

PROGRAMME of
the YOUNG
COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL



Y. P. S. L. A.
YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Forbes

**PROGRAMME OF THE
YOUNG COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL**

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FOREWORD

The programme of the Young Communist International, now published after its approval by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is the most important document of the international proletarian youth movement. It has generalised, compiled, and harmoniously arranged, all that has been created in the theory of the proletarian youth movement in the course of decades of struggle and effort. The theory of our youth movement is laid down in the Programme of the Young Communist International from the viewpoint of the epoch of world revolution. The many years of struggle by the vanguard of the proletarian youth, has been given a sound foundation, and the struggle of the toiling youth for their demands have been linked up with the general struggle of the Communist International for the world revolution. In this sense the Programme of the Young Communist International is the programme of the revolutionary youth in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world.

The programme of the Young Communist International is a brilliant example of the combination of Communist theory and practice. The theoretical basis for it is drawn mainly from the following: Marx's statements concerning juvenile labour, the resolutions of the Stuttgart Inauguration Congress of the Youth International (1907), Liebknecht's speech at that Congress, on militarism and anti-militarism, the draft "Declaration of principles" of the Youth International (1916), Lenin's article of the same year concerning the youth, the Berlin programme of the Young Communist International (1919), Lenin's speech at the Third Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, and, of course, the Programme of the Communist International adopted by the Sixth World Congress. But the Young Communist International has not confined itself merely to the systematic arrangement of this theoretical heritage. It enriched this with a wealth of experience accumulated during the revolution, experience which the Young Socialist movement before the war could not have. Participation of the youth in an armed struggle, the direct struggle for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, the struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies, "underground" work, struggle against Fascism and

the White Terror, finally, Young Communist work under the proletarian dictatorship and participation in the building of Socialism—this colossal experience in revolutionary practice by the Young Communist movement, has been summarised in the programme of the Young Communist International.

Two main ideas run through the programme, an understanding of which gives the key to the Young Communist movements and its principles. The first is that of the role of the youth in contemporary society; the second is that of the role of the Young Communist Leagues in the class struggle, and in the revolutionary organisations arising from this struggle.

How do the bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy estimate the role of the youth? The bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic hangers-on, always speak of the youth in general, failing to see there is youth and youth; the youth of the ruling class living on the fruits of exploitation, and trained as future exploiters, and the exploited youth, which, from early years, is engaged in intensive and painful labour.

The bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats use honeyed phrases about the youth, as a means of deflecting them from the class struggle, to prevent the growth of their class spirit, and to make them obedient to exploitation.

The Young Communist International resolutely tears apart this network in which the toiling youth is being entangled. It is one of its chief duties to open the eyes of the youth to its true position in modern society. The programme therefore, contains a thorough analysis of the economic and political position of the various sections of the youth, their role in industry, in social life, and in the class struggle. It shows that the young workers constitute an important part of the working class; their struggle, which is a vital part of the class struggle, is the chief means of their class education, as leaders of all other sections of the oppressed and exploited youth.

The Young Communist International does not appeal to the youth with the hypocritical phrases so lavishly used by the bourgeoisie as a means of concealing its class interests. The revolutionary youth need not do this.

The future belongs to the youth. To whom else can it belong? The question is to which—the exploited or exploiting youth? The programme of the Young Communist International reveals to the exploited youth its position in the class

struggle, and thoroughly exposes the hypocrisy of the bourgeois, Social-Democratic, and similar theories taught to the youth.

The explanation of the class position of the youth in modern society, is the chief point in the programme. On this basis the programme defines the role and objects of the Young Communist League.

That there is a fundamental difference between us and our opponents in the conception of youth organisations, is clear from the difference in attitude towards the youth in general life. Our opponents understand very well the role of the Young Communist League, and fight against it with all the means at their disposal. In our own ranks, however, there has been considerable changes in our conception of the role of the League. This is clear when we recall the formulation of the role of the League, as contained in the Berlin Programme of the Young Communist International (1919). In that programme, the role ascribed to the youth is that of being the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, and the relations between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party were characterised as that of two equal independent and amicable organisations. In point 4 of the Berlin programme we read: "The working youth is the most active and revolutionary section of the proletariat." From this the conclusion is drawn in point 5 that, "The organisational relationship with the party is determined by two main principles; (1) independence of the youth, and (2) close contact and mutual aid."

The relations between the Communist International and the Young Communist International were defined in point 14 as follows: "The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International is organisationally connected with the Third International, and works in close harmony with it." Again, there is nothing of leadership and subordination, but merely organisational contact and co-operation.

