

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED AT
THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF
THE YOUNG COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL



Published by the E. C. of the Y. C. I.

INSTRUCTIONS

The Building of Factory Nuclei and their
Practical Work as the
Basis of Organisation.

(The League Worker No 1.)

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Decision of the Y. C. I. on the American League

Fifth Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of
the Y. C. I. Proposes Five Main Tasks for the Young
Workers League in the Coming Period and Calls
on All Members to End Factionalism by
Rallying Behind the N. E. C. for a
United League Working Toward
a Mass Organization.

In its resolution of the tasks of the Young Workers League of America the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. laid down the lines for the transition to Bolshevik mass work. The Fifth Enlarged Bureau Session of the Y. C. I. investigated the progress made by the American League in this direction during its more than six months activity, and arrived at the following conclusion.

I. The Differences in the Workers Party and the Y. W. L. of A.

1. Since the end of 1923 a heated discussion has been carried on in the Workers Party on the question of the establishment of a labor party. This discussion reached a climax after the last presidential election in November 1924. With respect to these contentions, questions, the Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. is in entire agreement with the resolution of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I. on the American question. The C. I. urges both groups

in the Workers Party to discuss rationally and quietly on the basis of this platform all questions confronting the party, and to collaborate in a comradely manner. The Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. urges the entire Youth League to be guided by this resolution. It should be taken into consideration that the most dangerous enemy in the ranks of the Workers Party is the Lore group and its ideology. This makes it incumbent on the adherents of the Majority as well as the Minority to do their utmost to form a united front against this two and a half International ideology.

II. Past Activity

2. Whilst in the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I., we still had occasion to say that a certain hesitancy, was noticeable within the Y. W. L. of A. with respect to the application of the decisions of the Y. C. I., we are able today to place on record that during the period following the Fourth Congress, work was carried on with greater energy than ever before. The Central Committee of the Y. W. L. of A. has shown lately, by the way it is conducting the league's work that it is capable of being the leader of the American Youth League in full agreement with the E. C. of the Y. C. I. We are convinced that it will be able also in the future to lead the Y. W. L. in accordance with the lines laid down in the resolution and in the resolution of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I. on the American question. If members of the Minority group have reproached the Central Committee of the Y. W. L. with not having done enough towards making the league a mass organization, we declare that there is no justification for such an accusation. The Executive of the Y. C. I. calls upon all league members to put an end to factionalism and to work together in a comradely fashion on the basis of the decisions of the C. I. and Y. C. I.

III. The Chief Tasks

The forthcoming convention of the American League, after restating its adherence to the Theses and Resolution

of the Second National Convention which still form the basis of the activity of the organization, should outline its activities as follows:

3. The main task of the American League is the creation of a mass organization of young workers recruited primarily from the large industries and organized completely upon the nucleus basis. Such an organization will be able to initiate and lead greater political and economic struggles of the young workers and reap the proper organizational results. This means a constant and persistent campaign to increase the membership to at least 10,000 and the complete reorganization to the league upon the nucleus basis by the next Y. C. I. Congress. This can only be achieved by a general increase of activity on all fields and particularly by concerted efforts in the daily struggles of the working class youth. Our slogans must be "In every large shop a nucleus!" and "Every member a shop nucleus organizer!" Only by this means will the Y. W. L. assume its true role as the sole representative of the working class youth.

4. The league has made a big step forward on the economic field and has already shown its ability to participate in the daily struggles of the young workers by departing from the "journalistic" stage of economic trade union work and organizing campaigns with concrete demands for the youth. This must be intensified so that not only the larger sections, but also the entire league has entered in the work. In the campaigns carried thru against the Bunte Candy Co., the Nabisco, the Mail Order Houses, and in the mining industry, the league has gained much experience. The issuing of pamphlets for particular industries has proved to be very successful. While these campaigns for specific youth demands mark a step forward in the work of the Y. W. L., it must, however, be stated that these campaigns have only a practical value if the league succeeds in winning an organized influence upon the masses of young workers, i. e. if it succeeds in organizing shop nuclei, which, together with the fractions

in the unions must carry on the actual struggle for the demands set up. Moreover these campaigns have been carried on so far (with the exception of the coal mining campaign) in less important industries. These campaigns must now be extended on a national scale and should concentrate on the key industries. Special efforts should be made to reorganize and continue special national campaigns among the masses of the young workers in large industries such as: coal, steel, textile, automobile, etc. on the basis of special youth demands. The beginning which has already been made in various strikes (Hegeswich) by setting up concrete demands for the youth must find a similar response from the league in every strike that takes place in the future.

The campaigns of the league must be crowned by the calling of conferences of the working youth of particular industries and these must become a means of rallying the broad masses of the working youth in the big industries to the demands of the Y. W. L. These conferences must become regular features in the activities of the Y. W. L. The aim of the league must also be to organize conferences of the rural youth at which representatives from the workshops should participate thus bringing the industrial youth near to the rural youth and establishing a bond between the industrial youth and their allies in the rural districts. All efforts should be made to have Negro delegates at all of these conferences (industrial and rural).

One of the weakest points in the work of the league has been its failure to concentrate upon the organization of trade union youth fractions without which the practical carrying out of the trade union work is without foundation. The industrial campaigns will have but a propagandistic and in a certain sense a "journalistic" value, if the league members are not organized in the unions and as long as there are no fractions of the Y. W. L. in the unions.

The slogan "Every member of the Y. W. L. an active trade union member" signifies that the members of the Y. W. L. in a particular union must unite into a fraction of

the Y. W. L. Hand in hand with the campaign of "into the unions!" must be carried thru the building up of the fractions of the Y. W. L. These fractions must work in closest contact with the T. U. E. L. for specific youth demands. It is their task to conduct within the general activities of the T. U. E. L. the work for the interests of the young workers, to propagate and popularize the demands of the Y. W. L. and to enlist the support of the T. U. E. L., and thru the T. U. E. L. the support of the unions, to fight for the demands set up by the Y. W. L. It is particularly important that the Y. W. L. wins the support of the T. U. E. L. in their fight for the removal of all barriers against the youth: high entrance fees, high dues, age and color barriers, etc., and for the admittance of the young workers with full rights but lower entrance fees and dues in accordance to the wages received. For this purpose the league should have a representative on all committees of the T. U. E. L. The league must also make the greatest use of the facilities of the T. U. E. L. in order to reach the masses of the young workers thru the publications of the T. U. E. L. (Column in the Daily Workers' Bulletin, and other literature issued by the T. U. E. L., and thru other channels).

5. The recurring agrarian crisis which became more severe in each period, make the winning of the agricultural working youth and the youth of the working farmer of greater importance to the league. This work must be definitely begun by the setting up of a working committee in the N. E. C. which will co-ordinate the entire activity and especially in those sections where the league has already made contacts. It is the duty of the league to carry energetic campaigns thru the setting up of special demands and slogans based on the practical struggles of the rural youth.

6. Despite the traditional race prejudices which exist among the white and colored workers our league must undertake the work among the Negro youth in a serious manner. The program already adopted by the N. E. C. on

this work must be amplified and include concrete measures for reaching the exploited colored workers of the South as well as the North. A constant campaign showing the common class interests of the colored and white workers in their everyday struggles against the boss and the capitalist state must be conducted together with the entrance and the setting up of demands by the Y. W. L. in every political and economic struggle of the Negro. The publications of literature dealing with the Communist position towards the Negro will be an aid towards our campaign among the young Negro workers in the packing coal, steel and other industries. Efforts should be made to draw young Negro workers into district and national work and position.

7. Definite beginning must be made in the educational work of the American League. In our mass activity the N. E. C. must initiate definite campaigns which will popularize the league and its principles. The wide distribution of our press and the regular issuance of nucleus bulletins will assist in this work. The N. E. C. should issue a monthly political bulletin to the membership. Greater training of the membership in the spirit and teachings of Leninism is necessary so that we may create a reserve army of trained workers for work within the party. The N. E. C. must establish courses on a politminimum for every unit of the league, and also establish, wherever possible, "week end schools" for all functionaries where theoretical and practical training will be combined. In order that the league's development may not be retarded by the lack of capable functionaries and officials for district and national work, efforts should be made to establish a Central Training School in Chicago where a group of comrades can be drawn from various centers for intensive training in the theory and practice of Leninism.

In addition to the above tasks, which must be concentrated upon, the league must not forget the following:

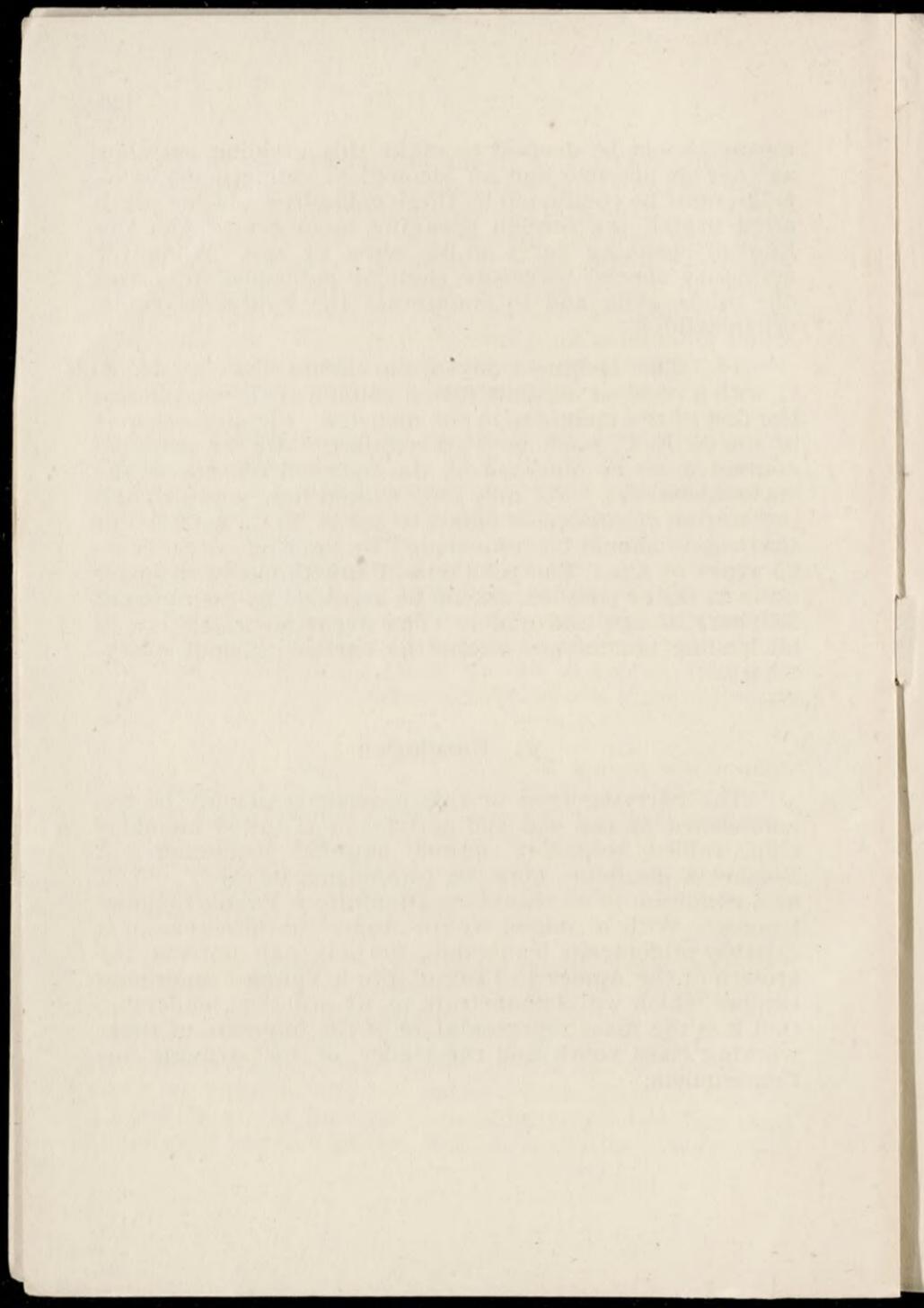
General Tasks

8. The transformation of the Young Worker into a

weekly organ marks a great step forward for the league. Every effort must be made to maintain the weekly and increase its circulation among the young workers in the industries. The mass character of the paper must be further improved by the development of a national network of young workers' correspondents from the factory and mine. The Young Comrade also must be further changed to an organ of the school struggle.

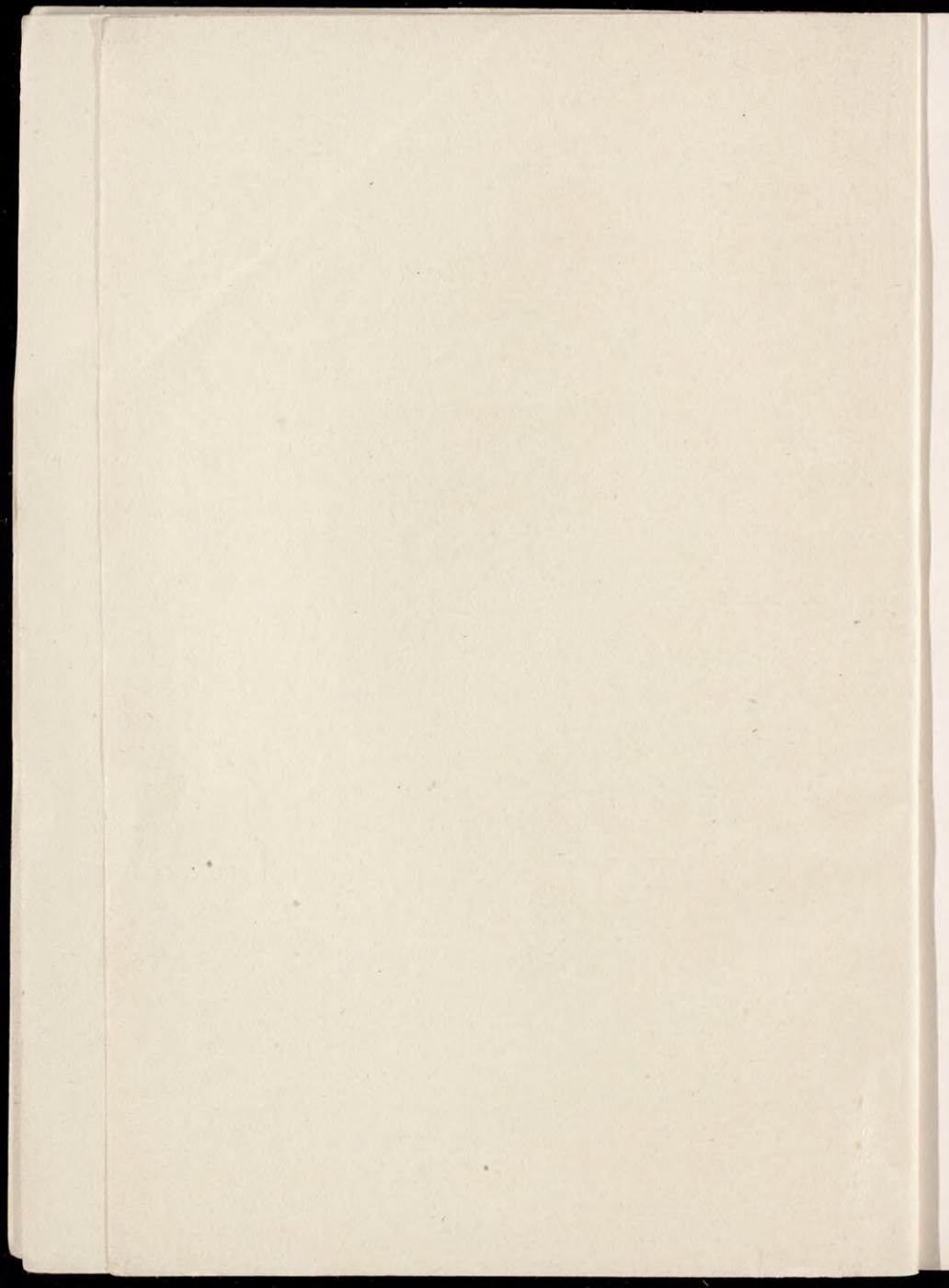
9. An energetic campaign must be conducted through our league press against capitalist militarism and the danger of new imperialistic wars, at all times pointing out the difference between the Leninist conception of the struggle against that of the pacifists and socialists. The establishment of actual nuclei within the army and navy is one of the next tasks of the league. In addition we must issue concrete demands and slogans for the soldiers and sailors. The work in the C. M. T. C. must be continued this year and efforts should be made to establish and maintain connections with the C. M. T. C. civilian clubs. A struggle should be carried on against compulsory military training in schools upon their opening this year. All patriotic demonstrations and holidays should be counteracted by the league.

10. The Junior Section must be more closely coordinated in its work and greater attention given to the political education. Following the experiences of the German Y. C. L., a well knit national organization of Junior groups (Junior Sections) with the school nucleus as the basic unit and the school struggle as the basis of activity, must be organized out of the present Junior groups, with the German Young Spartacist League as a model. A beginning must be made through the reorganization of the existing Junior groups on the basis of school nuclei, the center of gravity of all activity must be centered in the schools (school struggle, fight for better school buildings, against nationalist and religionist dope, etc.) The most important task, however, is to organize a continuous and energetic nation-wide campaign against child labor on



RESOLUTIONS

RESOLVED, That the Board of Directors of the
Company do hereby authorize the President and
the Secretary to execute and deliver to the
proper authorities all such documents and
instruments as may be necessary to carry out
the purposes of the above resolutions.



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FOREWORD.

The Fourth World Congress of the Young Communist International marks the close of the first stage in the dogged struggle for a world mass-organization of the working youth, and a new period opens in the history of the Y. C. I.

The Fourth Congress reviewed with satisfaction the progress achieved towards the accomplishment of this aim, for the slogan of the Second Congress "A Mass Organization", which was issued to the sectarian groups and clubs which emerged from the difficult war period is now bearing fruit.

Apart from the purely mathematical increase in the membership of each league, the leagues now understand or are beginning to understand the forms and methods of the mass-work.

The slogans of the Third Congress, "Against Militarism and Fascist Reaction", "Against the Capitalist Offensive", "For The United Front" and "Organize on the Basis of the Shop Nuclei" have been endorsed by history.

The Y. C. I. is winning more and more the confidence and trust of the youthful working masses by a continuous defense of their interests and by a championship of their every grievance. The nucleus method of organization is transforming the Leagues into powerful shock troops of the working youth and the whole working class and its leader the Communist International.

The problem of the method of approach to the masses was solved by the Third Congress — the nucleus as the means and the economic and anti-militarist struggle as the end.

The aim of the economic program was clearly defined as "The Socialist Reorganization of Juvenile Labor" the recognition of the right of the youth to educational training up to the age of 18 years at the cost of the State.

The draft basis of the educational system of the future socialist society, which was based mainly upon the rich experiences of the five years proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Republics, was formulated as the goal of the young communists. The partial demands for the immediate struggle against the pauperization of the working

youth — A Minimum Wage, The Six Hour Day, Collective Indentures, The Abolition of Piece Work, The Protection of Apprentices, Two Year Apprenticeships etc., were clearly recognized as demands arising out of the struggle and leading to still new struggles against a vicious capitalist offensive, struggles which must culminate in the Proletarian Dictatorship.

A clear program for the struggle against bourgeois militarism and Reaction was adopted. Not the "General Strike" slogan of social democrats and pacifists, but the Leninist slogan, "Prepare Now to Transform the Imperialist War into a Civil War of the Working Class Against the International Bourgeoisie".

Concrete instructions were issued to this end — the formation of an illegal nuclei organization inside the army and navy, the struggle for the immediate cultural, economic and political demands of the soldiers and sailors etc.

The proposal of the Y. C. I. to the Socialist Internationals of Youth for a joint week of international action against militarism and the danger of war was naturally rejected by the socialists who now stand on the side of the fascists against the communists and against the demands of the working class. And Hamburg, where the delegation of the Y. C. I. was refused admission, marked the final capitulation of Social Democracy to the Bourgeoisie and to the Reaction.

The leagues attacked the tasks set to them with energy and determination and already the Fourth Bureau Session was able to record considerable progress by June 1923 and to give directions for the further development of the work.

With the end of 1923, the attacks of the reaction reached their height, and in Bulgaria in September and in Germany in October, the latter due to socialdemocratic treachery, the workers were forced to retreat. During the course of these struggles opportunistic divergencies made themselves apparent, even within the ranks of the Communist International itself. The application of the United Front Tactic was fraught with dangers which had to be resolutely fought, and the Young Communist Leagues took a foremost place in this struggle.

The declaration of Zinoviev that the Y. C. I. was the "right hand" of the Communist International, is a tribute to the steadfastness of the Leagues during a difficult period.

The work of the Y. C. I. in the Ruhr has also proved our slogans to be correct. Early in 1924 the Experts' Commission produced its report and the proletariat in all countries advanced again to the struggle. The Labor Government came to office in England and Herriot took over the reins of government in France, and the democratic-pacifist era opened. The social traitors who had thundered against war undertook to lead the masses into still new blood-baths.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International defined its attitude to the new situation. In its resolution on the communist youth it proclaimed the necessity for the increase of the political activity and consciousness of the Young Communist Leagues and for their development into real young Leninist organizations — "Every Young Communist League a Young Leninist League", "Thru Work and Struggle the Y. C. I. Must Become the Sole Representative of the Interests of the Working Youth". The resolution also directs the Communist Parties to devote still greater attention to the Leagues as »Leninist training must largely depend upon the help afforded by the Communist Party".

The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. followed close on the heels of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and accepted unanimously all the decisions of the latter. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. was able to report great forward strides towards a world centralized mass-organization. A million young workers and peasants now march behind the red banner of the Y. C. I.

