deportivas, sociedades culturales, técnicas, científicas, etc. Los jovenes mas avanzados de las ciudades y las aldeas forman parte de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas (Komsomol), que tiene 9 millones de miembros. Decenas de millones de jovenes son miembros de sindicatos, de sociedades deportivas, culturales, educacionales y de otras organizaciones sociales.

TRABAJO.

La Constitucion concede a los ciudadanos de la U.R.S.S. el derecho al trabajo, es decir, el derecho a un empleo y la garantia de su retribucion de acuerdo con su calidad y cantidad. La aplicacion de ese derecho esta garantizada por la organizacion socialista de la economia nacional, la cual elimina todas las posibilidades de que se produzcan las crisis economicas y el paro. En la Union Sovietica no existe el desempleo; por el contrario, la demanda de mano de obra es mayor que la oferta. En 1936, habia alrededor de 7 millones de jovenes trabajadores en la industria y en el transporte. Alrededor de un tercio del numero total de trabajadores, y en muchas empresas la mitad o mas, estaba formado por jovenes menores de 23 años de edad. Los jovenes constituian entre el 30 y el 35% de todo el personal técnico y los ingenieros. La proporcion de jovenes en la industria aumento posteriormente. En 1940, todavia antes de la guerra, el numero de jovenes habia alcanzado ya la cifra de 10 millones. Fue particularmente notable el aumento del numero de jovenes obreros calificados en las nuevas ramas de la industria.

Una de las mas grandes fuentes que alimentan la demanda creciente de mano de obra calificada son los institutos educacionales de las Reservas Obreras del Estado, institucion creada en 1940 por sugerencia de Stalin.

Miles de escuelas de aprendizaje vocacional, ferroviario e industrial, forman los jovenes obreros calificados de varias especialidades. Los alumnos de estas escuelas reciben una instruccion general y una enseñanza técnica de acuerdo con su vocacion. La manutencion y los derechos de estudios son gratuitos; todos los gastos son pagados por el Estado. A los graduados de esas escuelas se les garantiza un empleo retribuido de acuerdo con su calificacion.

Las escuelas de la Reserva Obrera han formado, desde su fundacion, cerca de 4 millones de jovenes obreros. Mas de 1 millon de jovenes asisten actualmente a las escuelas de aprendizaje vocacional e industrial.

En el transcurso del actual Plan Quinquenal, la economia nacional de la U.R.S.S. tendra necesidad de mas de 7 millones de nuevos obreros. Cuatro millones y medio de ellos seran formados por las Reservas Obreras.

Ademas de las escuelas de las Reservas Obreras, hay otros medios por los cuales los jovenes pueden prepararse tecnicamente en corto tiempo. Ellos pueden asistir a los cursos tecnicos y a los circulos de estudio que funcionan en todas las fabricas; por otra parte, los aprendices son puestos bajo la tutela de obreros veteranos y experimentados. Los gastos de esos estudios estan tambien a cargo del Estado. Durante el presente Plan Quinquenal, cerca de 8 millones de jovenes trabajadores seran instruidos de ese modo. Catorce millones de trabajadores enriqueceran sus conocimientos en los mismos lugares en que trabajan y a expensas del Estado.

INSTRUCCION.

Antes de la Revolucion, solo un quinto de todos los niños en edad escolar asistian a la escuela. Por su proporcion de analfabetos, Rusia era uno de los países mas atrasados de Europa.

El poder soviético abrió las puertas de la instruccion a los jóvenes obreros y campesinos. En la Union Soviética, cuatro años de instruccion primaria elemental son obligatorios para los niños de las aldeas y siete años para los de las ciudades. En 1938-1939, el numero de alumnos en las escuelas era de 48 millones, osea, uno de cada cuatro habitantes. La U.R.S.S. ha alcanzado el primer puesto en la instruccion publica del mundo. El numero de niños soviéticos que asisten a las escuelas de instruccion general es superior al de los principales países de Europa en conjunto.

La guerra y sus dificultades interrumpieron los estudios normales. Los nazis destruyeron 82.000 escuelas en el territorio de la Union Soviética. Sin embargo, la red de escuelas fue rapidamente reparada por los esfuerzos del pueblo soviético. El numero de escuelas de la U.R.S.S. ha igualado, ya al de antes de la guerra. Este año hay mas de 34 millones de alumnos en las escuelas elementales, secundarias y especiales.