These principles of the Berlin Programme, fully expressed the actual state of affairs in the Communist movement of that time. The Young Communist organisations in many, if not in most countries, really played the role of a vanguard, the role of pioneers in the Communist movement. They organised the Communist Parties, and from their ranks came the first Communist groups. Such a state of affairs could not but affect the ideas and general position of the Young Communist movement of the period.

But can the position taken in the Berlin Programme, on the question of the role of the proletarian youth, and its organisation be considered normal and in harmony with the fundamental principles and objects of the Communist movement.? That position was historically inevitable, at the period when the revolutionary youth organisations in a number of countries were being formed in a fierce struggle against the old opportunist parties, and when they had to lay the foundations of the Communist movement. But now that the movement has developed all over the world, now that it has matured, and given rise to Communist parties, the true leaders of the revolutionary struggle; the relations between the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties, and consequently the role and position of the Young Communist League in the system of revolutionary organisations, could not but go through a thorough revision.

The Second Congress of the Young Communist International, adopted, after a long struggle at the congress, which was later carried on in the Leagues, the principle of the political subordination of Young Communist Leagues to the Communist Parties. At that time (1921) such a decision appeared to be absolutely necessary, although, it met with great resistance from the then leaders of the Young Communist organisations, who were still completely swayed by their "vanguard" ideology. But practice has shown that the formulation of the Second Congress was inadequate. Actually the relations between the Young Communist Leagues and Communist Parties became much closer than the formula of "political subordination" implied, the Communist Parties generally became the leaders of the young Communist Leagues.

What, after all, does "political subordination" imply? Is it not clear to us Communists, that, strictly speaking, policy cannot be divorced from organisation, nor organisation from policy? Does not political leadership also include guidance of the general activity of the organisation? In fact, that is exactly what has happened. The Communist Parties lead the Young Communist League in all their work, this leadership takes two forms; observation on the part of the party committees, as to the work of the corresponding Young Communist organisations (reciprocal representation, reports on league work to the party, etc.); Communists working in Young Communist Leagues. Such are the relations between

the Communist Parties, and the Young Communist Leagues, as laid down in the new programme of the Young Communist International.

The responsibility of the Party for the leadership of the Young Communist League does not interfere with the organisational independence of the leagues. They have their own autonomous organisations, elected bodies, wide democracy, and their own internal questions. This is absolutely essential for a maximum development of initiative and Communist training of the League members.

The relations of the Young Communist Leagues to the Communist Parties, are bound up with the position of the Leagues in the revolutionary movement. This question is settled in the programme in full harmony with the estimate it gives of the role of the youth in modern society. Without denying the valuable qualities of the proletarian youth, we recognise that the leadership must be in the hands of the Communist Parties, i.e. it must belong to the older generation of revolutionaries. We must realise that we must learn the business of revolution in the daily struggle for our common aims, under the leadership of this older generation. There can be no antagonism between the Communist generations. We have no problem of "youth" and "age", such as have all those imbued with bourgeois ideology.

The question as to the role of the young Communist League is not exhausted by solving their relations with the Communist Party, although it is largely determined by it. There is also the problem of the relations between the Young communists and the mass of young workers, as well as with all other sections of the toiling youth.

The Programme establishes that the Young Communist League is a "School of Communism", i.e. a mass political organisation of the urban and rural proletarian youth. In analysing this formula, the programme states:—

(a) It is essential that the youth participate in "politics", i.e. the class struggle, for this is one of the main features of their Communist training. Hence, the League, in fulfilling its task as a "School of Communism" for the masses of youth, is a militant political organisation, and the vanguard of the toiling youth, (and not of all toilers as was held formerly).

(b) The Young Communist League, as a proletarian organisation, secures for the young workers a leading role in its ranks, and at the same time (to a wider extent than

the Communist Party, as the Young Communist league is an educational organisation) seeks to include all the other sections of the toiling youth. The programme gives a detailed explanation of the attitude of the Young Communist League, in varying circumstances, to the various sections of the youth.

(c) As the vanguard of the young workers the League first of all includes all their advanced revolutionary elements, but is not confined to these. It must aim at drawing into its ranks the broad masses of the toiling youth, so as to be able to fulfil its task of an educational organisation. Hence the relations between the Y.C.L. and the mass of young toilers cannot be merely relations between a narrow vanguard, an "organisation of the select," and the broad masses. The masses must themselves be in the Y.C.L., and receive their Communist education under the leadership of the more advanced elements, particularly under the leadership of Party members working in the League.

(d) The fact that the Y.C.L. is a mass organisation does not mean there is no need for other mass organisations of young workers (trade union, educational, military, etc.). Such organisations are necessary.