The Y. C. I. has invaded Western Europe and America, the last strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Capitalist England and America have retreated before the first attacks and our Leagues are now firmly founded.

The British League must take an active part in the struggle against the treachery of the labor government and the American League must take a foremost part in the struggle for the formation of a Farmer Labor Party in America.

The British Dominions and colonies and those of America are also lining up and it is a task of first rate importance for the leagues in the home countries to assist in the development of the colonial leagues.

The congress has issued precise directions upon the fields of the economic struggle, nucleus work, sport, colonial work antimili-

tarist and rural work. A greater participation in the life of the Party and political activity, more attention to the colonies, closer collaboration with the Red Unions, the organization upon the basis of the nuclei, and the formation of nuclei within the army.

Let us attack our tasks in a manner worthy of the name of our great leader, in the spirit of young Leninists!

*The Executive Committee of the Young Communist
International.*

Moscow, 14th August 1924.

Resolution on the Report of the Executive.

(Presented by the German and Russian Delegations.)

After hearing the report of Comrade Manuilsky upon the political situation and the work of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and the report of the Executive, the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. declares that it accepts the activity of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. in the time from the Third to the Fourth Congress and all decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and instructs all Young Communist Leagues to work with all their forces for the complete carrying out of these decisions in their countries.

The Fourth Congress accepts and ratifies completely the theses which the Fifth Congress of the Communist International have adopted upon the activity of the Y. C. I. up to the present and for the future.

The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. meets after 18 months of the greatest struggle and persecution from the side of the bourgeoisie (which forced many of our Leagues for instance the Italian, Bulgarian, Polish, Japanese, Roumanian, and German Leagues, temporarily or permanently into illegality and demanded many victims from them) stronger, more consolidated and more influential than ever before. The *decisions of the Third Congress* which demanded the improvement of the political activity of the Young Communist Leagues and pointed out concretely to these latter the way to the mass organization of the working youth, *have been proved in practice to be completely correct*, and their application in the given revolutionary situation has led to *an advance of the Y. C. I.*, in the beginning of which we now stand.

The Executive of the Y. C. I. which saw decisively to the carrying thru of the lines laid down by the Third Congress, has

taken part in this development in an effective manner thru the immediate leadership of the whole movement and of the Leagues, and *the Congress ratifies the activity of the Executive since the Third Congress completely.*

The Congress refers particularly to the efficiency of the Executive in the following question:

1. The Executive worked on an international scale as well as in the individual countries, systematically for a political enlivenment of the Leagues and obtained in this connection important and favorable results. The participation in the life of the Party and also the relation of the whole activity to political events took place to a much greater extent than previously and the Y. C. I. has reacted effectively to all the decisive political events of this time and in general has carried out the tasks set it. And particularly in the *Ruhr war*; during the *revolutionary wave in Germany*; in the *counter-revolutionary struggles in Bulgaria*; on the occasion of the *accession to office of the Labor Government in England*; and during the *increased campaign of the social democratic internationals and their amalgamation*. Individual leagues, as for instance the French, have understood particularly well how to bind the leagues' activity to the political events and the daily life and struggle of the working class.

2. The Y. C. I. carried on everywhere a sharp and merciless *struggle against the opportunist digressions* and remains of the social-democratic heritage in the Communist International. In *France* they struggled against the social democratic leader clique of Frossard and later against the reappearing Right and for the bolshevization of the Party; in *Germany* they supported definitely and with success the policy of the Communist International against the Right opportunist wing and its fatal mistakes and for the overcoming of the Party crisis on the basis of bolshevism; in *Norway* they carried on a persistent and untiring struggle against the social democratic tendencies in the Norwegian Workers' Party and the Norwegian Young Communist League, and for the establishment of a Communist Party; as a result of this struggle the majority of the League was won for the Communist International and took an active part in the formation of the Norwegian Communist Party; in *Sweden* they defended the League and the

Left wing against the continual attacks of the opportunist Right wing and struggled against the opportunistic policy of the latter against the Communist International; in *Bulgaria* they supported to the full the line of the C. I. against the opportunistic leadership of the Party and for revolutionary tactics; in the days of the struggle and the Party crisis following it the Youth League stood with the best and truest sections of the Party; in *Czecho-Slovakia* the Y. C. I. took up an attitude against the various opportunistic mistakes which showed themselves in the Party and worked for the bolshevization of both League and Party; in the *Russian question* the Y. C. I. and the Russian League placed themselves decisively beside the old bolshevik guard and the preponderating majority of the Party against the opposition. The Y. C. I. proved itself in all questions and all countries the truest support of the C. I. against the opportunistic digressions and the opportunistic leadership of the Party and for the bolshevization of the Parties. *The Right has found no ground whatever within the Y. C. I.*

3. The Y. C. I. in its activity has also been compelled to direct itself against the so-called *ultra-left digressions*, under which cover are often concealed the crudest opportunist digressions. For instance, in the Young Communist League of *Germany* and against the erroneous political and theoretical opinions which still exist today in the Young Communist League of *Italy*, although the latter is completely in agreement with the policy of the Y. C. I. in its practical activity.

The Y. C. I. in its struggle against both the Right opportunist digressions and the ultra-left mistakes has clearly and definitely stressed and worked out the *standpoint of Leninism* and of bolshevism. It greeted the slogan the *bolshevization of the Parties* with enthusiasm and has striven to apply it to the Youth movement.

4. From the first day of the *Ruhr occupation* the Y. C. I. has carried on in occupied Germany an intensive political agitational and organizational work amongst the working class and amongst the troops of occupation against imperialism and for revolutionary fraternization. This work was carried on with very great energy and was continually improved. The Y. C. I., as the first of all the

sections of the C. I., applied the instructions of Lenin for the decisive, persistent and organized struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war in this decisive moment, despite the tremendous difficulties and the many victims, whilst the social-democratic youth movement either became completely bankrupt with regard to the Ruhr war, or put themselves, as in 1914, openly upon the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The *anti-militarist activity* was in general and particularly in France, very much strengthened and developed, nevertheless, with the exception of occupied Germany and France it was carried on too little and in many countries not at all. The Y. C. I. has also begun an international campaign against the war which must certainly be greatly increased, for the democratic pacifist era is nothing but a time of increased preparations for war. Therefore, the Y. C. I. must pay great attention to this field in the future.

5. The Executive has paid great attention in all countries to the carrying out of the decisions of the Third Congress upon the *creation of shop nuclei and the reorganization of the Leagues upon their basis*, and has practically and concretely supported this work. As a consequence, both in the Leagues and the Parties, considerable progress and betterment of the work upon this field in the sense of mass activity can be shown. But the complete reorganization stands everywhere as the decisive and immediate task before us.

6. In relation to the increased campaign of the social democratic *opponents* after the Hague and in connection with the amalgamation of the social democratic youth internationals in Hamburg, and in relation to the German events, an increased united front campaign was carried thru on an international scale which in general has been successful and which has strongly compromised the social democratic youth internationals in the eyes of the broad masses and has led to an increase of the influence of the Y. C. I. upon them. The systematic struggle against the opponents has nevertheless strongly decreased since the events in Germany. It must be strengthened, particularly now when the social-democratic so-called pacifist youth movement will receive in many countries in consequence of the democratic pacifist wave a new lease of life.

7. The activity of the Executive as also the whole activity of the Y. C. I. upon the field of the economic trade-union work, the work on the land and the systematic educational work was not sufficient. The necessity for concentration upon our chief tasks has caused gaps and deficiencies in these sections of our work.

8. The Executive has led the Leagues on the way to the carrying thru of the decisions of the Third Congress by a systematic work with and support of the leadership of the Leagues. The Congress points particularly to the line of the Executive in Germany, France, Great Britain, America, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, in the Balkan Federation and in the East and ratifies it completely.

With the various countries of the Balkans, with Poland and Spain, the connections in this period were much greater than before the Third Congress, but still insufficient.

9. In general the Y. C. I. in this period, despite various deficiencies and mistakes which remain to be bettered, has made considerable progress on the way to *World organization*. The connections with the Leagues and the constant leadership of them was stronger and better. Under the immediate leadership of the Y. C. I., complete and basic changes of the League activities were made in many countries, (Germany, Scandinavia, Bulgaria, Great Britain, America, Italy etc.) and the connections between the Leagues were improved. The Y. C. I. finally, and for the first time succeeded in carrying out really united and decisive international actions (The Ruhr, the anti-war campaign). The Y. C. I. has at last ceased to be a Middle-European organization. The Y. C. I. in this period has not only developed in Central Europe, but particularly also in West and North Europe and America, and these countries are more than ever drawn into the circle of the activity of the Y. C. I.

The influence of the Y. C. I and its sections upon the masses of the working youth has been considerably increased and this work has taken on more of a mass character, it has rooted itself more deeply in the masses, strengthened its membership numbers and reached the total of a million. Important progress was made on the way to the development of the Young Communist Leagues to mass organizations.

10. Although the Y. C. I. and its sections have made important progress in this direction, the Congress must nevertheless state that the Y. C. I. *today is still not a group of mass organizations*, and that we have in our International, *apart from the Russian League, no mass organization*. This is shown by the following:

The *numerical relation* of the Young Communist Leagues to the parties and to the great masses of the working youth is still *absolutely insufficient*, and sometimes negligible. Whilst the Russian League has today 30 % more members than the Party, and has already organized more than 40 % of the working-class youth in its ranks, our strongest leagues have numerically not more than ten to fifteen % of the Party membership (with certain exceptions, such as the Swedish League which is stronger than the Party and the Italian which has 30 %) and only a very small section of the working youth organized in their ranks. The comparative influence of the Leagues upon the unorganized working youth is considerably smaller than the parallel influence of the Party.

Whilst the Y. C. I. and the Young Communist Leagues fight actively upon the side of the Party in many important actions and struggles, and draw the working youth into these struggles, and even lead effective actions of the working youth themselves, nevertheless, in general they have not yet become the daily and permanent leaders of the masses of the working youth in all their problems, nor the practical representatives of their interests.

The transformation of our activity from its old social democratic territorial organizational character to that of a communist mass organization of the working youth has made great progress. It is still however insufficient. Despite the progress with the shop nuclei, our organizational form is still in general the old social democratic form.

11. In these circumstances the chief task of the Y. C. I. remains as before the conquest of the broadest masses of the working class youth and the working youth in the country and the development of the Y. C. I. to the mass organization

of the working youth in numbers, influence, organization and activity. Therefore, the following tasks stand before the Y. C. I.

The continuation of the working out of the correct methods and the correct content of the political activity, and the education of the membership in the spirit of Leninism.

The powerful support of the policy of the Communist International, particularly against the opportunistic digressions in Sweden, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. The joining of all forces which stand completely upon the basis of the policy of the Communist International to make a united left in the French Party. The working-out and carrying-out of the correct policy in agreement with the decisions of the Communist International in Italy. The creation of a Communist mass party in Great Britain. The full support of the German Party in its activity for the organization of the revolution, the consolidation of the whole Party and its stand upon the policy of the Fifth Congress, etc.

The complete and speedy reorganization upon the basis of the shop nuclei and the numerical strengthening of the Leagues.

The systematic bolshevik anti-militarist work and the struggle against the danger of war. The extension of the anti-militarist work in all countries.

The taking up of a strong and regular practical trade-union economic work in the sense of a daily leadership of the working youth in the struggles for their demands, and a regular Leninist work in the trade unions.

The taking up of a regular work amongst the working youth on the land.

12. The Y. C. I. will only be able to perform these tasks with a unified and strong leadership and a persistent struggle for its development into a world organization.

Therefore, the political information to the Leagues, their connections with the Y. C. I. and with one another and their leadership must be improved and increased. The connection between the Leagues of the colonies and the half colonial countries and those of the imperialist countries must be

practically established. An increased assistance must be given to the movement in the Anglo-Saxon countries, in France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, the colonies and in the Orient. The Balkan States and Poland should be drawn into the circle of the activity of the Y. C. I. and supported more than previously.

Thru such work on all fields the Y. C. I. will carry on its task and become the truest support of the Communist International in the struggle for the conquest of the majority of the working class and the organization of the revolution, and will become ever more the mass organization and leader of the working youth, the young guard of Leninism.

Resolution upon the Propaganda of Leninism.

1. The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. considers it necessary to carry out a systematic work in all sections of the Y. C. I. for the study and the propaganda of the ideological heritage left to us by our great leader Lenin.

The work of Lenin has freed Marxism from the mutilations of the Second International and at the same time has, upon the basis of experiences of the working class movement, supplemented it and carried it further. Leninism, that is to say, revolutionary Marxism of the imperialist epoch and the proletarian revolution is therefore the sharpest weapon in the hands of the fighting working class.

Only when the batalions of the Communist Youth are educated upon the basis of Leninism will they understand how to find their bearings correctly in the complicated political situation, to bolshevize the organization and to lead their work upon a correct path. The Congress therefore calls to the Young Communist Leagues of all countries to take up energetically the work for the propaganda of Leninism.

2. The Congress points out that the study of Leninism cannot be separated from the educational work of the Leagues, but that the whole educational work must have a Leninist content.

The study of Leninism can not take place without a study of Marxism. For this reason and having regard to the lack of leading forces for the educational work, the Congress recommends to the Leagues that they establish no special circles for the study of Leninism, but that they see to it that the elements of Leninism form the basis of all programs for the circles and lecture courses and that they make the Leninist circles the highest course in the system of political

education. In consequence, the programs of all circles must be so worked out that the basic problems of Leninism form the middle points:

- a) Imperialism, the national and colonial questions.
- b) Working class and the peasantry.
- c) The State, the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet Power.
- d) The organizational principles of bolshevism.
- e) The tactical questions etc.

3. *The explanation of the Leninist methods for the relation of theory and practice! The history of the struggle of Lenin against opportunism and left digressions* must take a special place in the study and propaganda of Leninism. The programs must not be purely historically built up, but they must deal with the individual fundamental questions of Leninism and show how these questions have been formulated and carried thru in the whole history of the revolutionary struggles and particularly in the Russian Party and the Communist International.

The study and propaganda of Leninism must not be carried out in the circles alone, but must take a leading place in the whole practical work of the Leagues. The anti-militarist work, the work in the trade unions, the work on the land, etc. must be permanently, supported by the propaganda and explanation of the ideas of Leninism on these fields, only in this way can we obtain the greatest possible connection between the individual fields of our work and final aim.

4. The congress considers it necessary to use the press in the broadest manner for the propaganda of Leninism and the explanation of Leninist ideas. It is the task of the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I. to issue a number of brochures etc. as assistant means for the propaganda of Leninism, and for this purpose it would utilize in the first place the brochures which have already appeared in the Russian language (for instance, the books of Stalin, Safrov, the articles of Bucharin, Adoratsky etc.) Similarly a special selection from the writings of Lenin must be issued for the

youth. This selection must be issued in all the important European and Oriental languages at low prices. They must be edited in such a manner and supplied with such notes and explanation, that they are easily understandable to the youth. At the same time the Executive shall issue a popular pamphlet upon Lenin and his work for mass-distribution amongst the working youth in all countries. In all the newspapers and publications issued by the Leagues, articles must appear regularly explaining the ideas of Leninism in relation to topical questions.

5. The Executive is instructed to collect all material upon the co-operative work of Comrade Lenin with the revolutionary communist youth movement during the war and later in Russia and in the C. I. and the Y. C. I. This material must be carefully examined and utilized in the necessary manner in the press and (or) in special pamphlets, etc.

The Congress calls to the communist youth of all countries to occupy themselves systematically and persistently with the work of Comrade Lenin in order to educate a new generation of true bolsheviks, free from all the heritages of the Second International, from the ranks of the Young Communist International.

The Reorganization of the Leagues.

At the Fourth World Congress of the Y. C. I. the complete building up of the organization upon the basis of the shop nuclei and the carrying out of the main work of the League in the shop nuclei stands before each League as its practical task. This shows a great progress of the Y. C. I. in the transformation of its Leagues to communist mass-youth organizations and actual leaders of the struggle of the working youth. The organization of the shop nuclei and the reorganization of the Leagues upon their basis was set by the Third Congress as the preliminary condition for the practical fulfilment of the whole League activity as a mass-work. This has been completely ratified. According to the proportion and extent to which the Leagues have practically taken up the shop nuclei work, they were able to strengthen their ranks, to increase and make permanent their influence upon the working youth, and replace the old methods of the territorial organization by the forms of mass-work, and to develop more and more into the mass-organization of the young workers recognized as such by the proletarian youth and the working class. In those countries where shop nuclei have not yet been established, the ideological enlightenment work which has been carried on upon the methods and aims of the nuclei organization has shown clearly and definitely to the League the way to the masses of the youth and to the mass organization. All objections to the shop nuclei work have been silenced, and practice itself has shown a thousand possibilities for its broader continuation and its extension. The Fourth Congress therefore decides upon an uninterrupted utilization of the stage which has been achieved in the internal enlightenment work and of the practically achieved steps, for the creation of shop nuclei. The preliminary conditions which have been created are sufficient to

set the carrying-out of the complete reorganization upon the basis of the shop nuclei as the central task of the Leagues in the next period. In place of the slogan "form the nuclei!" must be:

"Reorganize the Leagues upon the Basis of the Shop Nuclei!"

A new impetus must be given in the Leagues for the taking up of this activity upon the broadest possible scale, and it must be conducted systematically and with increasing strength until:

The Complete Reorganization of the Leagues is Achieved.

Push the Reorganization into the Foreground!

The directions of the Third Congress and the Bureau Session upon the practical measures for the building up of the shop nuclei organization are still valid. The results of the nuclei work in relation to the transformation of the League work and the composition of the organization ratified completely the statements of the Bureau Session. A number of incorrect ideas upon the work and functions of the shop nuclei within the whole organization have appeared, which are above all caused by the fact that the shop nuclei which have been formed are in most cases still not the basic unit, but only a side-growth of the existing local organization. Their work must be carried on as the basic unit of the organization according to the instructions issued by the E. C. in that connection.

The Congress states that no wide-reaching measures for the reorganization of the old organization were taken in any Leagues. The building up of the shop nuclei organization will remain in its beginnings so long as the question of the reorganization of the local organizations and of the League itself, remains in the background, as has previously been the case. The reorganization must all the time be regarded as an unpostponable practical necessity at each step of the shop nuclei activity. The creation of shop nuclei is a comparatively easily achieved stage in the reorganization. This must be *immediately* followed by the rebuilding of the organization which have previously been built up on a territorial principle. This takes place thru the district organiza-

tion of the shop nuclei and the centralized building up of the organization of the district upon these basic units. The longer the groups built upon the territorial basis continue to exist beside the shop nuclei, the longer will the shop nuclei be hindered in taking over the whole functions of the organization, and its development from the fractional nuclei grouping to the real basis units of the organization), will be made much more difficult. The result is that the shop nuclei just in the decisive moment, as for instance, strikes, mass-victimization, or illegality etc. will show themselves as not sufficiently strong and consolidated and quickly disappear. This means a very great set-back to the district organization which loses at one blow all its connection with the masses of the young workers. Only when the shop nuclei form the basis of the district organization, will a mechanical separation of the organization from the working youth be impossible and the daily influence and leadership of the masses of the youth by the organization be assured in all circumstances. And in relation also to the ideological attitude of our members, particularly the youth of the shops, it is extremely important that the practical taking up of the reorganization be not postponed after the general propaganda for the shop nuclei organization. If this is done the commencing enthusiasm and willingness will quickly deteriorate into disinterestedness and neglect and similarly a heavy set back will be suffered.

The question of the building up may therefore in the future no longer be separated from the activity for the creation of shop nuclei. At the very formation of a shop nucleus, its leadership and the district committee should consider the next practical measures for the further carrying on of the rebuilding of the district. In the explanation to the membership, the complete reorganization must be dealt with and the necessity for the local building up must be pressed sharply into the foreground.

It remains correct that the transformation must be carefully prepared both ideologically and organizationally and systematically carried out. This means in no way however

that the work should be carried on slowly and haltingly. On the contrary, in many districts the transformation will have to be carried out quickly and energetically. It is also not necessary to wait until all districts are prepared for their transformation. It is by no means a drawback if one part of a League is built up upon the basis of the shop nuclei whilst another part still retains the old basis. It is the task of the League leadership to prepare the most important parts of the organization for the immediate reorganization and to assist them in its carrying out by affording them special help.

The Organizational Measures for the Reorganization.

It is important to point out once again that even tho the measures for the carrying out of the transformation take on quite a practical organizational character, that nevertheless, the reorganization is not a mere reorganization of the present membership of the Leagues in another organizational form. The reorganization means much more the creation of the conditions wich make possible a daily work amongst the masses of the youth and the pemanent leadership and influencing of the youth and the organization of the most important sections of the youth working class. The liquidation of the existing organization upon the territorial basis is only a part of the whole reorganization of the League. It helps above all in the building up of organizations in the industrial districts and in the towns, independent of the existence or the strength of the present organizations. The efforts for the winning of the masses of the industrial youth must be continued, and the transformation of the present social composition and the increase of the present membership of the Leagues carried on with all means. The immediate commencement of the reorganization of all Leagues with these aims is possible. In the Leagues where a great number of shop nuclei have been formed, whole sections are ripe for the transformation. In the others, particularly the small and young Leagues, the reorganization means actually the

building up of the League for the first time which must be done immediately upon the basis of the shop nuclei.

The organizational measures for the reorganization which must naturally be according to the situation in which the League finds itself, must be decided upon by the National Executive Committee which must also supervise their carrying-out for the whole League, and its individual districts. For this purpose the N. E. C.'s must set up plans of work with time-limits and see to it that each League member is made aware of them.