La Union Soviética tiene una red de escuelas nocturnas destinadas a los jóvenes obreros y campesinos y a las cuales asisten los jóvenes empleados en la industria y en la agricultura después de las horas de trabajo. Los egresados de esas escuelas tienen derecho a las mismas facilidades que los egresados de las escuelas ordinarias. En 1948, 15.800 jóvenes se graduaron en esas escuelas y el 80% de ellos ingreso en los institutos de educacion superior.

La vieja Rusia de antes de la revolucion tenia 91 institutos de enseñanza superior con 112.000 estudiantes. La Union Soviética cuenta hoy con 800 institutos de enseñanza superior y 730.000 estudiantes. Doscientos setenta mil jóvenes asisten a las escuelas nocturnas de enseñanza superior o siguen cursos por correspondencia. Cien mil estudiantes son veteranos de la Gran Guerra Patria.

Las escuelas soviéticas de enseñanza superior estan abiertas a los jóvenes de todos los pueblos de la Union Soviética. Por ejemplo, hay representantes de 43 nacionalidades diferentes estudiando en la Universidad de Moscu.

Mas de 1 millon de jóvenes de ambos sexos asisten a las escuelas superiores técnicas y de otras especialidades.

En 1948, 125.000 jóvenes especialistas se graduaron en las escuelas superiores soviéticas. Durante el presente Plan Quinquenal las escuelas superiores graduaran 600.000 médicos, agrónomos, maestros, ingenieros, etc.

Actualmente hay 188.000 estudiantes de primer año en las escuelas superiores soviéticas. Ese numero es superior en un 16% al de 1940, todavia antes de la guerra. Durante la guerra, los institutos de enseñanza superior graduaron 300.000 especialistas. Trescientos sesenta mil alumnos, o sea 9% mas que en 1940, asisten a los cursos de primer año de las escuelas superiores especializadas.

DISTRACCIONES, DEPORTES, ETC.

El derecho de los jóvenes al reposo saludable y cultural y a las distracciones esta asegurado por los hechos siguientes: la corta duracion de la jornada de trabajo que ha sido establecida en la U.R.S.S. (8 horas, y 6 horas para los jóvenes), todos los trabajadores gozan de vacaciones anuales pagadas, el gran numero de sanatorios, casas de reposo y clubs que ofrecen a los jóvenes descanso y distracciones culturales.

En el Segundo Plan Quinquenal solamente (1933-1937) se destino la suma de 1.500 millones para el mejoramiento de las casas de salud y de reposo. En ese mismo periodo, 16 millones de trabajadores pasaron sus vacaciones en esos establecimientos.

Un gran numero de casas de reposo y campos de turismo han sido creados especialmente para los jóvenes y todos los sanatorios y casas de reposo ^{en} ^{los} ^{sanatorios} ^y ^{casas} ^{de} ^{reposito} ^{de} ^{los} ^{jóvenes}

nes.

En la Union Soviética hay un enorme numero de Palacios y Casas de la Cultura, clubs, bibliotecas publicas, parques de cultura y reposo, cines y teatros. En Moscu solamente hay 21 Palacios de la Cultura, 152 clubs sindicales, 2.300 bibliotecas y 60 museos. En las localidades rurales hay cerca de 100.000 clubs y salas de lectura, mas de 4.000 Casas de la Cultura, cerca de 20.000 instalaciones de cine, cerca de 50.000 bibliotecas con mas de 40 millones de libros. Cerca de 3 millones de personas, la mayor parte de ellas jovenes, forman parte de 100.000 coros, circulos musicales, de danza, dramaticos y otras actividades artisticas. Mas de 1 millon de jovenes pertenecen a los circulos artisticos de amateurs y a los clubs de sindicatos.

Las actividades deportivas son populares en toda la Union Soviética. Los jovenes disponen de cerca de 600 estadiums amplios y excelentemente equipados, de 17.000 terrenos de deporte, 9.000 estaciones de eski, 500 estaciones de deportes acuaticos, etc. La Sociedad Deportista "Trudovye Reserivy" (Reservas Obreras) sola dispone de 7 estadiums, 4 clubs deportivos, 2 clubs de automoviles, 24 estaciones de eski, 3 estaciones de deportes acuaticos, 300 campos de futbol, 302 gimnasios, 900 terrenos equipados para toda clase de deporte y 2.200 canchas de atletismo y de volley-ball.

