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Glimpses
of
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CHINA

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**GLIMPSES OF
PEOPLE'S CHINA**

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PEKING CHINA**

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PREFACE

Ever since China became a land of New Democracy, following the triumph of the revolution, there has been a constant stream of visitors from all parts of the world to this country to see for themselves how things are going under the people's rule.

In the spring of 1953, trade union leaders from twenty countries and representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions came to China, at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to attend the May Day celebrations and the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. During their brief stay, they visited factories and farms, schools and institutions, construction sites in cities and villages; they talked with workers, peasants, intellectuals, the young and the old, men, women and children.

The following is a collection of radio speeches made by delegates from countries of Southeast Asia and by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and a poem written by Rewi Alley of New Zealand.

As the purpose of this booklet is to give the delegates' impressions of People's China, it is thought advisable to omit those parts of the speeches which do not directly concern this country. Where no title is available, the editor has ventured to give one that reflects the general idea of the speech.

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CHINA'S THREE REALITIES

Louis Saillant

General Secretary

The World Federation of Trade Unions

After its Seventh Congress, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions gave me the opportunity to make a study tour of several areas of China.

For me, this tour was of great interest and I am grateful to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for having given me this chance to become better acquainted with China and its people.



On this tour I was able to come into direct contact with the realities of People's China. There are three kinds of reality that have strongly impressed me: political, economic and social. These realities together present a vivid picture of the intense activity going on in present-day China.

What is the dominant political reality? The adherence by the Chinese people to the policy of the Central Government, to the policy defined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The fact is that the people of China regard the Cen-

tral Government of the People's Republic of China not as *a* government, but as *their* government. And this is true of the worker as much as of the peasant, of the intellectual, of the merchant as much as of the patriot among the national bourgeoisie.

What is one to think of China's economic reality? The process of industrialization has been launched on a very large scale. To fulfil high production quotas and to evolve new production methods is the goal of nation-wide emulation campaigns that one encounters in all spheres of production. China today is successfully changing her economic basis in a magnificent display of creative and constructive effort by all the living forces within the nation.

What can one say of the social reality? I could speak on this topic for a long time. Yesterday, that is, before the triumph of the people's revolution, social reality in China was characterized by the absence of social gains. The inability of the government organs to solve the most elementary social problems was matched by the opposition to popular demands on the part of the ruling class. This is no longer so today. Social services for children, for women, for men, for old workers, are developing at ever-increasing speed.

These are the political, economic and social realities of People's China, realities for which this old country deserves to be called "New China."

We have seen these realities. We have listened to men and women, young and old, telling us of their new life. We have studied carefully every one of the replies made to our questions.

By "we" I mean the delegates of the trade unions of some twenty countries who went on this tour.

This group of delegates was characterized not only by its multi-national composition; it also included representatives of national trade union organizations in India, Burma and Indonesia not affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The diversity of opinions represented made this meeting of delegates a great experience in itself. It was an experience of jointly studying an event as formidable as the transformation of China, a semi-feudal and oppressed country only yesterday, into a country that is modernizing itself, that is in the vanguard of the struggle, waged by the peoples of the world in defence of peace against imperialism, because it has become free and independent.

This group of trade union delegates has been unanimous in admitting the tremendous will with which the Chinese people are building a new life leading them towards socialism.

How was this unanimity in admitting and appreciating such a fact possible?

It was possible because truth is an irresistible force and facts are eloquent and convincing.

The old miner in Fushun, the textile worker in Shanghai, the peasant and the teacher in the small village of Pa Chiao were not engaging in oratory when they answered our questions. They were giving us the facts. They were asking us to verify their claims, immediately, on the spot.

They explained to us: "Before the people's revolution, we were over-exploited, humiliated and

robbed seven days a week. That is all over with us now, and neither we nor our children will ever know such circumstances again." One of them told us: "At last, we occupy the place in society that befits a human being. We had nothing before . . . here is what we have now." And one of them showed us his farm tools, and the other his land: "Here are our plans for tomorrow!" And yet another spoke to us of a municipal plan of social construction and service which will make possible immediate industrial development.

Why should the trade union delegations, invited by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, not have been unanimous in admitting this simple, though highly demonstrative, truth: that great attention is being paid to the solution of problems concerning the children and education, housing and public health? The worker is assured labour safety at his factory. Yesterday, the factory to him was hell. Now, he works joyfully, striving to do still better.

Old workers are now assured a comfortable life in homes for the aged, especially reserved for them. Our Chinese comrades have told us that greater numbers of such homes are needed and will be built.

There is no unemployment in China. What do you think of this, you, workers of India who are unemployed by the million?

The Chinese people no longer know the atrocious evil of going hungry, of being daily gnawed by hunger. What do you think of this, workers of the Southeast Asian countries where millions are under-

nourished, knowing only long days without joy, years of hunger?

In People's China, the trade unions are endowed with extensive rights but also great responsibilities, both of which are recognized by the state. Trade unions play an active role at the very core of the new society. What do you think of this, workers of Japan, you who have experienced brutal police intervention, the exploiters' constant manoeuvres against your trade unions, their constant attacks against your trade union rights which are inseparable from your democratic rights?

The Chinese people stand as much for peace as for their national independence. They are united in a single force behind their Government which expresses their will to peace.

These people sing and shout openly and publicly their love of peace. They have proclaimed their active support of all those in the world who effectively and sincerely defend peace. What do you think of this, you peoples of Asia and Australasia, inhabitants of countries where to be an ardent peace partisan is a crime in the eyes of governments that obey the orders of imperialism?

Since we made this tour of China we have come to understand better why the imperialists and remnant feudal elements are dissatisfied with the changes that this vast country is undergoing.

In the old days, they were able to humiliate and enslave China as a nation. Up to only a few years ago, they scandalously exploited the Chinese people. To reap bigger and bigger profits they worked out

new plans for making their mastery absolute. They fostered corruption. They found traitors inside the country to help them in their despicable plots.

Today, this situation has been definitively removed. The Chinese people have become the masters of their own destiny. Never again will they be humiliated and scoffed at. On the contrary, they are feared.

These are the rightful objectives which the peoples who are still slaves to imperialist law and the colonial yoke wish to attain. These peoples have every reason to want to attain such objectives. At present, the Chinese people as a whole are helping them by proving that it is possible to end all this odious, unbearable imperialist exploitation, to end the enslavement by feudal lords.

Finally, we must admit yet another thing: that in China the strength of proletarian internationalism is developing, thanks to the power of a patriotism that is of the purest and healthiest kind.

We have admired the Chinese people for their deep-rooted friendship for the Soviet Union. We have also seen the sincerity of their generous feelings towards the peoples of all countries with whom they desire to have nothing but friendly and fraternal ties.

These are the conclusions that I have drawn from my tour of China, from my contacts with its people.

Such is People's China.

VICTORY FOR PEACE

Bang Tai Uk

*President of the Miners' Union of the Federation of
Trade Unions of Korea*

The May First parade in Peking, in celebration of International Labour Day, was on a gigantic scale. More than 500,000 people — workers, peasants, government employees, students and ordinary citizens — took part in this magnificent demonstration. During the short time we were in China, we had many opportunities to see how the



Chinese people were enjoying a happy life under the leadership of their Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and how they have rallied round this leadership. We were moved by the love for peace the Chinese people displayed, no less than by their determination to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. We were also impressed by the inexhaustible fighting spirit they showed for the successful accomplishment of their historic first five-year economic construction plan.

On that May 1, columns after columns of people

were streaming past Tien An Men Square, holding aloft colourful flags symbolizing their love for peace and the unity and solidarity of the labouring people throughout the world. They were carrying along portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the leaders of the Soviet Union, Korea and the other People's Democracies. The marching columns were reviewed by Chairman Mao from the rostrum on Tien An Men while the people poured their great affection and admiration out for him. A column of 7,000 Young Pioneers, gaily marching past with a poster inscribed "Always Ready," released doves in great numbers.

The workers' columns held up posters on which was written: "Let's make every effort to improve our work!" "Carry out the patriotic labour emulation!" "Learn from advanced Soviet experience!" "Fulfil and over-fulfil the 1953 state plan for economic construction!" They also carried charts showing production targets, charts and models illustrating both their new achievements in industrial production and the strength of unity in their ranks. Peasants carried posters showing their endeavour to produce more food and demonstrating agricultural production achievements and record harvests. The students in the parade expressed their determination to study Marxism-Leninism and advanced scientific technique in order to serve their country better.

What we saw during the May Day parade in Peking gave us a clear picture of the power that is New China with her 500 million people. In particular, we realized all the more clearly that the People's Republic of China, giving the blood of her best

sons and daughters to the Korean people's war of liberation, possesses immeasurable strength and monolithic stability. This knowledge bolsters up our faith in the ultimate victory of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism and of the peace-loving people in the whole world.

Apart from the May Day celebrations, we also had the opportunity to attend the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. This Congress, attended by 800 delegates from all parts of China, had great significance. Also present were more than 105 trade union delegates from 20 countries.

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions met as China was launching her historic first five-year plan which will transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one on the road to socialism. The Congress proved not only that the Chinese working class movement is entering upon a new era, an era of struggling for the country's industrialization; it also was a tremendous factor in strengthening working class unity and solidarity throughout the world and in consolidating the camp of peace, democracy and socialism. New China's achievements in various spheres of construction since the victorious conclusion of the people's revolution constitute a source of inspiration and encouragement to the Asian countries, particularly the people of the colonial, semi-colonial and capitalist countries, in their struggle for national liberation.

The Chinese working class and the Chinese people as a whole have, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party, not

only defeated the domestic and foreign reactionary forces, but also scored many brilliant successes in the sphere of national construction. Through their joint effort, they brought about in the past four years the restoration and development of the national economy and carried out many social reforms. The result is that China presents a greatly changed picture. One needs only to glance at the output of a few major industries to understand this.

As compared with 1949, the production of pig iron in 1952 had increased 7.64 times, that of steel 8.46 times, of crude oil 3.58 times and of electrolytic copper 10.2 times. With few exceptions, the level of China's industries has surpassed the peak reached before the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. In the production of daily necessities, output of cotton yarn has increased twofold, of cotton cloth 2.87 times. Agriculture has also remarkably progressed. In 1952, the gross yield of grain reached the highest level ever registered in the history of China, totalling 163,750,000 tons. Raw cotton output in the same year came to 1,290,000 tons, or double that of 1949. Progress has also been rapid in the development of the railways and other means of transportation, of posts and tele-communications, water conservancy and commerce, as well as of culture, education and public health.

There has been a steady rise in the people's purchasing power as a result of the rapid restoration and development of the nation's economy and the attainment of financial and economic stability throughout the country. Together with their ma-

terial life, the people's cultural life has also steadily improved. This is borne out by what we saw at the railway repair shop at Changhsintien and in Liangchia Village, on the outskirts of Peking. When we visited the former, we learned that the workers now have five times as many new living quarters as they had under Kuomintang rule. Besides, the plant recently set up a library, a nursery, an over-night rest-home and a technical school. In 1952, wages increased 3.15 times over what they were under the Kuomintang when workers often were starving, with nothing to eat but soya bean cakes and thin rice gruel. Now they have good rice and wheat flour for their staple food. Every worker is able to buy new furniture for his home.

In the three years since land reform, the peasants of Liangchia Village which we visited have shown great spirit in agricultural production. They have turned dry fields into watered land; they have helped each other working the waterwheels to irrigate their fields so that grain production has increased. Seven new classrooms have been added to the primary school in the village. A peasant in the village by the name of Li Chung, who was a farm hand under the Kuomintang, was treated like a beast of burden. It mattered little whether he was suffering cold or hunger, he had to toil all the year round. And yet, his three children died of starvation. In the land reform, he was given land and built himself a house. He was also financially able to clothe his family adequately and buy sufficient bedding for them. The

family now eats rice and white-flour steamed bread daily and is leading a happy life.

These are but two examples, typical of the drastic changes from a life of grinding misery that have come over China's millions. They give us sufficient insight into the happiness of China's workers and peasants who ascribe this happiness and well-being, with heartfelt gratitude, to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party in whom they place their complete trust.

The Chinese working class and the Chinese people as a whole are now struggling to implement the three directives laid down by Chairman Mao Tse-tung: *e.g.*, to strengthen the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; to carry out the first five-year plan of national construction; and to convene the All-China People's Congress. The first five-year plan is of vital importance to China. The plan lays emphasis on the development of the country's industry, particularly heavy industry, to transform China from a backward, agricultural country into a modern, industrial one so that China will gradually advance towards a strong socialist society. The plan is unanimously and whole-heartedly supported not only by the labouring people throughout the country, but also by all the peace-loving people in the world. The rapid development of China's industry will be a significant contribution to the cause of world peace.

In order to fulfil the first five-year plan, many factories and mines throughout China have carried out emulation drives for increased production and economy. Many have fulfilled or even over-fulfilled

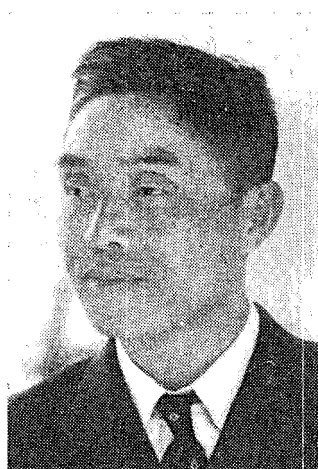
production plans for the first quarter of the first year of the five-year plan.

The victory of the Chinese people means also victory for the Korean people. The victory of the Korean people means victory for the world camp of peace and democracy.

VISTAS OF THE LAND OF NEW DEMOCRACY

Tran Bao

*President of the Supervisory Committee of the Viet-Nam
General Confederation of Labour*



On our visits to factories and villages, we saw the happy life and labour enthusiasm of the Chinese people. On May 3, we visited the Changhsintien Locomotive Plant. More than 50 years old, this plant, before it was taken over by the people in 1948, had been successively owned by the French and Japanese imperialists, the warlords and the Kuomintang. In 1951, it topped the number of locomotives produced under the Kuomintang by 121.5 per cent, and the number of railway carriages by 508 per cent. By April 1953 it fulfilled 102 per cent of its production plan, the over-fulfilment of which was intended as part of the preparations for the International Labour Day on May 1 and the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

The living conditions of the workers of this plant

have greatly improved. Before the liberation, the workers very often did not have enough to eat and wear, and most of the workers were forced to subsist only on millet and maize. Today they are not only amply provided with food and clothing, but also enjoy a full cultural life. The plant has a library, a spare-time school with an enrolment of over 700 students and a sanatorium situated in peaceful surroundings. Every week workers see films at their club. The workers live in their own pretty houses, and their wages are increasing year by year.

We also visited Liangchia Village on the outskirts of Peking. The peasants of this village told us that since the liberation it had undergone radical changes. One of the peasants we visited was Li Chung, a poor peasant before the liberation, heavily oppressed and exploited by the landlord. Three of his children had starved to death. But now he is quite well off, his eldest son is married and his youngest son goes to a secondary school. His wife, Mrs. Li, opened some chests and showed us the pretty clothes they had recently bought and the little dresses and bedding for their future grandchild.

We called on Cheng Chung-ching, a poor peasant before the liberation. He was given land in the land reform and now lives as owner in the house of his former landlord. Because of his initiative in production, he was elected model worker, and his production records found their way into the newspapers. One of the Chinese People's Volunteers has written to him from Korea, thanking him for supporting the front by conscientious production. He showed us

the letter, and said that he would strive to increase production to support the front, to make his country more wealthy and prosperous and to help establish lasting world peace. Today, the peasants of this village are organized into many mutual-aid teams; they are also preparing to set up an agricultural producers' co-operative next year.

We have come to realize that once the peasants have been organized and have been given political and economic rights, they can contribute much to the revolution. From this we have come to understand the importance and necessity of the decision of our Party and Government to mobilize the masses so that they themselves implement the policy regarding reduction of rents and interests.

Our visit to the Peihai Kindergarten will long remain in our memory. The children sang and danced to welcome us. We were extremely moved when they asked us about the health of Chairman Ho Chi Minh and the children of Viet-Nam. We took a look around their dining-room, playroom and classrooms. Their life is indeed a very happy one. Here they receive the best type of education. As we were leaving, they brought out many pictures they had drawn for us to give to their little friends in Viet-Nam. I shall never forget their rosy cheeks, charming smiles, and their sweet little faces, nor how they kept on waving to us as we were leaving.

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions opened on May 2. Apart from the trade union delegates from various parts of China, there were over 20 foreign delegations attending the Congress, as

well as Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, and Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. After hearing the speech delivered by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, and various other speeches and reports, we came to understand the great historic significance of the Congress. The Chinese working class movement, led all along by the Communist Party, has achieved a brilliant victory. In the past three years, conditions have been prepared for China's large-scale economic construction. At the beginning of this year, it entered the stage of large-scale construction. In order to foster the initiative and creativeness of the working masses in accomplishing this glorious task, the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions discussed ways and means to intensify Communist education among the workers, to raise their political consciousness, and to improve their cultural and material life. It also discussed the international task of the Chinese working class, i.e., its struggle for the solidarity of the world working class and the unity of the working class movement, and its struggle for world peace and security. Comrade Liu Shao-chi stated: "The Chinese working class which has already won its victory must whole-heartedly render all kinds of aid to the working class and labouring people in capitalist as well as colonial and semi-colonial countries." Acting in accordance with the directive of Comrade Liu Shao-chi, delegates in their reports critically examined the defects still existing in their work. They unanimously declared that they were determined to overcome various dif-

facilities so as to lead the working masses to carry out the large-scale national construction plan and to fulfil the international task of the Chinese working class.

The speech of the Viet-Nameese delegate was warmly received by the Congress. The words "Together with the people of Khmer and Pathet Lao, the people of Viet-Nam are resolved to smash the French aggressors and the American interventionists, and to struggle for final victory," were greeted by thunderous applause expressing support for our struggle. At the end of his speech, all the delegates rose and applauded him warmly for a long time.

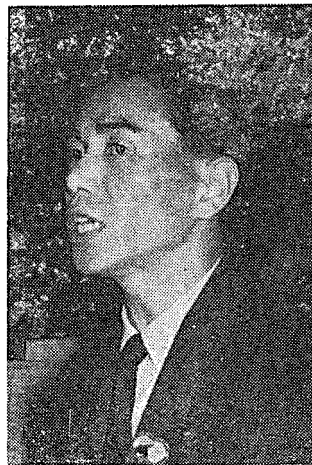
We were extremely touched by this show of real friendship. A Chinese woman said to us: "Your victory is near, and you are sure to win, for now you are strong." These words from the mouth of an ordinary Chinese woman are truly expressive of the sincere faith the Chinese people put in the resistance of our people, and of their goodwill.

FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA

Mitsuo Nakamura*

*President of the Niigata Local Executive Committee
of the National Railway Workers' Union*

Availing ourselves of the kind hospitality extended to us by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, I, together with the other members of our delegation, visited many parts of New China. We learnt a great many things. Before our tour comes to an end soon, I would like to take this opportunity to tell our people at home about



our impressions of the new China which has achieved such resounding successes and is forging ahead at an amazing pace.