The district committees decide together with the N. E. C. the time for the reorganization in their districts and decide the date upon which the reorganization must be completed for their own sub-districts.

The plan of the district or the town must provide for discussions with the officials, with the individual group and shop nuclei leaderships; for the carrying out of a registration of the membership according to the place of work; the formation of shop nuclei wherever League members are in a shop. The division and demarcation of the city districts into nuclei groups or sub-districts is made thru the town leadership, with consideration to the situation of the shops. Very often these boundaries will not be in agreement with the present one of the territorial groups and districts etc. The plan for this division must be decided by a general membership meeting. Upon the basis of the registration the town leadership divides the members of the groups or the districts according to the place of work. With this, their transformation from the existing territorial group to the group in the place of work takes place and they immediately exercise all rights and carry out all duties in the new group. A district meeting or meeting of the groups is then called and of the shop nuclei and individual members working in the shops in this locality, the members chosen for joining the shop nuclei, and finally each member living in the locality, and organized there during the transformation period. The voting for the group or district leadership takes place at this meeting, and this leadership must be composed of a majority

of shop nuclei members. Their first task is the setting up of a plan of work and the determination of the tasks of the shop nuclei and the remaining members. After the building up of all sections of the town organization, the new election of the whole leadership, and later at a sub-district conference of the groups built up upon the basis of the nuclei, the new election for the sub-district leadership, takes place.

In small districts where the creation of special groups or districts is not necessary, the reorganization is carried on thru a clear division of the groups into shop nuclei and the necessary division, or during the transformation period, the grouping, of the members not in shop nuclei.

Where, for instance, in the large towns the transformation makes particular local difficulties, a number of assistant measures can be introduced. These must be limited to the very shortest space of time and must only be used where absolutely necessary. In general however it is better to introduce a number of exceptional and transformational measures in the organization built up upon the shop nuclei than to remain in a situation of gradual transformation from the old to the new organization.

The reorganization can be regarded as concluded only when the organizational construction takes place according to the following average scheme:

1. **The Shop Nucleus.** As the basic unit of the organization.
2. **The Nuclei Group or Department.** The Organization of various shop nuclei of a locality grouped around a large shop. Nuclei groups will however only be formed in the large towns and even here they will be dependent upon the local situation of the shop, the existence of large shops, and the strength of large shops, and the strength of the shop nuclei.
3. **District.** The organization of the shop nuclei of a section of the town or of the shop nuclei or shop nuclei groups (where such exist).

4. **Town Organization.** Organization of
- a) the shop nuclei
 - b) the shop nuclei and nuclei groups
 - c) the districts of a town according to size and industrial strength.

Part Questions of the Reorganisation.

Transformation Measures for the Organization of Members not in Shop Nuclei.

In the course of the reorganization it may become necessary to use assistant measures for the organization of the League members not organized in the shop nuclei. This will be particularly the case where the social composition of the League is such that only a very inconsiderable part of the membership can be organized directly in the shop nuclei at the place of work. The complete apportionment of all other members will then be carried out not without danger for the fundamental composition and the work of the shop nuclei. The Leagues must work energetically for the betterment of their social composition so that in a short time the preponderating majority of the League membership is organized in the shop nuclei and thus all other organizational forms made unnecessary. Where it is already possible, no other organizational form should be created outside the shop nuclei, and the whole membership should be organized in the shop nuclei. Where however such organizational forms are for a limited time necessary, they must be only of a transitional character, they may in no way be regarded as being upon an equal footing with the shop nuclei, and they must leave open all possibilities for their liquidation. The question of their formation is not a general one for the whole League, but only for individual sections of it where the situation demands it, and only then when it would lead to a real assistance for the whole building up. The decision of the forms to be used in a particular country or parts of a country must be come to by special agreement between the E. C. of

the Y. C. I. and the N. E. C. of the particular League. The forms which come into question are:

Part attachment of members to the shop nuclei.

Work groups in the town or district committees which contain the members not belonging to shop nuclei and utilizing them for special functions.

Street groups formed according to the district of living of the particular members. These may not be too large. In the locality of a nuclei group or a district, the existing street groups will be attached to the respective committee.

All these membership groups carry out their work in support of the shop nuclei. They will be used for the support of the whole activity of the shop nuclei, in the work which these latter have to perform in and before the shops, and in the streets and houses etc. Members may not be accepted directly by these groups, but must be passed on to the district or town committee. These groups exercise their rights (participation in voting etc.) in special meetings called by the town or district committees etc. and in the general membership meetings.

The Organization of Members working individually in shops

and those engaged in small shops.

A difference must be made in regard to the members who work singly or in twos in shops where large large numbers of workers are engaged, and those who work often singly, in the small shops and in the handicrafts with few workers. But the greatest possible application of the principle of the organization according to the place of work holds good for both of them.

In the first case there is the possibility for the particular member to form a nucleus in his place of work. An individual member in a shop is to be regarded (in a limited sense) as a nucleus. He has the most urgent tasks to perform to enlarge the nucleus by the winning of new members and to carry out all the tasks of the League amongst the young workers in the shop according to his abilities. In this activity he should

be supported by the neighboring nuclei. The (individual-) nuclei belong to the group in the district in which their shop is situated. Their members take part in the meetings of the neighboring nuclei, apart from the periodical membership meetings of the group or the district.

No single form can be given for the organization of the members engaged in the small shops and this will differ according to the various countries. It lies in the sense of the reorganization of the Leagues that a concentration upon the winning of the industrial youth and particularly those of the large and decisive shops shall take place. The small industrial youth have only a subordinate importance for the extension of our League, and the organizational forms to be decided for them remain subordinate part questions. The following forms come into question:

- a) Allotment of the particular members to the shop nuclei.
- b) Their organization in the transitional assistant forms.
- c) In individual countries with little industry and few industrial districts, the organization of the members in similar or related trades or in neighboring small shops in the nuclei.

The Organization of the Unemployed Members.

Members becoming unemployed remain fundamentally members of their shop nucleus until they enter another shop. This is one of the most important measures to prevent the destruction of our nuclei thru mass dismissals (clearing of the shops) and mass-victimization of leading comrades. Comrades becoming unemployed retain their functions in the nuclei as far as possible. Those unemployed members who live very far from their shop nuclei may be released from participation in the work of the shop nuclei by a decision of the district or town leadership. These comrades will then become attached to the shop nuclei in their district of living, preferably to those of the same trade. The unemployed members must assist, particularly during the reorganization, in the building-up of the shop nuclei by being attached to particular shops (where possible to their last place of work.)

The shop nuclei must control their unemployed members who belong to the unemployed fractions. The unemployed fraction of a town will be led by the town leadership. The creation of nuclei composed of unemployed members on an equal organizational footing, with the shop nuclei is not permissible.

The Organizational Form in the Country.

The basic organizational unit in the country will be, as in the towns and industrial centres, the nucleus, which will however differ somewhat in its structure from the industrial nucleus.

On the estates where a large number of young workers are employed, estate nuclei must be formed. In the villages where there are only individual undertakings in each of which only very few young workers are engaged, village nuclei must be formed. These comprise the whole membership of the village. The leading organ of the village nucleus is the nucleus leadership.

In such neighborhoods where the undertakings or estates are far removed one from the other, a village group must be formed in which the existing estate nuclei will be organized together with the village nucleus.

Resolution

upon the International Relations of the Shop Nuclei.

The great interest of the membership and particularly of the shop nuclei of many Leagues in the establishment of immediate relationship with the brother organizations makes it necessary that the National Executive Committees pay great attention to the consolidation and the establishment of international relationships. The Leagues are still insufficiently prepared to answer the practical efforts of the Young Communist League of Russia in this connection, and the connections which have been established have remained up to the moment weak. The carrying out of the international connections must therefore be deepened and systematized and receive a more earnest character. For this reason, therefore, an enlightenment work upon the general importance of the international relations must be carried out in the Leagues; the main points of this must be: a means of international education; material for agitation and propaganda; the exchange of experiences; the drawing of the Leagues more closely together and the furthering of practical solidarity. The shop nuclei proposed for the relations must be carefully chosen and their activity towards the nuclei connected with them must be regular and permanent. A connections committee or a responsible member for the control, the preparation and the utilization of these international relationships must be established in the National Executive Committees.

The Economic Trade-Union Struggle of the Young Communist Leagues.

I.

Situation of the Trade-Union Struggle.

1) The Second Congress made the fundamental decisions for the trade-union economic struggle. The Third Congress presented a practical program of the struggle. The Fourth Bureau Session made this program concrete and underlined once again the most important tasks of the Y. C. L. 's. The Fourth Congress emphatically repeats that the decisions of the previous congresses and the Bureau Session were correct and that in particular the perspective of the Bureau Session of a strengthening of the offensive of capital has been proved correct.

2) The past period showed us not merely an increase of the pauperization of the proletariat in general, but above all it showed us that the situation of the young workers in comparison with that of the whole proletariat had become still worse so that spontaneous strikes of apprentices and young workers have repeatedly come about in various countries.

3) Despite all these facts and the important progress which has been made in the trade-union economic work, sufficient attention is not even now paid to this work and it does not take sufficient space in the activity of the League. In most countries the activity of the Leagues in this respect limits itself still to a rather general propaganda by word and in the press. Only very few of the Leagues carry on a regular and active trade-union economic activity in the sense that they take an active part in all questions and struggles of the working class and represent the interests of the working class youth in these struggles and in the sense that they carry on a serious struggle for concrete demands.

The Fourth Congress must state definitely that in consequence of the organizational defects, in consequence of the lack of support points in the shops, the trade-union economic work in the last period has remained far behind our expectations. This is chiefly due to the fact that we have not sufficiently busied ourselves with examining the actual situation of the young workers. When actions were undertaken they had an casual character (individual cases of mal-treatment of apprentices, actions in the continuation schools, etc.). Actual material on the economic situation of the young workers in the large shops and material on the actual conditions on which the young workers work was collected by very few of the Leagues. Above all it must be stated, that the work in the trade unions was not taken up sufficiently energetically in most of the Leagues. The creation of economic trade-union departments in accordance with the directions of the Fourth Bureau Session was, it is true, undertaken by most of the Leagues, but these departements were either composed of one man, or were not based on the work to be performed. The supply of practical material to the membership was only carried out by a very few of the Leagues. The issue of popular mass literature on the economic situation and economic struggle of the working class youth has been almost completely neglected. The reporting to the Executive Committee upon the trade-union economic work of the individual groups has also been very defective.

The carrying out of the decision of the Fourth Bureau Session in relation to the campaign for entry into the trade unions was, it is true, commenced by most of the Leagues. However, this was not carried out with the necessary energy and system. The creation of fractions, and where they exist the work carried on by them, must be characterized as absolutely insufficient. Apart from the question of the shop nuclei, this is also a reason why the Leagues in many cases were not in a position to take up the struggle actively.. The spontaneous youth strikes show this very clearly. In this question special directions were worked out which the Congress added and ratified anew (see appendix to theses).

4) The economic trade-union struggle has been carried on by many Leagues only through their department. The economic trade-union struggle is however an important part of the political activity and must therefore be carried on much more in connection with the other activity and must stand in much closer relation to the other tasks. This means that the Leagues must react to all events, as for instance, the Experts' Report in Germany, the Labor government in England. In this way the trade-union economic struggle will become a part of the entire activity of the Leagues and have a political content.

5) The formation of shop nuclei has now increased the connections of the Y. C. L.'s with the masses of the working class youth and has advanced the economic trade-union struggle and made it more living and concrete and has given it also more of a mass character. The more the young communist organizations proceed along the way to mass organizations, and the nearer they come to this aim, the more develops their role as the daily and practical guardian of the interests of the working class youth in all questions and the more important will therefore become the practical work in the trade unions, and particularly their connections with the Red Trade Union opposition and the Red Trade Unions. As yet, on this field we have still very few experiences, and the relations to the Red Trade Union oppositions and the Red Trade Unions are in practice very irregular, and in most cases still unsolved, in many countries digressions and incorrect tendencies have become observable. The International Congresses and also the Fourth Bureau Session have definitely stated that the creation of special economic youth organizations is unnecessary and the formation of youth sections in the trade unions is to be particularly rejected, because the division between the youth and the adult workers is increased thereby and because the Y. C. L.'s must be the only organization of the working class youth within the limits of the proletarian class struggle. Nevertheless, this false idea of special trade union organizations for the youth and youth sections, appears ever and again, supported by varying arguments.

6) One can observe internationally the following three phases: —

a) That of the theoretical discussion of the question of trade-union economic work.

b) The period of the general propaganda of our demands and

c) The period of the propaganda of concrete demands arising out of a given situation and an actual struggle for them.

Most of the Leagues have already left the first period, even tho in some of the important Leagues there is not yet complete clarity on this question, and in some Leagues digressions are in part still represented on individual points, which on an international scale are completely clear. Most Leagues find themselves at the moment on the way from the second to the third phase, that is to say they have set up the economic program of struggle according to the decisions of our Congress and proceed to propagate special demands arising out of the particular situation in their countries in all struggles of the working class, to represent these demands and to organize the struggle for them. In estimating the above facts, the Congress therefore decides: —

II. The Next Tasks of the Leagues.

a) As the perspective of the Fourth Bureau Session in relation to the growth of the offensive of capital and the increase of the pauperization of the masses of the working class youth has shown itself to be correct, all Leagues in the coming period must first increase their economic trade-union work in general, and secondly, they must proceed from the general propaganda of our slogans to the systematic daily concrete work of the struggle, beginning with the daily struggle and the representation of the interests of the working class youth thru the nuclei in the shops, and the continuous representation of individual demands in the party, youth and trade-union press and through the fractions in trade unions together with the fractions of the Party, through a continuous influencing of the masses of the young workers and the parti-

icipation in all conflicts, to the organization of actions for the struggle for definite demands. Thirdly, in connection with the offensive of capital, the economic activity must be made political, that is to say the Leagues must bind up the economic struggle with the general political activity and use it to show the broad masses of the working class youth that each economic struggle in its final end is a political struggle.

b) The trade-union economic departments must be built up as real and efficient departments carrying out an important work. The points in the resolution of the Bureau Session in relation to the tasks inside the organization must be carried out without interruption. The Fourth Congress underlines particularly the necessity for the calling of practical work conferences in the locals, districts and on a national scale of the economic trade-union functionaries, the supply to the membership of practical material, and the issuing of popular mass literature on the economic situation and the struggle of the working class youth.

III. The Trade-Union Economic Work and the Shop Nuclei.

a) The Congress underlined once again what was said on the importance of the shop nuclei in the trade-union economic struggle in the resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session, i. e.: — “The formation of shop nuclei and the carrying through of the reorganization of the League upon this basis is the most important condition for the economic trade-union work and must be started energetically”. Therefore, in the coming period the weight of the whole economic struggle must be laid upon the shops, that is to say, the shop nuclei must become the bearer of the trade-union economic struggle.

The existence of “listening posts” and “pulse-feelers” in the shops guarantee, (1) a correct and efficient system of reporting on a national and international scale on the economic situation and the economic struggle of the working class youth and (2) a leadership by the Leagues of the masses of the young workers, basing itself upon the actual facts, in short a real trade-union economic work.

b) The shop nuclei have not a purely economic trade-union function but without shop nuclei no good work in the trade unions can be carried on. If only one trade union exists in a shop, the nucleus will play the role of a trade union fraction. If however several trade unions exist the nucleus must build fractions for each trade union.

The shop nuclei must watch every change of spirit and movement of the working class youth in the shop and act upon it. The nucleus can best protect the interests of the young workers in the shops thru its daily contact with them, because it interests itself in all questions and needs of the youth and becomes the rallying point of all dissatisfaction, the adviser, the helper and above all the leader of all the young workers. The shop nuclei agitate for joining the trade unions and carry on revolutionary work thru their activity in the shops.

c) The shop nuclei must react to all events in the shops and through the trade union fractions of the Y. C. L. they must bring up all questions raised in the shop for discussion in the trade unions. (Thru the calling of shop meetings which deal with all questions and give the necessary instructions.) The smallest event in the shop must be used to bind mutually the petty struggles in the shop with the practical work in the trade unions. The shop nuclei of the Y. C. I. should set up definite demands supported on the concrete facts of the situation of the working class youth in the shops (wage questions, work hours, hygienic arrangements, etc.) and undertake actions for these demands with the support of the adult workers. It is the task of the shop nuclei to mobilise the whole working youth in the struggles of the working class (strikes, lock-outs, etc.) and support them with all possible strength.

Similarly, we will be able to form nuclei in such shops where as yet we have none, above all thru a participation in the struggles or thru some particular event in the shops.

d) A class contact must be created and maintained with the representatives of the trade unions in the shops, with the fractions and shop nuclei of the Party and the shop councils where such exist. Reports must be made to the Party, the

Youth and the Trade Union press on all the important happenings in the shops. A particularly important means for influencing the young workers in the shops, and for the preparation of actions for definite demands is that the shop nuclei papers, give considerable space to the description of the situation and exploitation of the youth in the shops and the popularisation of our demands.

e) The Y. C. L. must take an active part in the shop councils movement (shop councils, shop committees, shop stewards, factory committees, etc.) and where none of these exist they must take an active part in the formation of them. The nuclei must fight for the active and passive right of the young workers to vote for the shop councils. In the countries where this has not yet been attained, but where however the shop councils movement represents a mass-movement and where the Leagues have sufficient strength at their disposal in the shop nuclei, the Y. C. L. must fight for the entrance of a representative of the youth of the shops into the shop committee with at least a consultative vote. These representatives of the youth in the shop councils are however only a part of the general shop councils movement. They may not form themselves into a special body and may under no circumstance be regarded as a bridge organization.

f) The employers always strive to develop yellow and strike-breaking organizations in the shops. The shop nuclei must carry on a struggle against these organizations and struggle to maintain the shop clear of fascists. The connection between the offensive of capital and Fascism can be best explained to the young workers through this activity, and one can point out to the young workers the connection between the reaction and their bad economic situation.

IV. The Work in the Trade Unions.

A. In the Reformist Trade Unions.

1. The practical work in the trade unions is of great importance. In the trade unions with a reformist leadership the Communist Party and the Y. C. L. must work to mobilise and

win the masses in them, to defeat the reformist trade union bureaucracy and to transform the trade unions into revolutionary fighting organizations. It is the duty of the Y. C. L.'s to prevent the exit of the workers from the trade unions (in Germany for instance). The Y. C. L.'s must regard it as their particular task to demand the entrance of the working class youth and particularly the members of the Y. C. L.'s into the trade unions; to win the masses of the trade union members inside the trade unions for the opposition and to struggle for the taking up of the special youth demands in the general fighting program of the opposition.

2) In order to be able to carry out tasks, the formation of fractions must be taken energetically in hand in all Leagues. The fractions must be built in the individual trade unions in the locals, towns, districts, and united on a national scale under the leadership of the N. E. C. of the League. The already existing fractions must carry on a practical and daily struggle. This persistent daily work, this representation of the demands of the Y. C. L. inside the trade unions, must be regarded as the most important and immediate task. The N. E. C. must give out material for the work of the fractions and lead and support their work in a practical manner. The economic departments of the district, the local group, etc., must immediately work out concrete directions for the fractions and control their carrying out. To the concrete task of the fractions belong: — the occupation with the concrete conditions of the working youth of the particular industry on a local and national scale, the taking up of an attitude to all tariffs, wage and apprentice agreements, an examination of the same, when they expire, etc., the putting forward of demands in connection with these agreements and the struggle for the same, the taking up of an attitude to all trade union questions, and organized action upon the occasion of Trade Union Congresses, discussion of the laws for youth protection and the working out of demands in this connection, the taking up of an attitude to the unemployed question, to the question of strikes, of unemployment support, etc., the preparation of actions, and the taking of the necessary measures, inclusion

of the working class youth in the struggles of the trade unions, struggle for abolition of all organisational disabilities and, where wages are lower, for proportionate dues.

3) Our fractions must work in the closest contact with those of the Communist Party and maintain connections with the revolutionary blocs, or with other forms of the trade union opposition, TUEL in America, the minority movement in England etc.) and also with the shop councils. The Y. C. L. should strive for representation on all committees, etc. They must work together with the fractions of the Communist Party for the representation of the demands of the youth and their embodiment in the general program of demands. It is the direct task of the fractions of the Y. C. L. to win the masses of the young trade union members for the revolutionary trade union opposition. The slogan must be: — all young workers organized in trade unions on the side of the trade union opposition.

4) At all conferences called by the trade union opposition, the representatives of the Y. C. L. must take part and strive that these conferences adopt the demands on behalf of the youth. The nuclei of the Y. C. L.'s must propagate and popularize the decisions amongst the masses of the young working class and take up the struggle for them with the support of the adult workers.

5) The Fourth Congress states once again, that the trade union youth sections are not merely not calculated to advance the work amongst the young workers, but on the contrary, they are calculated to make the division between the young and adult workers still wider and to make the development of the Y. C. L. into a mass organization more difficult. The Leagues must therefore work all the more energetically for the complete equality of the young workers and the abolition of all organizational disabilities between the youth and the adults.

Where youth sections already exist, we must work in them according to the earlier decisions, in order to revolutionize and win the masses within them.