En la Union Soviética hay tres institutos de investigacion de cultura fisica, 11 institutos de cultura fisica, 39 escuelas de cultura fisica y 600 escuelas de deportes a las que asisten 60.000 alumnos.

LA CULTURA.

Desde su fundacion la Union Soviética ha publicado 900.000 obras con un total de 11 millones de ejemplares en las 78 lenguas de los diferentes pueblos de la Union. Las obras de Leon Tolstoi han sido publicadas en 66 lenguas con un tiraje de 26,5 millones de ejemplares. Las obras de Pushkin en 72 lenguas y 35,4 millones de ejemplares, las obras de Maximo Gorki en 66 lenguas y 44,6 millones de ejemplares, etc.

Las obras de los mas grandes pensadores de la humanidad, Lenin y Stalin, han sido publicadas en 600 millones de ejemplares.

Las obras de Shakespeare, Dickens, Heine, Schiller, de Maupassant, Victor Hugo, Theodore Dreiser, Romain Rolland y otros clasicos de la literatura mundial han sido publicadas en la U.R.S.S. en millones de ejemplares.

Las regiones que antes eran atrasadas conocen ahora un rapido desarrollo cultural. En Kazajstan, donde casi toda la poblacion era analfabeta, se encuentra muy raramente un analfabeto hoy en dia. Esta Republica tiene 23 institutos de educacion superior, un conservatorio de musica, un estudio de cine, teatros y una Academia de Ciencias. En Uzbekistan, donde solo 4 de cada mil habitantes asistian a las escuelas en 1914, hay hoy 4,500 escuelas de educacion general a las que asisten 1.100.000 niños y docenas de institutos de educacion superior; mas de 120 periodicos son publicados en esa Republica. Bajo el zarismo habia en Kirghizia solo 4 personas con instruccion secundaria. Hoy, la Republica tiene mas escuelas que todas las localidades rurales de la Rusia de antes de la Revolucion. Ademas, Kirghizia tiene 6 institutos de educacion superior, 33 institutos superiores especializados, 10 teatros, 500 clubs, etc.

Jovenes representantes de la musica soviética, el teatro y el deporte han participado brillantemente en competencias internacionales y han ganado casi siempre los primeros lugares. Antes de la guerra, un gran numero de jovenes musicos recibieron el titulo de Laureados de los Concursos Internacionales. En los concursos del Festival Mundial de la Juventud Democratica que tuvo lugar en Praga en 1947, casi todos los primeros premios fueron ganados por los delegados soviéticos.

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Equipos soviéticos de futbol, atletas, levantadores de pesas, nadadores, jugadores de volley-ball y esquiadores han obtenido victorias importantes en las competencias internacionales. El reciente torneo por el titulo de campeón mundial de ajedrez culminó en un gran triunfo de los maestros soviéticos de ajedrez. Ese titulo fue ganado por Botvinnik; ex-miembro de la I.J.C.

Los niños soviéticos en edad escolar forman parte de la organización comunista infantil "Los Jóvenes Pioneros", llamada así en honor a V. I. Lenin, que agrupa más de 12 millones de niños y niñas. Mediante la participación en la vida social de su organización, los Jóvenes Pioneros adquieren en temprana edad el hábito de cumplir sus deberes sociales y desarrollan su conciencia política con respecto a sus deberes.

Con el objeto de desarrollar las posibilidades creadoras, la iniciativa y el talento de los niños, el Estado ha creado un gran número de instituciones culturales infantiles de varias clases. En 1947 había, nada más que en el territorio de la República de Rusia, 562 Hogares de los Pioneros y 59 Palacios de los Pioneros, 289 Centros de Jóvenes Técnicos, 139 Centros de Jóvenes Naturalistas, 84 parques infantiles, 40 centros de turistas, 17 Centros de Educación Artística, etc.

TRINENTA AÑOS DE LIGA DE JUVENTUDES
COMUNISTAS-LENINISTAS DE LA UNIÓN SOVIÉTICA,
por N. A. Mijailov, secretario del Comité
Central del Komsomol y Vice -Presidente de
la F.M.J.D.

En octubre de 1948, la juventud soviética festejó el 30 aniversario de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas fundada por Lenin y Stalin. El aniversario de la Liga de las Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas (KOMSOMOL) es un día de fiesta para todo el pueblo soviético. El pueblo soviético está orgulloso de su juventud y tiene todas las razones para esperar mucho de ella.