We have noticed, from the moment of our arrival, that in food, general appearance and habits, the Chinese people are very much like us. They are indeed

* Mr. Nakamura visited China in November 1953 after attending the World Conference of Agricultural and Forestry Workers in Vienna.

more akin to us than any other people in the world. This makes us feel that we and the Chinese people are brothers. The question how the Chinese workers and people in general feel towards the Japanese people has always been of great interest to us; now we have obtained a very clear answer. Much as they hated the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese people have always cherished great friendship for the people of Japan. They have drawn a sharp line between the Japanese people and the handful of Japanese rulers who calumniate China and pursue an aggressive policy against her.

We can bear witness to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the new China. This country is progressing along a path entirely different from that taken by present-day Japan and the Western capitalist countries. The people of China, led by the working class which has a staunch ally in the peasantry, are now leading a free and happy life. As masters of the country whose living conditions are constantly improving, the workers are doing their utmost to increase industrial production, with a consciousness worthy of their hard-won new status. China's peasants are now working happily and enthusiastically; gradually discarding their individualistic ways, millions of them have taken to co-operation, and are increasing their agricultural production through improved farming methods. The wretched life of the Chinese peasant, as we used to know it before the liberation, has become a thing of the past. The students of China are attending schools with modern facilities; tuition fees and other expenses

are borne by the Government. Trained by competent teachers, many of these students have been able to play an important part in the building of a new society since their graduation. The others, conscious of their importance as cogs in the wheel, are studying hard and preparing themselves for their future tasks with great confidence. China's children, whose mission it will be to build their country in the days to come, are regarded as the most precious property by the state; and as such future builders, they are extremely well cared for. These are the people we have met and seen in New China.

When we discuss these new phenomena among ourselves, we cannot help asking: Why is it that the great majority of the Japanese people cannot live as happily as the Chinese now do? Tackling this question from different angles, we have traced it to two main causes: (1) Japan has not yet won complete independence; (2) the rulers of present-day Japan only protect the interests of a handful of monopoly capitalists. We have come to the conclusion that the Japanese people must free themselves from the shackles of U.S. imperialism to win complete independence, and set up a government that protects the interests, not of a few monopoly capitalists, but of the Japanese people as a whole. It is impossible, however, to achieve this end if our people are not united as one and if we do not have the help and support of all the Asian peoples. The friendship between the peoples of China and Japan is, therefore, of extreme importance. The Chinese people welcome more and more delegations like ours to visit their

country. Seeing the facts for yourselves, you will realize not only the falsehood of the slanderous propaganda directed against this new China, but also the significance of Sino-Japanese friendship.

There is still another important point which must be clarified. Some people say that China will, some day, invade Japan. I can tell you that such talk is nothing but lies. China and Japan are like brothers, both culturally and in their ways of living. It is China's aim to promote the prosperity of both to ensure a brighter future for the two countries. This being the case, we must ask ourselves: Why is it that the present Yoshida government forbids the Japanese people to come to China? Why does it ban trade with China although such trade would be done on a basis of mutual benefit and of equality? On what grounds does it base its charge that China will invade Japan? The answer is that such false charges provide the Yoshida government with a pretext for rearmament, for the building of more military bases and for putting Japan back on a war economy basis; but all of this will only mean greater sufferings for our people. These are questions which do not worry me alone; in fact, they concern the Japanese people as a whole. After our return to Japan, we shall discuss them further with our compatriots.

WE MUST LEARN FROM NEW CHINA

Yutaka Kubota*

*Member of the Japanese Diet and President of the Central
Committee of the Peasants' Association of Japan*

At the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, we came to China two weeks ago and have had the chance to visit factories, schools, cultural and social institutions in Peking, Nanking, Shanghai and other key cities, as well as in villages. During our tour, we have had intimate talks with leaders in various fields, with workers and peasants, ordinary citizens and students. All this has acquainted us with the true facts about New China since her liberation four years ago, and I think that the understanding gained therefrom will have an important bearing on our struggle for national independence, freedom and peace. Here, I would like to mention only two things to our fellow-countrymen back home, particularly to our workers and peasants.



* Mr. Kubota visited China in November 1953 after attending the Third World Trade Union Congress in Vienna.

First, the new China is entirely different from the old China. Influenced by past experience and by the malicious propaganda launched by U.S. imperialism, many Japanese people still think that New China, four years after liberation, is still the same as old China. This is an entirely mistaken view. The workers of New China are quite different from workers in the past. They have become the masters of the country in the true sense of the word and their living standards have immeasurably improved. In social status, they rank first among the population and, compared to workers in capitalist countries, their spirit and cultural level are excellent.

A complete change has also taken place in the life of the peasants who were given land and are assured of a stable livelihood. Their cultural level and knowledge of agricultural technique have been raised to an amazing degree. Whichever village you visit, you will be struck by the peasants' joy over their liberation and by their determination for building a new and better life. The same may be said of other sections of the working population.

At the same time, through the broadest application of the "mass line," the Communist Party and its leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Chinese People's Government have achieved solid unity with the people. The five hundred million people of China are displaying great initiative and creative power; they have developed into a perfect organism for united action.

We have seen the tremendous construction going into the building of the famous Kuanting Reservoir

on the Yungting River, the new machine-tool factories and reconstructed cotton mills in Shanghai, the state farms and agricultural producers' co-operatives that have made such great achievements; we have seen workers' living quarters with modern conveniences, workers' cultural palaces and various schools. The gigantic motive force which has brought about all this construction springs from the complete integration of the working people—who are, in all their creativeness, the masters of the new China—with the Communist Party and the People's Government through the "mass line." This is a motive force which will ensure the success of China's greatest task at the present stage: the First Five-Year Plan of economic construction.

The factories we visited all had fulfilled or even overfulfilled their 1953 production targets already in November. Today, New China has reached a high level not only politically, culturally, economically and in production technique, but also in the people's living standards, and is progressing at a pace second only to that of the Soviet Union. Here I appeal not only to the working people of Japan, but also to our national capitalists, in the hope that they will cast away their former outlook on China and their superiority complex, so that they can look objectively at China and learn from her. I firmly believe that this is essential if the Japanese people want to overthrow the occupationist rule of U.S. imperialism and achieve national independence and peace.

In the second place, I have to tell our countrymen that the Chinese people stand for peace as

whole-heartedly as the Soviet people do. They show genuine sympathy, fraternity and concern for us, the Japanese people. In years past, we working people of Japan were hoodwinked by our imperialists and forced into army uniforms; as soldiers we inflicted long years of hardships and devastation upon the Chinese labouring masses. It was this that made my heart heavy before I came to China. But what surprised me is that the Chinese people, not only their leaders but also ordinary workers, peasants and students, all think that their enemy is Japanese imperialism whose onslaught they are determined to check whenever necessary; that, in the aggressive wars against China, the Japanese working people were victimized, just like the Chinese people; and that today, as in the past, there is a common interest between the working people of both China and Japan. Fully aware of the sufferings endured in long years of imperialist occupation, the Chinese people are nevertheless deeply sympathetic towards us Japanese who are at present groaning under the jackboots of the U.S. imperialists. They have great concern for our struggle for liberation, and are always ready to give us their fraternal support. These sentiments I have heard expressed by all sorts of people in China, from outstanding leaders down to primary school pupils wherever I went, in Peking, Nanking or Shanghai.

The wild tale that the Soviet Union and China will attack Japan is nothing but a brazen lie, completely without foundation, invented by the U.S. imperialists in league with our domestic reactionaries.

Such vilification only reveals the foul plot hatched by the U.S. imperialists and the Yoshida government and their attempt to use the Japanese working people once again as cannon fodder, in another war against China. But, this time, we shall not allow this to happen. The Communist Parties and the Governments of the Soviet Union and China and the millions of their people have no hostile intentions towards us Japanese. We must, therefore, learn to view China from a completely different standpoint.

The China of today is no longer the China of the past, and the China of tomorrow will be even more different. To understand China as she is, to learn from the experiences of the Chinese people and strengthen our fraternal ties with them—these are the only correct principles which we Japanese must follow in our struggle for independence and peace.

WHAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE ACHIEVED

S. S. Yusuf

Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress



The May Day celebration was an historical event, which will remain ever green in our memories. The colourful display in a disciplined manner by more than half a million participants—workers, youth, women, Young Pioneers and students—at the May Day parade carrying with them flags, banners and flowers cheerfully and enthusiastically at Peking manifests the great faith the people of China repose in their leaders and the Government. The joy and enthusiasm of the people I have noticed at the parade can be better imagined than described. How this miracle was wrought during such a short period of three and half years!

During my month's tour of the country, during which I visited villages and industrial cities in China, things began to unfold themselves one by one.

Firstly, the great transformation that has been brought about in the countryside in the lives of the peasants by agrarian reforms whereby the land belongs to the tiller of the soil. This has created great enthusiasm among the peasants. I visited several villages near Peking and Mukden and saw the entire life of the peasants revolutionized. The peasant who was leading a life of want and starvation before the liberation, now has plenty to eat, to clothe himself and his family, for building new houses; he has also been enabled to send his children to school. The Government is continuing to help the peasants by granting loans, seeds and improved implements and machinery for cultivation. All these things have made it possible for the peasants to increase agricultural production and today China is not only self-sufficient in food-grains, but is in a position to export, whereas, before the liberation, food-grains were imported.

The concern of the Government for bettering the circumstances of the peasants is indicated also by the attention paid to harnessing rivers like the Huai and Yungting, which used to devastate huge areas of lands with floods in the past. Now these rivers are being controlled through the construction of dams. As many as 40,000 workers are vigorously carrying out the construction work at the Kuanting Reservoir on the Yungting River under unfavourable weather conditions. At the speed with which the work is progressing, it is likely that construction will be completed before the stipulated time. When completed, the project will not only save many

villages from floods, but will also provide irrigation in the near future for several hundred thousand acres of land.

Great efforts are being made to industrialize the country. At Mukden, Fushun and Shanghai, I visited several factories. At Mukden and Shanghai, heavy machine-tools like automatic high-speed lathes and other tools are manufactured. The surrounding areas will be converted from a state of destitution and hunger into a land of plenty and joy.

The patriotic zeal shown by the peasants is confirmed by the formation of several thousands of mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. The initiative shown by every peasant in organizing collective discussions to improve the methods of agriculture indicates the new life springing up in the villages of New China.

The factories which were merely repair shops before the liberation are now being converted into manufacturing centres. Workers are performing their day-to-day work with fervent zeal and enthusiasm. Their supreme object is to industrialize their motherland rapidly. Many model workers have emerged from the labour emulation drives. They have all opportunities to display their skill, with the result that many of the innovations they evolved have been installed in the factories. These latest methods have not only reduced the amount of labour, but also improved working conditions.

At the Fushun open-cut mine, as well as in the pits, the process of extracting coal has been highly mechanized. The huge oil refinery at Fushun, manu-

facturing gasoline and various other by-products from shale, bears ample testimony to the progress made in the industrial field.

In Shanghai, I visited the Textile Machinery Works. The huge automatic machinery used for moulding is a marvellous innovation, the like of which I had not seen before. I was amazed when I was told that this was an invention of the workers. This confirmed my belief that, given proper encouragement and opportunities, the workers exhibit great skill beyond all imagination.

I was deeply impressed by the great attention paid by the management and the Government to labour protection by improved working conditions, e.g., the proper casing of transmission belts, installation of air-conditioning at factories to keep the temperature at the work-spot cool, and proper ventilation to avoid injurious gases.

The wages of the workers have been constantly rising, year after year. In addition to improved standards of living, many model workers have been promoted to the rank of director and deputy director in the factories. Huge amounts are set apart for rewarding the workers who suggest improvements in the use of machinery.

The Government appropriates annually a great sum for the construction of living quarters for the workers. Many workers who were living in hovels for long years are now housed decently with all modern amenities like running water, electricity and proper sanitation.

The Labour Insurance Regulations which have

been enforced in all enterprises, whether state-owned or private, fully safeguard the workers during sickness, and temporary or permanent disablement resulting from accidents. Special care is bestowed on the women workers. Maternity benefits are drawn from the Labour Insurance fund.

One very remarkable feature of labour welfare activities is the provision of spare-time rest homes, hospitals for workers and sanatoria at well-known health resorts. In China, the worker as the producer of wealth is fully cared for. Homes for the aged have also been established, with all modern comforts of civilized living.

Unemployment has been completely eradicated. Workers have no fear of the morrow or insecurity of employment.

Today, great emphasis is laid on the training of cadres to man the huge projects and factories that are springing up. Special facilities are afforded in technical colleges to students of workers' and peasants' origin. At the People's University at Peking, the Institute of Technology at Mukden, the College of Textile Technology at Shanghai and the Engineering College at Canton, several thousands of students are studying free of any expense. Not only is there no tuition fee; even board and lodging expenses are met by the Government. Students in need of clothes and other necessities are also provided for.

Another very notable feature of the new life that is surging forth in China is the provision of equal opportunities for women. They are treated on a par with men and given the same pay, on the principle

of equal pay for equal work. Today, women are seen doing highly skilled work and, in some cases, managing factories. Women have been completely liberated from the thralldom to which they were subjected for ages.

The eradication of bribery, corruption and nepotism has created a great enthusiasm among the people. Beggary and prostitution have also been eliminated and become things of the past.

The criticism occasionally levelled by reactionaries at the lack of civil liberties in China is not borne out by the facts. We have been free to go wherever we liked and to meet people. Further, the people are allowed to criticize the actions of the Government through their newspapers. The Government has adopted criticism and self-criticism as the basis for development. This is proved by the highly self-critical reports made at the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions in the presence of many international delegates.

Even though such commendable achievements have been accomplished, yet the leaders of China are very modest and one cannot find any trace of arrogance in them. I am fully convinced that they are pursuing peaceful construction to industrialize their motherland with patriotic zeal and fervour. Therefore, they love peace above all and their aim is to defend world peace. If the mad warmongers of American imperialism think they can subdue China, they are thoroughly mistaken. The Chinese people who have paid a great price for their liberation and

who now enjoy the fruits of this liberation know that no power on earth can enslave them.

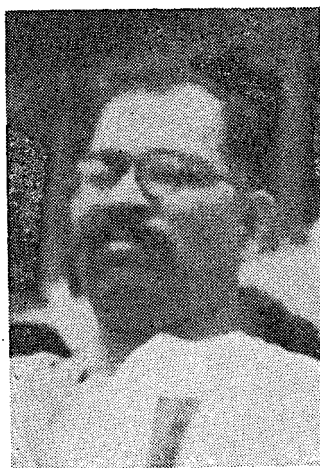
In conclusion, I thank the people of China and the workers and leaders of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for the warm reception accorded to us wherever we went and the care and hospitality shown us. Finally, I salute the great people of China and wish them great success in their construction work and assure them that, on return to our country, we will utilize the lessons and experiences gained during this visit.

NEW SPIRIT IN THE LAND

S. Saksena

*President of the All-India Sugar Mill and Distillery
Workers' Federation*

I came to China as an impartial but sympathetic and eager student of the Great Chinese Revolution. I am not a member of the Communist Party of India and my testimony can therefore be regarded as that of an impartial observer. I am a member and one of the chief organizers of the All-India Kisan and Mazdoor Praja Party, i.e., the All-India People's Party under the leadership of workers and peasants, in the largest Indian province, the province of Uttar Pradesh which has a population of nearly 63 millions.



The thing which has impressed us most powerfully is the spirit which the new Government in China has infused in the people. The May Day Parade and the celebrations by the common people in the Tien An Men Square at night after the Parade gave the

* Mr. Saksena visited China in May 1952.

most powerful demonstration of this spirit, which has permeated the masses. All people, men, women and children of all ages in China seem to feel that they have a great destiny and that this destiny can be realized under the new People's Government and its leader, their beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung. For the fulfilment of this great destiny of the Chinese people, every individual, man, woman and child seems anxious to do his or her utmost. It seems that the achievement of the Government during the last two and a half years has produced in the people unbounded faith and confidence in the wisdom, goodness and creative ability of this Government. It may be that there are still many hidden enemies, consisting of those who have lost their previous positions and opportunities to indulge in luxury, but we are convinced that the vast majority and the overwhelming masses of the people are solidly behind the new Government. This is our impression No. 1 and we Indian delegates are unanimous about it.

We have tried to find out how the new Government and its leaders have succeeded in infusing this new spirit amongst the people. The personal example of the topmost leaders of the Government and their unbounded trust in the people appear to be the secret of success of the new Government. The policies which the new Government has put into effect in the last two and a half years are the result of mature experience in the last thirty years of the revolutionary war which was led by these same leaders of the present Government. In fact, the

Agrarian Reform Law which the new Government has put into effect during the last two and a half years, and which probably is their greatest and most revolutionary achievement, is nothing but the outgrowth of directives issued by Chairman Mao Tse-tung as early as 1933 for distribution of land during the guerilla warfare against the Kuomintang forces and the reactionary landlords.

During the last thirty years of their revolutionary struggle and by practical administration of large areas which they liberated and administrated during all this period, these leaders have acquired a perfect knowledge of the needs and psychology of their people and they have before them a clear-cut vision of the new China of their dreams which they know how to build and construct. They have, therefore, wasted no time on foolish experiments but have set about their business in right earnest. The way in which they have put an end to corruption which was so rampant under the Kuomintang regime and the speed with which they have put an end to inflation and stabilized the currency and prices is unique in history. The land reform which has already liberated over 350 millions of people and which it is proposed to carry through amongst the remaining 125 millions of people in the next two and a half years has released such tremendous enthusiasm among the rural masses that the production per acre of land has almost doubled. Everywhere in the fields we have seen amazing bumper crops all through our travels. We have found that though there are still poor people in China and the standard of life is low in some vil-

lages, still there is plenty of food and nobody starves for want of it. It is obviously due to the increase in agricultural production, which has resulted from the land reform.

The manner in which the land reform has been carried out shows the practical ability, experience and far-sightedness of the new Government and its leaders. That they were allegedly deviating from Marxist theory did not trouble them at all. Socialism for them is an ideal which has to be achieved through many stages. Therefore, we find that although the landlord class has been liquidated, the rich peasant and the well-to-do peasant classes and the national bourgeoisie have been allowed to live and are even regarded as fulfilling an essential function in the economy of New China. Even the landlords have not been physically annihilated, and they have been allowed to live and earn their livelihood like all honest citizens.

The practical advantage of this wise method has been that the Government has antagonized only a microscopic minority in the villages, i.e., the landlords who did not form even one percent of the rural population.* The ten percent of the rich peasants and almost an equal number of well-to-do peasants have been neutralized by this wise policy and this has enabled the land reform to be completed smoothly

* According to the report on the Agrarian Reform Law made in June 1950 by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, landlords and rich peasants constituted less than 10 percent of China's rural population —Editor.

without any powerful opposition. Gradually the rich peasants and the well-to-do peasants as well as the national bourgeoisie are realizing the anomaly of their position in the new set-up and it should not take much time to convert them, and particularly their children, through political education to socialism when that stage arrives. The transition to socialism will be a long process but already the wisdom of farming through mutual-aid groups and cooperative and collective farming is being realized by the rural masses in villages where mutual-aid groups have been formed and co-operatives and collective farms have been introduced. This wise policy of the new Government has enabled the greatest agrarian revolution in history to be accomplished without almost any bloodshed or even large-scale resistance. In fact, it has been the most peaceful agrarian revolution in history and it has laid the foundations of all future industrialization and the progress of China towards its cherished goal.