B. In the Red Trade Unions.

a) The abnormal relations in the practical co-operation with the Red Trade Unions must, according to the decision of the previous congresses be regulated in the coming period. The congress stresses once again that no special youth sections are necessary for the leadership of the work in the Red Trade Unions, but that the young workers should have equal rights in the Red Trade Unions and that this work can and should be carried on through the fractions of the Y. C. L. together with the fractions of the Communist Party in comradesly co-operative work with the Red Trade Unions. Thru the election of young trade union members to all the leading bodies, through all general sessions and commissions of the Red Trade Unions and Y. C. L.'s, and the representation of the Young Communist Leagues on all committees of the Red Trade Unions, this work amongst the young workers can be carried on and the young workers won for the trade unions without special trade union organizations.

b) The Y. C. L. should be the mass-organization of the working class youth which represents the economic interests of the whole working class youth in the trade unions and in the struggle of the whole working class in the shops. The Y. C. L. must struggle together with the Communist Party for its recognition as the mass organization of the working class youth which occupies itself with the question of the working youth in the trade unions. Similarly, the question of the regulation of the dues must receive a solution as quickly as possible.

c) This work must be carried on in comradesly co-operation of the Y. C. L. with the Red Trade Unions thru general discussions of all questions, thru the working out of practical proposals, thru the taking of an active part in the daily work, etc.

The tendencies towards the creation of special trade union organizations for the youth can be best eliminated thru such work, and the sympathy of the masses of the adult workers as also of the youth, won. The basis for this are the fractions of the Y. C. L. and therefore the work of the frac-

tions in the Red Trade Unions must receive the greatest attention. The young communist fraction works out demands on tariff and apprentice agreements before strikes, etc. and spreads them in the Red Trade Unions, and the latter must represent them in the negotiations, or in the struggle. The young communist fractions in trade unions must make decisions on all questions, wages, youth protection, hygienic conditions in the shops, holidays, school question, etc., and they must see to it that these are accepted by the Red Trade Unions.

d) The fractions also arrange meetings of the working class youth organized in the trade unions. These should be called to discuss the various outstanding questions, and the economic struggle of the working youth, and should be used to broaden the influence of the Young Communist League in the trade unions. The young communists must become the best and most active trade union members and thru their work and their representation of the interests of the young workers they must increase the influence of the Y. C. L. on the mass of the indifferent youth and win them for the organization.

e) It is the task of the Y. C. L. together with the Party, to create trade unions where as yet none exist (the Orient) or to rebuild the trade unions where such have been destroyed by the reaction (Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, etc.) They will of course strive that such unions stand under revolutionary leadership from the beginning.

In countries where the trade-union movement is split and where reformist trade unions which are still strong exist side by side with the red trade unions, it is the task of the Young Communist Leagues together with the Parties to work in these reformist unions, also, to build fractions within them and to fight for the re-union of the trade union movement upon a revolutionary basis under the slogan of unity.

V.

Struggle Against the Offensive of Capital.

a) The offensive of capital and the pauperization of the working youth on an international scale has gone much further

in the last few months. The congress therefore makes it the duty of all Leagues in the coming period to carry on much more energetic and practical work in relation to the struggle against the offensive of capital and the further pauperization of the broad masses of the working youth. The Leagues, which up to the moment have satisfied themselves with a purely journalistic propaganda activity must now go on to real practical work and take up the daily struggle for important and definite demands. (i e. such demands as are topical in the particular country). In connection with the work in the shops (shop nuclei) the Leagues, according to the existing conditions, must react to events and must understand how to utilize existing situations and must take an active part in all struggles thru the putting forward of special demands for the young working youth.

b) The propaganda of general slogans was and is correct, but the period of pure propaganda is now past and each League that wishes to earn the name "Young Communist League" must now go on to the setting up of concrete demands for each concrete case. It must not happen that a situation (a strike of adult workers, a youth strike etc.) finds our Leagues in an almost helpless condition. The Leagues must be ready to take an active part in all conflicts, in each wage movement, in each case of dissatisfaction, etc., and to put forward their special demands and utilise the situation for themselves.

The Congress stresses also the importance of the work amongst the rural youth which is now all the more important in consideration of the fact that in many countries, above all in Bulgaria, Germany, America, in consequence of a severe agrarian crisis the peasantry has been set in movement, and so the ground is well prepared for the creation of an alliance with the rural working class and the poorer peasants.

c) The Y. C. L.'s must fight for the most urgent demands of the working youth where the circumstances are the most favorable (where strong shop nuclei exist, where there is support from the side of the adult working class, etc.) They should also concentrate on the most important branches of industry and particular industrial districts and carry on an

intensive campaign for definite demands. For this purpose the Leagues should put forward detailed demands for the various branches of industry. When strikes of the adult working class break out, the young workers must be drawn into the struggle and lined up with the adult workers. Such struggles, must be concentrated upon propaganda in the press, special numbers of the paper for particular industrial districts the sending of special youth speakers to all strike meetings.

Such campaigns should be carried thru, not merely on the basis of industry, but also on the basis of the shops, for definite and quite concrete demands. The masses of the working youth must regard the Y. C. L. as the leader and the bearer of the economic struggle, as the organization which represents the interests of the masses in the struggle of the whole working class. Only in this way can we win the trust of the working youth. The many new strikes which in the last few months have broken out in various countries (partly without the League taking an active part in them) show that the working youth is willing to take up the struggle in its own interests and for the betterment of its situation. The Leagues must therefore very definitely study the situation of the young workers and in the closest contact with them in the shops (shop nuclei) prepare the struggle for the economic demands. All actions of the young workers who are prepared to fight with us must be utilised.

The Young Communist Leagues must regard it as their task to fight for the carrying thru of the existing youth protection laws which are very badly adhered to particularly in the small shops. Even in those shops where no member of the League is working, they must be aware of all breaches of the youth protection laws and effectively interfere (intervention with the employer, thru the trade union, demonstration before the shops, etc.). Above all, the particularly bad conditions of work of young girls should be given increased attention.

The Y. C. L.'s must also pay more attention to the question of the work amongst the young workers in the continuation schools, through the creation of fractions and the setting up

of definite demands (school councils, co-operation in the plan of study, abolition of evening classes, etc.) and must prepare for action for carrying out these demands in connection with our general trade-union economic struggle.

The economic struggle of the Y. C. L.'s must be systematically organized in the coming period. No more planless general propaganda and incidental actions, but a well organized systematic struggle for definite demands.

d) The Congress also points out that through the increase of unemployment in many countries, the questions of the unemployed must receive greater attention, as the capitalists seek to play off the unemployed against the workers still at work and in this way to split the class front. The struggle of the unemployed must therefore be carried on in closer connection with the workers in the shops. Fractions must be organized in the unemployed organizations and at the labor exchanges. A close connection must be created between the shop nuclei and the fractions of the unemployed through mutual representation. The struggle for the demands of the unemployed, for reinstatement in the process of production, work or full maintenance, etc. for the youth equally with the adults, must be prepared and carried through by the shop nuclei and fractions in the unemployed organizations and at the labor exchanges in the general struggle of the proletariat.

Apart from the intensive propaganda and enlightenment work amongst the unemployed upon the meaning etc. of bourgeois militarism, it is also the task of the Young Communist Leagues to take the initiative for the creation of particular organs and funds for the purpose of maintaining the connection between the trade unions and their members called up for military service. In particular, all efforts must be made to win the Seamen's unions into connection with the sailors of the battle fleet.

e) The conferences of the working class youth must be regarded as an important means for the mobilisation of the masses of the working youth for the struggle of the Y. C. L. The ground for the calling of such conferences will be created by the growth of the shop nuclei movement, and the necessary

preparatory work will be carried out by the nuclei, which will propagate the necessary demands in the shops. The shop meetings of the working class youth called by our nuclei will take up their attitude and choose their delegates for these conferences, which will be called either on the basis of industry, or district. The shop nuclei must take care that the voting of the delegates takes place in such a manner that the conference will represent the greatest possible participation of the broad masses of the working youth. As far as possible special conferences of the shop nuclei of the Y. C. L. should be called before the calling of such conferences of the working youth, for the purpose of preparing these latter.

The decisions of the conferences must afterwards be persistently propagated in the shops and used to the full. Under legal conditions, no special "committees" etc. should be formed by these conferences, but they should give the Y. C. L., as the mass organization of the working class youth, the task of putting the decisions into operation. The reporting and the propagating of the decisions in the shops thru the shop nuclei belongs above all to this work.

f) The more brutal the offensive of capital, the more energetically must the masses of the young workers carry on persistent struggles for definite partial demands. They will by this, attack capital the more strongly and develop their own will to struggle. The better the Y. C. L. understands how to lead the masses of the working youth in these struggles and how to deepen and broaden these struggles thru the setting up of concrete demands arising out of the existing situation, the more will the masses of the working youth have confidence in the communist youth organizations. The communists must make their partial demands the lever for the struggle for the complete revolutionary transformation and as a means for the destruction of the power of capitalism. The struggle for partial demands (for obvious and necessary minimum demands) must lead in the present period of the decay of capitalist economy to the bitterest struggles between the workers and capitalism and in the measure that the struggle for partial demands embraces ever

larger masses of the workers and sets them in movement, in the same measure will it lead them to the understanding that the struggle for partial demands leads to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Struggle against Bourgeois Militarism and the Danger of New Imperialist Wars.

I. Development and Deficiencies of the Work since the III Congress of the Y. C. I.

1) The development of the work since the III Congress of the Y. C. I. falls into three central periods: 1. The period from the III Congress to the Fourth Bureau Session (General international and national increase of the work; the commencement of the Ruhr work; the international propaganda week against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war from the 11th to the 18th March 1923 with the rejected united front proposal to the Young Socialist International). 2. The period from the Fourth Bureau Session of the Y. C. I. to the October defeat in Germany (a neglect of the general propaganda work in the various countries, even with the carrying out of a few national campaigns; on the other hand however a great increase of the special work in connection with the events in Bulgaria and Germany, where in the latter country, the Ruhr work reached its highest point). 3. The period from the October defeat in Germany to the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. (Decrease of the special Ruhr work, on the other hand however a new wave of the general work in the various countries, and particularly on an international scale.)

2) On the whole the period since the III Congress brought a sharpening of the struggle of the Y. C. I. and the Young Communist League against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars. The most important result of this period was that the *possibility of work in the Army* was proved. The results achieved upon the field of the *international co-operative work* are also important. On the other hand, the period under

discussion showed also the *deficiencies* which are still present in the bolshevist anti-militarist work of the young communist movement both nationally and internationally. Apart from the unsatisfactory position of the co-operative work of the Parties on the field of propaganda, educational work and the representation of the daily interests of the soldiers, and the failure to carry out the organizational measures and open up the international co-operative work, the following points are to be considered as the chief deficiencies in our activity: 1. The fundamental attitude of the Y. C. I. towards militarism and anti-militarism was not sufficiently deeply rooted and popularised either in the organizations or outside. 2. The struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war was carried out too little as a part of the general work of the movement in the spirit of the mass organization. 3. It had still always an almost exclusively agitational and propagandistic character. 4. In consequence the concentration upon the formation of nuclei in the Army and Navy as the first and most important task was not carried out. 5. The bolshevist anti-militarist work on the land was given too little attention. 6. In a whole series of countries the existing legal possibilities were not sufficiently exploited. 7. The conspirative methods were insufficient.

II. On the Fundamental Attitude of the Y. C. I. to Militarism and the Struggle Against the Danger of War.

3) The insufficient knowledge of the fundamental attitude of the Y. C. I. in its own ranks was expressed in individual cases of unwillingness to enter the army or an entrance of the army in most cases without any clear idea of the communist work to be carried on there, in an inability to make clear the difference between the communist struggle against the bourgeois militarism and the danger of war and the various pacifist and anarchist ideas, etc.

These ideas are strengthened by the remaining social democratic and pacifist traditions in our own movement. The existence of this tradition is alone proved by the attitude of some communist parliamentary fractions, sharply criticised by Lenin,

which in this question of bourgeois militarism and the struggle against it take up a standpoint which is neither revolutionary nor communist.

It is the task of the Y. C. I and the Young Communist Leagues together with the Communist Parties to fight these phenomena energetically and persistently where they appear.

The young communists must go into the army with the firm decision to carry out a *revolutionary enlightenment and organizational work*. For them the general slogan "Comrades in uniform, do not forget that you also are workers!" is by no means sufficient.

The Young Communist Leagues must learn to apply the fundamental attitude of the Y. C. I. to practical life, and to expose all measures from the side of the capitalists, as for instance the compulsory physical training or the military service laws, as a militarisation of the proletarian youth. The physical training of the young workers can only serve the interests of the working class under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Young Communist Leagues must struggle for the adoption of a communist attitude on the part of the communist parliamentary fraction to the question of bourgeois militarism and the struggle against it. Partial demands on the field of the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war, improvement of the situation of the soldiers at the expense of the salaries of the officers and the armaments budget etc. are only thinkable and possible in the closest connection with the fundamental attitude of the communists and when they make for the revolutionization of the masses and the exposure of the social democracy and arouse no illusions. Their representation must therefore be accompanied also by a broad mass-campaign.

In certain cases the demand for the reduction of the time of service is also to be regarded as a revolutionary partial demand. In each single case where the concrete circumstances make it necessary to defend or set up such a demand, the above mentioned securities against the possibility of opportunistic digressions must be fully and completely fulfilled. Above all, it must develop the fundamental line of the decomposition of the bourgeois army, and the demand itself must be supported by the

revolutionary action of the working masses and the soldiers inside the barracks. Apart from this the decision for the setting up of such a demand may only be taken after an understanding between the Communist Party and the Young Communist League on the one hand and the E. C. of the C. I. and the E. C. of the Y. C. I. on the other hand. Partial demands pure and simple must simply, as a whole series of experiences and examples have proved, develop into a banal reformist policy.

The Y. C. I. and the Young Communist Leagues must fight against this danger, above all thru an energetic struggle against the remains of the social democratic pacifist ideas within the ranks of the movement itself.

4) This struggle must be supported by an energetic and constant criticism of the theoretical and practical attitude of the opponents, particularly the social patriots and anarcho-syndicalists, to the question of bourgeois militarism and the danger of war.

The ground basis for the struggle against social democracy must be the treason of the Second International to the revolutionary decisions of the Stuttgart (1907) and the Basel (1912) Conferences, *its war policy* which has proved the objective imperialist character of the Social Democratic Parties, *its after-war policy* which led to its development into a wing of the reaction and fascism, its national and international proclamations on the question of militarism and the war danger and its permission of the defence of the capitalist Fatherland (Hague World Peace Congress, Hamburg Unity Conference of the Social Democratic Youth Internationals, Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International in Vienna, Congress of the Labor Party 1923, Joint Congress of the French Socialists and the Social Democratic Party of Germany).

The real meaning of the alliance of the social-democracy with pacifism and its pacifist policy, and similarly its apparently radical but unrealizable slogans must be made clear to the broad masses of the working class youth. The international social democracy wishes to create illusions so that in the new imperialist war it may struggle against them and so prepare the ground for further treason. And on the other hand, under the

(theoretical) slogan "against all militarism!" they reject the armed defence of the Russian proletarian revolution, but at the same time they support the military armaments of the capitalist States.

The struggle against the pacifists and the other opponents of the communist movement in the question of the struggle against militarism and the danger of war is particularly important in the countries where Anarchist and Syndicalist traditions and various pacifist tendencies are still deeply rooted. This struggle must be both fundamental and clear.

A special work of exposure must be carried on in relation to the two demagogic and apparently radical slogans of the International Social Democrats and the Anarcho-Syndicalist pacifists, that is, the slogan of the general strike in case of the outbreak of war, which has been again set up by the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and the demand for the military strike put forward by the anarcho-syndicalist elements in Norway.

The slogan of the general strike in the case of the outbreak of war serves the International Social Democracy for the creation of illusions amongst the masses. The social democracy is not concerned with the realization of this proposal. This is best proved by its sabotage of each social partial struggle of the proletariat and by the acceptance of this slogan of the general strike by a whole number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois pacifists.

The military strike, with which words the Anarcho-Syndicalists in a demagogic and apparently radical manner cover the demand for desertion, as an individual act of refusal to serve in the army cannot accomplish anything against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war, but can only, even if a large section of the recruits take part in it, lead to a defeat of the working class. Only by entry into the army for the purpose of revolutionary work, that is to say for the creation of nuclei inside the army, is it possible to win over masses of the proletarian troops to the side of the working class. The slogan of the military strike may not be regarded as an appeal to the soldiers to reject each particular attempt to use them against struggling workers, that is to say, to "strike", which would be correct, but may only be re-

garded as a general appeal not to accept military service and therefore an *uncommunist* slogan.

5) The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues, in close connection with the Party and parallel with the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars must carry on a *special agitation, propaganda, and education for the inevitability of the civil war, the necessity for military preparation and the arming of the proletariat and the right to defend the proletarian revolution by force of arms, that is to say the creation of the armed proletarian power, the Red Army.*

When the measures for military preparation do not in practice come together with the Bolshevik anti-militarist work, then each young communist must understand the close connection between these two fields of work. Only when the revolutionary work in the army is carried on as the most important practical form of the communist struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war, that is to say when it is carried on with the clear knowledge that it is not simply an "anti-militarist" work, but that it is the concrete means for the preparation of the civil war and the proletarian revolution, will the borderline between the Communist-Leninist struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars and the social democratic pacifist and anarcho-syndicalist policies, which actually further the cause of imperialism, be made absolutely clear.

In order to emphasize this constantly in the international life of the organization, the work should not be referred to simply as "anti-militarist" work, but as "Bolshevik anti-militarist work".

The agitation propaganda and educational work for the civil war, the military preparations, the arming of the proletariat and the creation of the Red Army must not be carried through in an abstract manner, but must in all connections, content and form be connected up to the concrete conditions in each country and on the other hand the rich *examples of the Russian proletarian revolution* must be drawn upon for a popular presentation of the question.

Particular attention must be directed to the *popularisation of*

the Red Army. The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues must carry on an enlightenment work amongst the broadest circles of the working class youth of the capitalist countries, upon the Red Army in all its phases.

In connection with the humbug politics which the social patriots and pacifists in the capitalist states carry on with the demand for a militia system based upon the existing system in Switzerland and the vagueness still existing in part upon this question in our own ranks, great attention must be paid to the propaganda of the fact that the Red Army is built up upon the basis of the militia system, and to the difference between the militia system in Soviet Russia and that in the capitalist countries.

The transformation of the Red Army to the militia system is a further step in the enlistment of the means of defence of the Soviet Republic in the work of economic reconstruction. It makes possible the training of the broadest masses of the people for armed defensive action with a minimum of material and time. Only the Soviet Republic can rely upon the broad masses of the workers and peasants, because to them alone is entrusted the defence of the proletarian fatherland.

This *proletarian class character* of the militia system in Soviet Russia is the important difference between it and the militia system in the capitalist states. In the capitalist countries this system in its class character cannot be distinguished from the existing armies. For it gives the weapons to the bourgeoisie and removes them from the proletariat.

The introduction of the militia system in Soviet Russia cannot be considered in any way as a representation or a support of the social-democratic and bourgeois liberal demand for the militia in capitalist countries. This is otherwise with the demonstrative demand for the "workers and peasants militia" which is put forward by the Communist Party in Sweden and which is actually synonymous with the demand for the Red Army.

The introduction of the militia system in Soviet Russia has also another meaning. It is a step of the Soviet Government on the way to disarmament. The meaning of this step and the disarmament policy of the Soviet Federation in general which demonstrates the honest wish of the proletarian state to disarm,

but which in no way wishes to create illusions upon the readiness and the possibility of disarmament on the side of the capitalist powers, must be explained to the workers.

6) It is only possible for the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues to fulfill the tasks under 3. and 5., if they make the Leninist understanding and Leninist methods of the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars their own.

The main points of the Leninist understanding and methods are: a) The only possibility for the final abolition of bourgeois militarism and the danger of war is the triumph of the *proletarian revolution*. b) The first and most important means for the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war is therefore the *preparation of the proletarian revolution*. c) The prevention of the outbreak of an imperialist war by means of a general strike alone or without the revolution is an illusion. d) It is necessary to transform each imperialist war thru the exploitation of the economic and political crisis of capitalism brought about by it, into the civil war and the revolution. e) All communists must create an illegal organization in the bourgeois army which must by its revolutionary work win the proletarian and half-proletarian element in the army for the armed revolt, thru which militarism as a class instrument of the bourgeoisie is turned into a class instrument of the proletariat.

The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues must do everything possible to spread and to popularise the Leninist understanding and methods of the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war in the sense of the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, in their own ranks and amongst the masses of the working class and peasantry.

This work must commence immediately after the congress in connection with the propagation of Leninism in general.

III. Basic Directions and Individual Questions of Further Work.

7) The decisions of the previous International Congresses of the Y. C. I. on the bolshevik anti-militarist activity have been

ratified by our practical experience. Whilst the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. brings these forcibly to the memory of all Young Communist Leagues, it makes certain additions for the future work arising out of the lessons taught by the activity since the Third Congress of the Y. C. I.

8) Above all, the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. emphasises once again that the bolshevist anti-militarist work, despite the fact that the organization of the communist influence in the army must in great part be conspirative, must be a broad daily and continuous political mass work also outside of the barracks, and that this work is not to be carried on alone by individuals as conspirative work, but is to be carried on by the whole movement as such.

9) The shop nuclei have in this connection great tasks. The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. ratifies in detail the instructions of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. on the building of shop nuclei and their practical work as the unit of organization and the directions contained in them for this bolshevist anti-militarist work.

"A part of the preparatory work of the recruits will be carried on within the nucleus. The nucleus must know all the young workers in the shop who are of an age for military service and they must assemble them and make clear to them the fate which stands before them and explain our attitude to bourgeois militarism to them. After the entry of these young workers into the army the nucleus must maintain a permanent connection with them. This can be very well done thru individual members of the nucleus. This activity must be carried thru upon the basis of the general directions laid down for the bolshevist anti-militarist work. Upon military occupation of the factory the nucleus must take up the bolshevist anti-militarist propaganda falling to its lot in these circumstances. In particular it must lead a strong propaganda against the nationalist incitement of the soldiers and must do its utmost to awaken and maintain the class-consciousness of the soldiers."