La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas nació en medio de la batalla por el establecimiento del poder soviético. El primer congreso de los Trabajadores y de las Ligas de Jóvenes Campesinos que tuvo lugar el 29 de octubre de 1918 en Moscú se propuso unir a las organizaciones independientes y dispersas de los jóvenes trabajadores y de los jóvenes campesinos en una sola organización de toda Rusia, y crear un centro para dirigir el movimiento de la juventud trabajadora. El Congreso trabajó bajo la dirección del Comité Central del Partido Bolchevique, y el propio Lenin le dedicó una gran atención.

El Congreso aprobó los estatutos de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas y eligió un Comité Central. Así fue fundada la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas.

Los principios básicos del Komsomol fueron elaborados por Lenin y Stalin. Los trabajos de los dirigentes del Partido Bolchevique y del Estado Soviético tratan de una manera completa, los principales problemas del Komsomol y definen sus tareas.

Lenin y Stalin nos enseñaron que la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas es una inmensa organización política de la juventud soviética avanzada. Su tarea principal consiste en ayudar al Partido en la educación comunista que hay que dar a la nueva generación. Su deber es el de hacer que toda la juventud trabajadora participe activamente en la formación de una nueva sociedad, el de despertar en ella el amor al trabajo.

"La Liga de Juventudes -dice Stalin- es una organizacion que no forma parte del Partido pero que esta muy estrechamente relacionada con él. Su trabajo consiste en ayudar al Partido a educar a la joven generacion en un espiritu socialista. La Liga provee las reservas de jovenes para todo el resto de organizaciones de masa del proletariado ya existentes en todas las ramas de la administracion."

Toda la historia del Komsomol es una historia de lucha encarnizada por el triunfo de las ideas expuestas por el Partido Comunista.

Durante la Guerra Civil, decenas de miles de jovenes, muchachos y muchachas, mostraron, con sus valientes hazañas en el campo de batalla, el amor por la gran causa de Lenin y Stalin.

En el transcurso de los años de construccion socialista, los Jovenes Comunistas, trabajando hombro con hombro con sus camaradas mayores, construyeron fabricas, levantaron ciudades nuevas, participaron activamente en la industrializacion del pais, y en la colectivizacion de la agricultura.

Durante la Gran Guerra Patria, los miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, como toda la juventud soviética, dieron prueba de un heroismo asombroso; cumplieron con honor las pruebas mas dificiles y añadieron nuevas paginas de gloria a la historia del Komsomol.

Hoy, después de la guerra, los jovenes patriotas soviéticos luchan desinteresadamente por un mayor desarrollo y una mayor prosperidad de su pais, luchan para realizar antes de la fecha fijada y sobrepasan el Plan Quinquenal previsto por Stalin.

De las filas de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas han salido numerosos hombres de Estado, eminentes personalidades, expertos militares, sabios, artistas y hombres de letras.

En su Primer Congreso, el Komsomol tenia unos 22.000 miembros. Hoy, la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas agrupa a nueve millones de jovenes soviéticos de vanguardia. El Komsomol ha crecido y madurado en el trabajo y en la batalla por la causa de Lenin y Stalin.

El mensaje enviado al Komsomol con motivo de su 30 aniversario, por el Comité Central del Partido Comunista (b) de la Union Soviética, retraza el camino de lucha recorrido por la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas y elogia altamente el trabajo realizado por ella.

"La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas -dice el mensaje- se ha ganado el cariño de todo el pueblo por su abnegacion hacia la patria, por su devocion al Partido de Lenin y Stalin. La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas ha obtenido magnificos éxitos porque ha estado siempre al lado del Partido Bolchevique y ha educado a los mejores hombres de la joven generacion en el espiritu del leninismo."

El Komsomol debe los éxitos conseguidos a la direccion del Partido Comunista. El Partido guia diaria y cuidadosamente todo el trabajo del Komsomol.

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Lenin y Stalin han llamado a la juventud a trabajar con abnegacion por el bienestar del pais y del pueblo. Y la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas esta llevando a cabo con honor esta tarea.

La historia del Komsomol esta llena de ejemplos de heroismo grandioso en el trabajo y de entusiasmo revolucionario en el esfuerzo por la aplicacion de los planes bolcheviques de desarrollo socialista.