Ours is a trade union delegation and naturally we were most interested in studying the role of the trade unions in the new set-up in China. Trade unions in our country are constantly engaged in struggle with the management for better wages and better conditions of service and the Government very often backs the capitalists. The management and even the Government very often look upon trade unions as a necessary evil and they seldom take them into confidence. Often they try to divide the unity of labour by sponsoring yellow trade unions which are able to exist and function only on account of the

patronage of the Government. The trade unions on the other hand are constantly engaged in devising sanctions and forging strength for the fulfilment of their most elementary demands, through various methods including strikes.

Here in China the situation is entirely different. So the functions and the responsibilities of the trade unions are also completely different. Here in China you have a People's Government. The trade unions are, therefore, the real rulers of New China.

Though the organization of the trade unions is separate and distinct from that of the Government, yet there is such close liaison and co-operation between the trade unions and the government organization at every level that they work in complete unison. It was, therefore, that although our various trade union delegations had been invited by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and we were their guests, yet for all practical purposes we were the guests of the People's Government of China. It is this complete identity of the trade unions and the government organizations that ensures to the working class its leading role in the direction of the People's Government of China. The trade unions in China, therefore, are the means through which the Government secures the co-operation and guidance of the working people in the formulation and carrying out of their policies.

We were greatly struck by the marvellous enthusiasm of the workers for increasing production. This enthusiasm was mainly due to the fact that every worker feels that it is his government and he must

do his utmost to help the Government in increasing production and in carrying out government policies and programmes. The Government has large schemes for raising not only the standard of living of the workers but also for raising the political consciousness and the intellectual level of the workers as a whole and of the leading cadres of the trade unions in particular. The People's University at Peking was a wonderful demonstration of the anxiety of the Government to equip the most promising cadres of the trade unions with the highest education and learning. Our visit to the factories at Mukden and Shanghai has given us the most happy experience of our life. The workers' clubs, dormitories, theatres, sanatoria, creches, clinics, cultural palaces and numerous other amenities which have been provided for them show that the Government pays its highest attention to the well-being of the workers. Naturally, therefore, the workers regard the Government as their own. They are, therefore, every minute doing their best to help the Government and to increase production. We could not get detailed figures and statistics about wages and production in each factory owing to the hurried nature of our visit and the limited time at our disposal. But it was obvious that the condition of the workers is much happier today than what it was before under the Kuomintang rule. The system of honouring the most efficient workers by calling them model workers and labour heroes raises the enthusiasm of all the workers in their work, and encourages everyone to emulate these

labour heroes in producing more and more at less cost and in less time.

The most remarkable demonstration of the workers' enthusiasm in their work was seen during our visit to the Huai River Project. We have larger river valley projects in India like the Damodar Valley project, the Bakha Naugal project and several others like these. But the manner in which the Huai River Project has been completed is unique and incomparable. With almost no machinery, this project has been completed with record speed and the millions of people who have worked in completing the project have been inspired with a strange zeal and enthusiasm. This enthusiasm for production with the highest speed and at the cheapest cost and with the minimum amount of waste is the highest achievement of the new Government and is its greatest asset.

While so great an emphasis is paid to production in New China we were greatly impressed to find that the cultural development of the people is not given a secondary place. In fact the most useful lesson that China has to teach is the manner in which literature, art, music, drama, cinema and radio have been harnessed to increase the people's enthusiasm for production, and for fulfilling the Common Programme of the People's Government. In this manner, literature and art have themselves been enriched and have been carried to the masses. They now reflect the sentiments and the feelings of the masses. This is a very great achievement.

Another very striking feature of New China is its wonderful women and children. The equality of

man and woman has become a concrete fact here. The enthusiasm of women is marvellous. We have seen them working in fields as well as in factories. They even do heavy work in machine-tool factories. And they seem to be so happy under these new conditions.

But what we shall never forget are the children of New China. Their discipline is wonderful and their enthusiasm unbounded. We can never forget the affection with which they welcomed and greeted us everywhere throughout China.

Many people in India believe that the peace movement is merely a propaganda of the Communist Party of India. But in China we realized how intense is the longing for peace. Those alone who have known the horrors of war can realize the value of the peace movement. India was fortunately spared from the actual horrors of war. The peace movement in India is therefore confined to the intellectuals. In China it is a mass movement. The longing for peace is real and genuine. It is also a national necessity. Given ten years of peace, China's reconstruction will be completed, and it will have marched very far towards its cherished goal of socialism. We are, therefore, convinced that the Chinese peace movement is real and genuine, and its 475 million people are all for peace.

The peace movement led by Soviet Russia and China embracing 700 million people is, therefore, in our opinion one of the greatest bulwarks of world peace.

The Chinese people's love and admiration for the

Russian people and its leader Marshal Stalin is remarkable. Soviet Russia has given real help to the Chinese people to carry out their reconstruction programme. The alliance of Soviet Russia and the People's China is not an alliance of convenience or political strategy but it is a genuine and deep-rooted unity. This unity is bound to grow more and more as the years pass by.

The world was amazed at the heroism of the Korean people and the Chinese Volunteers who helped the Koreans to resist American aggression so successfully. We now know the secret of this success of the Chinese people. It is the new spirit of the Chinese people which Chairman Mao Tse-tung has infused in them. This spirit is invincible. It is unconquerable. The American bacteriological warfare cannot bend this new spirit of the Chinese people and the atom bombs cannot conquer it.

A RAILWAYMAN LOOKS AT CHINA'S RAILWAYS

S. Guruswami
*General Secretary of the
All-India Railwaymen's Federation*

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to give my first impressions of New China gained during my tour of one month in this great country. I have visited six cities, having a population of more than a million each, have been at several industrial areas, saw the villages develop agriculture under the new economy. I attended the impressive sessions of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. I came into contact with her great leaders of labour, witnessed several cultural performances and the totality of impressions left in me have exceeded my most sanguine expectations.



Right from the time I entered the country on April 25, 1953, the reception given us everywhere and the hospitality shown us has been unique and wonderful and never before experienced by me in this hearty manner in the course of my visits to Europe

and America during my 28 years of trade-union life. I will never forget the little children and the youth of New China who welcome us so well and who are playing a very enthusiastic part in the building of a new era. This is the most encouraging feature of this country.

In the first place, the wonderful May Day Parade in the Tien An Men Square in Peking has left an unforgettable impression on my mind and was symbolical of the fact that all sections of the community are politically conscious of the great role they are called upon to play in the building of a socialist economy and May Day is the occasion for celebration of their determination.

Before I came to China, I had the feeling that I was going to see a country with signs of war damage everywhere and a poor railway system. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, New China has completely effected her economic recovery and is well on the road for fulfilment and even overfulfilment of her Five-Year Plan for economic advancement towards socialism.

Her railways are not only well maintained but are being expanded at a rate not to be compared with any other part of the world. I have so far travelled some 4,000 kilometers on the Chinese railways and the impression I have is that maintenance is second to none, and in a short period the standard of management will be ahead of many so-called advanced countries. The bad legacy left over by foreign imperialists, bureaucrats, and capitalists is being rapidly liquidated and several innovations are being

introduced to increase the efficiency of rail transport. I had the pleasure of meeting at Mukden Comrade Tien Kwei-ying, China's first woman locomotive driver and hearing from her first hand how she was trained to become such a good model worker.

The railway wages system in India has all the symbols of an old capitalist society with a variety of grades providing for the highest official a wage exceeding 50 times the earnings of the lowest paid worker. In the Chinese railways, it does not exceed more than five times for the corresponding categories of workers and the principle followed is each according to his labour and it is amazing to observe how the workers determine their wages.

The railway workshops I visited are doing a magnificent job and are models of enthusiastic co-operation between the administration and the workers. The railways are run in the interests of the country and for the development of her national reconstruction.

The success of the management of Chinese industrial concerns is due to the close co-operation between the managerial staff and the trade unions. The enthusiasm and the political consciousness of the workers are the keynote everywhere and careful planning and keen desire not only to fulfil but overfulfil the targets are in evidence everywhere.

The new land reform has demonstrated how increase in agricultural production can be secured and the standard of life improved for the peasants. The new river valley projects are calculated to avert famine and benefit the peasantry.

The interesting and instructive report of Comrade Lai Jo-yu at the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions showed how industrial production results have been achieved and improvements in productivity effected both in quantity and quality. His report gave a note of warning against bureaucratic, economist and syndicalist tendencies in trade unions and rightly emphasized that improved standards of living cannot be divorced from production results. Stabilization of commodity prices is a great achievement.

The delegations from foreign countries gave the Congress the character of an international labour conference and it was truly stressed that, without peace, democracy and socialism will be jeopardized and that it should be the joint endeavour of the workers of the world to unite and strive for peace.

The people and the Government in China are determined to build for socialism. I congratulate the workers and peasants of New China on their magnificent achievements and I wish them all happiness and success in completing their new Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

MY VISIT TO NORTHEAST CHINA

Thakin Aye Choe
*Member of the General Council of the Burma
Trade Union Congress*

We representatives of the workers of Burma, who are engaged in struggle against imperialism, arrived in the People's Republic of China on April 29, 1953 to take part in the May Day celebrations and in the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. After the Congress, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions



arranged an itinerary that would enable us to study conditions in the various industries. The first place we visited was Shenyang (Mukden) in Northeast China. Leaving Peking at 3 p.m. on May 14, 1953, we arrived at Shenyang at nine the next morning. At the railway station we were warmly received by masses of workers.

At 2 p.m. that very same day we visited the Technological Institute which is housed almost entirely in new buildings. We examined their methods of construction with great interest. They have a

very large number of students—over six thousand! We were told that last year 1,500 students graduated from the Institute. Class-rooms were completed only two years ago. Most of the students live in. The many buildings—administration offices, class-rooms, with student dormitories on top—were very impressive. All the students were very earnestly at work: at lectures, in the laboratory or doing other practical work. Whenever they had time the students would join the workers while construction was still in progress on the school buildings. On one of the largest buildings the foundation had just been laid and ground work was beginning. We were amazed to learn that the building would be completed in August—only three months off!

In the morning of May 16 we visited an industrial exhibition where the display of all sorts of machinery, from iron smelting to the manufacture of porcelain and glass-ware—all made in the People's Republic of China—thrilled us. In one section of the exhibition peasants were shown how to make and use fertilizer. The industrial exhibition was arranged in two parts—actual products in one, charts statistics in the other—to show how China was to be transformed into a socialist country. We did not have time to go through all the rooms of the exhibition. But what we were able to take in was immensely interesting.

In the afternoon that day we visited a machine works. This was the first time in my life that I saw such a big factory. We saw Soviet-made machines and similar machines that were being turned out by

that factory. All the workers were very busy. The factory had been severely damaged by the Japanese invaders during the war; now it was almost completely restored. Before the liberation, the workers had been on the verge of starvation; now they lived well. This visit to a factory was convincing evidence of China's assured industrial progress.

The following day, we went to a coal mine near Fushun where we spent the whole day from 10:30 a.m. onwards. In the town, new workers' residences were to be seen everywhere. We went into the open-cut mine. There were two parallel tracks on every level. Electric trolleys delivered the coal to a point from which other electric trolleys took it to the dumping ground. The car by which we travelled into the mine was also electrically operated. To our delight, we found that every part of the mining process was power-operated. Working conditions were, here too, greatly improved and the workers' living standards rising steadily.

In the late afternoon, we paid a visit to the home for the aged and the nursery established by the colliery. The nursery had spacious, bright rooms; bathrooms were spotless. We were entertained with a performance by the children. In the home for the aged, everything was neat and tidy, too. The oldest inmate was 85 years of age. All rooms were very nicely furnished, some even beautifully. When we talked to these old people, they told us of their sufferings under Chiang Kai-shek's rule; they pointed to the contrast in their life now, under the loving care of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-

tung. The home was comfortable. All workers enjoy labour insurance which grants them pensions in their old age.

We did not have enough time to see all of Fushun. But what we saw in the way of the number of schools convinced us that a great deal was being done in education and culture. It was already dark when we left the mining town.

On the morning of May 18 we visited a village. We were particularly interested in seeing it because it was at some distance from the railway line and the highway. The village consisted of about one hundred households; at each of these, outbuildings and farm implements were in good order. The peasants were eating well and their women were well-dressed. We also visited the village school which was neat and well-kept. The village had two co-operatives. The people told us that the peasants who had formerly been very poor now had surplus grain and that they, whose homesteads used to be seized by the landlords, could now safely call their homes their own. We also learned that formerly only 35 out of 105 school-age children had been able to attend school and that of these 35, 15 were from landlords' families. Now there were 127 children of school-age and all of them could go to school. We visited a nursery that had 20 children and four nurses to care for them. The nursery's library had several hundred books, showing what emphasis was placed on proper education. I took notes on some of the interesting things we saw in this village: They had, for instance, a chart showing how much rice had been produced in

the previous year and how much would be produced this year; another chart showed how much fertilizer was required to produce how much rice. It seemed this small village was quite advanced; but if this small village was so advanced, then it was easy to imagine the advances made by other villages throughout the People's Republic of China.

We saw many two- or three-storied houses with modern conveniences recently built and many more going up. Clothing is unpretentious; all dress in blue cotton uniforms. Under Chiang Kai-shek's regime, the working people were in rags; now they not only have adequate clothing, but also special clothes to suit the type of work each worker is engaged in. While in the past, the workers were continuously threatened by starvation and often had nothing but wild herbs to eat, they now have rice regularly and other nutritious foods and are entirely free from the want of food and clothing.

With progress made in communications and distances greatly shortened, goods move freely from one part of the country to the other. As wages have been rising, the workers have been able to buy bicycles, wrist watches and radio sets. There is no need to worry about getting an education since everybody can attend school and new schools have been established in great numbers.

**Joint Statement by the Delegation of the
All-Indonesia Central Organization of
Trade Unions (SOBSI) and the
Delegation of the Federation
of Indonesian Trade
Unions (GSBI)***

At the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, delegations of the All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions and the Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions, which are the two largest trade union organizations in Indonesia, participated in the 1953 May Day celebrations in Peking and attended the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. After that, the delegates went on a sight-seeing tour of various places in New China, from Shenyang (Mukden) in the north to Canton in the south.

The delegates saw with their own eyes the social transformation taking place in the largest country in Asia, transformation of an agricultural country into an industrial power. This transformation is now being pushed ahead at a fast pace with the great First Five-Year Plan of economic and industrial construction.

The Indonesian trade union delegates, together with other trade union delegates from Asia, Europe,

* This statement was read at a reception given by the Chekiang Provincial Trade Union Council on May 28, 1953 in honour of the delegations.

Africa and Australia, have had the opportunity of visiting factories, cities and villages. They have obtained first-hand knowledge of the life of all strata of the Chinese people who overthrew the corrupt Kuomintang regime which had been supported by the imperialists. They have paid particular attention to the heroic expression of patriotism of New China's working class in creative emulation drives in the building up of the country which is now their own. Thanks to the deep concern in the workers' material and cultural life displayed by the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese workers' standard of living is going up daily. New living quarters, sanatoria, hospitals, nurseries and spare-time schools for workers are being built all the time. Labour insurance, old-age pensions and other social amenities receive the attention of the trade unions and the Government.

This visit has convinced the Indonesian trade union delegates that the workers play an important part in the building of their country. The workers can be filled with high labour enthusiasm only when they realize that they are working for their motherland and not for monopoly capitalists.

The working class plays a leading part in the struggle for complete national independence. Recalling the struggle of the Shanghai workers, the Indonesian trade union delegates realize how acute this struggle was against oppression by the Japanese fascists and the Kuomintang rulers. The ruthless slaughter of workers' leaders could not cow the Shanghai workers, imbued with patriotism as they

were. They carried on the fight for their rights to the very moment the People's Liberation Army marched into Shanghai.

At present the primary task of China's trade unions is to mobilize all forces for increased production, so as to carry out China's First Five-Year Plan.

Having noted the efficiency shown by China's workers, in building the Kuanting Reservoir and in the manufacture of all kinds of machines, the Indonesian trade union delegates are convinced that the Chinese workers will be able to accomplish their tasks with brilliant results.

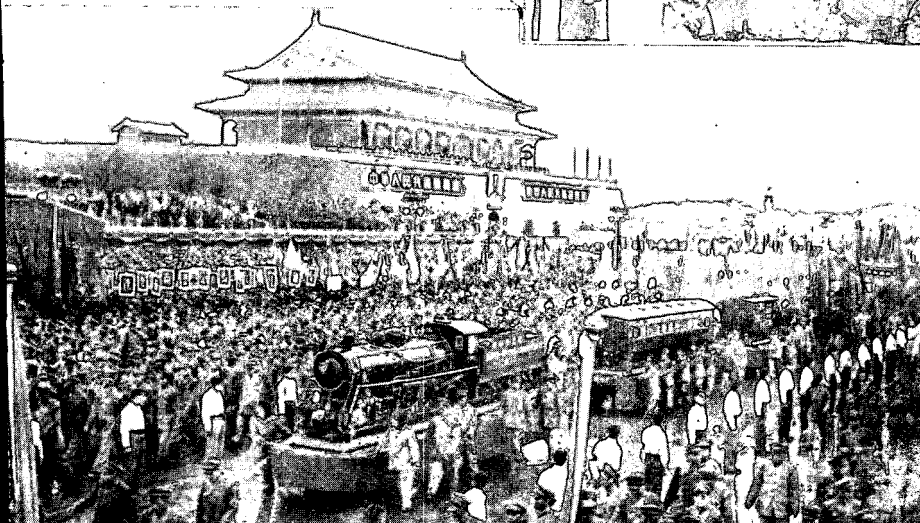
The daily growing prosperity of New China and the daily rising living standards of its workers are a great contribution to world peace and international trade. They also greatly inspire the Indonesian people who have always been shackled by round-table conference agreements and are striving for complete independence.

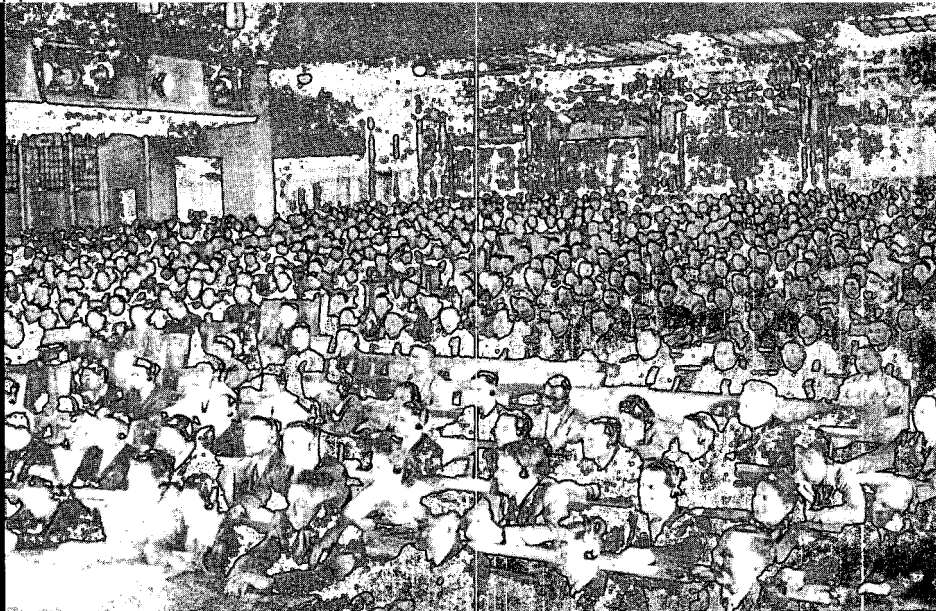
It is the hope of the Indonesian delegates that the Indonesian workers will also be able to lead a life as the Chinese workers do, and to contribute their immediate efforts to the build-up of their country and to the defence of their national interests.