10) The main weight of the bolshevik anti-militarist work in the next period of activity must be upon those countries which lie immediately before the danger of war and imperialist con-

flicts, and amongst these more attention than previously must be paid to the countries of the Orient and the Balkans.

11) Having regard to the increasing, both in extent and fierceness, social partial struggles, in most of the capitalist countries, and the ever broader and more open mobilization of the armed power of the State on the part of the bourgeoisie against these struggles, it is necessary, for instance at the outbreak of labor struggles, to carry on a widespread propaganda amongst both the troops and the civil population against the use of the military for the suppression of the workers and *against the use of the soldiers as strike-breakers.*

12) In the spirit of the decisions of the Third Congress and the Fourth Bureau Sessions of the Y. C. I., great attention is to be paid to the work in the mercenary and voluntary armies as well as in the various voluntary military formations (America, England, safety police and State militia, Reichswehr in Germany, fascist militia in Italy, compulsory labor formations in Bulgaria, white guards in Finland etc.). Further, the work amongst non-commissioned officers must be taken up more than previously.

13) According to the International decision of the Communist International, the bolshevik anti-militarist work is *not a special youth activity*, but an equally important task of the Communist Party. The Young Communist Leagues must therefore strive for the *broadest co-operative work between the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues* on this field and thereby utilise the International decision of the Communist International to the full.

14) The Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. instructs all Young Communist Leagues in close agreement with the Party, to use the legal possibilities existing in many countries for bolshevist anti-militarist work, in particular the political rights (for instance the elections, etc.) and the possibility of organized economic representation for the soldiers (for instance, "Soldiers' trade Unions") as well as the possibility of issuing legal papers for the soldiers, ec.

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national also draws the attention of the Leagues earnestly to the necessity for the *betterment of the conspirative methods* of the bolshevik anti-militarist work. Naturally, even the best organization of the conspirative work will not be able to completely prevent there being victims, and all tendencies which oppose the revolutionary work in the army for this reason must be fought as *opportunist*. At the same time however, the risks of the conspirative work and with them the number of victims, must be reduced to a minimum thru the greatest possible betterment of the methods of work.

15) Bearing in mind the resolution of the Fourth International Bureau Session on the bolshevik anti-militarist work, the Congress draws attention once again to the necessity of a basic bolshevik anti-militarist educational work amongst the young communist recruits, and also amongst the broad circles of the non-party young workers and young working peasants who accept military service.

16) The bolshevik anti-militarist work is of great importance in the country. It must be carried on there chiefly in propaganda and educational work amongst the masses of the working class youth on the land as it is from these that bourgeois militarism recruits its chief forces in many countries. The work must take on such forms as are demanded by the backwardness and mistrust of the working and peasant youth on the land.

The working population on the land have almost no internal relation with bourgeois militarism, they only feel the practical effect of it upon their situation (for instance taxes, loss of hands, etc.), and so they drift into an unclear opposition to bourgeois militarism. It is necessary to use this primitive anti-militarist attitude of the working population in the country, to explain by practical examples the ways of bourgeois militarism in contradistinction to the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army of Soviet Russia, to set up demands for relieving the burdens which the working population is forced to assume by bourgeois militarism and to fight for these demands. The demobilised soldiers should, wherever possible, be used for agitation amongst the recruits because they can best make clear to these latter the lot of the

soldiers of the bourgeois army and in contradistinction can show them the situation of the working class and peasant youth in the Russian Red Workers' and Peasants' Army. The struggle against bourgeois militarism and the burden which it imposes is one of the nearest points which must be fastened upon in order to win the rural proletariat and the working peasantry for the cause of the proletariat. An intensive and well-led bolshevik anti-militarist work on the land will therefore do very much for the creation and consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the working population of the country. In very many countries which are composed of various nationalities, the *national question* stands in the closest connection to the work on the land. The ruling bourgeoisie of these countries always arranges that the troops of one nationality are stationed in the districts of another nationality, speaking a different tongue, in order that the army may be made more pliant in the struggle against the internal enemy. This play of the various national circumstances against the people which is dangerous to the interests of the working class no matter what their nationality, must be struggled against. *A propaganda amongst the national minorities in the army and the people* must be carried on in a Leninist spirit in connection with the bolshevik anti-militarist work on the land.

17) The bolshevik anti-militarist work in the country must carry on an energetic struggle against the bourgeois-Christian-reactionary youth associations and physical culture and sport organizations in the villages, which under the mask of advancing culture in the country, train the youth on the land for the armed reserves of the industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie.

18) The Red Sport and Physical Culture Organizations can render good service to the bolshevik anti-militarist work. They should be used for agitation propaganda and educational work in their own ranks and amongst the circles of the working class in the town and in the country under their influence, and they should be drawn into the military preparation and assist in the measures for the arming of the proletariat for the civil war.

The Leagues of ex-service men etc. and similar organizations also should be drawn into the bolshevik anti-militarist activity.

19) The Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International in the spirit of the resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session, makes it the duty of all Young Communist Leagues and particularly of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. to issue popular propagandist leaflets and propaganda pamphlets and illustrated literature upon the basic tactics of the Leninist struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war and also belletristic literature with descriptions of the Russian experiences and the tasks and life of the Red Army. This work is to be begun in the near future in an organized manner according to the existing possibilities. Further, care should be taken for the *utilization of the experiences* of the various organizations in the bolshevik anti-militarist work, for the press and literary, as well as for the special internal and general external propaganda work.

20) The Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International requests the Young Communist Leagues in accordance with decisions of the Fourth Bureau Session to supply the material for the demands set up by them on behalf of the soldiers and on the campaigns carried out by them for the representation of these demands, to the E. C. of the Y. C. I. for the purpose of international utilization. The Leagues which have not yet worked out such a program of demands on behalf of the soldiers must do this as quickly as possible in agreement with the adult party.

The congress stresses once again the importance of the setting up of revolutionary soldiers' demands, and the struggle on behalf of them on the part of the Young Communist Leagues. This struggle must be co-ordinated always in the closest connection with the general struggle of the working class.

21) On the field of the *international co-operative work* the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. considers the most urgent tasks to be: The continuation of the co-operative work between the Young Communist League of Germany and the Young Communist League of France in the Ruhr, their support by the neighboring Leagues and the whole International; the co-ordination of the bolshevik anti-militarist work of the Young Communist League of England and the Young Communist League

of France; the Young Communist League of France and the Young Communist League of Spain in the Morocco question; the co-operative work of the American League and all Anglo-Saxon Leagues, the sections of the Balkan Federation and the Oriental Leagues.

22) It is necessary to extend the internal organization of the bolshevik anti-militarist work, i. e. the departments, to the provincial and local bodies of the movement.

The actual *creation of nuclei in the army* must be the central point of the bolshevik anti-militarist work in the army and all other tasks are subordinate to this activity. Special measures must be taken so that immediately after the creation of the soldiers' nuclei they can fulfil the *general political tasks* which fall to them such as the education of the non-party proletarian soldiers for communism.

23) The tasks which the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues have to perform in the future period of work, in close relation with the Communist International and the Communist Parties and under their leadership are as follow:

a) The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues must pay great attention in the next period, to a more basic and concrete working-out of their fundamental attitude towards militarism and the struggle against the danger of war, and take measures for its greater popularization inside and outside the movement. b) They must see to it that the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars is carried on as a part of the whole work of the movement in the sense of the mass organization. They must therefore see to it that a greater activity on this field is developed on the part of the shop nuclei, that agitation and propaganda work is carried out on a large scale in the country, and that the various revolutionary assistant organizations for instance the Red Sport and Physical Culture organizations intended for the support of the bolshevik anti-militarist activity, are used to the full. c) In conclusion the Y. C. I. and the Y. C. L.'s must give elaborated and new directions for the practical work, much more

than previously, particularly for the broadening, and the bettering of the methodical exploitation of all legal possibilities and for the safety of the conspirative work, and above all for the actual *creation of soldiers' nuclei which in the future period of activity must stand in the foreground as the first and the most important tasks.*

The Work of the Young Communist Leagues on the Land.

The necessity for the extension of our struggle into the country and the necessity for winning the broad masses of the working population in the country for the proletarian revolution is now particularly acute.

Apart from the working class, the working population in the country is most interested in the destruction of bourgeois society, of the capitalists and large landowners, for the power of the capitalists is based in great part upon the need of the poor peasant and can only maintain itself at their cost.

In the great majority of the countries the people on the land form the preponderating part of the whole population. The winning of the proletarian and poorer circles in the country for our struggle, and the neutralization of the middle peasantry is today a vital question of the proletarian revolution in a whole series of capitalist countries.

The continuous crisis in capitalist society which is expressed in the country through the present great agrarian crisis, the efforts of the capitalists to restore the balance of their economy at the cost of the poor peasantry thru a load of taxes, leads to the enrichment of the large landowners at the cost of the proletarian and small peasant masses, and consequently to a sharpening of the class contradictions on the land. In a whole series of countries the so-called "scissors" appear, that is the lack of relation between the prices of industrial and agricultural products: a new form of exploitation of the poverty in the country by industrial and commercial capital. All this creates a favorable ground for the work of the communists in the country.

Our revolutionary experiences up to the present and particularly those of the Russian revolution have shown that a consolidated victory of the proletariat is impossible without a solu-

tion of the question of the winning of the peasantry. The Russian revolution has pointed the way to the solution of this question. The proletariat has the historical task of making the alliance with the peasantry a reality, of binding the proletarian section of the peasantry to itself and of mobilizing it against the bourgeoisie.

The concrete slogan for this alliance is the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat which will be carried on thru the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the working class and its advance guard the Communist Party. The First International Peasants' Conference and the creation of the Peasant International in Moscow provides a firm basis for the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry.

The proletariat has a natural comrade in its struggle in the country, the land proletariat. The material and cultural situation of this latter is in many cases much worse than that of the industrial workers (working hours, wages, etc.). This refers particularly to the *working youth on the land*. The freedom of the land proletariat is impossible without a close alliance with the industrial proletariat, and for this reason the co-operative work, and the general struggle is historically grounded. The industrial proletariat uses the land proletariat as a support point for the propaganda and organization amongst the working peasantry.

Taking the revolutionary role of the land proletariat and the poor peasantry into consideration, the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. makes the winning of the *agricultural working class youth and the youth of the working peasantry* one of the most important tasks of all the Leagues.

In their general work on the land the Young Communist Leagues approach first of all the young workers and the poor peasant youth. The Young Communist Leagues must make it their duty with regard to these sections to make them class-conscious and equal fighters for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of secondary importance, but nevertheless to be carried out with the greatest energy, the Young Communist Leagues must work amongst the youth of the middle peasantry in order

to win them for the alliance between the working peasantry and the fighting proletariat, or at least to neutralize these sections which stand farther away from us.

In the countries where the economic exploitation of the peasantry is bound up with national suppression (the Balkans, Poland, the colonial and half-colonial countries, the Orient etc.) the communists put forward the slogan of the self determination of nationalities and the slogan for national freedom, as this is also a preliminary condition for the freedom of the peasantry and the proletariat.

The most important condition for successful work is a correct attitude in the ranks of our own Leagues, that is to say, an energetic struggle must be carried on against each under-estimation of the importance of the work amongst the peasantry and a correct understanding must be created for the particular conditions in the country, with which our daily work must be in accord.

I.

The Representation of the Economic Interests of the Young Landworkers and Small-Peasant Youth.

Always, particularly however in the present period when the collapse of capitalist economy shows itself clearly on the land, *the struggle for the economic demands of the working class and small-peasant youth must be placed in the foreground of the activity of the Young Communist Leagues in the country.* For the peasantry, the capitalist enemy is embodied in the economic organizations thru which the capitalist State and the large landowners are enabled to hold the great masses of the small peasantry and also a portion of the middle peasantry in their suppressed situation. The mortgage associations, (Hypothekenkassen?) the agricultural associations and the various co-operatives in which the large peasantry have the leadership play a great role in this respect.

Although the Young Communist Leagues carry on their work in the country in the spirit that only the social revolution can bring the freedom of the peasantry, and base their whole agita-

tion upon this, nevertheless, they place themselves at the head of the daily struggle of the youth in the country in order to win them for the final struggle of the proletariat thru the fight for the partial demands. In order to carry on this struggle as successfully as possible they address themselves to the Communist Parties and the trade unions of the agricultural workers and demand that they support the struggle of the youth. The Young Communist Leagues show thru their energetic representation of the interests of the youth in the country, thru their struggle for the betterment of the situation of these latter, and thru their activity in the Communist Parties, the trade unions, and in the press, that the Young Communist Leagues are the only organizations of the youth which are prepared to struggle and actually do struggle for the interests of the working youth in the country.

In relation to the *working youth on the land* the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. puts forward the following *economic demands*, within the framework of which all Young Communist Leagues must carry on an energetic struggle for the representation of the interests of this youth:

1. Young workers of both sexes under sixteen years may not work an an average more than six hours per day and young workers over 16 years not more than eight hours per day. The school time must be reckoned in these working hours.
2. A Sunday rest of 44 hours.
3. Abolition of child-labor, forced labor and all forms of extra work.
4. A minimum wage based upon the minimum of existence.
5. Equal wages for equal work for both young and adult workers.
6. Payment of wages when work is interrupted without it being the fault of the workers.
7. Collective agreements thru the trade unions.
8. House-work etc. may only be performed as definite work and not the duty of all. Housing conditions shall be sufficiently good and free from objection upon hygienic grounds.

9. Safety regulations against accidents and the provision of quick medical help at the expense of the employer.
10. Full wages to the sick and their re-employment.
11. Food control and the control of payments in kind thru the control committees of the workers and the trade unions.
12. After six months' continuous work a half month's fully paid holiday.
13. Unemployment support for the young workers on a similar scale to that of the adults.
14. Complete organizational and strike freedom.
15. Abolition of all punishment, particularly corporal punishment; humane treatment.

In connection with the youth of the small peasantry, the Young Communist Leagues must carry on an energetic enlightenment work upon the various forms of exploitation of capitalist society against this youth.

The Young Communist Leagues, hand in hand with the Communist Parties and the revolutionary Agricultural Trade Unions, struggle against the exploitation of the small peasantry thru loan and usury capital which forces the poor peasantry and their children into debt slavery; against commercial and speculation capital which buys cheaply the small surplus production of the poor peasants and sells it at high prices to the proletariat of the towns. The Young Communist Leagues must work for the establishment of an *immediate connection between the co-operatives of the small-peasantry and the consumers' co-operatives of the town workers for the struggle against the exploitation of industrial capital which holds the price of industrial goods artificially high.* The Young Communist Leagues stand for the supply of the instruments of production to the poor peasants at low prices, against the exploitation of the small-peasantry by private monopoly of the means of transport; against the exploitation by the capitalist state which loads the poor peasantry with taxes for the benefit of the large landowners; for the *complete freedom of the poor peasants from taxation; against exploitation thru the private property of the large land-*

owners and for the division of the land amongst those who actually work it, because scarcity of land forces the land-poor peasants and their youth into a Feudal slavery. The poor peasants are not able to use the whole labor power of their family upon their ground for themselves but are compelled to lease or buy the ground at high prices, thru which the peasant family is robbed of a further part of the reward of its labor, by the large landowners.

The Young Communist Leagues must carry on an energetic enlightenment work in order to make clear to the youth on the land, the meaning of the bourgeois and social-democratic agrarian reforms whilst showing them that these reforms are actually a legal cloak for the exploitation of the peasantry thru large capital, and the large landowners.

In contradistinction to the bourgeois and social-democratic agrarian reforms, the Young Communist Leagues demand the free distribution of land, animals and instruments of production to all land-poor peasants, small lease-holders and land-workers.

For the betterment of the situation of the youth of the lease-holders, the Young Communist Leagues demand the *reduction of the lease sums and that the improvements made by the leaseholder be compensated to him at the conclusion of the lease.*

Conferences of the Youth of the land which may be carried out on a village, local or district scale, are one of the best means for the mobilization of the working and small peasant youth masses for the struggle for the economic demands. The economic questions and the methods of struggle must be discussed at these conferences. These conferences may on no account lead to the formation of special neutral organizations. The Young Communist Leagues must see to it that the leadership of these conferences is in their hands and that the leadership of the struggles is handed over to them. General conferences of the youth in the land and the industrial youth, which bring them closer to one another and unite them in the struggle are particularly to be recommended.

Thru their daily activity, thru their struggle for the interests of the small peasantry and their youth, the Young Communist Leagues show that the communist movement is not the enemy

of the small peasantry, but that on the contrary, it is the only movement which really fights for the freedom of the small peasantry from the yoke of capitalism, and really carries on work for the betterment of their situation.

Thru the activity of the Young Communist Leagues the youth on the land will understand, that the ultimate freedom of the peasantry and complete possibilities of development for their youth will be created for the first time by the proletarian revolution which will confiscate the ground and land of the large land-owners without compensation, and which will not only, not appropriate the poor peasants, but will free them from all exploitation and support them in every possible manner with the aim of a gradual transformation into the socialist economy, as the example of Soviet Russia shows.

II.

The Anti-Militarist Activity of the Young Communist Leagues on the Land and the Struggle against Opponents.

The bourgeois army, the fascists and other bourgeois military organisations recruit their chief forces from the youth in the country. This fact makes an energetic anti-militarist work in the spirit of Leninism necessary in the country.

In the various Congress and Bureau Session decisions of the Y. C. I. very definite directions for the practical anti-militarist work have already been given. Therefore we show here only the most important tasks of the anti-militarist activity of the Young Communist Leagues in relation to the youth on the land.

Thru the propaganda in the country the Young Communist Leagues must make clear to the youth on the land the *ways and the use of bourgeois militarism* (the regular army, the fascist organization, particular military preparatory organizations, physical culture organizations, sport associations etc.). Particular attention must be paid to those youths who enter the bourgeois army, in order to create a close connection between them and the proletarian elements in the capitalist army. The explanation of the difference between the armies of the capitalist states and the workers' and peasants' army of Soviet Russia must be carried out with particular energy (the role, the material and cultural situa-

of both armies: the relations of the officers and soldiers of both armies etc.).

The representation of the economic and cultural demands of the soldiers and the demands of the small peasantry in the question of military taxes together make a very important part of the anti-militarist work of the Young Communist Leagues on the land. The Young Communist Leagues demand better payment for the soldiers and struggle against the oppression of the poor peasantry by military taxes, they demand the complete compensation of the poor peasantry for the loss of working power caused by military recruiting.

In countries where no compulsory recruiting system exists a propaganda against the enlistment of volunteers must be carried on with special methods.

The Young Communist Leagues fight fascism particularly energetically in the country, because it is here that it recruits its chief forces.

Where other youth organizations exist in the country, political, economic and cultural) the policy of the Young Communist Leagues towards these must be determined by their character. With regard to the economic and cultural organizations, they must be made superfluous by our Leagues and the masses organized within them must be gathered into the Young Communist Leagues. For this purpose, the members of the Young Communist League must enter these organizations to carry on revolutionary work inside them with the aim of winning them over. With regard to the political peasant youth organizations, which in great part are the organizations of the large peasantry, a sharp struggle must be taken up against these organizations and their real character must be explained to the youth in order to free the masses which follow them from their influence and to bring them under our leadership. Only in exceptional cases where these organizations in consequence of definite and objective reasons are forced along the way of the revolutionary struggle, must the tactic of the united front be used, even then however with the aim of winning the masses of their members for our struggle and mobilising them in this way against their own organization and their official leaders.

III. The Educational Work of the Young Communist Leagues on the Land.

In comparison with the proletarian youth of the town the youth in the country is backward. In very many cases particularly in the districts which are far apart, the village knows no political life and nothing of the great political and revolutionary events which are going on in the world outside. It lives upon wild rumors and clap-trap and has not sufficient political knowledge to recognize the real meaning of present day society and the revolution.

In order to understand what is happening before their eyes *the youth on the land must receive a general view if only a short one, of the existence and development of capitalist society.* We must supply them with a fundamental historical knowledge on a materialist basis in order to give them the possibility of understanding their daily political life in the correct light.

It is the task of the political educational work of the Young Communist Leagues in the country to explain the sense of the political events to the youth there, to awaken in them a will to struggle against capitalist society and an understanding of solidarity in the proletarian class-struggle, and to make them understand that they can only be victorious in this struggle if they carry it on in the closest connection with the struggle of the whole working class.

The educational work of the Young Communist Leagues in the country must embrace the following points: 1. *the forms thru which capitalism exploits the peasantry.* (Possession of the land, commercial capital, means of transport, taxes, price policy etc.) 2. *The structure of capitalist society.* (Private property, the State, capitalists and workers, large and small peasantry, political parties, imperialism). 3. *What is the proletarian revolution?* (Short history of the working class movement, communist society). 4. *How the revolution comes.* (The Russian example shows that it comes thru an alliance of the workers and poor peasants in the struggle, counter example: Bulgaria). 5. *The Workers' and Peasants' Government.*

The methods of the educational work in the country must conform to the circumstances there and be more simple and popular than in the town organization. The following methods can be used in the country with good success: 1. *The public reading of the newspapers, of popular pamphlets with explanations followed by discussions upon the material read.* 2. *Open discussions on political questions.* (All members of the Young Communist Leagues who find themselves in the country and the comrades who are themselves of the land must carry on discussions with the peasants and their youth). 3. *Work in the various educational circles.* 4. *Lectures.* 5. *The use of satirical pieces, recitations, songs, etc.* (These are absolutely necessary alongside of our political educational work, for the youth on the land is not used to difficult political discussions and it is hard for them to listen to political things without interruption. The humorous element should also have a political tendency). 6. *Objective methods.* (Excursions into the towns and the factories, pictures, kinos, theatrical performances etc. and similar things must draw the youth on the land into the life of industry, the organizations of the working class and the capitalist exploitation etc.)