Desde los primeros dias del plan quinquenal; la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas ha estado y continua estando en la vanguardia de la construccion del comunismo. Es sabido que la Liga juega un papel importante en el desarrollo de la emulacion socialista y en el movimiento stajanovista, dominando las nuevas técnicas y formando nuevos cuadros para la industria y la agricultura.

Hoy el pueblo soviético realiza con éxito y sobrepasa el plan quinquenal stalinista de la post-guerra. El aspecto de la tierra soviética cambia cada dia. Lo que ayer fue un plan hoy es una realidad. Una después de otra, numerosas empresas enormes, han comenzado a funcionar. Las fundaciones de nuevas construcciones han sido echa-

das. Ciudades y pueblos, destruidos por el enemigo, se levantan de nuevo.

En todo ese trabajo incesante, los jóvenes toman una parte activa. En numerosas ramas de la economía nacional soviética, la juventud constituye casi la mitad del número total de los obreros. Como lo demuestra un gran número de ejemplos de inventos y de descubrimientos, los jóvenes se esfuerzan no solamente por cumplir los planes, sino por sobrepasarlos.

Un rasgo característico de los jóvenes soviéticos es su actitud socialista ante el trabajo. Los tiempos en que el trabajo representaba una carga pesada y un deshonor, ha desaparecido para siempre. Ha llegado una nueva era en la que el trabajo es uno de los gozos de la vida; de una obligación odiosa se ha transformado en una cuestión de honor, de gloria, de valor y de heroísmo. Para los jóvenes soviéticos, su trabajo, su lucha activa por la construcción del comunismo son una escuela de entrenamiento bolchevique.

El progreso rápido de la industria en la Unión Soviética ha necesitado la formación creciente de nuevos cuadros. Desde el final de la guerra, la industria y el transporte han recibido más de 4 millones y medio de jóvenes obreros, incluyendo más de 2 millones que han pasado por las escuelas de aprendizaje profesional, ferroviario e industrial. En tales condiciones, la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas tiene que prestar una gran atención al mejoramiento de los conocimientos profesionales de los nuevos cuadros. En la primera mitad de este año, alrededor de 750.000 jóvenes han recibido una formación profesional avanzada.

El desarrollo de la post-guerra de la industria y del transporte socialistas se ha continuado bajo las siguientes consignas: superación de la calidad del trabajo, aumento del rendimiento en el trabajo, aprendizaje e introducción de las nuevas técnicas y de la tecnología, mecanización de los trabajos penosos, higiene y cultura en la industria, y mejoramiento de la calidad de la mercancía y reducción del precio de costo.

Las organizaciones de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas asumen una parte muy activa en la solución de estos problemas. Se dedican a aumentar la calificación profesional de los jóvenes y dan una gran importancia a las condiciones materiales de vida y al mejoramiento del nivel cultural y del bienestar.

En el dominio de la agricultura socialista, se han registrado también magníficas realizaciones.

Con todo el campesinado de las granjas colectivas, los jóvenes campesinos de la Unión Soviética lucharon obstinadamente para conseguir una buena cosecha. El hecho de que miles de miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas hayan sido condecorados, es una prueba de ello. Trescientos cincuenta miembros de la Liga así como jóvenes de las granjas colectivas han recibido el título de Héroes del Trabajo Socialista. Los miembros del Komsomol de las regiones rurales han conquistado la estima gracias a su trabajo y a su capacidad. Cientos de miles de ellos dirigen grupos y brigadas y han sido elegidos miembros del "Consejo de las Granjas Colectivas" y diputados a los "Soviets de los Trabajadores" distritales y rurales.

Tenemos ahora numerosos cuadros intelectuales soviéticos en todos los escalones de la economía y de la cultura. La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas ha jugado un papel muy importante en la formación de esos cuadros. La Liga, bajo la dirección del Partido, ha educado a los jóvenes trabajadores y les ha ayudado a adquirir los conocimientos y la calificación necesarios. Hoy no se puede encontrar ni una sola rama de la economía, de la ciencia o de la cultura, en la que no participen los jóvenes educados por el Komsomol, jóvenes que dominan sus materias y que toman una parte activa en el trabajo de la nación.

En la Unión Soviética se ha convertido en una tradición el señalar los días de fiesta con nuevas realizaciones en el trabajo. Así, en vísperas del aniversario de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas,

los jóvenes se esforzaron en hacer felices a su país y a su pueblo por medio de los éxitos obtenidos.