The workers of New China have many things the Indonesian workers can learn, especially their experiences both in the struggle before the liberation and in national construction at present. The Indonesian trade union delegations which represent the All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions and the Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions appeal to all the members of these two organizations as

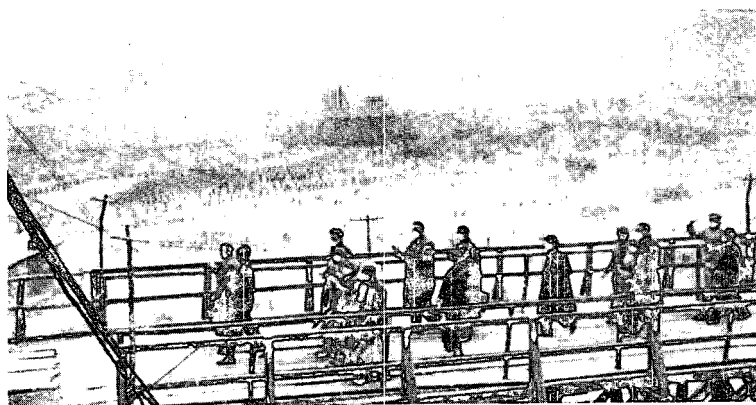


May Day 1953 in Peking—the first year of China's First Five-Year Plan showed the improvements made in all fields of the national economy. A mighty throng of 500,000, including workers, peasants, students, the national minorities, cheered for International Labour Day with promises for still better efforts in the future





The day after May 1st, the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions opened in the palatial Huai Jen Tang. Representing over ten million trade unionists in 29 industries, 813 delegates from all parts of the country met for ten days. Also present were 105 guests from abroad, including representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions led by their General Secretary Louis Saillant, and trade union delegates from 20 countries



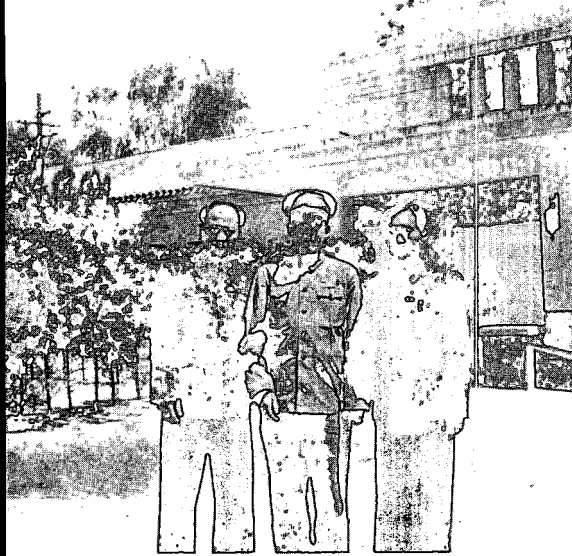
After the Congress, the foreign delegates visited the Kuanting Reservoir on the Yungting River near Peking, the biggest reservoir under construction



On the way to the Kuanting Reservoir, the delegates had occasion to see parts of China's Great Wall. Some of the Japanese and Indian delegates posed, with the Great Wall for a background

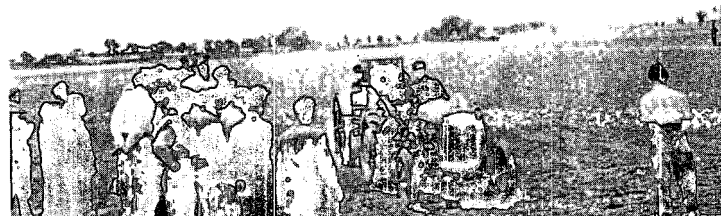
In Peking, the Polish, Czechoslovak and Australian delegates visited a crèche run by the Girls' Secondary School affiliated to the Peking Normal University. The children performed for the foreign guests





Bang Tai Uk (left) and Bak Sam Yun (right) of Korea visited a Chinese People's Volunteers combat hero, Tsui Chien-kuo, who was convalescing in Peking

State farms have great educational and directional importance. At the Wulitien State Farm near Peking, the delegates watched a demonstration of insecticide being sprayed over a cotton field by means of a tractor

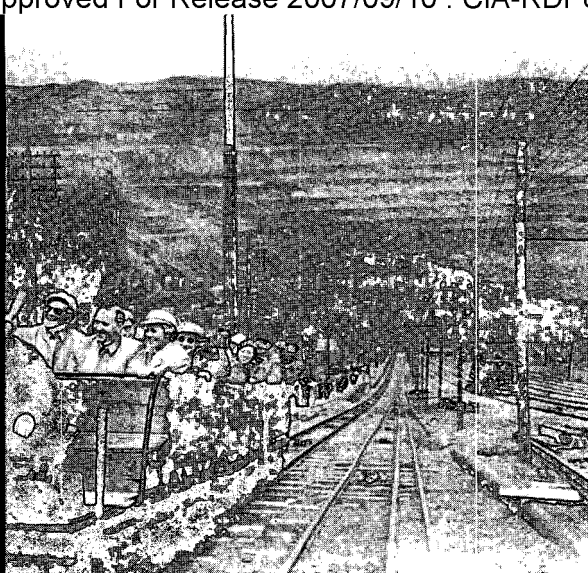




On a visit to the Lungfeng Colliery in Fushun, Northeast China, the foreign delegates donned miners' outfits, prior to going down into the coal mine

Some of the delegates also inspected the miners' comfortable living quarters and received a rousing welcome



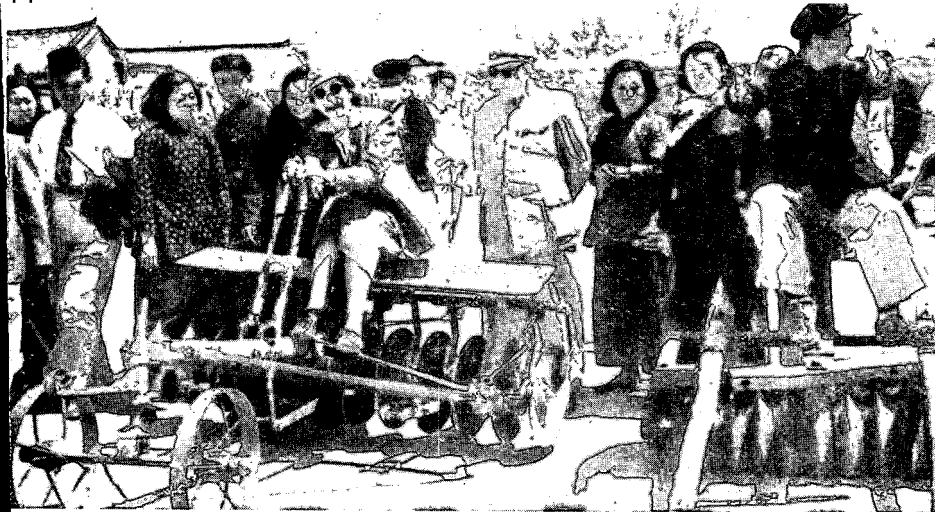


Another place of interest was the open-cut coal mine at Fushun. The delegates travelled on electrically-operated trolleys about this mine where machines have taken the drudgery off human backs

In the Fushun Colliery's Home for the Aged, the Indian delegates obtained a first-hand account from 74-year-old miner Hu Ching-teh (2nd from left) about how terribly different working conditions were in his time. Now he can live out his last days in peace on a pension, granted him and all others like him under the Labour Insurance Regulations of the People's Government of China

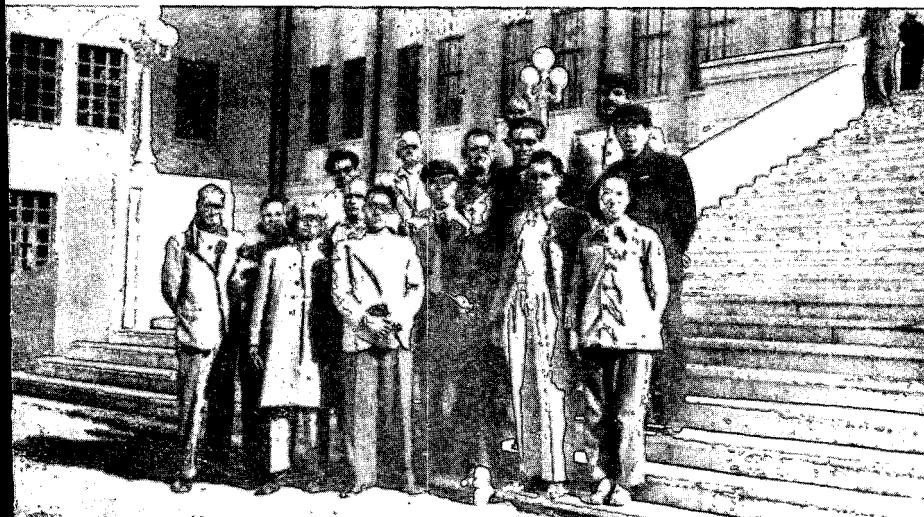


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The use of disc ploughs was explained at the agricultural producers' cooperative in Kao Kan Village near Shenyang (Mukden)

At Shenyang, the Indian delegates paid a visit to the Technological Institute and posed in front of the Institute's Metallurgical Research Building

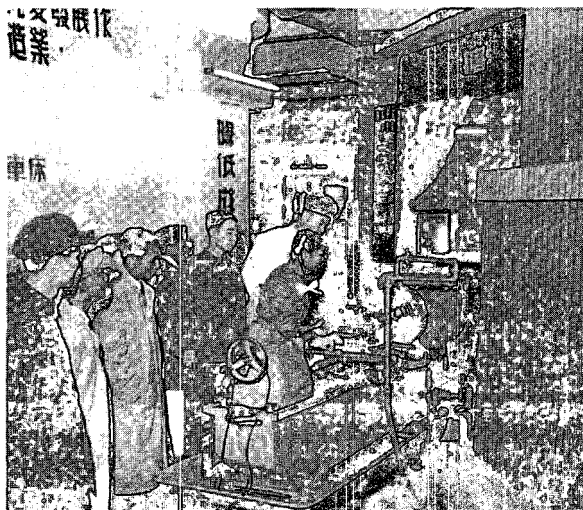


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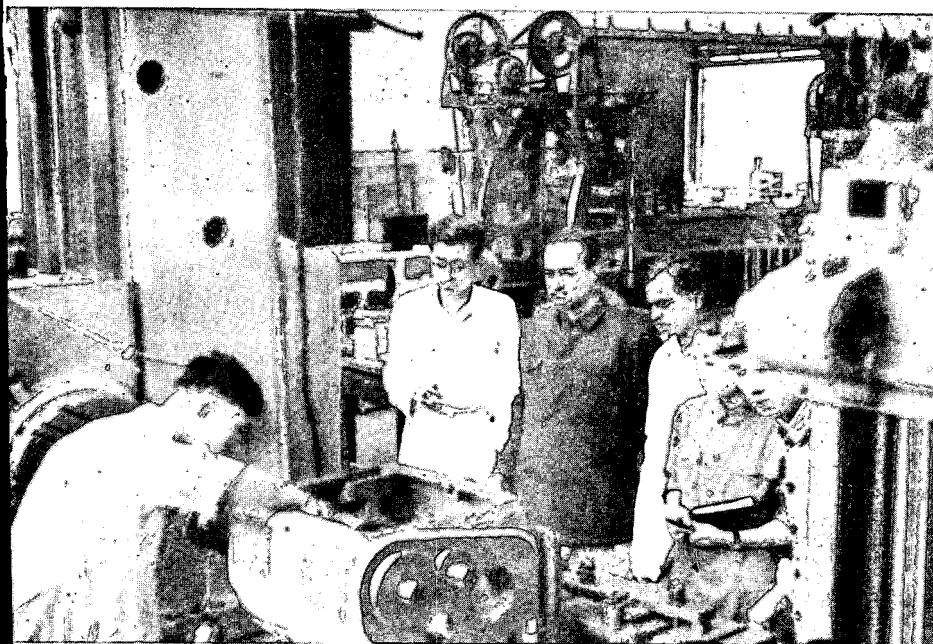


M. G. Mendis, Head of the Ceylon Trade Union Delegation, inspected rubber tyres made in China, at the Northeast Industrial Exhibition in Shenyang

Indonesian delegates at the Northeast Industrial Exhibition



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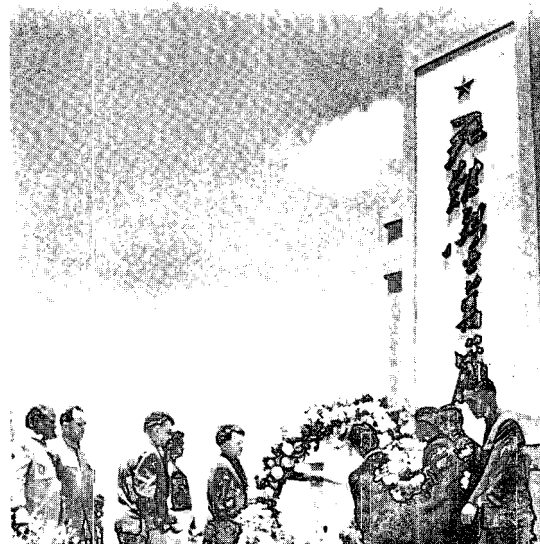
Some of the Indian delegates visited a machine works in Nanking

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In Nanking, the delegates walked up to the sumptuous Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum

Outside Nanking, the delegates visited the memorial to the revolutionary and patriotic martyrs who gave their lives during the Japanese occupation and under the Kuomintang terror and paid tribute to their memory. The monument bears the inscription: "Everlasting Glory to the Martyrs of the Revolution!"





Shanghai's cotton mills interested the trade union delegates from abroad. Here Ceylonese delegates visited a textile mill in Shanghai

The Indian delegates took a brief rest on the lawn of the Shanghai Workers' Sanatorium





Flanked by members of the delegation of the All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions (SOBSI) and of the delegation of the Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions (GSBI), Tjugito (second from left), leader of the SOBSI, reads the joint statement issued by the two delegations, calling upon the workers of Indonesia to strive for a united front

well as to the members of other trade unions and workers who have not yet joined trade unions, to take more positive action in forming a workers' united front. With their united strength, the Indonesian workers can certainly take the same road as China, to free themselves from the shackles of imperialism and build up their country.

We would like to express our gratitude for the opportunity given us by the Chinese trade unions and hope that the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian workers will be further consolidated.

Delegation of the All-Indonesia Central
Organization of Trade Unions

Leader: Tjugito

Deputy-leader: Suhardjo

Members: A. S. Darta Hanapi
 Harjo Suprpto
 Bardi

Delegation of the Federation of Indonesian
Trade Unions

Leader: A. M. Datuk

Members: Sudjono Agung Sutadi

CHINA'S PEOPLE ARE CARED FOR

Tjugito

*First Secretary, Department of Organization, All-Indonesia
Central Organization of Trade Unions*



It is natural that the Chinese people should feel happy now that they have been liberated from oppression by the Kuo-mintang and the landlord clique and, what is more, now that they have, under the leadership of the working class and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, achieved such magnificent successes for the benefit of the people in all fields.

In Chungking, for instance, the workers completed thousands of new houses in order to greet the approaching May Day Festival; and so, thousands of workers with their families are now able to celebrate May Day in new homes with modern conveniences. Last year, China appropriated 2,800,000 million yuan for building new houses for the people; these provide pleasant living quarters for a million workers and their families.

During the labour emulation movement to greet May Day, another dam, 697 metres long, was com-

pleted on the Huai River. In the past, particularly under the corrupt rule of Chiang Kai-shek's government, floods caused death and injury to thousands of people, destroyed millions of yuan worth of property, good rice fields and land. But now, after the completion of the Sanho Dam, 1,720,000 hectares of rice fields will be irrigated. In consequence, the peasants and other inhabitants of the area will be able to live happy, prosperous lives.

In my country, the people's health is miserably neglected. Even Minister of Health Dr. Leimeña despairs when he is faced with the situation of one doctor to 60,000 patients, and of 10,000 people fighting over eight accommodations in a hospital! In China we found an entirely different situation. Peking, with a population of 2,400,000 (less than the population of Djakarta), has 10 large hospitals, not counting the clinics sponsored by every factory, school and organization.

In our country, according to the statistics of the Indonesian Teachers' Association and the Ministry of Culture and Education, 2,300,000 children of school-age cannot go to school as a result of the lack of school buildings and teachers. These children, unable to obtain the necessary scientific schooling, thus cannot become educated and useful people. In the People's Republic of China, not only have great numbers of school buildings been erected for the country's younger generation who will be the pillars of her future. But 152 parks and cultural palaces have also been established for them. This number does not include the cultural establishments and

stadiums in all the factories and mines. Nor does it include the 20,000 dramatic, dancing and choral troupes that entertain the people with their performances and inspire them with greater energy for the country's large-scale economic construction, for a happier future and for a lasting world peace.

Since all the people are now living lives of happiness and prosperity, and since their cultural as well as material requirements are being satisfied, it is natural they should make May Day such a gay event. We saw 500,000 workers, peasants, students, Young Pioneers, women, athletes, artists and writers, carrying many-coloured flowers and flags, marching in columns 5 kilometres long. They cheered their beloved leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung with songs and shouts and slogans for three whole hours.

To-day, the Chinese workers and the Chinese people have achieved their emancipation and are leading a happy life. But they are not stopping at this. In fact, they are aiming at further progress. The Chinese working class, which played a major role in the liberation struggle and is now playing the major role in national construction for the benefit of the entire people, is whole-heartedly behind the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions. All the minds and thoughts of China's workers are concentrated on one thing: how to guarantee the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of construction which will bring still greater happiness to the people.

The success of the Congress of the Chinese working class and the launching of the Five-Year Plan constitute part of the victories won by the people in

their fight for freedom and peace, against imperialism and the warmongers. Hence, every victory won by the freedom and peace-loving people is also a victory for our Indonesian people.

The victory of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung was possible only after a long series of bitter and persistent struggles. If the Chinese workers and the Chinese people have succeeded in changing their life into one of happiness and prosperity, that is the result of the struggle by the masses themselves based upon the policy of a national united front of all democratic and patriotic people, regardless of political or religious belief, in the struggle against imperialism, for better living conditions, complete national independence, democracy and lasting world peace.

The theory of such a struggle has been put into practice in China. What is more, the correctness of this theory has thus been proved. We have seen with our own eyes the magnificent accomplishments achieved with this theory.