The educational work and the whole activity of the Young Communist Leagues in the country will produce much better results if they are carried on by comrades who are themselves of the country. (These comrades know the circumstances and the psychology of the youth on the land better than the youth from the town can know them). *Therefore all Young Communist Leagues must pay great attention to the education of leaders of the educational work and of officials for the country from amongst the comrades of the land themselves.* Special courses must be organized on the part of the organization of the country with the help of the town organizations and the Party, for this purpose. These courses must be used at the same time as far as possible for the education of propagandists (speakers etc.) for the country, for the propagandists sent by the Young Communist Leagues into the country should know the psychology and the situation of the youth there. It is good when they themselves are of the country.

As is well known, the villages are mistrustful of all that

comes from the town and particularly ideas of communism. The political propaganda in the country must be carried on with care and persistence. Flaming superficial agitational speeches and difficult theoretical lectures are equally out of place in the country. We must go into the village with simple concrete things taken from the life of the working youth in the country.

The question of the struggle against religion must receive particular attention and is even one of the most important educational tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in the country, for the religious prejudices of the peasantry are a great hindrance to the revolutionization of the villages. The ruling class attempts to maintain the religious prejudices amongst the youth on the land not only thru the church but also thru various Christian associations, Christian peasantry, Young Men's association, Christian educational societies etc.). Two things must be distinguished in this struggle, the struggle against the church as an organization and the struggle against the widespread and deeply rooted religious prejudices of the majority of the population in the country. Our first aim in this struggle is the separation of the church from the State and the school from the church. The struggle must be carried on with great care, but at the same time with all energy. If the work on the land demands great care and persistence, in this question it is particularly the case. Here we meet directly with the religious fanaticism of the adult peasants, and each careless step, each smallest offense against their religious feelings will arouse their bitterest opposition.

Side by side with the propaganda by word of mouth all Young Communist Leagues should carry on an energetic *printed propaganda*. A special section of each league organ must be devoted to this work. And we must demand that such sections are put at our disposal to be edited by the particular department of our organization in both the Party and Trade Union Press. (In the chief organ of the Communist Party the section would be edited by the department for work on the land in the National Executive of the League etc.) *Special numbers devoted to the work on the land* must be issued by our Youth organs as often as necessary. The Leagues must also issue *special pamphlets* upon the topical

and important questions effecting the youth on the land, and these pamphlets must be widely distributed in the villages. From time to time *special leaflets* dealing with the daily questions of the working youth in the country must be written.

Thru this printed educational work our propaganda in the country will be systematized and continual material will be supplied to our propagandists.

The practical representation of the cultural demands of the youth on the land, next to the educational work, is of very great importance for the winning over of this youth.

In all countries we can, particularly now, observe definite struggles of the youth on the land towards knowledge. The bourgeoisie has understood how to utilize this. Apart from the schools, the bourgeoisie carries on a broad counter-revolutionary propaganda thru special bourgeois youth, cultural and sport organizations. It is the work of the Young Communist Leagues to expose the actual purpose of these organizations. *Where special leagues of the youth of the large peasantry exist, the Young Communist Leagues must lead a particularly energetic struggle against them.*

Although the Young Communist Leagues must continually stress the fact in their propaganda that only the social revolution can bring complete cultural freedom to the working population of both the town and the country, they nevertheless struggle energetically for the following *cultural partial demands on behalf of the youth on the land*, in order to bind them continuously to the final aim and to mobilise the masses for it.

1. Compulsory village education at the cost of the State.
2. For the extension of the village school law to vocational training.
3. For free schools based on the principle of work for agricultural workers, house workers, cattle workers, gardeners etc.

It must be stressed that the economic and political enlightenment activity of the Young Communist Leagues on the land must not be limited to the benefit of the cultural struggle, but the economic and political struggle must always stand in the foreground.

IV.

The Organizational Tasks of the Young Communist Leagues on the Land.

A continuous and close connection of the Young Communist League with the rural youth is the first condition for good land work. Where this exists practical work can be immediately commenced.

Where special organizations of the Young Communist Leagues do not exist in the country, the first task is the creation of connection with the country in order to build organizations there.

The connections with the country are created by the *initiative groups* which are composed of members from town and country groups or from shop nuclei. These initiative groups must consist in the first place of comrades who are themselves from the country or who are at least in permanent connection with the country.

The lowest organizational unit of the Young Communist League in the country, as in the towns and industrial centres is the shop nucleus; these nuclei will however differ somewhat in structure from the industrial nuclei, under the pressure of circumstances, (widely separate work, the fewness of the young workers in one place, etc.).

On estates where numbers of young workers are engaged, an estate nucleus is formed in the same way as the shop nucleus in the factory. In villages where there are several small agricultural enterprises in each of which only one or two young workers are engaged, a village nucleus is formed, the leading organ of which is the nucleus leadership. The village nucleus accepts new members, carries out a complete registration of its membership, attends to the payments of subscriptions etc.

In villages where the small enterprises are very far removed one from the other, several village nuclei are formed which come together in a local group. This group elects a leadership for the work of all the nuclei in its locality.

The work of a village nucleus is in general similar to the work of a shop nucleus. The nucleus holds its regular weekly

meetings, it issues a nucleus paper and posted bulletins. The nuclei distribute communist literature, form reading circles and carry on propaganda by word of mouth in the houses of the peasants.

The nuclei leadership calls conferences of the working youth and the peasant youth in which the economic and political daily questions are discussed. It organizes propaganda evenings and carries on all the league work which cannot be carried on directly by the nuclei themselves.

A good means to be recommended for the general educational work amongst the youth on the land is the formation of clubs for the peasant youth.

The village and estate nuclei work in closest connection with the group of the revolutionary agricultural workers' trade union or with the oppositional bloc in the agricultural workers' trade union to which all nuclei members who are land workers must belong and in which they must form a youth fraction. Where only a reformist agricultural workers' trade union exists, the nuclei demand the acceptance of young workers into the trade union with equal rights and attempt thru their actions to force the trade union to represent the interests of the young workers. The revolutionization of the reformist agricultural workers' trade union in close co-operative work with the fractions of the communist land-workers is one of the chief tasks of the young workers in the union. In such neighborhoods where no agricultural workers' trade union exists, the nuclei must take the initiative in forming a revolutionary agricultural workers' trade union.

Where economic organizations of the peasantry exist all members must enter them and carry on a similar work to that carried on in the trade union. Special work must be carried on to separate the poorer circles of the peasantry from the large peasant elements and for the separation of these latter from these organizations.

The nuclei must also do everything to assist the co-operatives of the poor peasants and the land workers.

The village or estate nuclei carry on their whole work in the closest connection with their particular party organization.

Special land departments must exist in all leading Committees of the organization for the permanent systematic leadership of our work in the country. The leader of the land department of a group must at the same time be the leader of the initiative group.

The most important tasks of these departments are:

- a) The creation of our organizations in the country (nuclei and groups).
- b) The collection and examination of material on the economic and cultural situation of the young land workers and small peasant youth.
- c) The organization and leadership of the various actions of the youth on the land in their districts.
- d) The supply of material and literature for the organizations in the country.
- e) The calling of conferences of the officials of the land work.

The department of the National Executive Committee must carry on the closest co-operative work with the agrarian commission of the Communist Party.

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The Congress once again stresses the importance of this work and demands that all Young Communist Leagues take it up with all energy. The work in the country may no longer, as up to the present, have an casual character, *but must, in all countries, be made an important part of the daily League activity.*

The Opponents.

The struggle of the Y. C. I. against the opponent youth organization plays a very great role both from the political standpoint and also from the standpoint of the development of the Young Communist Leagues into mass organizations and their bolshevik education.

The beginning of a new *democratic pacifist* period means an attempt by the bourgeoisie "with the help of fascism and the social democracy, to concentrate the forces of society... producing the appearance of a political victory of the petty bourgeoisie and participation by the 'people' in the exercise of power."

The role of social democracy in this maneuver, as the most important support and the tool of the bourgeoisie is today greater than ever. In this bourgeois pacifist period the question of the youth plays an important role, for on the one hand the socialist and pacifist youth leagues carry on the whole policy of their Parties with regard to the youth, and on the other hand the bourgeoisie makes direct attempts (France, England, Bulgaria) to create for themselves a support in the broad masses of the youth. In the bourgeois-pacifist period the Y. C. I. takes over the duty of fighting against the rooting of new illusions in the ranks of the working youth and of making them a support point for the revolutionary struggle.

The development of the Young Communist Leagues to mass organizations is greatly hindered by the existence of other leagues of the working youth. In many countries, the growth of the Young Communist Leagues to mass organizations is altogether impossible without the annihilation of the opponent youth organizations.

The whole development of the Young Communist Leagues to mass organizations is closely connected with the struggle against the opponent youth organizations.

The bolshevization of the Western European Leagues will take place thru the merciless struggle against opportunism and its exponents in the ranks of the youth and against the Young Socialist Leagues. The ideological struggle against these organizations with the participation of the broad masses of the membership of our Leagues will greatly strengthen our bolshevist ideology.

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The Y. C. I. has three chief kinds of opponents: the so-called Socialist Youth Organizations, the Fascist and Nationalist Youth Leagues and the Christian Bourgeois Organizations. In the future the struggle must be taken up against all three organizations in a like manner according to the conditions in the individual countries.

I.

The Young Socialist Leagues, which do not merely oppose our individual leagues, but as international opponents, have in general followed the line of development up to the time of the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I. foreseen by us. The amalgamation of the Young Socialist International with the Young Workers' International at Whitsun 1923 in Hamburg was the bankruptcy of the Centre and its complete subordination to the Right wing of the Socialist Youth Movement.

The leading role in the Young Socialist International lies in the hands of the most reactionary league, the German Sozialistische Arbeiter Jugend. Not only in the decisions of the Hamburg Congress, but also in the whole activity of the Socialist Youth International in the period after Hamburg, it has showed its traitorous, opportunist, nationalist and in part directly fascist role.

During the occupation of the Ruhr the Young Socialist International supported the bourgeois nationalist policy of the various states completely.

The treason of the social democracy in the September revolt in Bulgaria, their ignominious role in the October events in Germany, their participation in the brutal persecutions against the working class, all took place with the direct support of

the Young Socialist League. In the following period of reaction and the strongest period of the capitalist offensive, the Young Socialist Leagues placed themselves openly upon the side of the attackers and rejected definitely every attempt to improve the situation of the working youth.

The period before us holds great dangers for the working youth. Our struggle against the Young Socialist Leagues must therefore be carried thru all the more strongly.

It has been clearly shown that the Young Socialist International is a chain of traitorous youth leagues, which in its final resort is fascist. The following are the conclusions: the Y. C. I. and the whole working youth must deny to the Young Socialist Leagues the right to call themselves proletarian youth leagues. The Socialist Youth Leagues show both ideologically and organizationally a tendency to develop into fascism.

The Congress completely ratifies the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International on the united front tactic and its application. Our political tactics against the opponents must move within the framework of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. In many countries, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Germany, where the social democratic youth movement is still strong, the tactic of the united front means now as before one of the most important weapons for extension of our influence and our tactics against the opponents. In general the tactic of the united front must be applied with special attention to the work in the masses of the working youth.

The following methods and forms in the struggle against the opponents must also be applied: 1. The past period has given sufficient material for us to carry on a general propaganda upon the role of the young socialist organizations. This work must be strengthened. 2. The fight against the opponent youth organizations must be concentrated in the shops, that is to say, we must attempt to isolate and annihilate the opponent youth organizations from below. The struggle against the opponents, must be carried on in each field of the

activity of the Y. C. I. 3. Our successes are naturally bound up with the general activity of our organization, but the direct activity against the young socialist organizations when they attempt to assemble the masses of the working class youth is of particular importance (counter-demonstrations, work in the meetings, at excursions etc.) 4. More attention must be paid to the popularization of the Y. C. I. and all its experiences (terror, illegality, struggle against fascism, the work in the army etc.) as the world organization of the working youth. 5. In the struggle against the opponents the popularization of Soviet Russia, the achievements of the working youth in Russia, and the work of the Russian Young Communist League, plays a very important role and must be taken up and strengthened. 6. The campaign against war and the 10th International Day of Youth must be above all used to strengthen the work against the opponents. The Young Communist Leagues must in this connection explain and popularize the general knowledge of the traitorous role of the social democrats at the beginning and during the war and as opposed to this, the history of the Y. C. I.

In the countries where the opponent youth organizations are weak or do not exist at all (France, England) our Leagues have to carry out the same work, in relation to the influence of the social-democratic parties on the youth. The Young Communist Leagues must work to prevent any entry on the part of the working youth into the ranks of social democracy.

II.

The strong growth of the fascist youth leagues means the greatest danger for the Y. C. I., and the under-estimation of this danger must be strongly fought. The fascist youth leagues extend their influence to the working youth also. The misery of the working youth, their mistrust in consequence of the treason of the social democracy, the demagogic propaganda of the fascists etc.: all these things bring sections of the working youth into the ranks of the fascist youth leagues. Fascism has created for itself particularly strong supports in the villages amongst the youth on the land.

Up to the present, the Young Communist Leagues, with very few exceptions have carried on practically no struggle against these leagues. The Fourth Congress makes it the duty of the whole Y. C. I., and particularly of those leagues in the countries where the fascists are especially strong, to take up the struggle against them.

For this purpose our Leagues must study definitely the history, the roots, the methods and forms of work of the fascist youth league, etc. The struggle against them will take place first of all upon the political field, by means of political propaganda, thru the explanation of their role etc. Previously this important side of the work was particularly neglected. The Young Communist Leagues must in general, and particularly in the shops, mobilize the youth against fascism.

The open military struggle is of great value against fascism, and will best produce decomposition in the ranks of the fascists.

The Young Communist Leagues must also take up the work for the decomposition of the fascist youth leagues thru the creation of nuclei within them.

III.

The Christian youth leagues which represent the strongest support of the bourgeois state apparatus, have previously been almost completely out of our field of activity, although millions of young workers and young peasants have been under the influence of the church for years. In some districts we have absolutely no method of approaching the masses of the working youth without the struggle against these Christian leagues. The struggle against these leagues is a pressing task of the Young Communist Leagues, in Germany, Italy, America, France and China. The Young Communist Leagues must devote more attention to the study of these leagues. Practical experience has shown that a revolutionary wing can be built in these leagues. The young workers and peasants in these leagues cannot stand aside in the great mass struggles of the adult workers. The struggle against these leagues is in the first place carried on by drawing

their membership into the general struggle of the working class, (strikes etc.). Our influence in the Christian trade unions must also be utilized. In every struggle of the Young Communist Leagues an earnest attempt must be made to draw the Christian youth leagues or various parts of these leagues into the struggle and to give them political understanding on the basis of the experiences in these struggles. The anti-clerical propaganda of the Young Communist Leagues plays a great role, and it must be carefully taken up in the whole press, thru special meetings, discussion evenings, etc.

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The most important preliminary condition for a successful struggle against the opponent youth organizations is the participation of the whole membership of the Young Communist Leagues in this work. The condition for this is that each individual member is convinced that the Young Communist International is the only leader and representative of the interests of the working youth.

On the Program.

1. The Congress ratifies the draft program presented to it and presents it to the Leagues for discussion.

2. The Executive is instructed to issue the draft together with the speech.

3. The Executive Committee and also the Leagues are instructed to regularly and intensively discuss the program in the press.

4. Similarly, the program of the Communist International which was decided upon in draft by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern must be discussed in detail.

The Colonial Question.

I. The Progress of the Communist Movement in the Colonies Since the Third Congress.

During the last one and a half years, the Young Communist movement has attained considerable successes in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In China, in spite of the crisis in the workers' movement, the Young Communist League has consolidated itself and has greatly increased its press activities, in particular amongst the peasants and in the national revolutionary movement. In Korea, many new local communist organizations have been formed and are about to hold a congress for the formation of a unified organization. These organizations have at present a great influence on the Korean National Revolutionary Youth Federation. The Mongolian Youth League has during this period more than doubled its membership. It has now over 4,000 members. It is rapidly becoming a mass organization of the Nomad youth and is acquiring an important role in the political life of the country. In Turkey, the amalgamation of the various young communist leagues into a United Turkish Young Communist League is about to take place. In South Africa a Young Communist League, was established which although up to the present it has consisted only of Europeans, gives us a basis for our work amongst the negro youth, and attempts are being made to win these latter into the organization.

II. The Tasks of the Young Communist League.

The tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in the colonial and half-colonial countries are particularly complicated and difficult. On the one hand it is the chief task of a young communist league to win the broad masses of the working class youth and to build up its own organisation, on the other

hand the Young Communist Leagues of the colonial and half-colonial countries must support the national revolutionary movement. In these circumstances, two dangers always confront the Young Communist Leagues: on the one hand the danger of the disappearance of the Young Communist League in a united national movement, and on the other hand the danger of ignoring the revolutionary movement. Both of these dangers can cause the young communist movement in the colonies great harm.

The participation of the Young Communist Leagues in a national movement is not an end in itself, but only serves the purpose of winning an influence over the masses of the youth and leading the best revolutionary elements amongst them into the ranks of the Young Communist Leagues.

In order to be able to carry on the difficult work inside the national movement and to impregnate it with our spirit our organization must be consolidated and developed through intensive communist propaganda and educational work amongst our own members and the broad masses of the youth in the spirit of the class war.

The communist educational work amongst the members of the Leagues is particularly important as at the moment members of Young Communist Leagues are working inside non-communist youth organizations and in the national revolutionary parties. Without a systematic and energetic educational work amongst their own members the Young Communist Leagues will not be able to avert the danger of an ideological demoralisation of their members and a consequent disorganization of the Leagues.

The Young Communist Leagues must be strong, disciplined and centralized organizations. They must exercise a firm control over their members working in non-communist organizations. The connection of the Young Communist Leagues with the fractions inside other organizations must be very close. These fractions must carry on their work according to the instructions of the various leading bodies and must regularly make reports upon their work in the particular non-communist organization.

III. The Support of the National Revolutionary Youth Organizations.

It is the task of the Young Communist Leagues to line up the broad masses of the young workers, peasants, employers and intellectuals in the national revolutionary movement. This can only be obtained by the creation of nationalist revolutionary mass organizations of the youth apart from the Young Communist Leagues. These must be determined by the character of the economic and political stage of development of the countries, in order to win the broad masses of the young workers, peasants, employers and students for this united organization. The leadership of this organization must stay in the hands of The Young Communist Leagues, which must become the ideological leader of the national revolutionary youth. Such a mass organization of the youth serves on the other hand as a field for the spread of communist influence over this youth and to draw the advanced element of this organization into the Young Communist Leagues.

A. The Forms of the National Revolutionary Youth Organization.

The formation of national revolutionary mass organizations of the youth will take on, according to the economic and political state of development of the different countries of the East and of Africa, various concrete forms.

The capitalist process of development in a whole series of colonial and half-colonial countries is already so far forward that we find a comparatively developed action of the industrial proletariat with a growing class-consciousness, which expresses itself in the growth of the communist organizations and their influence upon the workers' movement. China, The Malay Archipelago, the Philippines, India, Turkey, Egypt, may count as amongst these countries. It is understandable that in these countries the class tendency will preponderate in the character of the national revolutionary youth organization, which in their final results must take the form of working youth and peasant youth Leagues.

In other colonies the capitalist process has not developed so far. These are the agrarian countries which exclusively serve foreign imperialism as the sources of raw material and where almost no industry exists, and where in consequence the workers' movement is weak, and where no native bourgeoisie with a definite class-consciousness exists. Here, the absolute majority of the population is interested in political freedom from the yoke of foreign imperialism. Such countries are: Korea, Mongolia, Tschungarei, Afghanistan, Persia, Algiers, Tunis and Morocco. In these countries the national revolutionary mass organizations will take on a typical national form.

It falls to the task of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist Leagues to determine the general directions for the national revolutionary youth movement in the colonial and half-colonial countries. Similarly the concrete forms which the movement in the various countries must take on must be determined in detail.

B. The Political Phase of the National Revolutionary Organization of the Youth.

The mass organizations of the national revolutionary youth should not only be organizationally independent, but should also protect their own political complexion. They are called upon to play an important role in the nationalist movement and the mass organizations of the revolutionary youth must stand in close contact with the revolutionary parties and support their actions in order to promote the unity of the national movement.

Though the national revolutionary organization should be regarded as a political independent organization, communist fractions inside it shall control its policy.

C. Tasks and work of the National Revolutionary Organizations of the Youth.

The most important task of the mass organization is to enrol the whole revolutionary youth under its banner and to become a real mass organization. In order to reach this aim,

it must fight for the economic, political and cultural interests of the youth and must carry on a cultural and political educational work.

a) The political work of the mass organizations must consist chiefly in the struggle against foreign imperialism. They must fight for national independence and the maximum of civil rights, for instance, for the complete freedom of association, speech, press and meetings. They must lead a campaign of agitation and propaganda amongst the masses of the youth for political clarity, in which they explain the problems of the national struggle and the class war. For this purpose it must, apart from the issue of special literature, arrange courses of lectures, meetings, excursions into the villages, etc.

b) The anti-militarist work must consist in revolutionary propaganda and the organization of nuclei inside the troops of the foreign and native governments. On the other hand a political and cultural enlightenment work must be carried on amongst the revolutionary troops, and particularly the slogan of the revolutionary people's army must be propagated. The work amongst the imperialist troops must be carried on by the organization of the motherland.

c) In its economic work the mass organization must struggle for the defense of the interests of the young workers; for wage increases, for the six-hour day, for a free Sunday rest with pay, for the improvement of the hygienic conditions of work, against night work for young workers under 18 years of age, etc. A particularly energetic campaign must be carried on for the abolition of child labor, for free education for all children and for the slogan "equal wages for equal work".