Millones de jóvenes obreros y campesinos de las granjas colectivas han participado en la emulación, en honor del 30 aniversario del Komsomol. La emulación socialista, por el cumplimiento del plan anual antes del término, por la superación de las normas previstas para el año, se ha extendido ampliamente. En ciertas empresas todos los jóvenes obreros han cumplido normas previstas para un año. Alrededor de 1 millón y medio de jóvenes obreros de todo el país realizaron las normas previstas para el año un poco antes del aniversario de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas. Mas de 450.000 jóvenes trabajan ahora para realizar las normas que corresponden a 1950 y mas de 100.000 han realizado el trabajo correspondiente a los cinco años próximos.

Cientos de miles de toneladas de carbon y de petróleo han sido extraídas, decenas de miles de toneladas de metal han sido fundidas, millares de nuevas maquinas han sido construidas, millones de metros de telas han sido fabricados y nuevas construcciones han sido erigidas por los jóvenes. Millones de arboles y arbustos han sido plantados por los jóvenes en las ciudades, en las empresas y en los jardines de las escuelas.

Lenin y Stalin han enseñado a los jóvenes que hay que ser infatigable en los estudios. Esta tarea es cumplida con honor por el Komsomol.

El sistema socialista que existe en la Union Soviética da a los jóvenes facilidades excepcionales para adquirir conocimientos, cultura y todas las realizaciones del pensamiento humano avanzado.

En la Union Soviética casi todo el mundo estudia. Una red muy densa de instituciones de enseñanza ha sido desarrollada en el país. Esta comprende escuelas, institutos, escuelas superiores especializadas, toda clase de escuelas estajanovistas y de escuelas en las ciudades y escuelas agronomicas en los pueblos. Además, diferentes de clases nocturnas y de cursos por correspondencia así como diversos círculos funcionan para los jóvenes de todo el país.

En lo que concierne a la instrucción pública, la Union Soviética se coloca a la cabeza de todos los países del mundo. Siete años de instrucción son obligatorios en la U.R.S.S. Treinta y tres millones de niños asisten a las escuelas primarias y secundarias. El número de alumnos crece sin cesar. Hoy la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas recuerda con agradecimiento los magníficos maestros de escuela que se sacrificaron por entero en la tarea de educar y de formar a la joven generación. En la escuela, los alumnos que son miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas ayudan activamente a los profesores y al director.

La organización de los Pioneros juega un papel considerable en la vida de la escuela soviética. Actualmente tiene mas de 12 millones de alumnos entre sus miembros. Una valiosa generación de jóvenes leninistas crece, llena de deseos de instruirse, una generación llena de energía, ávida de iniciativas y abnegada a su país, al Partido y a nuestro gran jefe y maestro, Comarada Stalin. Los círculos de aficionados de arte, los círculos de estudio de los jóvenes técnicos, los michurinistas, los círculos de modelos reducidos de aviones y de deporte que funcionan en las casas de los Pioneros, educan y preparan a los futuros "maestros de la cultura", los héroes del trabajo, los valientes transformadores de la naturaleza, los fieles continuadores de la gran tarea que es la edificación del comunismo.

Mas de 1 millón de estudiantes siguen actualmente los cursos de los institutos soviéticos de enseñanza superior. Un número considerable de ellos milita en la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas. Los estudiantes soviéticos consideran como su deber patriótico hacia el país la adquisición de la ciencia, y la elevación de su nivel político y cultural y de todos los conocimientos que les permitan realizar el honroso y responsable trabajo de un especialista soviético. Decenas de millares de hijos capaces de las familias obreras y campesinas que han adquirido esas conocimientos para el bien de nuestra inte-

ligencia, "la verdadera inteligencia popular", han tomado con pleno derecho el puesto de maestros de la ciencia.

El contraste es sorprendente entre este progreso de la cultura y de la ciencia en la patria del socialismo de un lado y la decadencia de la instrucción pública en los países capitalistas de otro lado, y particularmente en los Estados Unidos de América y en la Gran Bretaña. Cada año, en esos países, miles y miles de niños no pueden frecuentar las escuelas.

El centro de la cultura y de la ciencia mundiales se ha trasladado a la Unión Soviética, a la capital de nuestro país, Moscú. Guiados y dirigidos por el Partido Bolchevique, armados con los principios del marxismo-leninismo, hombres de ciencia soviéticos defienden toda idea progresiva de la ciencia moderna y denuncian todo lo que es reaccionario y anticuado.