The people of Indonesia must come to believe that, by strengthening our national united front and international unity, we will be successful in our fight for better living conditions, for complete national independence and for a lasting world peace.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

Suhardjo

*Secretary, Department of Culture and Sports, All-Indonesia
Central Organization of Trade Unions*



It is twenty-five days since we came to the People's Republic of China. During this time, we saw the May Day celebrations; we took part in the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, held in Peking; we visited other big cities and also villages where we could observe the large-scale economic construction now going on,

as well as achievements made in the cultural and educational fields; we were able to come into contact with workers, peasants, intellectuals, university students, children . . . the old as well as the young.

In Indonesia as in other countries, which are still under direct or indirect imperialist domination, we were given to believe that the freedom of religious belief, of political conviction, of trade, and even of loving one's own kinsmen is suppressed in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies, including

the People's Republic of China. That this is contrary to fact has been shown by the Moslem member of our Indonesian delegation. He had the opportunity of meeting freely with Moslems in Shanghai. He found that they are free to exercise their religious rights. In Djakarta there are only six mosques for more than 2,500,000 Moslems in the city, whereas in Shanghai there are 13 mosques for only 30,000 Moslems. One of the Shanghai mosques was in bad repair during the Japanese occupation and the Kuomintang regime. But after the liberation, the district people's government appropriated 270,000,000 yuan (270,000 rupiah) to repair it and to install modern conveniences.

The imperialists have been shouting that personal freedom is suppressed in the Soviet Union, in the People's Democracies and in the People's Republic of China. If there were any suppression in China at all, then it had been directed against the activities of a few, which were detrimental to the interests of the people as a whole, activities which should be suppressed. This suppression started in January 1952 with the "San Fan"* and "Wu Fan"** mass movements.

The people throughout the country took an energetic and conscious part in both these move-

*A movement among government workers against corruption, waste and bureaucratism.

**A movement among industrialists and traders against the bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for private speculation.

ments. Since then, everyone in China is helping to do away with bad practices in daily life. We have seen with our own eyes some of the achievements of these mass movements.

For instance: One day, when we took a walk, we saw an iron box with a glass top at a busy street-corner. Inside the box were postcards, stamps and envelopes. Many people took some of these out by themselves, then dropped the money into the box. No one was there to watch the box, but then nobody cheated.

In Indonesia, appropriations for culture and education constituted only 8.9 per cent of the 1951 budget, but in the People's China 14.9 per cent of the 1953 budget, a sum of 34,807,700 million yuan (equivalent to approximately 34,807,700,000 rupiah), was allocated for this purpose. And this at a time of national economic construction which is taking up 44.34 per cent of the total 1953 budget.

With the achievements in national economic construction, the rate of the increases in the wages of the working people in 1952 ranged from 60 to 120 per cent, as compared with 1949. In a textile mill we visited, we were not surprised to find that among the 340 workers 110 owned wrist watches; 102 had purchased a total of 323 books, and 95 per cent of the workers went to the cinema three times a week because nowadays films are educational as well as recreational.

To meet the ever-increasing people's demand for culture, the People's Government has produced and shown 143 feature and documentary films. Besides, Soviet, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and other educa-

tional films, on the topics of democracy, socialism and world peace have been widely shown in China. In 1950, 146,380,000 people saw films; in the first half of 1952, this number had risen to 213,500,000. We have been greatly impressed by the fact that the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has 500 projection teams with 817 cine-projectors touring the country to show films exclusively to workers . . . a fact impossible at present in Indonesia.

The main task of these projection teams is the political and cultural education of the workers.

Apart from 2,436 cultural centres set up in the whole country, the workers are given material assistance to carry on cultural activities at places where they work, in factories as well as in government organizations. The owners of the enterprises or the administration appropriate funds for cultural expenses — not deducted from the workers' wages — equivalent to 1.5 per cent of the total workers' payroll. Sports stadiums and theatres have been built, too. Writers and artists are invited regularly to give lectures; and exhibitions are often held of the workers' artistic or literary creations. The workers' cultural and art teams also give performances in the countryside and help the peasants organize their own cultural and art groups. The trade unions have set up classes training dance, singing and sports instructors. Recently, the railway workers' trade union mobilized one hundred of their trained members to instruct the people in field and track events, as well as other sports.

The working people of Indonesia also have the

right to enjoy cultural and recreational activities, but without political and economic guarantees this is hardly possible. In order to meet the cultural demands of the Indonesian working people, our slogan today remains: Rally around the united front of the workers and the national united front to struggle for improved living standards, complete national independence, democracy and lasting peace.

EDUCATION IN NEW CHINA

Sudjono

President of the Indonesian Teachers' Trade Union

As a member of the Indonesian trade union delegation, I attended the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions that was held recently in Peking and was given a chance to visit the key cities of China. Although our tour has not yet come to an end, I am sure it is going to be a great success.



Some comrades of our delegation have already spoken of their experiences, conclusions and hopes in the various fields in which they specialize. As a teacher, I would like to say a few words about what I have seen in the field of education.

I cannot describe in detail everything that I have seen, and the material that I have collected is by no means exhaustive. This does not mean, however, that I cannot draw any conclusions. While on tour, I have had the opportunity of discussing problems with educationists, trade unionists, teachers and

students. The following is a summary of my impressions.

First, I have been deeply impressed by the fact that every school pays great attention to the well-known and advanced educational principle, that is, to the principle that there should be no discrepancy between words and deeds. In the education of children, theory is stressed in the same manner as practice. It is true that to put this method into effect, there is need not only of teachers but also of sufficient experimental apparatus, and this sometimes causes difficulties. Nevertheless, this method is extremely beneficial to the mental and physical development of children. What the schools train for the society are not students who are acquainted only with theory but not practice; they are turning out cadres who are prepared to engage in economic construction.

Secondly, the system of People's Democracy is widely applied in the field of education and this is borne out by the establishment of short-term secondary schools for workers and peasants. These schools are like ordinary secondary schools except that the course is very short, ranging from six months to one year. They do not admit ordinary students. They are for the talented youth of worker and peasant origin who have contributed to the development of the society by their work. I visited such a school in Shenyang (Mukden) where I met a student named Tien Kuei-ying, a woman locomotive driver and a nationally famous model worker.

Thirdly, I have noticed that the teachers and students of the schools I have visited are very happy.

They study seriously and get on well with each other. They do not show the least sign of embarrassment when they meet new people. I think that all who have visited the schools have had the same experience.

Fourthly, New China pays great attention to technical schools. Technical schools of different kinds (including agricultural technical schools) are set up everywhere to meet the needs of the large-scale industrialization of the country.

Fifthly, nurseries contribute much to the mental and physical health of children and make it possible for mothers to engage in productive work. From a very early age, the children are trained to adapt themselves to collective life. It should be pointed out that this is all to the good, for parents who are apt to spoil their children at home have fewer opportunities of doing so.

Lastly, as an official of a teachers' trade union I should not forget to mention the prospects and living conditions of the teachers in China. I have seen with my own eyes that their life has improved substantially since the liberation. They are paid several times more than they were in the Kuomintang days and, moreover, they enjoy the benefits of social amenities (living quarters with water and light, free medical service and sanatoria). No wonder that under such circumstances they work whole-heartedly and happily. In addition, they attend lectures on various special subjects and have access to all necessary reference books so that they have a good chance

to increase their general knowledge as well as their professional knowledge.

These are the impressions I have obtained during my short stay in China. It is quite clear that New China's Government and society lay great emphasis on education. They do so because they believe that education is an essential condition for national construction. The Government appropriates a large sum from the budget for the development of education. This is only possible when state power is in the hands of the people. What I have seen is, in fact, only the beginning of their plan. I believe their educational work will expand along with the development of national construction.

SIX WEEKS' TOUR OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

M. G. Mendis

General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation

During the six weeks of our stay in New China we have been able to see the Great May Day Parade in Peking, the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions and the vast achievements made by the Chinese people during the short period of three and a half years since the liberation.



The May Day Parade was a unique event which demonstrated in all effectiveness the tremendous love and boundless confidence all classes of people in Chinese society have in the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China.

The May Day Parade also demonstrated the ardent desire and the great determination of the Chinese people to fulfil and overfulfil the national construction programme and to defend world peace.

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions is an event of very great significance not only for

the Chinese people but also to all peoples in colonial, semi-colonial and capitalist countries who are fighting for national liberation, democracy and peace.

It is an event which has given great hopes and confidence to all freedom-loving peoples all over the world. At this historic congress we were able to observe the great unity of the Chinese working class, their political maturity, their iron discipline and their overwhelming enthusiasm to overfulfil the national construction programme to lay the foundation to make New China a mighty industrial power.

During the six weeks of our stay we have visited many cities and villages. When we visited Shanghai we were able to see many machine-tool factories for the manufacture of machinery for heavy as well as light industries. We saw many such factories in Mukden and Nanking too. This vast production of machinery and tools is for the purpose of starting heavy and light industries throughout the country to increase the wealth and prosperity of the country, for the Chinese people to have a richer and happier life.

We were also able to notice in many cities and villages, how the Central People's Government is taking great concern in providing living quarters for the people. Large building construction schemes are in progress in every city and throughout the villages to provide decent houses for the people.

Workers who lived in shanties, hovels and mud huts before the liberation are living in well-ventilated, well-furnished modern houses with electricity and drainage. We saw tens of thousands of such houses

in Shanghai, Mukden, Nanking, Tientsin and many other cities.

Workers are also provided with decent rest homes and sanatoria to spend their annual holidays and periods of convalescence after illness. These rest homes and sanatoria which we visited are provided with all modern conveniences and comforts. Facilities have been provided for indoor and outdoor games. Reading rooms, libraries and theatres are provided for cultural activities.

All facilities are provided to look after the welfare of mothers and children. Nurseries have been established in factories, in different parts of cities and villages to nurse the children when mothers are at work. These children are given vitamin-rich food and they are given toys to play. Trained nurses look after these children and teach them to sing and dance.

During our travels we observed that the Central People's Government is paying very great attention to child-welfare and also to the welfare of women workers.

Women workers get equal pay with men and during the period of confinement and after childbirth special attention is paid to their health. They get 56 days' leave with full pay during confinement and sometimes this period is extended.

In the villages the conditions of the peasants have improved very considerably after land reform. I visited many villages and we were able to observe the great love the peasants have for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party for liberating them from the yoke of the landlords and

the reactionary Kuomintang rulers. They are working with very great enthusiasm to increase production. The peasants not only have enough food to eat, they have reserve stocks in their barns.

We noticed that the conditions of the Chinese peasants are much better than the middle peasants in our country who are fast getting indebted and pauperized.

Health and sanitation is another factor that strikes any visitor to New China. The patriotic health movement launched at the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung has produced marvellous results. The first city that we visited in the course of our tour in New China was Canton. Canton was one of the most insanitary cities in China before the liberation. But we saw a different picture when we visited this city. The streets in this city were perfectly clean. We noticed common people and even children observing cleanliness in every detail. During the three days and three nights we stayed in Canton we did not see a single fly, mosquito or any other insect injurious to public health.

In Canton we saw the new People's Hospital with all the modern conveniences and comforts provided for indoor patients. This was only one of the many hospitals in Canton. The hospital had 1,200 beds and it was provided with all modern equipment and appliances. The number of doctors, nurses and attendants in that hospital was amazing. A hospital of that size in our country does not have even one third of that staff.

CHINA WANTS PEACE

G. M. Dawson

Member of the Australian Council of Trade Unions

There are so many conditions enjoyed today by the people of China, and for which we still struggle, that it is difficult to select that which makes the most impression upon us. However, the most striking fact is the friendly unity of the peasants, the workers, and the people generally, in all of their activities.



This unity is based upon practical personal experiences of the workers and peasants, of swiftly improving living standards. The poor, exploited peasants receiving land of their own for the first time in history; and the workers managing their country free from exploitation and insecurity; all work together in amazing friendship and unity for the economic and material reconstruction of China.

It is most refreshing to meet people who are so friendly to each other and to us, but, meeting the children of China provides inspiration for everything that is good. Whether they are the children of the

city worker, or the village peasant, we found everywhere beautiful, happy, carefree, healthy children who laugh, sing and play most joyously. They extend their genuine friendship so happily, as they clap their hands, and seek to hold ours, or insist that we join in one of their games that, very often, try as we may to resist, we are compelled to respond to such friendship with tears of joy.

We talked to the school children at Peking, where 1,700 happy children looked up to us and cried, "We want peace," "Long live peace," while we thought of rich warmongers in our country, who talk of using atom bombs which would murder millions of children. After seeing the many thousands of happy, healthy children, the need for action in their defence becomes a most pressing need.

We in Australia, who today are commencing to join together in our wrath to try to stop the poisoning of the minds of our children and youth by American horror, crime, and sex perversion comics and books, would increase our activity a hundredfold, could we, as in China, see, hear or play with children whose minds are completely free from that or any other poison.

One of the most amazing actions of the people of China is the manner in which they quickly defended themselves against the use, by America, of bacteriological warfare. The People's Government organized a nation-wide campaign in action to rid China of the fly menace by regarding every fly as an imperialist enemy agent, which had to be destroyed.

The result is that in the thousands of miles of travel in China we have not seen one fly.

Another aspect of life in China which makes a deep impression is the large amount of building in course of construction or recently completed.

In one year alone, 1952, the People's Government of China provided 41.6 million pounds for housing construction, and, in that year alone housed one million people.

Urgent building construction is proceeding in an amazing fashion in China. Yet, because of their love of their country, its history and culture, large sums of money, much labour and materials are used to restore and repair palaces of culture, museums and historical buildings.

Many economic demands for which we in Australia are still compelled to struggle, are already enjoyed by the trade unionists of China. For example, equal pay for the sexes operates in China. Prices of commodities are stabilized, while wages have on the average doubled since 1949 and are still increasing.

Recognition of union representatives is an issue about which many a long industrial battle has been fought in Australia. The Trade Union Law of China prevents the transfer or discharge of any union representatives and, in fact, of any worker until or unless the relevant trade union approval has been secured.

The same law provides that state or private enterprises, employing 200 to 300 employees, must employ, at full wages, one full-time trade union of-

ficial and a further official for each additional 500 employees!

This is explained by the fact that the working class is the leading class in China and not the exploited or oppressed class as in Australia.

It creates a deep impression to recall the headlines, billboards, front and other pages of newspapers in our Australia which predominantly deal with murder, incitement to war, or disgraceful and fantastic lies and slander against other nations, and compare the Australian position with that in China.

The newspapers and posters in China, we find, tell of the accomplishments of the Chinese people in production, in the arts, the sciences or literature, and they tell of the rights of the people.

There are thousands of posters in China calling for world peace. In each village, at each school, factory or job which we visited, the peasants, workers and their children cried in voices full of sincerity, "Long live peace."

The majority of the people wear emblems of some kind which bring to mind the call for Peace.

The May Day procession in Peking which consisted of 500,000 people—and this was because of a decision to limit the participants to that number—made the call for peace and peaceful construction of their country the main theme.

There are not any words to describe a procession of 500,000 people, marching 70 abreast like a human tidal wave, with every marcher carrying something, flags, beautiful silk flags, flowers, balloons, doves of peace, ribbons, streamers, or posters.

Words such as "stupendous," "super colossal," "marvellous" fail, by far, to describe the *procession*, but the inadequacy of our language is greater, when one is attempting to describe the enthusiasm of the people.

The workers and peasants in the May Day procession not only marched but almost jumped out of their skins with joy and enthusiasm, as they jumped, cheered, clapped and sang or shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung," "Long live peace" so loudly that, very often, the brass band with its 500 performers could not be heard.

One group released hundreds of doves, another hundreds of toy aeroplanes into the sky, while at the same time rockets were releasing beautiful, red, silk flags of China, anchored to parachutes, to sail away fluttering in the breeze.

The colour, joy and enthusiasm of the people, or the grandeur of the spectacle, is indescribable. While 500,000 marched on May Day in Peking, and half a million sang, danced and shouted with joy in the evening, the people in every other part of China carried out similar celebrations. For example, 600,000 marched in the May Day procession in Shanghai.

May Day, in spirit and enthusiasm, was an expression of the people of China at work and at play.

We have been inspired to do all in our power, to help promote full recognition of China, help promote peaceful relations and trade between Australia and China and, in this way, assist towards securing world peace.

WHAT I SAW IN NEW CHINA

James H. Young

*President of the Sydney Branch of the Waterside
Workers' Union of Australia*



Since our arrival in Peking, trade union representatives from Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia and Viet-Nam and others are quartered at the same hotel. Truly this expression of internationalism, friendliness, and peaceful relations with the peoples of other nations, irrespective of race, creed

or colour must have a profound impression on a visitor to China. This must prompt the question, "Is this show of peace and friendship only on the surface?" Allow me to answer in the most factual way that I know.

China has become in its three years of liberation a nation able to supply food, sufficient for its own population, and also a surplus for export. This productivity of food has been obtained through the system of land reform, whereby the peasants have been given areas of land in proportion to the size of their families.

When one travels only from Canton to Peking, a distance of 2,000 miles over land rich and fertile, one realizes that the whole of the Asian world has a "Bread Basket" in China.

We Australians visited farming villages, and saw land which had never before been cultivated because the individual landowners had no interest in the national economy. This land was delivering now two crops of rice a year.

In Australia we know, from our own observations, how hard the Chinese work in the vegetable gardens surrounding the cities. Imagine millions of Chinese peasants, who previously worked as farm labourers on rented land, earning enough to provide food for six months of the year on a level of poverty, where it was common for parents to give children away rather than see them starve, to suddenly have a government that introduced land reform, which gave poor peasants land, and supplied farm implements and seed. The result is that the peasants are showing their appreciation by producing more food than ever before. In one village production had increased by 230 per cent over the past three years mainly through land reform. The peasants had improved their homes, and had three times more clothing than before liberation. Primary schooling had been extended for 250 students, whereas three years ago there were only 30, they being the children of the wealthy. Previously 90 per cent of the peasants were illiterate, but now adult education at day and night schools is provided. A government who helps the peasants in these matters naturally is popular.

On the industrial side, China has commenced a five-year plan to industrialize the whole nation. Coal mines and large iron and steel works are already producing.

To supply the technical skill, universities such as the one we visited near Peking, are training many thousands of civil, electrical, mechanical and hydraulic engineers, on a scale never attempted before. Side by side with this work is the building programme of new homes, schools and hospitals, and I might say that the total number of beds available has more than doubled in three years. All this makes China a hive of industry.

What part have the women of China played in this revolutionary change? This question is one in which all Australian women, whose heartfelt sympathy has always been expressed towards the women of China, would be interested.

No words of mine could ever describe the noble and courageous role they have played in the making of New China. No more is it humiliating nor is it a tragedy to be born a girl. Gone is the inherent knowledge that, as mere children, they could be sold into marriage or slavery like mere chattels by whose sale a whole family could avoid starvation for a part of a year.

The People's Government has abolished this by: 1. Banning polygamy, 2. Revising the Marriage Law, giving women equal legal rights with the male, 3. Equal pay for both sexes.