These demands of young workers and peasants must be co-ordinated with those of the adult workers. The mass organizations must struggle for equal rights of the young workers and peasants in the Trade Unions and Peasant organizations, and demand that these fight for the interests of the young workers and peasants.

d) The educational work of the mass organizations must consist of the struggle against illiteracy, for general free school education with modern educational methods, and for

special continuation schools for young workers and peasants and that the school hours be counted in the work-time with full pay for the same. For free vocational training of young workers and agricultural courses for young peasants. The mass organization must itself establish evening classes, circles, courses, etc. to teach reading and writing etc. and it should hold lectures on natural science and upon the daily political events.

e) Particular attention must be paid to the propaganda against the religious and traditional prejudices against women which exist everywhere in the Orient. The mass organizations must fight for equal political, economical, social and cultural rights for women. Particular efforts must be made to root out the prejudices of the workers and peasants against young girls, and the entry of young girls into trade unions and associations, with equal rights must be demanded.

D. The Role of the Young Communist Leagues in the Mass Organization.

a) The task of the Young Communist Leagues in relation to these mass organizations consists of: 1. Taking the initiative for the formation of the local units of these mass organizations (for instance, clubs), 2. The local units already existing but not organized in communist organizations must be brought under their influence, 3. the organization of these local units into a unified and centralized mass organization, and 4. it is the duty of every member of the Young Communist League to be a member of the national revolutionary mass organization.

b) A Young Communist League must work inside the mass organization and take over its leadership. It must be understood that the leadership of a mass organization cannot be merely obtained by capturing the Executive Committee, but the confidence and trust of the masses of the membership must be won from the bottom upwards. We shall win the trust of the masses of the membership only thru the energetic work of the communist members inside the organization, who will carry on the struggle for the conquest of a mass organization according to the concrete directions of the Y. C. I. In

all local groups of the mass organization communist fractions must be built in order that the work of the young communists inside the mass organizations shall become more effective and the line of the Young Communist League more successfully carried through. These communist fractions must lead the daily struggle of the mass organization and carry on political educational work amongst the masses of the members, and in this way the class-conscious elements amongst the young workers and peasants must be drawn into the Young Communist Leagues and their work carried on in such a way that the mass organization becomes a recruiting field for the Young Communist Leagues.

IV. The Tasks of the Y. C. L.'s of the Imperialist Countries.

Despite the repeated resolutions and theses of the Second and Third Congresses of the Y. C. I. upon the necessary support by the Y. C. L.'s of the imperialist countries of the youth work in the colonies, these Leagues have up to the moment done very little in this respect. The Fourth Congress demands once again that the Y. C. L.'s of the imperialist countries pay much more attention to the youth work in the colonies. The Y. C. L.'s in close co-operative work with the Parties must do their utmost for the commencement, or the support of revolutionary or young communist organizations in the colonies.

Further, Colonial Departments are to be formed in the National Executive Committées of the Young Communist Leagues of the Imperialist countries.

Secondly, the Y. C. L.'s of the imperialist countries must take steps to carry on propaganda amongst the youth of the colonial countries in the motherland, in order to prepare them for the revolutionary work in their countries.

Thirdly, the Y. C. L.'s of the imperialist countries must carry on a persistent propaganda and enlightenment work in their own countries on the necessity for a general struggle against the common enemy and against the national prejudices. Above

all they must propagate the slogan of the self-determination of the nations. Mutual information and continual contact between the working masses of the colonies and the motherland, and close co-operative work between the colonial Leagues and those of the motherland, (the taking over of patronage, the exchange of newspapers and material, the supply of articles, etc.) is indispensable for the rooting out of the still existing national prejudices ("our country", pride of colonial possessions, a low opinion of the colonial peoples as against the whites, etc.) and the dissipation of the mistrust against the whites on the side of the population of the Orient and the colonies. Only in this way will it be possible to make the comradeship of the youth of the East and the West a fact, not merely in principle, but also in practice and to make possible a united youth movement under the banner of the Young Communist International for the struggle against world imperialism.

The Sport Question.

I.

1) The Third World Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session gave the Young Communist Leagues great tasks on the field of sport activity. The Leagues were given the task of supporting the formation of workers' sport federations; they were to demand that the sportsmen of the working class leave the bourgeois sport organizations and enter the workers' sport organizations; they were to carry on work inside the sport organizations thru the formation of communist fractions; they were to build red blocs and lead them thru the fractions; they were to create sport departments in the leading bodies of the Leagues and take up work in the shop and factory sport leagues.

2) These tasks have only been carried thru by the Young Communist Leagues to a very small degree. Most Leagues have not gone further than the formation of departments for sport work. Only a very few of the Leagues have worked upon this field with success.

3) The Fourth World Congress ratifies the decisions of the Fourth Bureau Session on the sport question. It declares that the work in the workers' sport and physical culture organizations having regard to the world political situation remains of great importance. The workers' physical culture and sport organizations must be brought to take their part in the fight against Fascism, bourgeois militarism and reaction. This is their chief political task in the immediate future.

The Young Communist Leagues must work so that:

a) The workers' sport and physical culture organizations struggle ideologically against the bourgeois sport organizations as the reserve of Fascism, and the support of bourgeois militarism and reaction, and that they fight also against the "neutral" declaration of the workers' sport organizations,

because this is becoming a cover for counter-revolutionary activity. The ideological fight against Fascism and bourgeois militarism must not be confined to the red sport and physical culture organizations and their members, but must be extended to the broad circles of the proletariat engaged in sport and must be carried out in full agreement with the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in the form of enlightenment work.

(b) The Red Sport and Physical Culture Organizations must be of organizational assistance in the struggle of the communist organizations. The organizational support of the struggle of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues against Fascism is carried on within the general proletarian defence organizations, thru the entrance of the members into the general formations. In no case should special organizations composed of members of the physical culture and sport organizations be formed. Thanks to the physical education obtained by them in the workers' sport and athletic organizations, the red athletes and sportsmen will form a hardened kernel of the proletarian defence organizations. The workers' sport and athletic organizations as such must put all their strenght into the service of the defence struggle.

4) The Fourth World Congress gives the Young Communist Leagues the task of taking up the work in the workers' sport and athletic associations much more strongly. These organizations must become organizations of the proletariat class war thru the work of the Young Communist Leagues. In order to attain this the Young Communist Leagues must carry out the task set them by the Third World Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session; they must form their sport departments in all the leading bodies of the Leagues, they must build fractions and red blocs and take the initiative in the formation of workers' sport organizations, where such are not already in existence. Further, the Young Communist Leagues must work for a centralized leadership of the sport movement, for the unification of all existing organizations for sport, athletics, etc. in one united organization on a national scale,

and they must also work for the further development of these organizations into a mass organization. The workers' sport and physical culture organizations must embrace wide circles of the working class youth, but nevertheless may not be regarded by the Young Communist Leagues as "bridge" organizations.

II.

On the question of the so-called culture organizations, it was shown that in the ranks of those who sympathize with the communist movement and even in the communist movement itself, incorrect and dangerous opinions upon the necessity of a special red culture movement and organizations exist. These tendencies which propose the creation of the so-called "Third Column" of the working class movement for "the leadership of the struggle against bourgeois culture" are the signs of a heritage left by social democratic opinions upon the class-war and revolution, and must be sharply fought.

2) The chief cover of this uncommunist ideology is to be found just in those associations the formation of which is attempted under the title of "culture organizations". This grouping of various self educational organizations, social organizations and theatre and singing associations under the general title of "culture", and still more the actual unification either for themselves or for the "Red Culture and Sport Movement" would mean to create a firmer ground for this ideology.

3) On this ground and also because most of these organizations have absolutely no connection with the proletarian class-war, the unification of the so-called culture organizations with the Red Athletic and Sport Organizations must in general be rejected.

The unification of individual organizations which busy themselves with physical culture or have definite connection thru this with the workers' sport and athletic associations, is not thereby put out of the question, but can also take place after an examination of the work and composition of the organization. The affiliation of other educational organizations, social unions, theatre and singing associations and

hygienic organizations should not be accepted. The Young Communist Leagues will regulate their relations with these organizations from case to case according to circumstances. The question of the utilization of these organizations during illegal periods by the Young Communist Leagues is not affected by this decision.

4) An important means in the struggle against the petty bourgeois influence of these organizations on the working class youth is the carrying-on of the *communist mass educational work* of the Young Communist Leagues, which cannot set itself the task of giving a "substitute" for the activity of these organizations. The Young Communist Leagues must arouse an understanding in the masses of the working class youth that in the present period of struggle the basic political education, the knowledge of Marxist and Leninist theory and of natural science, is more important than the satisfaction of various needs which other organizations make their aim.

5) In countries where unity thru amalgamation or in the form of sport and culture blocs is already carried out, the Young Communist Leagues must give the main part of their activity to the sport and athletic associations and not support the "culture organizations" affiliated to them. The Young Communist Leagues must support the workers' sport blocs as the transformation period to a united workers' sport and athletic organization on a national scale.

So far as these tendencies fought by us, seek to make themselves felt in the Red Sport International it will be the task of the latter to oppose them.

III.

1) The Young Communist International and its sections work inside the Red Sport International and its national Leagues thru the fractions of the League. As the overwhelming majority of the members of the Red Sport International are young workers, so the Young Communist International is particularly interested in the work of the Red Sport International. To co-ordinate the work and to support the political activity of the Red Sport International the Executive Com-

mittee of the Young Communist International sends a representative to the Executive Committee of the Red Sport International who works with it regularly. This work is carried on under the direct leadership of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and in agreement with the Comintern.

2) The Young Communist Leagues have to support the work of the Red Workers' Sport and Athletic Leagues. The Young Communist Leagues work in the national sections of the R. S. I. thru their fractions to give it the character of the class-struggle and to make it powerful in the struggle against Fascism, bourgeois militarism and reaction. The Young Communist Leagues send representatives to the National and Local Committees of the Red Sport and Athletic Associations to co-ordinate and support their work.

The Young Communist Leagues must see to it that the enlightenment work carried on in the sport and athletic associations has a revolutionary class character and is carried on in agreement with the mass educational work of the Leagues, and that the educational work goes as far as is necessary to awaken the class-consciousness of the members of the Red Sport and Athletic Association and bind these latter up with the class-struggle. Further, the Young Communist Leagues must work so that the Red Sport and Athletic Organizations become mass-organizations and embrace broad masses of the indifferent youth. All tendencies which seek to limit these sport organizations to purely communist organizations and the circle of their work to the communist proletariat must be fought.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern on the Young Communist International.

I. The Results of the Development of the Y. C. I. since the Fourth World Congress.

1. In agreement with the decisions of the Fourth World Congress, the Third Congress of the Y. C. I. defined concretely the task "To the Masses", which was accepted in a more general way at the Second World Congress of the Y. C. I. It concretely defined the *Basic Forms of Organization, the Nature of the Work and the Methods of a Mass Organization of the Working Class Youth*. It laid down that the most important immediate task was to lay the basis of the organization in the factories by creating factory nuclei. It emphasized the necessity for political activity by the greater participation of the Young Communist Leagues in the struggles and problems of the Communist Party and the working class and pointed out that the immediate practical duties were the fight against bourgeois militarism, the danger of war, and the capitalist offensive.

2. The development of the young communist organizations in the preceding periods, clearly proves the correctness and the necessity of this decision. The organizations have maintained their ground and have created the possibility for the further development of the young communist leagues into a mass organization of the young workers. The Y. C. I. has made decided progress in the development of the young communist leagues into *Mass Organizations of the Working Class Youth*. This has been demonstrated in the steady numerical growth of the most important young communist leagues. This growth is all the more noteworthy since it was accompanied by a decline in the so-called "socialist" youth movement. If the young communist leagues continue to carry out energetically the

decisions of their Second and Third World Congresses, paying regard to the existing objective revolutionary situation, it will be shown that this growth is not casual or transitional, but a lasting one which will lead to the development of the young communist leagues into a broad mass movement of the working youth and thereby to the complete liquidation of the youth leagues sailing under the "social" and "socialist" flags.

3. The most important results were obtained in the following spheres:

a) *The political activity of the Young Communist Leagues*, whose participation in the struggles and problems of the working class and the communist party, became noticeably stronger. The political policy pursued by the Y. C. I. was a good one and a correct one. The Young Communist Leagues in most cases conducted themselves as the best vanguard and champions of the policy of the Comintern especially in the fight against the opportunist tendencies which have evinced themselves in various countries.

b) In the *reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei*, the young communist leagues not only achieved an ideological change in their membership, but also created the necessary conditions in which the complete reorganization of the movement on the new basis may be proceeded with in some of the most important leagues. The Young communist leagues and the Y. C. I., were the pioneers in this activity and gave great help and valuable experience in the tackling of this work by the Communist Party and the Communist International.

c) The Communist International greets with enthusiasm the self-sacrificing initiative and activity of the Y. C. I. *In the fight against the war and imperialism and in the work within the bourgeois armies*. Its activity among the French troops in occupied Germany (especially in the Ruhr) was the first practical and concretely carried out international work in this sphere. The active work of the French Y. C. I. in the French army is also an important step forward.

The Y. C. I. has proved that such work is possible and *effective* under the most difficult circumstances.

d) The Y. C. I. has also made considerable progress in its

development into a firmly centralised and internationally-led world organization. In addition to the numerical growth of the more important young communist leagues, the Comintern notes above all the steady growth of its influence among the broad masses of the working youth and the steady internal consolidation of the young Communist leagues of the various countries into a solid world youth league.

The Y. C. L. in this work did not receive adequate support from the communist parties. Whereas certain parties (e. g. the Russian, French and German), energetically supported the work of the young communists, in the case of other parties the young communist leagues had first to overcome the strong opposition of the party leadership before they could fulfil their duties (in Poland on the subject of anti-militarism, since the party did not assist the anti-militarist work of the young communists; in Sweden, where the Y. C. L. and the Y. C. I. were strongly opposed by the majority of the party leadership because they were in favour of the policy of the Communist International; in Czechoslovakia, where the party for a long time prevented the commencement of the shop nuclei work of the Young Communist League; in the Balkans and in other cases). Moreover, the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern, regarding the organizational independence of the Young Communist Leagues, have not everywhere been completely carried into effect.

4) In certain spheres the young communist leagues could only partially develop their activities. Thus the fight of the young communist leagues against the capitalist offensive and against the material impoverishment of the working class youth, and also the activities of the young communist leagues in the trade unions, with the exception of a few countries, were still very weak. Moreover, the educational work did not respond to the demands created by the influx of numerous new members and by the great fighting tasks. Here too the lack of support on the part of the communist parties was a factor. The work for winning over the rural youth, which demands special methods, was also inadequate. The fight against newly created fascist youth movements, as well as the Christian youth leagues, could not be carried on adequately during the preceding period.

II. The Future Tasks of the Y. C. I.

5) On considering the development of the Y. C. I. in the preceding period, the Fifth Congress notes that the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Y. C. I. and the Fourth Congress of the Comintern were correct and were justified by practice. The Y. C. I. and its sections must continue their work in the direction of the decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Y. C. I. and the Third Congress of the C. I. and must *immediatly take the next steps towards transforming the communist youth organisations and the whole youth international into a true Leninist organization and a bulwark of bolshevism.* The fight for the bolshevisation of the Young Communist Leagues must be made the *central* task of the Y. C. I. and the starting point for its whole work among the leagues. The bolshevisation of the young communist leagues must find its expression in the transformation of the young communist leagues into mass organizations of the working youth. The idea that the young communist leagues are the only organizations of the working youth and the leaders and representatives of the interests of the broad masses of the working class youth, must be made to take root in the consciousness of the young workers. Another important duty of the young communist leagues is to make the youth organized in their ranks true young Leninists. We must take care that every member thoroughly understands the fundamental teachings and tactics of Lenin and is capable of applying the methods of Leninism. Leninist training must find expression in the active participation of the young communist leagues in the struggles of the communist parties and the working class, and in co-ordination with practical mass work and theoretical education. The Y. C. I. must impress upon its leagues the principles of centralization, international discipline, unity, and close contact with the masses, and in the consciousness that the working class is the leader for all the oppressed, it must enroll the broad masses of the poor peasants and the oppressed youth of the colonial countries into the fighting front of the international working class.

6) The young communist leagues must devote especial attention to the following questions: *Close participation in the life of*

the communist parties and in the struggles of the working class (political activity), the reorganization on the basis of the shop nuclei, active work in the bourgeois armies and the fight against the menace of war, practical preparation for the tasks of civil war, economic-trade union work, work among the rural youth and educational work.

a) *Political activity.* Where political activity has not reached a sufficient pitch, it must be intensified. Political activity means that the young communist leagues must take active part in all the struggles of the working class in close contact with and under the leadership of the communist party and must mobilise the working class youth so that they also take part in the slogans and the discussions of all questions of the communist parties and the Comintern and be active in party life. This is not a special task *parallel* to the other tasks of the young communist leagues. The point is that it must permeate and invigorate all the activities of the leagues and influence them in the spirit of Leninism. It creates the principles and methods for all the tasks of the Communist International.

The communist parties must do everything in their power to increase the political activity of the young communist leagues, which will help to strengthen the fighting front of the working class and to train new politically capable fighters for their own ranks.

b) In the *creation of shop nuclei* the young communist leagues must energetically continue the work already begun. They must now proceed to effect the complete reorganization on a new basis. *Complete reorganization on the basis of the shop nuclei before the next world congress* must be the slogan which every young communist must zealously strive to achieve.

c) *Work in the army and against new war* must be energetically continued by the young communist leagues in the future. This is one of *the most urgent* demands arising out of the international situation and the prospects of revolution. The beginnings of the transition from mere propaganda to concrete work, as is the case in the German occupied areas and in France, must quickly be extended *internationally*. The young communist leagues must devote special attention and energy to carrying out Lenin's slogan

for the creation of nuclei in the bourgeois armies. The young communist leagues must exert all their energies to mobilise the broad masses of the working class youth against a new imperialist war. The hypocritical misleading slogan of the social democrats, advocating the general strike as the method of preventing the outbreak of war, must be opposed by sober propaganda describing how wars break out and by pointing to the necessity of transforming an imperialist war, once broken out, into civil war within the capitalist states; to this end revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies must be carried on.

d) The period of the *direct struggle for power*, which sooner or later is bound to come in certain countries, should induce the Y. C. I. to examine what its tasks will be in such a period. It must therefore seriously examine the experiences gained in Bulgaria in September and in Germany in October, and carry on preparatory work, agreed upon with the leadership of the communist party, in the young communist leagues. Particularly necessary is the military training and education of the members of the young communist leagues under the direction of the communist party.

c) In the forthcoming period the *economic- and trade union fight* must be carried on with greater energy. The young communist leagues in the defence and representation of the material and cultural interests of the working class youth must pass from mere propaganda to the actual fight. To do this they must considerably strengthen their work in the reformist trade unions and endeavour to revolutionize them. They must develop their fractions within the trade unions and energetically combat every separation into young and old, especially in the form of youth sections. This they must do in order to give practical proof to the trade unions and the adult workers, that the young communist leagues, which are developing into the only mass organizations of the working class youth, have to fulfil and are fulfilling the role of defenders of the interests of the working youth within the general struggle of the proletariat. This should also be the case with regard to the *red trade unions*, with which the young communist leagues, conscious of the fact that these also are carrying on the practical fight for the interests of the working youth, must maintain the *closest contact*. The communist in the trade unions

must take care that the young communist leagues are recognized by the trade unions and the adult workers, as the organizations whose duty it is to defend and represent the interests of the working youth as part of the general interests of the working class. The communist fractions should also take care that members of the young communist leagues are included in the list of candidates in the election to the various trade union committees and bodies.

f) The work of winning over *the working class in the countryside* is very important. It is of the greatest significance for the victory of the proletariat of most countries. In many countries this work has still to be practically begun.

g) The more the young communist leagues rally the masses of the working class youth around themselves, the more must they carry on among them a systematic communist, Leninist *training*, in close conjunction with the struggles of the communist party and the working class. Without this they run the danger of becoming shallow and losing their communist character in their struggles and activities. The training which is to be given in the immediate future must be above all a political training. It must make the young communists capable of taking over and the continuing the inheritance of Lenin in word and deed. It will depend upon the extent of the support given by the Comintern and the communist parties as to how far the Y. C. I. and the Young Communist Leagues will be capable of fulfilling the *duty of Leninist training*. To make this support possible, is one of the most urgent tasks of the International. Regular attention must also be paid to anti-religious education.

7. Apart from these duties, upon which the young communist leagues must concentrate their attention in the near future, other duties in other spheres must not be neglected.

The fight *against the fascist organizations, the social democratic youth and the religious leagues*, must be continued with all energy in the future. The object of this fight must be to liquidate and to destroy these organisations.

The work of preparation by the Young Communist Leagues against attempts at suppression and *for the time of illegality*, must not be neglected.

Work in the *Colonies and semi-colonies of imperialist states* must be energetically carried on with the object of arousing the toiling native youth and bringing them into the Y. C. I. At the same time, in accordance with the theses of the Communist International, it is the duty of the Y. C. I. to rally the youth in the colonies, semi-colonial countries, and in the Orient who are fighting for their national emancipation, and to get them to take part in the fight for emancipation of the working class.

A steady and intensive fight against the bourgeois *sport organizations* and for the creation of workers' sports leagues, is also necessary. Where workers' gymnastic and sport leagues still do not exist, the young communists must work to create them. They must carry on an active propaganda in the existing workers' sport organizations in favour of the Red Sport International.