El Komsomol ha formado y educado cuadros espléndidos y miembros activos capaces de poner en práctica las tareas y las consignas del Partido Bolchevique. Toda persona que se ocupa de la formación física y mental de los jóvenes soviéticos está consciente del hecho de que el Estado y el pueblo le han confiado la tarea más preciosa, cuyo valor es inmenso para la sociedad socialista; la educación del hombre.

Lenin y Stalin han enseñado a los jóvenes a consagrar el cariño más profundo a su país; a luchar sin descanso por su gloria y su potencia; a defenderlo contra los ataques de los enemigos del interior y del exterior.

La Liga de Juventudes COMUNISTAS, a lo largo de su historia, ha aplicado concienzudamente las instrucciones del Partido.

Los jóvenes comunistas de la juventud soviética han dado prueba de un gran heroísmo de bravura y valentía.

Lazos antiguos y sólidos unen la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas a nuestras fuerzas armadas. El Komsomol han instruido y ha enviado sus mejores militantes a las fuerzas navales y aéreas, a quienes dio su patrocinio. El Komsomol ha dado al país cientos de miles de magníficos aviadores, tanquistas, marinos, soldados de infantería y artilleros.

Numerosos generales y oficiales destacados del Ejército Soviético han salido de las filas del Komsomol.

Las cualidades superiores de la juventud soviética y su inmenso amor por su país se han revelado con una fuerza particular durante los años de la Gran Guerra Patria contra los invasores nazistas alemanes.

Basta decir que durante la Gran Guerra Patria, 3.500 soldados, miembros de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, han sido condecorados con el título de Heroe de la Unión Soviética, y 3 millones y medio de miembros del Komsomol han recibido ordenes y medallas. Mas de 100.000 muchachas han recibido altas condecoraciones por sus distinguidos servicios prestados durante la guerra.

Y hoy, cuando el trabajo pacífico y constructivo progresa sin cesar, los miembros del Komsomol y los jóvenes en general, no olvidan al Ejército Soviético que protege vigilante su país amado contra las invasiones del enemigo.

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La majestuosa construcción del comunismo, en cuya construcción el pueblo soviético, rico de muchos millones de seres, participa con éxito, se eleva cada día más.

El socialismo se ha transformado en una parte integrante de la vida del pueblo soviético. A través de la vida diaria de hoy vemos claramente nuestro futuro comunista. Ya no está lejos. Cada día nos acercamos a nuestro objetivo tan amado.

En nuestro país, el hombre nuevo, el verdadero héroe de nuestros tiempos, ha sido educado y templado en la lucha y en el trabajo.

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El mundo espiritual de la juventud soviética es rico y magnífico, su erudición es vasta, su amor de la vida no tiene límites, su espíritu de combate es indomable y su fe en su propia causa es inquebrantable. La Juventud Soviética es la juventud más optimista y la más activa de todas las juventudes del mundo.

La vieja sociedad no ha conocido y no podía conocer una tal juventud.

El joven obrero o el campesino colectivista del país de los soviets de hoy es una persona de una gran cultura, que tiene un interés creador por su trabajo, desea instruirse y es infatigable en sus esfuerzos. Los jóvenes trabajadores que han recibido una instrucción superior resuelven corrientemente y con audacia cuestiones técnicas en colaboración con los ingenieros y superan las viejas normas. En los pueblos, los continuadores de Michurin y de Lysenko se reclutan entre los jóvenes campesinos. Trabajando junto con los especialistas los jóvenes campesinos de las colectividades, los trabajadores de las estaciones de máquinas y tractores, y de las granjas del Estado, armados con los últimos descubrimientos científicos, están en condiciones de obtener cosechas sin precedentes.

La fuerza del Partido Bolchevique reside en que en la U.R.S.S. hay millones de tales hombres.

La construcción del comunismo exige la eliminación de los contrastes entre el trabajo manual y el intelectual, entre la ciudad y el campo. El Partido Bolchevique conduce con certeza al país hacia la eliminación de esas diferencias. Nuestra irresistible marcha hacia adelante se manifiesta en el progreso magnífico de nuestra ciencia y de nuestra cultura, en nuestros planes grandiosos por el desarrollo de la mecanización y de la electrificación de nuestra agricultura, por la transformación profunda de la naturaleza a fin de recoger cosechas sin igual, en el esfuerzo del Partido para desarrollar todavía más la cultura, en la formación mental del pueblo soviético, en el esfuerzo del Partido para educar una nueva generación, llena de vida y de confianza en su propia fuerza.