This reform has made the Chinese women the most happy and dignified humans in Asia, and for

that matter the whole world. One admires the pride and dignity in their marriage, their creative genius as leaders in industry, and their intense love of their country. Both young and old have at last found their freedom, and believe me, accepting it, in that humble, sincere manner, which is characteristic of the Chinese people. One could say that People's China is women's China.

These changes are the direct result of the People's Government being determined to break the shackles that for so long bound women to a life of slavery.

Never have I seen such love for a leader as that extended to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the head of the People's Government, who every Chinese is convinced is responsible for the better life they now enjoy. One can never forget the demonstration of love and affection bestowed on this man at the May Day Celebrations in Peking.

A half-million of people marching 70 abreast, each carrying either a silken flag, flowers, or streamers, making a most colourful scene. As they marched, they shouted as one, "Long live People's China," "Long live Chairman Mao." He stood on the verandah of Tien An Men, the Gate of Heavenly Peace, with a number of his ministers. No armed guard, no bullet proof windows, or slinking security police to protect him, and waved his hand in salute to his people, who jumped with joy when he waved to each group. For three hours they marched, and at its conclusion a huge wall of people who were onlookers packed the square, cheering wildly as Chairman Mao

acknowledged their affections. It was an unforgettable sight, for we Australians had always believed that the Chinese were not demonstrative.

I feel that China extends to Australia and other nations the hand of peace, friendship and trade and that we in Australia should accept this offer. We have as our nearest neighbours 1,200,000,000 Asian people, who really desire peace and the ending of exploitation by other nations.

Australian trade with China amounted to many millions of pounds prior to the war, when the purchasing power of its people was miserably low. With the rising level of the Chinese standard of living enormous opportunities for the export of Australian primary and secondary products exist.

The cry of the Asian people is for peace, and the right to live a decent life in security and comfort. In my opinion, this will not be denied to them, for China will never again be an insulted nation.

THE SEVENTH ALL-CHINA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

Rewi Alley *



Liu Shao-chi
a name to conjure with in Asia,
greet the Congress in the name
of the Chinese Communist Party,
telling of the new role of workers
in the new day; we shall learn
from the Soviet Union; we shall

* Rewi Alley (New Zealand), member of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions, was an observer at the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

fulfil our plans; we shall give
full play to the initiative and creative
power of the people;

and then speaks Louis Sailliant
on behalf of eighty million
in the World Federation of Trade Unions
saying how struggles for national
independence mean so much to workers;
the necessity for united action
everywhere;

one people's leader
after another, rises
to speak; applause
fills the warm air
of early summer, scented
with the freshness
of Peking;

here, row by row, sit
worker delegates, from
all of China's vastness;
here with a message for
each other; a message of
encouragement, plans, hope,
criticism, accomplishment;

faces old and lined
that have seen so much,
and faces fresh, young;
workers and their guests

the workers of many lands,
glad to be in Peking;

a slip of a lass
from Wuhan; head erect
looking over the packed benches
with quiet assurance; master of
her environment; standing
so quietly, and telling so clearly
of that other day; of the long hours
the swollen feet; of hunger, of
conditions that killed; then change
and what this meant to her, and hers;
and looking at that face, the face

of a people's heroine, turned up
into the colour of the congress hall,
and knowing of the hell of the old,
tears started to one's eyes, as one
listened to her;

a guest from Indonesia
tells of the millions, looted
taken in profit from his country
by foreign business; of the
terrible deaths in childbirth,
of the unemployed, the homeless,
the denial, the repression;

a government worker reports
how this year new construction
is commencing, which will transform

China, the agricultural land
into China industrialized; how
strength must first go into
basic industry;

an educational worker speaks for
the seven hundred and sixty thousand
members of his union; eighty per cent
of fifty million primary students
are from worker and peasant homes;

men from India talk of great problems
food for their millions, the low
standards of living; the misery; of how
the eyes of so many turn to China
in this today;

a railway engineer tells how
in the old day, he planned, while
others grafted; how now at sixty-six,
grey-headed, but erect, he feels younger
every day, as railways, once only dreamt of
strike through the hills to reality;

Australians bring the news
of labour in their land, its
struggles; the need for unity
too little done for peace; the
organized attack of the enemy;

from Inner Mongolia, a girl
sent to work as a child of seven
herding stock; once treated

like an animal; today, a tractor driver
a labour heroine, an honoured person, her
own world, her own future sure;

the New Democracies bring gifts
tokens of the industries that
rise within their borders; but
their greatest gift is the record
of hopes realized, obstacles overcome;
of steel, irrigation, social services,
of the growing will for peace;

from Korea, a Chinese volunteer
railway worker, tells of railways
run on time, of competitions for
gardens up and down the line
always bombed, never stopped; of
the enemy, "No use to be soft
with him"—softness gets nowhere;

a Negro worker from Dakar
is grateful for Marx and the Paris Commune
and tells of how the name of Mao Tse-tung
now resounds through the forests of Africa;
in the language of Thorez, he speaks
of slavery
of forced labour,
of miserable hovels for workers
living on starvation wages,
burned with fevers, sick,
unemployed, all under the heel
of imperialism; then his comrade

from the Cameroons, his words
tumbling out like waters from
some pent-up reservoir, speaking
of the colonialists' hope for
an inexhaustible supply of cannon-fodder;
of the huts of the people beside the
luxury villas of their exploiters who
say, "They die like flies,"—who condemns
whom to die? ninety per cent illiteracy
long hours of work, with no overtime pay;
and one from Algiers takes up the tune
talking of half a million peasants
with less land than a handful of
colonialists;

from Central China
come reports of the hundreds of
nurseries, kindergartens, hospitals,
rest homes, sanatoria, worker clubs,
libraries, schools, maintained by
the new industry for its workers;
familiar figures that, today, come
from all over China;

as are the figures brought from
the Northeast, of wages raised,
quality of production improved;
production costs reduced; completion
of plans, emulation drives;
a Japanese thanks his Chinese comrades
for encouragement and aid; tells all
of how American and Japanese reaction

have joined together; yet never would
the people of Japan permit Japanese
to fight other Asians;

“I come from Factory 724”
a worker’s dependent, she
has organized other worker
dependents, to support workers;
her husband was backward, now he
understands, is stepping out
with the others; he trains apprentices
he does his work well; we were
ashamed of him, now we are proud;

“I had eight children; seven
died in the old society, from
malnutrition; I cannot read,
but I have learned how to teach
new weaving methods; we Shanghai
workers, know that the workers today
are the real masters”;

Korea, Viet-Nam, Laos, Khmer,
the very words from the mouths
of the speakers, bring applause
that comes from respect for people
who stand up; fight back; their
victories, the victories of all
who would have peace;

“I am a worker in a machine shop
and want to tell you about how

to teach lathe work quickly; now
in three months, our apprentices
can learn what in the other day
took years; everyone encouraged me
to find ways to teach; before,
the road to knowledge for a worker
was a twisted one; now we make it
direct, straight”;

our seamen helped in liberation
they have pushed railway material
up into the heart of China, they
have speeded up many production processes
with efficient transport; our organization
grows stronger;

I was a girl worker
despised by everyone in the old society
today, deputy director of a clothing factory,
elected member of the Tientsin Municipal Council,
delegate to Berlin for a World Textile Workers'
Conference; ninety per cent of
the working women of Tientsin
have taken up educational courses;

one after another, they mount the rostrum
one after another, they tell their story
as only workers can tell it, clearly
without verbiage, each word telling;

and the representative
from the Soviet Union gets
a resounding reception, and

over the whole assembly comes
a warmth; red banners reflect
their light on upturned faces,
welcoming the story of socialism
triumphant, of peoples living
fully, doing great things, true
to the cause of internationalism
in working for peace for all peoples,
peace and construction;

and the Congress places issues
clearly before the workers; we
must train better administrators
improve cost accounting, better
planned management; train more
technical workers; the next five years
will be years of constructive effort;
all these things and many more
must we do together;

this
historic congress that the many
will look back on; that will be
discussed where workers meet,
millions of workers; one of the new
meetings of the new age, that
will draw peoples together, peoples
with similar aims; that will
bring sure support for the new
great victory for peace on earth,
the swift industrialization of
China.

De la U.S.

(F)

EL COMUNISMO Y LOS PAISES

POCO DESARROLLADOS

**EL COMUNISMO Y LOS PAISES
POCO DESARROLLADOS**

I

OBJETIVOS DE LA POLITICA COMUNISTA

Se ha dicho que el siglo XX será, con toda probabilidad, recordado principalmente, no como una edad de conflicto político o de inventos, sino como una edad en la que los gobiernos se atrevieron a pensar en el bienestar de la humanidad como un objetivo alcanzable. Más y más se está haciendo cada día para reducir la ignorancia, la pobreza y las enfermedades y para elevar los niveles de vida, especialmente en las regiones poco desarrolladas del mundo, y hay una creciente comprensión de que el bienestar de la sociedad depende del bienestar de sus miembros. Las gentes que piensan, por lo tanto, están prestando mayor atención a la manera de guiar a las áreas poco desarrolladas por senderos de progreso material, en el convencimiento de que tienen mucha capacidad, tanto para el bien como para el mal.

Entre estas gentes reflexivas están los miembros del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética. Estos hombres siempre han justipreciado sutilmente la fuerza latente de las regiones menos adelantadas y, bajo la dirección de Stalin, la revolución en dichas áreas se convir-

tió en uno de sus objetivos primordiales. (1). Se proponen aprovechar esta revolución como escabel para la "revolución mundial", es decir, para la creación de condiciones que harían posible la completa supresión de la libertad personal y de la libertad de pensamiento y la introducción del Comunismo Soviético en todos los países, dirigido por el Comité Central del Partido Comunista en Moscú. Aunque sus esfuerzos se vean dificultados por las exigencias y distorsiones de la teoría Leninista-Stalinista, han aprendido mucho en sus 35 años de experiencia. Sus métodos y técnicas merecen, por lo tanto, cuidadoso estudio por quienes ven una meta diferente para el hombre.

EL SISTEMA DE VIDA SOVIETICO

El objetivo de los hombres de Moscú es el de introducir en el mundo entero el sistema de gobierno y el modo de vivir soviético. Esto nunca ha variado ni se ha ocultado, aunque ha habido cambios tácticos en los métodos empleados. Así, Stalin dijo:

"La victoria del Socialismo en un país no es una tarea suficiente por sí misma. La revolución que ha

1.—Stalin — "Antes..... se suponía tácitamente que la victoria del proletariado en Europa era posible sin una alianza directa con el movimiento de emancipación de las Colonias...

"El Leninismo mantiene que las posibilidades revolucionarias inherentes al movimiento de liberación nacional de los países oprimidos... pueden ser utilizados para el fin de eliminar al enemigo común".

("El Marxismo y la Cuestión Nacional y Colonial" 1947. pág. 192-193).

triunfado en un país debe considerarse, no como entidad autosuficiente, sino como una ayuda, un medio para apresurar la victoria del proletariado en todos los países. Porque la victoria de la revolución en un país, en el caso presente Rusia... es el comienzo y el fundamento de la revolución mundial" (2).

Debido al fracaso de la Revolución Rusa en producir explosiones por simpatía en todos los países industrializados del Oeste, los hombres de Moscú se han percatado, además, de que para subyugar al mundo libre, deben dirigir una gran parte de sus esfuerzos a ganarse aquellas regiones que actualmente están poco desarrolladas. A plazo corto, este esfuerzo se dirige a envenenar las relaciones entre las áreas poco desarrolladas y los países más adelantados e industrializados. Intenta desbaratar la economía del mundo libre obstruyendo el torrente de materias primas a los mercados internacionales, evitando el desarrollo en los países menos evolucionados de actitudes mentales desfavorables a la expansión del Comunismo Soviético, y estableciendo, si es posible, regímenes y hábitos de pensamiento fácilmente convertibles al Comunismo Soviético cuando haya madurado la oportunidad. El señuelo ofrecido a los comunistas locales es un atajo en la vía del progreso:

"Además, la alianza con la U.R.S.S. y con el proletariado revolucionario de los países imperialistas crea para las masas trabajadoras de... países coloniales y semi-coloniales la posibilidad de un desarrollo económico y cultural libre e independiente, evitando la

2.—Stalin — "Problemas del Leninismo", Editorial en Idiomas Extranjeros, Moscú, 1941, pág. 113.

etapa del sistema capitalista e incluso el desarrollo de relaciones capitalistas en general. . . En esta lucha, la cooperación del proletariado revolucionario de todo el mundo y las masas trabajadoras de las colonias representa la más segura garantía de victoria sobre el imperialismo". (3).

3.—Tesis y Resoluciones del VI Congreso Comunista Internacional (1928): "Tesis sobre el Movimiento Revolucionario en las Colonias", **International Press Correspondence** (12 de diciembre de 1928), Vol. VIII, No. 88, pág. 661.

II

EL METODO COMUNISTA

Los métodos que deben emplearse para ganar un asidero en los países atrasados fueron expuestos por Stalin en 1925. Son los siguientes:

"1.—Atraer hacia el Comunismo a los mejores elementos de la clase trabajadora y formar Partidos Comunistas independientes.

"2.—Formar un bloque nacional revolucionario de obreros, campesinos e intelectuales revolucionarios...

"3.—Asegurar la hegemonía del proletariado en este bloque.

"4.—Luchar por la liberación de los pequeños burgueses urbanos y rurales de la influencia de la sospechosa burguesía nacional.

"5.—Vincular el movimiento de liberación nacional con el movimiento proletario de los países progresivos..." (4).

4.—Stalin — "Tareas de la Universidad de los Pueblos de Oriente", 1925; **Problemas del Leninismo**, Volv. 1. pág. 194-195.

Los puntos 1 y 3 se ocupan del establecimiento de un firme núcleo de comunistas militantes, disciplinados e instruidos desde el principio por Moscú. Los puntos 2, 4 y 5 se ocupan de la actitud de ese firme núcleo hacia la población en general, y por lo tanto, son de interés para el estudio de las tácticas comunistas.

Operación arriesgada.

La experiencia, notablemente en Europa Occidental y China, ha demostrado recientemente al Partido Comunista que el cuarto punto de Stalin, que demanda introducir una cuña entre los sectores de la llamada "burguesía" (en este contexto es un término para designar a toda la población que no puede ser clasificada como "clase trabajadora") es una operación arriesgada, cuyo éxito depende de escoger bien la oportunidad. Si se comenzara demasiado pronto se corre el grave riesgo de que los sectores influyentes de la población atacados por la misma pudieran disociarse del "bloque nacional revolucionario" requerido por Stalin en su segundo punto, y originasen su fracaso. En ciertos países, como por ejemplo China, se necesitaron largas operaciones de adoctrinamiento para asegurar el suficiente apoyo a un ataque sobre personas a menudo de simpatías liberales y quizás activamente ocupadas en planes de desarrollo económico y social.

Por lo tanto, el Partido Comunista ha llegado gradualmente a reconocer que es necesario conservar, tanto tiempo como sea posible, la cooperación de aquellos sectores de la población que son "revolucionarios" en un sentido nacionalista, y que, la formación y fomento de un movimiento de "independencia nacional" es el primer y menos arriesgado

paso a tomar, en la mayor parte de los casos. (5) Durante la confusa etapa de "independencia nacional" se pueden hacer fácilmente preparativos para la eventual escisión de la coalición de "independencia nacional", mediante, por ejemplo, la técnica de las "rebanadas" empleada en Hungría —gráficamente descrita por el líder comunista húngaro, Rakosi, (6)— y la subsiguiente instalación del Partido Comunista en posición dominante. Esta política de concentra-

5.—Al mismo tiempo, el Partido Comunista no debe perder nunca la iniciativa "revolucionaria", de manera que, por una parte, los Partidos Comunistas han de ser extremadamente activos en su alianza con los Partidos Nacionalistas, teniendo ostensiblemente por objeto la "liberación nacional"; pero igualmente activos, por otra parte, al combatir contra estos Partidos Nacionalistas cuando la "lucha" nacionalista haya triunfado. La actitud de las fuerzas revolucionarias comunistas, por lo tanto, está llamada a variar en proporción directa de su fuerza en relación a los "Partidos nacionalistas burgueses", y al calcular las circunstancias en las cuales sus fuerzas pueden finalmente capturar el poder con éxito, los líderes comunistas deben darse plena cuenta de las realidades de la situación y de su obligación final de convertir el tipo de situación "revolucionaria" en que participan en una "revolución democrática del pueblo". Esta ficción se mantiene hasta que los últimos elementos de la oposición quedan liquidados y se establece tan plenamente el dominio que el Gobierno quede calificado como candidato idóneo al ingreso en la esfera Soviética.

6.—Rakosi (primer secretario del Comité Central del Partido de los Trabajadores Húngaros, y Primer Ministro): "Cuando pedíamos algo, medíamos cuidadosamente las posibles reacciones, y siempre que era posible comenzábamos presentando modestas peticiones, evitando así que el enemigo se movilizase contra nosotros. Luego aumentábamos las exigencias y empléabamos, cuando era posible, formas provisionales. Por ejemplo, primero pedíamos sólo el control del gobierno sobre los Bancos; más tarde pedíamos la nacionalización de los tres Bancos más importantes. Análogamente, en la industria... Al mismo tiempo lanzábamos un contra-ataque contra

ción formando movimientos de "independencia nacional" fué oficialmente consagrada por el Cominform, en enero de 1953, con las siguientes palabras:

"La lucha de liberación nacional en los países coloniales y dependientes está adquiriendo una índole más resuelta y activa. Los centros espontáneos y separados del movimiento de independencia se están convirtiendo cada día en más organizados en varios países; la lucha está alcanzando amplio carácter nacional... Se están formando Frentes Unidos de Liberación Nacional para luchar contra la opresión colonial, contra el dominio de los monopolios extranjeros y por el derecho del país a decidir su propio destino" (7).

Explotación del Nacionalismo.

En resumen, a los comunistas de los países poco desatendidos les faltaban todas las formas de reacción que se manifestaban. En los pueblos y en las ciudades movilizábamos las masas, y bajo la forma de "juicios populares", de "movimientos populares", eliminábamos a los elementos reaccionarios de la administración de las aldeas y ciudades... El Partido de los Pequeños Terratenientes se veía forzado continuamente a expulsar adeptos, o a eliminarlos individualmente o en grupos... Este trabajo de reducción fué llamado "táctica de salchichón", por la cual día a día cortábamos en rebanadas a los elementos reaccionarios reunidos en el Partido de los Pequeños Propietarios... Alcanzábamos un dominio sobre ellos y aumentábamos nuestra influencia..."

(Conferencia en un Curso de Adoctrinamiento para el Partido de Trabajadores Húngaros, en 29 de febrero de 1953, publicada en "Társadalmi Szemle", edición de febrero-marzo de 1953).

7.—Diario del Cominform "Por una Paz Duradera, por una Democracia del Pueblo", 9 de enero de 1953.

rollados se les ha dicho que su primera obligación es la de despertar y explotar el sentimiento nacionalista en todas sus formas —no solamente el nacionalismo en el sentido político, sino también la auto-determinación nacional, racial y de otros grupos en todos los órdenes. Estas actividades comprenden la presión para el desarrollo industrial, económico y cultural y para una menor dependencia en la economía y la cultura de otros países, especialmente de la Europa Occidental y Estados Unidos; demandas de más altos niveles de vida y la erradicación de males sociales; y exigencias de igualdad social y radical. Los comunistas deben, además, desarrollar los aspectos más siniestros del nacionalismo: odio racial, xenofobia, intolerancia y extremismo. Para esta obra les ayuda mucho la doctrina marxista del materialismo, que tiene una evidente atracción para los menos privilegiados y para aquellos cuya filosofía tradicional ha sido destrozada por el impacto de la tecnología occidental. Estos elementos han de ser explotados bajo el estandarte de "liberación nacional" o de "independencia nacional".