Work among children also deserves great attention, for the importance of such work is still often under-estimated by the young communist leagues. It must be carried on, on the principles of communist training with the object of getting the proletarian children to take part in the fight of their class. The Communist Children's Groups must be under the control of the young communist leagues.

8) All these duties of the Y. C. I. and its sections can be carried on successfully only if the communist parties lend the necessary co-operation. The support of *the Y. C. I. and its sections* is one of the most important tasks of the Communist International and the communist parties in the immediate future. The fulfilment of these tasks will help to *win over wide masses of the working class youth for communism and to bring new cadres of conscious and strong Leninists into the communist party.*

In particular these tasks are to get the young communist leagues and their members to *participate in the political activity of the communist parties and in the struggles of the working class, and to help them to take their part in solving the problems of the communist party and the Communist International.* Whenever there are factory nuclei, local groups and district organizations of the party, and none of the young communists, the party

must *create young communist organizations*, and the young communists, for their part, must help in creating party organizations where such do not exist. The nuclei of the communist parties in the factories and their fractions in the trade unions must energetically support the young communists in their *economic struggles* and in the fulfilment of their other duties. It is particularly important and essential that the *young communist leagues and the Y. C. I. should be supported in their work in the armies and against a new war*. The carrying out of those activities, which constitute some of the most important conditions for the proletarian revolution, can only be secured under the leadership and with the participation of the communist parties. The urgent duty of the Leninist training of the young communists is also dependent upon the constant and energetic support of the communist parties.

9) The young communist leagues on their part must do everything to increase and strengthen the contacts of the communist parties day by day. They must not only support the communist parties with all their strength in their daily activities but must also carry out regular and systematic training within their own ranks on behalf of the communist parties and take care that when their members reach the right age they become members of the communist parties.

In this way will the young communist leagues and the Y. C. I. fulfil their duties towards the communist parties and the Comintern, and be in a position to justify the expectation of the Comintern that they will be in the future, as they have been in the past, the best front line fighters and defenders of the policy and the decisions of the Communist International.

The Tasks of the Young Communist League of Great Britain.

"The creation of a labor government is the product of capitalist decay, in which the old forms of capitalist government, become incapable of solving the national and international, social, political and economic problems caused by capitalism. In this period the capitalist class uses manifold means of defense, from use of the Labor Party (socialist ministerialism) with its social pacifism, to fascism and all its forms, according to the sharpness of the class-contradictions and the mutual relations of the classes. The labor government and the fascist government are two extremes in the methods used by the bourgeoisie to continue their dictatorship." (Resolution of the C. I. on the English Labor Government.)

Just as the German social-democracy developed into the Left wing of fascism, so the Labor Party in England has become the third bourgeois party, the Left wing of the liberal bourgeoisie. The Labor Government is the government of the bourgeoisie and not the workers' government for which the workers have struggled. The history of all "socialist" governments is the history of the betrayal of the working class. The Labor Party and its government is no exception. During the short period of its existence the Labor Government has demonstrated to the English workers that this so-called Labor Government carries on a policy of friendly tolerance towards the working class only so long as this latter, does not disturb the law and order of the bourgeoisie. Immediately however the workers even enter upon a strike, no matter how justifiable their demands, the so-called Labor Government immediately uses all the means which the bourgeoisie used, in order to defeat the strike and to suppress all attempts to overthrow the existing system of society by revolutionary means. It is the task of the Y. C. I. of Great Britain to expose the Labor

Government to the young workers, and to make it clear to them that in reality it is no labor government, but a bourgeois — imperialist government, a government of His Majesty the King, which bears the title "Labor Government".

This task appears to be somewhat difficult, for even today large sections of the working class are held by the illusion that this Labor Government will actually be able to help them. A few unimportant reforms have been carried thru; a few crumbs have been flung to the workers together with promises of more, but apart from these small improvements which absolutely fail to better the serious situation of the working class as a whole, the Labor Government has not even carried out the promises which it made to the workers during the election. The young workers in particular must suffer from the treachery of the reformist leaders of the working class, who have not merely forgotten their election promises, but have actually become as good supports of the capitalist system, as the previous Tory governments. Whilst millions of pounds are spent for warships, air-flotillas and military armaments which are to serve in suppressing the working masses in the colonies and in the motherland, the over growing masses of young unemployed workers lead a miserable existence in the motherland or are laden like cattle on ships and sent to the colonies or the dominions where a still worse fate awaits them. The Labor Government has done nothing to prevent the employment of thousands of young workers under 16 years, in underground work in the mines; it makes no efforts to improve the miserable situation of the young workers; it continues to permit the use of young workers for night work; it makes no arrangements to feed the half-starving masses of the working class children and does nothing to give the broad masses of the young workers a vocational training.

It is the task of the League, having regard to these facts, to carry on an energetic enlightenment campaign amongst the broad masses of the working youth, in order to win them for the organization which alone struggles for the improvement of the situation of the working youth — the Communist

League — and to carry on a bitter struggle together with the Party, against capitalism and its lackeys the “working class leaders” and the trade union bureaucracy.

The task of developing the Young Communist League of Great Britain into a mass organization of the working youth stands today before the Y. C. I. The League must concentrate all its activity upon the fulfilment of this central task — the creation of a mass organization of young workers.

The Next Tasks.

1. The League must carry on a systematic and clearly-aimed enlightenment campaign on the question of international politics, now, above all, upon the Experts' Report. The League must strive for a close co-operative work with the French and German brother-Leagues. It must carry on a sharp struggle against the imperialist policy of the Labor Government and against the danger of new wars. This struggle must not be confined to the holding of meetings and the publication of articles in the press, but the propaganda must be carried into the army and the navy. For this purpose the League must work for the establishment of nuclei in the army and the navy, and the struggle for the political and economic demands of the soldiers and sailors, such as, full political rights, freedom of organization, of meetings, and of speech, the abolition of corporal punishment in the navy, etc. etc., must be carried on thru these nuclei in connection with the general political activity. The League must strive for a connection between the sailors of the battle-fleets and the trade-union organized sailors of the Mercantile Marine, for a connection between the Oriental seamens' organizations and the sailors of the battle-fleets etc.

2. It is the task of the League to build up the organization in such a way that it is possible to reach the broad masses of the working class youth and to mobilize them for the struggle against the traitorous leaders of the working class. For this purpose the already existing district committees must be made into really capable working bodies, that is to say

they must be so organized that they are in a position to carry out the instructions of the N. E. C. in their district.

The creation of departments in all grades of the organization from the N. E. C. down to the nucleus is a condition for the correct leadership of the work in all its branches. The creation of capable departments (above all for the economic trade union work) is urgently necessary, particularly in the N. E. C. and in the most important industrial districts.

3. The League must make a special effort to increase the number of its membership. Thru the organization of a systematic recruiting campaign which should spread itself over several months, the League must set itself the aim of attaining a membership of 5,000 inside a year. The League should concentrate upon the most important industrial centres and build up its new units from the beginning on the basis of the shop nuclei. The reorganization of the whole League must be taken up energetically. The beginning must be made where the circumstances are most favorable. Inside a definite period, let us say six months, the industrial districts and the majority of the groups should be built up upon the basis of the shop nuclei.

4. The League must continue the activity which it has commenced upon the field of the economic trade-union work (the organization of campaigns in particular industries) and widen and intensify this activity. Where the situation is most favorable, that is to say, where a number of well-functioning nuclei are already in existence, the League should commence to organize conferences of the working youth. The work of the League on the industrial field up to the present has shown that it understands how to struggle for the leadership of the young proletariat in the fight for its interests. It is now also necessary to take up the work in the trade unions themselves and in the minority movement more systematically. The campaign for entrance into the trade unions must be carried further. The slogan must be, "Every member of the Y. C. L. a member of his trade union, and an active worker in the minority movement". Still further, an energetic campaign must be carried on amongst the broad masses of

the working class youth for their entry into the trade unions. From the beginning these young workers must be lined up with the opposition (minority movement). The creation of fractions of the Y. C. L. must be taken up immediately in all the trade unions, similarly, connections between the Young Communist Leagues and the R. I. L. U., and the minority movement must be established, and efforts must be made to place a representative of the Y. C. L. on all bodies of the R. I. L. U. and the minority movement. The Y. C. L. fractions in the trade unions, and the representative of the League in the sections of the minority movement must carry on an energetic and persistent struggle for full rights for the young workers, for lower subscriptions from them etc. The Young Communist League must above all struggle to insure that the minority movement makes the demands of the League its own and takes up the struggle for them. The Young Communist League must be represented at all conferences of the minority movement and must work thru its representatives for the inclusion of the demands of the young workers in the programmes of the minority movement.

The League must persistently put forward its revolutionary demands as opposed to the unclear and reformist demands of the Labor Party, with regard to the youth, even when, as today, the masses still regard the demands of the Labor Party, for instance in the question of the school finishing age, as good ones. As to the question of the unemployed, the League must above all propagate the demand for the reinstatement of the youth in the shops, and for their vocational training in special apprentice departments in the shops themselves on the basis of paid work, and it must take up the struggle for this demand. It is here necessary to propagate our demands with especial clarity as opposed to those of the Labor Party.

The struggle against the Labor Government must be carried on in connection with the struggle for the following demands: —

1. The prohibition of all night work for young workers under the age of 18 years.

2. A legal fixing of a minimum wage for all young workers upon the basis of the minimum of existence.
3. Six hour day — four weeks paid holiday annually.
4. Reinstatement of all unemployed workers into industry.
5. Vocational training for all young workers up to the age of 18 years; apprentice departments in the shops, training upon the basis of paid work with wages fixed by the trade unions.
6. Complete political rights for soldiers and sailors and a material improvement of their situation.
7. Free meals in the schools for all working class children.

5. In order to be able to approach the masses of the young workers in the above sense, the political understanding of the membership must be increased and advanced thru a systematic educational work in the spirit of Leninism. This work must be carried on in the closest contact with the Party in order to bring about a bolshevization of the Party and the League. It is the task of the League to create a Leninist reserve for the communist movement by the education and training of the future Party members.

The League must regularly issue special circulars to the membership for the increase of the political activity of the League in connection with the struggle against the Labor Government and for the above demands. It should also begin to issue simply written and easily understood pamphlets.

A co-operative work must be established with the Party. The League must take part in all the questions of the Party and must work actively inside the Party for its bolshevization, for instance in the building up of shop nuclei.

6. The above work cannot be carried on without a strong and good press. The League must therefore transform the "Young Worker" into a real mass-organ which is able to lead the young workers in their daily struggle. The League must work to make the "Young Worker" into a fortnightly and finally into a weekly organ.

7. The League must take practical steps together with the Party for the work in the colonies. Apart from the formation of a department for this work in the N. E. C. (upon which a Party representative must sit) a special committee must be created into which the comrades from the colonies must be drawn. It is the task of this committee to establish the connection between the Young Communist League and the colonies thru the utilization of students and seamen etc. staying in England. A connection between industrial districts in England with similar industrial districts in India, Egypt etc., must be worked for. Material must be exchanged, newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets etc. General actions must be carried out on the occasion of strikes, persecutions etc. Help committees must be created and such existing committees (welfare committees etc.) utilized for the legal work in the colonies. A struggle must be carried on for the creation and legalization of trade unions, and for the creation and the support of revolutionary youth organizations in the colonies etc.

8. In the recent period efforts were made upon the part of the I. L. F. and the L. P. to create or to revive their own reformist youth movement. It is the task of the Young Communist League to carry on propaganda amongst the broad masses of the young working class in order to make clear to them the real aims of this movement and to show it as an attempt to split the front of the fighting working youth and as an attempt to create a new reserve for reformism and social-treachery. The Young Communist League is the only organization of the working youth which is actually willing and in a position to lead the struggle for the betterment of the situation of the working youth. The struggle against the attempts to split the youth movement must be carried on under this slogan. It is necessary to show the young workers that the gentlemen of the Labor Party have suddenly betrayed an interest in the youth because they see that the Young Communist League is on the way to winning the masses of the working youth for the struggle against capitalism and against the traitorous policy of the pacifist imperialists of

the Labor Party. The MacDonaldis, Hendersons, and Clynes's wish to estrange the youth from the class-struggle and to use the youth for their aims — the defense of the capitalist state and the suppression of the colonial peoples. This the Y. C. L. must prevent. We must expose the traitors who seek to split the workers' movement, and rescue the young workers from their clutches. The Young Communist League of Great Britain must now, after the example of the Party, begin an active campaign for its *affiliation to the Labor Party*, and it must struggle for its recognition by the Labor Party as the only organization of the working youth. We must form fractions in the youth sections created by the I. L. P. and the L. P., and must work within them, on the one hand to win the young workers organized in them for the Young Communist Leagues, and on the other hand for their entry into the Labor Party as full members without organizational limitations, and lastly for the liquidation of these youth sections of the I. L. P. and the L. P. With regard to existing youth sections, the united front tactic must be applied on the occasion of all, political and economic actions.

9. The above tasks can only be carried out when the League has at its disposal a capable and disciplined N. E. C. Therefore, the personnel of this latter must be increased by the addition of comrades from the provinces (young workers from the most important industrial districts). The departments must become real functioning bodies. Above all, the greatest attention must be paid to the creation of a strong economic trade union department and the organization of shop nuclei. Comrades outside the N. E. C. should be co-opted to the various departments.

10. The League will and must develop into a real mass movement, and become the only and undisputed leader of the working youth of Great Britain. Thru such an energetic and persistent campaign, amongst the masses of the working youth against the so-called "Labor Government" and its treachery for the demands of the working youth, against the pacifist impostures and the war armaments, thru a decisive and logical struggle for the reorganization of the League upon the basis

of the shop nuclei and the creation of its nuclei in all important shops, works, factories, docks, etc. Thru strong and tireless efforts for the increase of the League membership, thru practical and continual work in the trade unions and during wage struggles, and in the work in the army etc.

The Y. C. I. on the Young Workers' League of America.

After a through discussion and consideration of the past activity and the present situation of the Y. W. L. of A., the special commission of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. has arrived at the following conclusions:

I. The Past Activity.

1) It appeared that the delegation of the Y. W. L. of A., at the III. Congress was somewhat opposed to economic trade union work and this had some effect upon the League. Altho the II. Congress of the Y. W. L. of America adopted a program which was fully in line with the decisions of the Y. C. I. Congresses, the N. E. C. applied these decisions in a hesitating manner, which can be accounted for by lack of experience and by the difficult situation existing in America. This state of affairs led to a discussion between the N. E. C. of the Y. W. L. of A. and the Y. C. I. Later, in connection with the situation within the Party, there arose a discussion between the majority and the minority of the N. E. C. which resulted in a factional dispute.

2) Altho there is a healthy kernel in the criticism of the opposition (minority) the accusation of "sabotage" is unfounded and must be rejected, the more so as the N. E. C. tried hard to carry thru the decisions and the Y. C. I. can therefore have full confidence in the N. E. C.

3) As both the above mentioned conflicts have now been liquidated by the decisions of the C. I. and the Y. C. I. respectively, the Y. C. I. urges all comrades to end all factional disputes and to co-operate in a comradely spirit in their work. The criticism and the activities of the Y. C. I. and its representative in the U. S. A. in May 1923 have proved beneficial

to the League; this is evidenced by the actual progress made and by the statement of the American delegation at the IV. Congress. The work should now be proceeded with on the basis of the following points:

II. Future Activity and Next Tasks.

4) The central problem of the League is the creation of a mass organization of young workers and the winning over of the broad masses of the young workers in large scale industry. This means a systematic and definite campaign for increasing the membership which should aim at a membership of 10,000 by 1925.

5) The main tasks of the League are: the concentration upon the building of shop nuclei; a systematic and energetic economic trade union work, which must play a foremost role in the entire activity of the League, and a further improvement of the "Young Worker" giving it more and more a mass-character and making immediate preparation to turn it into a weekly by the first of the new year.

6) In order to reach this aim the League must concentrate on these tasks. Above all the League must now inaugurate an energetic and systematic campaign for the building of shop nuclei and the complete reorganization of the League on this basis by concentrating itself on the most important industrial centres (Illinois, Pennsylvania, New England etc.)

7) The League must set up a plan of work for a period of say six months during which a certain number of nuclei should be formed, a certain number of branches completely reorganized and a certain number of new members won. In industrial centres where the League has not yet got a foothold it should strive to build up the League from the very beginning on the basis of shop nuclei.

8) On the field of the economic-trade union work the League should proceed on the basis of the theses of the Y. C. I. Congresses as well as on the basis of the decisions of the II. Congress of the Y. W. L. to real practical work. The past activity, which can be termed "journalistic" activity should now be replaced by the daily and persistent struggle

for the demands set up. No strike should be allowed to pass without the League coming forward with its own demands in each concrete situation. This point must be particularly stressed because the League has in the past, in many instances, failed to come forward with its own demands for the young workers and contented itself with a general participation in the strike work, which of course is not sufficient. The League should intensify its economic and trade union activity by initiating and leading campaigns for specific youth demands, similar to the activities already being carried out in the Western Electric and the Bunte Candy Companies. In order to extend this work the League should proceed to organize conferences of the working youth in such places where conditions are favorable i. e. where we already have shop nuclei.

9) The Y. C. I. observes that the full delegation of the Y. W. L. of A. is in *complete agreement* with the practical program as outlined at the IV. Congress (such as the theses on economic-trade union work etc.) This is a big step forward. The practical tasks of the League within the unions and the TUEL should be incorporated in the plan of work of the Y. W. L.

10) With regard to the work within the unions the League should pursue the policy outlined in the theses of Y. C. I.. Above all the League must continue its energetic campaign for the reduction of the entrance fees and dues and the formation of Y. W. L. fractions within the unions.

11) Beside the general activities in the TUEL the League should carry on special youth activities as outlined in the international theses (the formation of communist youth fractions, representation of the demands of the young workers, incorporation of same in the program of the TUEL, and the appointment of the League on all organs of the TUEL locally and nationally). Special youth columns in the press of the TUEL should be established containing explanatory articles on the demands of the young workers; agitation should be carried on for the most important demands thru the organs of the TUEL. These demands should not only be propounded but also carried into effect.

12) The educational activity should be improved and carried on in line with the decisions of the Y. C. I., i. e. the training in

the spirit of Leninism. This means educational work carried on for the bolshevization of the League and the Party and the creation of a reserve army of young Leninists within the League for future work in the Party. The bolshevization of the Party means first and foremost the reorganization of the Party on the basis of the shop nuclei. The League should systematically transform all socials etc. into real revolutionary evenings with educational and propaganda value.

13) With the bolshevization of the League must come the increase of the anti-militarist activity. At the present stage of the development of this activity it is necessary that a systematic educational campaign be carried out on the basis of the Y. C. I. theses which must be systematically carried into effect.

14) Although the League has made some efforts to get the young farmers into the League, the activity on this field, despite the favorable objective conditions (agrarian crisis) has been insufficient and in view of the difficulties no great headway has been made. It is the task of the League to carry on an energetic campaign among the young rural wage workers, youth of the small farmers etc. for concrete demands as outlined in the resolution on the work among the rural youth (theses of the IV. Congress and instructions regarding educational activities among the rural youth).

15) While the work among the children, i. e. the creation of a real children's movement by enrolling the children of the working class in the class struggle showed very good results, it must be stated that the utilization of the children for the struggle against child labor was somewhat neglected. Some good beginnings were however made on the field of the school struggle. This school struggle should be carried on in such a way that the Junior sections (and behind them the Y. W. L.) lead the fight for concrete demands. Above all an energetic campaign should be carried on against child labor on the basis of concrete demands (in connection with the general struggles of the working class, with the school struggle, school strikes etc.).

16) The League should now take the initiative for the creation of workers' sport organizations with the object in view of forming a national workers' sport organization. In view of the fact

that the bosses use sport as a means of estranging the workers from their class outlook and of converting them to the idea of class collaboration, the nuclei should pay special attention to the sports clubs of the various factories. The League should work in such clubs to win the young workers for the Y. W. L. and the workers' sport organizations.

17) In order to give a new impetus to the work among the negro youth a special negro department (negro-colonial dept.) should be set up within the N. E. C. The League should strive to get a young colored worker on the N. E. C. and devise ways and means to work among the masses of the young colored workers (as well as the children) thru special literature and by utilizing the existing negro organizations particularly for the work among the negroes in the south (special instructions will be issued for this purpose).

18) The work among the forsign speaking youth should also be considered from the viewpoint of expediency, i. e. how we can best carry on this work. Special language propaganda committees are necessary, but thru our activities in the nuclei we should strive to place the different language groupings into *one* unit. Ways and means should be devised to make this welding together easier, for instance, English lessons for immigrants etc. With regard to the Jewish problem, the Y. C. I. is of the opinion that special literature should be issued from time to time. The Y. C. I. endorses fully the steps taken by the League in this question (Resolution of II. Congress).

All the above work can only be carried out if the Y. W. L. is one united whole and concentrates all its energy upon these tasks. Therefore all factional disputes must cease and the decisions of the N. E. C. must be carried into practice wholeheartedly. Moreover the Y. C. I. is of the opinion that the League should strive for its rejuvenation and proletarianization both in the lower units and in the N. E. C. and that the N. E. C. should attempt to establish a 23 year age limit at the next convention.

20) Steps should be taken for enlarging the N. E. C. which should be systematically departmentalized. Comrades outside of the N. E. C. should be drawn into the national work by making them functionaries of the various departmental committees.

Apart from this, steps should be aken for the organization of a League council.

21) The immediate establishment of an adequate illegal apparatus and the training of the League members for illegal work is an urgent task of the N. E. C. (see the special instructions of the Y. C. I.).

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