La victoria de la gran causa de Lenin y Stalin dependen en gran parte del éxito de estas tareas.

Nuestra Patria Soviética es una fuente de nuevas ideas, el heraldado de la verdad, la esperanza y el apoyo de todos los trabajadores, de toda la humanidad progresista. Estamos orgullosos de que sea la Unión Soviética quien se encuentre a la cabeza del campo democrático y anti-imperialista, cuyas fuerzas no cesan de crecer. Ninguno de los medios tan generosamente empleados por los reaccionarios anglo-americanos tales como las estratagemas, las amenazas, las provocaciones, las calumnias, no podrán debilitar las fuerzas de la democracia y del progreso.

La Liga de Juventudes Comunistas está en la vanguardia de la juventud democrática que lucha por la paz y la amistad entre los pueblos.

La palabra "komsomol" es conocida en todos los idiomas del mundo. Esa palabra pertenece a la categoría de las palabras internacionales. El Komsomol y la juventud soviética tienen numerosos amigos en todos los rincones del mundo. En la lucha por la paz y por la democracia, encontramos a nuestros camaradas que militan en cientos de organizaciones diversas de la juventud democrática, agrupadas en la F.M.J.D., que cuenta con 50 millones de jóvenes de ambos sexos.

Nosotros les aseguramos a los jóvenes demócratas del mundo que la juventud soviética es su aliada verdadera y digna de confianza, en la lucha por la paz, la democracia, por la amistad entre los pueblos.

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El trabajo realizado por el Komsomol ha sido altamente aprecia-

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do por el Partido Bolchevique y por el Gobierno Soviético. La Orden de Lenin ha sido otorgada al Komsomol por los servicios excepcionales rendidos a la patria en el dominio de la educacion de la juventud soviética en el espíritu comunista, así como por su participacion activa en la construccion del socialismo. La Orden de la Bandera Roja ha sido acordada a las valientes organizaciones del Komsomol de las ciudades heroicas de Moscu, Leningrado, Stalingrado, Odesa y Sebastopol por el coraje de que han dado prueba durante la Gran Guerra Patria así como por su participacion activa en la edificacion del Socialismo.

Numerosos trabajadores, miembros del Komsomol, han sido condecorados con ordenes y medallas por su trabajo activo en la organizacion del Komsomol en cuanto a la educacion comunista, y en la movilizacion de la juventud en el trabajo por la construccion socialista.

En su saludo al Komsomol, dirigido con motivo de su 30 aniversario, el Comité Central del Partido Comunista de la Union Sovietica expresa su confianza en que la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas-Leninistas cumpla con honor en el futuro su deber hacia la patria y escribiera nuevas paginas gloriosas en la historia del movimiento juvenil comunista.

Los saludos dirigidos por el Comité Central del Partido conduciran a los miembros del Komsomol y a la juventud soviética en general, hacia nuevas gestas patrioticas.

Hoy, como nunca hasta ahora, la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, que entra en el 31 año de su existencia, esta junto al glorioso Partido Bolchevique, junto a nuestro guia y jefe de los pueblos soviéticos, el camarada Stalin.

La discusion de la carta del Komsomol y de la juventud soviética dirigida al camarada Stalin, en ocasion del 30 aniversario de la Liga de Juventudes Comunistas, discusion que ha tenido lugar en incontables reuniones juveniles, se ha transformado en una potente manifestacion del carino infinito y de la devocion de la juventud soviética al camarada Stalin. 33.477.219 muchachos y muchachas han firmado esa carta.

Las ideas propagadas por el Partido Bolchevique, ideas de Lenin y Stalin, estan profundamente arraizadas en la mente y en el corazon de cientos de millones de seres. Masas inmensas de hombres de espíritu progresista del mundo entero siguen a los comunistas porque en sus manos esta la verdad de las naciones, porque defienden los intereses vitales de los pueblos, porque son los precursores de un mundo nuevo y progresivo que suplantara al antiguo, ese mundo decadente que esta condenado a desaparecer.

En este aniversario glorioso, la juventud soviética unanime asegura al camarada Stalin, su jefe y maestro, su entera fidelidad y que esta dispuesta a luchar con abnegacion por la gran causa del comunismo.

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