III

LA TECNICA DE LA "INDEPENDENCIA NACIONAL"

En el campo de la política, la técnica de la "independencia nacional" exige que el Partido Comunista forme una alianza con el mayor número posible de los intereses y grupos políticos existentes, sobre la base de un "programa" de vasto alcance y ostensibles reformas. La base del "programa" es la reivindicación de la "independencia nacional", que deberá lograrse mediante el derrocamiento del gobierno y la clase gobernante existentes (calificados de "híteres de los intereses extranjeros") si el territorio es el de un Estado soberano y por medio de la cesación de relaciones con el país metropolitano, si el territorio no es completamente autónomo. Debe propagarse que la "explotación" extranjera es la causa radical de los bajos niveles de vida y de todos los males económicos y sociales; y que el apoyo al movimiento de "independencia nacional" es la única manera de frustrar los perversos propósitos de los "explotadores". En la América Latina, por ejemplo, ha de decirse que el movimiento quiere "libertar al país de la opresión colonial y económica de los Estados Unidos" en los Estados soberanos, y la liberación de la "opresión colonial" en los territorios no autónomos.

El "programa de independencia nacional", aunque realmente es un manifiesto y en modo alguno un programa de acción práctica, está concebido para atraerse el máximo de simpatía popular. No intenta armonizar sus componentes. De este modo, el "programa" típico exigirá el fraccionamiento de los grandes fondos, una mayor industrialización, más importaciones de bienes de capital, expropiación de intereses y capitales extranjeros, e igualdad racial. Sin detenerse a respirar demandará más altos niveles de vida y mejores viviendas, salarios más altos, seguro social, educación universal y "derechos" democráticos y sindicales (sufragio universal, reconocimiento de la libertad de asociación y derecho de huelga).

Fines ocultos de los Comunistas.

La índole comunista del "programa de independencia nacional" se oculta en generalidades y en el lenguaje especial, de clave, elaborado bajo Stalin. En esta forma se dice que el programa es en interés de la "paz" —significando con ello un apoyo indiscutible a la política soviética e inflexible oposición— hasta por medio de la fuerza armada, si procede, a quienes se opongan a ella: ("Los socialistas, sin dejar de ser socialistas, no pueden oponerse a la guerra en general. En primer lugar, los socialistas no se han opuesto ni podrían oponerse nunca a la guerra revolucionaria") (8).

... "Estamos por una guerra libertadora, anti-imperialista, revolucionaria, a pesar de que una guerra tal, como es

8.—Lenin — "El Programa de Guerra de la Revolución Proletaria", 1918 ("Obras Recopiladas", Vol. 23, pág. 65).

bien sabido, no solamente no está desprovista de todos "los horrores del derramamiento de sangre", sino que inclusive abunda en ellos" (9). O bien se pretende que es en interés de la "democracia" —significando con ello la creación, por medio de la "democracia popular" y según el modelo impuesto en Europa Oriental, del Estado del tipo soviético. ("El Gobierno soviético es un millón de veces más democrático que la más democrática de las repúblicas burguesas"). (10) Por otra parte, se dice también que es en interés de la "libertad" —significando con ello la dictadura soviética. ("El Gobierno Soviético garantiza a su pueblo una verdadera libertad) (11). Se añade que es en interés de la "independencia" —significando sujeción a un nuevo y despiadado imperialismo ("Relaciones de estrecha amistad con la Unión Soviética son la base de toda la política exterior del Estado Democrático Rumano, la política de paz y la independencia nacional") (12). Además, se dice ser en interés de las "masas" y "del Socialismo" —significando Comunismo Soviético. El programa ha de realizarse bajo la dirección de la "clase trabajadora" o "proletariado"— nombre, en clave, del Partido Comunista.

Eso en cuanto a táctica política. Sin embargo, ésta sola no puede llevar a los comunistas locales a una posición de dictadura. Para ello deben, además, movilizar el apoyo

9.—Stalin — Carta a Gorki, 1930 (Publicada en 1949).

10.—Lenin — "Obras Recopiladas" (Edición Inglesa) Volumen XXIII, pág. 365 (citado por Vyshinsky en "Enseñanzas de Lenin y Stalin sobre la Revolución Proletaria y el Estado", **Soviet News**, Londres, 1948, pág. 59).

11.—Preparación Académica. — "Democracia Soviética". Folleto de la Editorial en Idiomas Extranjeros, Moscú, 1939.

12.—Ana Pauker. — "Izvestiya", 16 de noviembre de 1947.

popular, por lo menos, asegurarse una "neutralidad benévola" (13), y, a este fin, controlar las organizaciones que estén en íntimo contacto con el pueblo. Tratan de obtenerlo por medio de las organizaciones de "fachada" y movimientos de "masas" dirigidos por comunistas: organizaciones sindicales, juveniles y femeninas, comités de "paz" y organizaciones con un atractivo especial para los sectores influyentes de la población: las profesiones académicas y de abogados, científicos, maestros, periodistas, estudiantes y demás. Las diferentes organizaciones encubiertas del Partido Tudeh, en Persia, son un ejemplo notable. Les son especialmente útiles en los casos en que el Partido Comunista como tal está proscrito, o es tan débil e impopular que toda actividad comunista debe realizarse tras cortina. Su función principal es la de llevar a los comunistas al poder por medio de un movimiento desde abajo. A este respecto se asigna importante papel a los "compañeros de camino" y a las personas que creen que pueden utilizar el Partido Comunista para sus propios fines.

13.—Stalin — "Problemas del Leninismo".

IV

**MISION DE LOS SINDICATOS OBREROS
Y DE LA F. S. M.**

Los Sindicatos obreros son, con mucho, las más importantes de estas organizaciones. Están más expuestos a la penetración comunista, puesto que en la mayoría de los países poco desarrollados los sindicatos obreros o no existen en absoluto o son de creación relativamente reciente, su organización es rudimentaria, sus directivos carecen de experiencia y el número de sus afiliados es pequeño.

Son las organizaciones más influyentes porque se ocupan directamente, a cada momento, de la vida del obrero, y expresan sus necesidades materiales en términos de aspiraciones políticas y económicas y sociales. Son de la mayor importancia estratégica, porque en los países donde la organización política y social es relativamente sencilla y las potencialidades de desarrollo económico son grandes, la organización y control del trabajo es el elemento más crítico y está llamado a la mayor influencia política en el futuro.

Son las más eficaces, porque los actos con fines políticos pueden ocultarse detrás de la actividad sindical rutina-

ria y la interferencia externa puede resentirse como intervención en la libertad de asociación.

Son las más poderosas, porque un movimiento sindical centralizado, que abarque la totalidad o la mayoría de la población trabajadora, puede utilizarse por sus líderes, si son poco escrupulosos, no solamente para paralizar la vida política y económica de la comunidad, sino causar, además, la perturbación del sistema económico internacional. El sindicalismo, por lo tanto, suministra una potencial pantalla ideal para encubrir las actividades comunistas.

Los movimientos sindicales controlados por comunistas, con programas políticos y sociales que repiten los de la alianza local por la "independencia nacional", han sido siempre reconocidos por Moscú como una parte esencial del mecanismo necesario para poner a un país bajo su dominio. En muchos países y territorios poco desarrollados, donde la política es más o menos un coto reservado para el sector acomodado de la población, solamente mediante la presión política ejercida por los sindicatos pueden esperar los comunistas el forzar su entrada en la arena política. Desde el punto de vista comunista, por lo tanto, es de máxima importancia que sus tácticas en el campo sindical estén adecuadamente coordinadas y dirigidas por algunas organizaciones de amplitud mundial y en contacto directo con Moscú.

Vinculación con Moscú.

Esta vinculación la proporciona la Federación Sindical Mundial (F.S.M.) que tiene su sede central en el sector soviético de Viena. Organizando congresos, conferencias y cursos de entrenamiento, la F.S.M. también suministra oportunidades a los comunistas y a los simpatizantes del Comu-

nismo de todo el mundo para reunirse y discutir los métodos más efectivos de aplicar, en el campo local de operaciones, las instrucciones emanadas del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética.

La F.S.M. no oculta su interés especial por los países poco desarrollados. He aquí lo que dice una publicación distribuída en relación con el congreso de Viena en 1953:

"Uno de los más importantes aspectos del desarrollo de la situación de la post-guerra es la lucha de los pueblos coloniales y dependientes contra la esclavitud imperialista. La unidad que se está forjando en estos países sacude hasta los cimientos del imperialismo. ¡Unidad de los trabajadores! ¡Unidad de los trabajadores con los otros sectores de la población! ¡Unidad entre los pueblos! Esta es la plataforma de la lucha de la F.S.M. Los importantes éxitos logrados demuestran el acierto de la orientación que se ha dado". (14)

La misma publicación habla también de las oficinas especiales de enlace de la F.S.M. para Asia, Africa y América Latina, a través de las cuales la F.S.M.: "Ayuda a los obreros de los países coloniales y semi-coloniales a fortalecer sus organizaciones sindicales, donde existen, y a crearlas donde no la halla". La oficina especial para Asia fué inaugurada en 1949, siendo uno de sus fines el de conectar la acción entre los sindicatos controlados por comunistas en Indo-China y Malaya y las fuerzas armadas comunistas de esos territorios. Al mismo tiempo, la C.T.A.L. (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina) fué reconocida co-

14.—Publicaciones de la F.S.M. Ltd., Viena 10-21 de octubre de 1953.

mo el agente de la F.S.M. en Latino-América. Comités especiales de coordinación sindical para África fueron creados luego bajo los auspicios de la C.G.T. (Confederation General du Travail), controlada por comunistas. La C.T.A.L., con su central en Ciudad México, ha estado muy activa recientemente, enviando agentes viajeros, que actúan de estafeta para los comunistas del área, y subvencionando la producción y distribución de propaganda comunista, especialmente para los establecimientos docentes. Estaba en íntimo contacto con la C.G.T.G. (Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala), controlada por comunistas, en la República de Guatemala.

La F.S.M. está prestando creciente atención al entrenamiento de agentes para infiltrarlos en los sindicatos obreros existentes y los educa para líderes de los futuros sindicatos controlados por comunistas. Los cursos de entrenamiento detrás de la Cortina de Hierro de individuos prometedores para regiones poco desarrolladas prosiguen en escala siempre mayor y una "Escuela Central de Cuadros Sindicales de la F.S.M." se inauguró en julio de 1953. (15)

15.—Saillant (Secretario General de la F.S.M.):

"Las organizaciones Sindicales han estado mucho tiempo pidiéndole a la F.S.M. que las ayude a formar cuadros sindicales. En julio inauguramos la Escuela Central de Cuadros Sindicales de la F.S.M. Ya tenemos una organización. Sus primeros cursos se dieron en julio, agosto y septiembre, con resultados positivos. La F.S.M. va a tratar de desarrollar esta labor de Cuadros porque es cierto que cuanto más adelanta nuestro movimiento y crece nuestra influencia, más necesidad tenemos de camaradas idóneos y altamente responsables para dirigir las luchas obreras y las organizaciones responsables para dirigir las luchas obreras y las organizaciones sindicales".

(Informe principal, folleto del Tercer Congreso Sindical Mundial, 1953, editado por Publicaciones de la F. M. S., Lda., Londres).

Un Segundo Eslabón.

La F.S.M. tampoco hace ningún secreto de su papel esencial de dirigir a los Sindicatos en apoyar el "programa" de los movimientos inspirados por los comunistas, de "independencia nacional" y favorece, por ende, las alianzas que puedan explotarse para llevar a los comunistas al poder. Así, di Vittorio, Presidente del Congreso Sindical Mundial de Viena en 1953, dijo:

"... Las tareas de la clase trabajadora y de los sindicatos obreros en los países capitalistas se amplían y nuevas oportunidades de alianza con vastos sectores de la población se abren ante ellos.... Hablando en sentido general, ningún renacimiento económico y social es posible en los países coloniales y semi-coloniales sin una reforma agraria completa... Pero la realización de tales reformas radicales, tan vitales para los pueblos coloniales; está condicionada por su liberación nacional y el fin de toda dominación imperialista y colonial... Por esta razón, los sindicatos obreros en los países coloniales deben siempre —empleando las formas y métodos más adecuados a su particular situación— vincular la lucha por sus demandas económicas y sociales con la lucha por la independencia nacional... En los países capitalistas más adelantados, sujetos a los controles económicos y políticos del imperialismo norteamericano, la lucha por la independencia nacional constituye una base objetiva para una vasta alianza de diferentes sectores de la población en torno de la clase trabajadora.

Las posibilidades de una tal alianza son aún más amplias cuando recordamos que la lucha por la independencia nacional es un aspecto esencial de la lucha por la paz..."

Y repite:

"Pan, trabajo, libertad, independencia nacional y paz mundial son los pilares de la alianza de trabajadores y pueblo por la cual abogamos. En nuestra opinión son precisamente los sindicatos obreros los que deben iniciar esta vasta alianza popular y luchar en su vanguardia, por las justas demandas de los trabajadores y de cada sector de la población" (16)

En estas declaraciones, di Vittorio estaba desarrollando las implicaciones que para la F.S.M., y los sindicatos influidos por ella, tiene el pensamiento contenido en el diario del Cominform "¡Por una Paz duradera, por una Democracia Pópular!" de cinco meses atrás: "Creciendo también está la lucha de liberación nacional en los países coloniales y dependientes. Con las armas en la mano, combatiendo por su libertad, están los pueblos de Vietnam, Pathet Lao, Malaya y las Filipinas. Los pueblos de África, del Cercano y Medio Oriente, del Asia Sudoriental y Latino-América están levantándose contra el yugo imperialista y por la independencia nacional". (17)

El tercer Congreso de la F.S.M., ante el cual habla:

16.—Extracto del **Informe** del Relato sobre el discurso en el segundo punto de la agenda, Tercer Congreso Sindical Mundial, Viena 15 de octubre de 1953.

17.—Diario del Cominform, 1º de mayo de 1953.

ba di Vittorio, era de especial importancia puesto que estableció una nueva política y nuevas tácticas para la F.S.M. y sus sindicatos afiliados en los países poco desarrollados. Consisten en "pelear en primera línea de la "lucha por la independencia nacional" y para tratar de unir el campesinado con los trabajadores industriales y los pequeños comerciantes en un nuevo "frente único" contra "el imperia- lismo norteamericano y la opresión colonial". En el campo industrial, estos sindicatos deben vocear "incesantemente" las demandas de los obreros, especialmente las demandas de salarios más altos, apoyándolas con la amenaza de la acción, con huelga de masas. (18) Los esfuerzos para minar y desacreditar los sindicatos obreros independientes y la Confederación Internacional de Sindicatos Libres (C. I. S. L.) deben intensificarse.

18.—"El objeto del movimiento (anti-imperialista)... es el mismo en todas partes: la lucha contra el sistema colonial, la lucha para conquistar la libertad y la independencia nacional... El movimiento de liberación nacional se ha convertido en una fuerza irresistible... La clase trabajadora de estos países, y las organizaciones sindicales donde existen, están colocándose cada vez más a la cabeza del movimiento de liberación nacional, donde están tomando efectivamente el papel principal que le corresponde a la clase trabajadora como la clase social más adelantada. Los hechos lo demuestran:

"La huelga general de 1950 de los obreros de Costa de Oro...

"Las luchas de los trabajadores y sus Sindicatos en Túnez, Marruecos, Algeria...

"Las luchas de liberación de los trabajadores en Indonesia, Birmania, Vietnam, Malaya y Corea".

(Folleto de la F.S.M. "Bajo la Bandera de la Unidad y Solidaridad Internacional", publicado durante el Tercer Congreso Sindical Mundial, octubre de 1953, pág. 16-17).

V.

**ORGANIZACIONES "DE FACHADA" Y MOVIMIENTOS
DE "MASAS".**

El Partido Comunista no sólo tiene por objeto fomentar una fuerza militante en la F.S.M. y los sindicatos controlados por comunistas, sino que además maniobra por medio de organizaciones y movimientos propagandísticos, los más conocidos de los cuales son el "Movimiento Pro Paz", la Federación Internacional Democrática de Mujeres (F.I.D.M.), la Federación Mundial de Juventudes Democráticas (F.M.J.D.), la Unión Internacional de Estudiantes (M.I.E.) y la Asociación Internacional de Abogados Democráticos (A.I.A.D.). Algunos dirigentes de la F.S.M. son también dirigentes de estas otras organizaciones, y las actividades propagandísticas de todos forman un diseño coherente y característico.

Dentro de los países del bloque soviético, las organizaciones "de fachada" y sus afiliados forman parte del mecanismo del Gobierno y del Partido. En este papel ayudan a la sistemática supresión de la libertad individual y han prestado apoyo al servicio militar obligatorio, entrenamien-

to militar auxiliar y rearme. Además, han respaldado a las fuerzas armadas empleadas en agresión franca o en insurrección, Malaya, Indo-China y Corea.

Política diferente para la Exportación.

En los países fuera del bloque Soviético los Sindicatos comunistas adoptan una línea muy diferente. En la propaganda dirigida a los países poco desarrollados, los Sindicatos controlados por Comunistas se concentran en el "programa" básico del movimiento local de "independencia nacional" y se limitan a generalidades sobre sus fines comunistas. La F.I.M.D. tiene dos objetivos principales: atraer a las mujeres —por medio de llamamientos especiales para ellas como esposas y madres y ostensiblemente abogando por sus derechos— al "Movimiento Pro Paz" (19), y utilizarlo como campo donde reclutar comunistas militantes (20). El "Movimiento Pro Paz", por medio de sus comités y campañas, trata de entorpecer a los pueblos y gobiernos que resisten a la política soviética, el exponerlos en la picota como reaccionarios y agresivos, (21) y re-

19.—Los Partidos Comunistas y de los trabajadores tienen la obligación y el deber de atraer masas más amplias de mujeres obreras a la vida política y pública y al movimiento de la paz...."

(Diario del Cominform, 29 de mayo de 1953).

20.—"El naciente movimiento entre las mujeres demuestra... que no solamente necesitamos más adeptos femeninos, que están esperando que lo pidamos, sino nuevas luchadoras militantes que ya están desempeñando una parte activa en el movimiento y que deben, y pueden, conquistarse para que se afilien al Partido Comunista".

(World News and Views", 22 de marzo de 1953).

21.—Las **tareas vitales** para la prensa comunista comprenden "denunciar la propaganda imperialista del chovinismo, el odio racial

ducir la resistencia popular a la implantación de la política soviética propagando la idea de "Paz a cualquier precio" El Movimiento Pionero" está ideado para moldear a la infancia según modelo soviética (22) convertida en su héroe. Los objetivos de la F.M.J.D., que controla los movimientos "Pioneros" y otras organizaciones juveniles, son los de adoctrinar a los jóvenes en general, y formar una fuerza de masas con ellos para las campañas y demandas inspiradas por los comunistas, incluyendo, por supuesto, el "Movimiento Pro Paz". Al igual que la F.I.M.D., la F.M.J.D. sirve además de vivero donde reclutar comunistas militantes. (23) La U.I.E., bajo la capa de aparente preocupación

y la enemistad nacional, aislar a los traficantes imperialistas de guerra y luchar por la amistad entre los pueblos de sus países y los pueblos de la Unión Soviética y de las Democracias Populares".

(Diario del Cominform, 12 de agosto de 1953.

22.—El joven pionero "inspirado en el amor más vivo por el Partido, debe alimentar en su corazón un amor ardiente por la gran patria del Socialismo... debe conocer las vidas de los niños soviéticos, los niños más felices del mundo, las actividades maravillosas de los pioneros de la U.R.S.S. y los actos heroicos de los "Komsomols".

(Gheorghe Florescu, Primer Secretario del Movimiento Pionero Rumano, "Scinteia", 3 de mayo de 1949).

23.—"Los objetivos y tareas de la Federación Mundial de la Juventud Democrática queridos para la juventud soviética..... La juventud soviética participará activamente en el futuro; como lo hizo en el pasado, en las actividades de la F.M.J.D., en la lucha por estrechar la unidad entre las filas de la juventud democrática de todo el mundo".

(Resumen del mensaje del Comité Antifascista de la Juventud Soviética a la F.M.J.D. el Día Mundial de la Juventud, 12 de noviembre de 1950).

"Denunciando la odiosa y calumniosa difamación de la Unión

por los problemas especiales de los estudiantes, intenta explotar esta clase para fines políticos. (24) Es significativo que en 1948 la I.U.S. haya creado la "Oficina de Estudiantes que Luchan contra el Colonialismo", con su sede en Praga, y que ésta publique un periódico titulado "Estudiantes Contra el Colonialismo".

Soviética y de las Democracias Populares, la F.M.J.D. elige a la juventud soviética como modelo de la juventud del mundo".

(Diario del Cominform, 9 de junio de 1950).

24.—"Solamente la unidad de los estudiantes progresistas en el mundo entero puede garantizar el éxito de la lucha de los estudiantes de los países capitalistas y dependientes en la lucha contra la militarización de la educación, contra la reducción de los objetivos educativos en beneficio de los armamentos, contra la discriminación racial y social en las instituciones de enseñanza, en la lucha por la democratización de la educación, por el libre acceso al estudio, por la igualdad nacional y social".

("Trybuna Ludu", Varsovia — Artículo especial sobre el Tercer Congreso Mundial de Estudiantes, Varsovia, agosto de 1953).

VI

LA RED DEL PARTIDO

La forma en que las instrucciones y avisos del Comité Central del Partido Comunista en Moscú son transmitidas por medio de esta red a los Comunistas y organizaciones Comunistas que están en campaña es, en gran parte, materia de conjeturas, cuanto más porque el Partido Comunista emite tan pocas órdenes como le es posible y se concentra más bien en colocar miembros entrenados del Partido en puestos clave donde puede confiarse que serán leales a Moscú y que elaborarán sus propias tácticas sobre el terreno. Cuéntase principalmente con "Radio Moscú" y el Diario del Cominform para propagar amplias directrices políticas, aunque cada vez que se produce un cambio importante de táctica es usual que se oiga también la voz del Comité Central por medio de uno de sus miembros o de alguna persona prominente del Gobierno Soviético.

Transmisión de Directrices.

Las instrucciones más detalladas pueden algunas veces ser transmitidas a los Partidos Comunistas y a los hom-

bre clave en las organizaciones "de pantalla" y en los movimientos "de masas" bajo control comunista, a través de las llamadas "fracciones del Partido" dentro de las mismas organizaciones —una cadena dentro de otra cadena. Esto presenta poca dificultad, especialmente en la F.S.M. donde la Vice-presidencia está ocupada por un soviético nativo, Shvernik, y otros nativos del bloque soviético están distribuidos en puntos vitales de la administración. En nivel inferior, la política se resuelve, a menudo, en cuestión de contacto personal, brindando excelente pretexto las conferencias y visitas ideadas por las varias organizaciones. Alternativamente, puede delegarse a un mensajero especial, para entrevistarse sobre el terreno con los líderes comunistas locales, combinando su ocupación más importante con el trabajo de organización del cuerpo que representa. En algunos casos se han entregado mensajes a través de los canales del Partido dentro de organismos oficiales soviéticos—misiones diplomáticas, consulados, representantes comerciales; representantes locales de la "Tass" y otros semejantes.

En dirección inversa, los informes y las recomendaciones de los comunistas locales acerca de sus progresos o dificultades pueden usualmente transmitirse con bastante seguridad, por ejemplo, por los conductos de la F.S.M. Sin embargo, es probable, que excepto cuando la indiscreción o la urgencia dicten otra cosa, que las partes más vitales de tales informes se envíen a Moscú por medio de las mismas "fracciones del Partido" que sirvieron para transmitir las instrucciones detalladas.

El Ejemplo de la Guayana Inglesa.

En relación con esto, uno se pregunta en qué medida

los planes Comunistas para la Guayana Inglesa fueron trazados y llevados a cabo bajo la responsabilidad de los líderes comunistas locales, y en qué medida estaban basados en instrucciones de fuera. La alianza local de "independencia nacional" fué formada por iniciativa comunista sobre la base de un manifiesto, el cual en muchos puntos difiere poco, por ejemplo, del manifiesto del "Partido de los Trabajadores" (comunista) en Indo-China. (25). El "programa" de la alianza de "independencia nacional" de los de la Guayana Inglesa y el P.P.P. ("Partido Progresista del Pueblo") tam-

25.—Resúmenes de la declaración de objetivos de:

(a) El Partido Progresista del Pueblo, de la Guayana Inglesa y de

(b) El Lao Dong (Partido de los Trabajadores) de Indo-China.

(a) "...El P.P.P. se esforzará por la unidad de los obreros y campesinos, cooperativas, sociedades fraternales, comerciantes y profesionales progresistas, empleados del Gobierno y amas de casas de todas las razas. Será el campeón de sus intereses inmediatos cotidianos. Luchará inflexiblemente contra el imperialismo y la opresión, colonial y apoyará con todas sus fuerzas a la clase obrera internacional y los movimientos de liberación nacional de todos los países dominados y dirigidos para beneficio de intereses extranjeros.

Luego, después de una lista de reivindicaciones, viene el **Llamamiento a la acción.**

"... El P.P.P. está equipado con una teoría comprobada, es decir, con la experiencia de la clase obrera de todos los países tomada en su forma más general. Nosotros no somos guías ciegos de los ciegos. En esta crisis que se ahonda pedimos, por lo tanto, a la numerosa clase de los obreros manuales y obreros intelectuales reforzar sus Sindicatos y su vanguardia, el P.P.P. Pedimos que todos se unan para acabar pronto el viejo sistema de democracia para los ricos y para el establecimiento de la democracia de los trabajadores. (Del órgano del Partido, "Thunder", enero de 1952).

(b) "El Lao Dong es el partido de las clases laboriosas y

bién siguieron el modelo tradicional, y, para los Comunistas que se hallan al corriente de las tácticas y del pensamiento en curso, no se habrían requerido instrucciones muy detalladas para elaborarlos. La infiltración en posiciones clave —el Magisterio, los funcionarios, la policía— fué análogamente un método esencial y obvio de acrecentar la fuerza, y, en el momento en que la Constitución de la Guayana Inglesa fué suspendida, los comunistas estaban realizando extremados esfuerzos para apoderarse de la dirección del movimiento sindical. Otras "organizaciones de masas" controladas por comunistas, especialmente los "Comités de Paz" y un "Movimiento Pionero", existían ya en embrión y estaban abriéndose camino bajo la influencia del activo mecanismo de propaganda del P.P.P.; por lo menos dos comunistas militantes figuraban en el Gobierno como Minis-

el pueblo trabajador del Viet Nam. Acepta las doctrinas de Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin y la ideología de Mao Tse-Tung y las combina con las características de la Revolución del Viet Nam para servir de "base ideológica y brújula de cada acto del partido. Las tareas mayores de los Revolucionarios del Viet-Nam son echar a los invasores imperialistas, eliminar las huellas feudales y semi-feudales y desarrollar la economía del país, el entendimiento político y la cultura democrática a fin de asegurar las condiciones necesarias para promover la construcción de un régimen socialista... Para realizar dichas tareas el Lao Dong debe fortalecer el Frente Unido Nacional sobre la base de la alianza de obreros y campesinos bajo la dirección de los obreros, y debe reunir alrededor del partido a la mayoría de los obreros, campesinos, intelectuales, burgueses, y todos los elementos políticos patrióticos y progresistas, a fin de consolidar el régimen del pueblo y fortalecer y desarrollar el Ejército del Pueblo. El partido reconoce que la Revolución del Viet Nam es una parte integrante de la revolución mundial dirigida por la Unión Soviética.

(Radiodifusión "Voz del Viet Nam del Sur", 21 de mayo de 1951).

tros, había una Oposición letárgica y dividida y una población no informada pero inquieta. Los comunistas locales estaban en contacto con las organizaciones del Comunismo Internacional, especialmente con la F.S.M., y habían asistido a sus conferencias y Congresos.

• Sin embargo, los líderes comunistas locales trataron de marchar demasiado aprisa y al precipitar una crisis económica y constitucional, antes de que estuviesen preparadas las fuerzas que debían apoyarlos, crearon una situación en la cual la intervención externa se hizo, no sólo necesaria, sino también posible sin dar lugar a derramamientos de sangre o siquiera al desorden. Es posible, que, a este respecto, los líderes comunistas de la Guayana Inglesa actuaron por inexperiencia o con impaciencia y sin instrucciones específicas de sus superiores del Partido en el Extranjero.

Pero, sea que actuasen bajo instrucciones concretas o no, y por muy ortodoxas que sus opiniones teóricas puedan haber sido (pues parecen haber sido bastante ortodoxas, a juzgar por sus declaraciones y por el órgano del P.P.P. "Thunder"), el hecho de que fracasaron quizás pueda atribuirse a "desviación oportunista". Esto no impidió,

26.—"Sabemos que la gente está proclamando otras ideas —ideas de Socialismo y Comunismo, ideas progresistas que oportunamente, si se les da una oportunidad igual, reemplazarán a las ideas decadentes sobre las cuales se fundan el capitalismo. Fascismo e Imperialismo son solamente palabras del orden capitalista... de modo que, en todos los aspectos y para todos los fines, el mundo está dividido en dos campos— el campo socialista o comunista, que es el campo del pueblo, y el campo que todavía se auto - titula democrático; pero que realmente es el campo capitalista".

(Dr. Jagan — extracto de un discurso sobre la derogación de la Ley de Publicaciones Indeseables, 24 de julio de 1953.

por supuesto, que la F.S.M., la F.M.J.D., la F.I.M.D. y el "Comité de Paz" británico se esforzaran, concertadamente, en capitalizar políticamente todo lo que pudieron la crisis de la Guayana, según las líneas aprobadas se "independencia nacional" (27), altamente reveladoras.

27.—F.S.M. — "El... Tercer Congreso Sindical Mundial expresa su completa y fraternal solidaridad con el pueblo de la Guayana Inglesa y denuncia los actos de agresión realizados por el Gobierno Británico en aquel país. El tercer Congreso considera que el recurrir a la fuerza es un acto de franca provocación, con el propósito de dar un pretexto para aplastar el movimiento de liberación nacional y negar el ejercicio de los derechos sindicales en la Guayana Inglesa.... Este acto inculcable del Gobierno Británico es un intento para intimidar a la gente que ansía progreso y libertad con independencia y paz... El Tercer Congreso Sindical Mundial pide a todos los obreros y sindicatos sin distinción, y a todos los hombres que aman la libertad, la democracia y la paz, que demuestren su activa solidaridad con el pueblo oprimido de la Guayana Inglesa... para reclamar... que el Gobierno Británico retire inmediatamente sus fuerzas armadas, restablezca la Constitución, levante el estado de sitio y restaure plenamente los derechos sindicales y democráticos".

(Acuerdo de la F.S.M., octubre de 1953).

F.M.J.D. — "La situación en la Guayana Inglesa durante los últimos meses ha llamado la atención de la juventud del mundo entero. Fué con júbilo que la juventud de todos los países recibió la noticia de la victoria de las fuerzas democráticas amantes de la paz en las últimas elecciones. También hubo profunda indignación cuando se conocieron las medidas brutales del Gobierno Británico... la juventud de la Guayana Inglesa pudo conocer, durante el Congreso Mundial de la Juventud y el Cuarto Festival Mundial de la Juventud, a los que había enviado delegaciones, que cuenta con la simpatía y solidaridad de la juventud de todo el mundo... la F.M.J.D. envía a Uds. (la juventud de la Guayana) la expresión de su sincera solidaridad y pide a todos sus organismos filiales que les apoyen activamente en su lucha. La F.M.J.D. protesta enérgicamente ante el Gobierno Británico..."

(Comunicado de prensa de la F.M.J.D., 11 de noviembre de 1953).

F.I.M.D. — "En un telegrama al Vicepresidente del Parlamento de la Guayana Inglesa, Janet Jagan, la F.I.M.D., asegura a la población de la Guayana Inglesa su solidaridad en la lucha por sus derechos democráticos. La F.I.M.D. asegura al pueblo de la Guayana su completo apoyo.

(Agencia de Noticias de Alemania Oriental, A.D.N., 24 de octubre de 1953).

Comité Británico Pro Paz — El Comité "pidió al pueblo que se telegraficara al Primer Ministro y a los miembros del Parlamento insistiendo en que: 1) se retirase a cualesquiera fuerzas armadas enviadas a la Guayana Inglesa; 2) que se informe de los hechos al público; 3) que se arreglen pacíficamente los conflictos".

(Daily Worker", Londres, 7 de octubre de 1953).

VII

LA MOVILIZACION DEL APOYO EXTERIOR

El quinto punto del programa de Stalin para lograr un asidero en las regiones poco desarrolladas es el de "asegurar la vinculación del movimiento de liberación nacional con el movimiento proletario (es decir, Comunista) de los países adelantados".

Las actividades de los Comunistas locales y de las "organizaciones de fachada" controladas por comunistas en este aspecto, se han indicado ya. Sin embargo, hay otras dos fuentes posibles de ayuda directa para un movimiento de "independencia nacional": los gobiernos Comunistas (el Gobierno Soviético, el Gobierno Chino y los Gobiernos Satélites bajo su control) y las fuerzas simpatizantes en el mundo libre.

La ayuda que los gobiernos Comunistas pueden prestar depende de su fuerza militar e influencia política en el país en cuestión. Cuando el movimiento de independencia nacional ocurre en un territorio adyacente, no vacilan en darle ayuda militar directa en su intento de adueñarse del poder por la fuerza, como en Grecia, Corea e Indo-China. Cuando una intervención, ayudan con la acción diplomáti-

ca y con la adecuada manipulación de su política económica y hasta cultural. De este modo, los convenios comerciales, las ofertas de asistencia técnica y comercial, las visitas de "buena voluntad", los intercambios **culturales**, los campeonatos deportivos internacionales, etc., se emplean para ayudar a los movimientos de "independencia" nacional, debilitando a las fuerzas que les ofrecen resistencia.

Quizá de mayor importancia, sin embargo, es la ayuda que pueden sacar los Comunistas que trabajan bajo la máscara de un movimiento de "independencia nacional", de ciertas fuerzas y corrientes de opinión del mundo libre. La principal entre éstas, tal vez, la proporciona el tema del "anti-imperialismo": la idea de que la política de las Potencias Europeas Occidentales y los Estados Unidos hacia los países poco desarrollados esté determinada por un deseo de controlarlos y explotarlos, y que la acción hostil a las Potencias Occidentales y a los Estados Unidos debe ser, por lo tanto, ventajosa para los países poco desarrollados. Esta convicción está a menudo acompañada de una ingenua falta de información sobre la naturaleza del imperialismo comunista ruso y chino.

También hay el "anti-colonialismo": la creencia de que la existencia de territorios dependientes es moralmente injusta, y la consecuente tendencia a suponer que cualquier movimiento que incluya entre su miras el independizarse de la Potencia Colonial de que se trate, necesariamente merece apoyo. Hay el "anti-imperialismo" y el recelo hacia la política de los Estados Unidos. Hay la gran fuerza del trabajo internacional organizado, vigilante para proteger la libertad de asociación y los derechos de los obreros e instintivamente simpatizante con cualquier movimiento que parezca o pretenda favorecer sus intereses. Hay el

pacifismo, con su renunciación a la fuerza; el neutralismo, con su ineptitud, para darse cuenta de que el Comunismo amenaza a todo el mundo libre, "neutrales" y no-neutrales por igual. Estas y otras corrientes que se entrecruzan, de pensamiento, opinión e interés pueden ser utilizadas por los Comunistas y cripto-comunistas para quebrantar las defensas del mundo libre actuando dentro del mismo.

VII

CONCLUSIONES

Las conclusiones de este estudio pueden resumirse como sigue:

1) Los países y territorios poco desarrollados se están convirtiendo en un objetivo cada vez más importante para la actividad y penetración Comunistas.

2) El método preferido por los Comunistas es la explotación del nacionalismo.

3) La actividad y la penetración Comunista se realizarán, por lo tanto, siempre que sea posible, bajo la máscara de un movimiento de "liberación nacional" o de "independencia nacional". En los Estados soberanos tomará la forma de ataques contra las alianzas extranjeras y contra el gobierno existente como no representativo, anti-democrático y títere de los intereses extranjeros. En los territorios no-autónomos adoptará la forma de un movimiento para la autonomía completa o bien la Cesión.

4) Los comunistas intentarán formar una coalición de "independencia nacional" con cuantos partidos políticos sea posible, sobre la base de un manifiesto con amplios incentivos que atraigan al pueblo.

5) En el plano popular se intentará asegurar el apoyo de las masas al manifiesto y a la coalición por medio de organizaciones de "masas" y especialmente, mediante los sindicatos obreros.

6) A este fin se realizará un esfuerzo especial para apoderarse de la dirección de los movimientos sindicales existentes y para establecer nuevos Sindicatos obreros bajo el control de la F. S. M. y se procurará un aumento incesante de conferencias, visitas, viajes, "intercambios culturales" y publicidad dirigida bajo los auspicios de la F. S. M.

7) Se harán intentos para fomentar el descontento social y la intranquilidad obrera, especialmente por medio de huelgas y demandas de elevación de salarios.

8) Al mismo tiempo, se harán preparativos para el caso de fragmentación eventual de la coalición de "independencia nacional" y para la ocupación Comunista del Poder mediante la infiltración de los servicios clave (gobierno central y local, poder judicial, escuelas, policía) y la colocación de Comunistas en los puestos de mando dentro de la misma coalición de "independencia nacional".

9) Los gobiernos comunistas procurarán prestar ayuda directa e indirecta a los comunistas que trabajen encubiertos por la máscara de movimientos de "independencia nacional", extendiendo y explotando su influencia política, militar, económica y cultural en el mundo libre.