In the class struggle they play a subordinate role to the Young Communist Leagues, giving them wider scope in their contact with the young workers, than is possible through the League direct. The Y.C.L. must seek to lead these organisations, and to draw their members into its own ranks.

(e) In the present period the struggle of the young workers, and the toiling youth in general, must have a uniform international leadership, united on an international scale. The Young Communist Leagues therefore are organised in one world League—the Young Communist International. Hence the programme of the Y.C.I., which is simultaneously the programme of each of its national sections, is of an international character. This programme, for the first time in the history of the proletarian youth movement, has compiled all their experience, and given an outline of work for the Young Communist Leagues under the most varied circumstances—in the capitalist countries, colonies, semi-colonies and countries where the proletariat is already in power.

Such are the constituent parts of the Y.C.I. statement concerning the functions of the Y.C.L. That is how the program of the Y.C.I. defines the role of the Young Communists, and youth in general, in the present period. Briefly it can be sum-

marised as follows : There is no uniform "youth"—the youth is divided into classes, just as the whole of modern society. The task of the Young Communist League, is to draw the young workers into the struggle for the world revolution, and, under their leadership, to attract all other sections of the young toilers, training them, in the course of the struggle, in the Communist spirit. The Communist Parties guide the work of the Y.C.L., and the Comintern leads the Y.C.I., which is an international Young Communist League.

Such are the fundamental ideas of our programme concerning the role and objects of the Young Communist Leagues. To understand and assimilate them, means to understand the essence of our movement and to have the key to an understanding of all its problems. All other problems of the programme, (of course we do not mean the general problems laid down in the spirit of the programme of the Comintern which constitute the basis of the whole programme), are of secondary importance. Their solution follows directly from the fundamental position given in the programme of the Y.C.I. concerning the two main problems—the problem of the role of the youth and the role of the Young Communist League.

On first sight it may seem that the Programme is too bulky. As a matter of fact, it is so extensive that one cannot deal with it in "one sweep". But anyone who reads the Programme must admit that it does not contain a single point which might have been omitted without injury to the whole. The presentation is scanty, it states in concentrated form what must be said in a basic document of the International Communist youth movement. If, the Programme is, with all that, still so voluminous, this is due to the enormous growth of our movement which now extends all over the world, and takes an active part in the general struggle of the international proletariat.

The original text of the Programme was written in German. In the translation, as well as in the composition of the original text, we endeavoured first of all to preserve absolute accuracy of formulation, which is necessary in such an important document. At the same time, in as much as it is a youth programme, it was necessary to endeavour to present it in the most popular form. If, however, some points are formulated in heavy style, that is due to the difficulty of solution of this two-fold task.

The programme of the Y.C.I. is from beginning to end harmoniously welded together by the consistency of thought and revolutionary will. It cannot be studied in parts. No particular part can be understood apart from the Programme as a whole. If, therefore, anyone asks the question as to what should be studied in the Programme, there can only be one answer, and that is, the Programme must be studied in its entirety, so as to have a correct understanding of the essence of the Young Communist Movement. But in as much a study of the Programme calls for attentive and diligent work, and since this study will constitute a considerable part of the political education in all Young Communist organisations, suggestions should be given as to how to study the Programme. It is not so much a question of the method of instruction, on this point our organisations have sufficient experience. It is chiefly a question of pointing out the main points in the Programme, of finding the fundamental ideas in it, and of understanding the inter-connection of its various parts.

A whole series of books would be required, in order to elaborate every aspect of the Programme. Steps must be taken immediately to solve this problem. A considerable part of the work will, of course, fall to the lot of the E.C. Y.C.I. But extensive theoretical work will have to be done in each League, in order to "assimilate" the Programme.

It is the duty of every Young Communist to study and assimilate the Programme of the Y.C.I., and learn to wield this sharp and splendid weapon in his Communist activity among the masses of young workers.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, May, 1929.

The Programme of the Young Communist International

*(Adopted by the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I.
and confirmed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on
March 13th, 1929)*

CAPITALISM has drawn a large proportion of the children and youth of the working class into the process of production, subjecting them to relentless exploitation. Of all the sections of the working class, the young workers under capitalism are subjected to the greatest exploitation. Capitalism, in its imperialist stage of development, has increased the pressure upon the young workers; but it has also created the conditions for the development of the fighting spirit and proletarian class-consciousness of the young workers, and demonstrated the need for unity.

The first proletarian youth leagues which were formed at the time of the birth of imperialism towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, were organised under the slogans of the struggle against militarism, the championship of the economic interests of the working youth and the socialist education of their membership. Reformism, as its influence grew in the labour movement, also tried to influence the proletarian youth, its policy being to keep the youth away from all struggles and to transform their organisations into purely cultural organisations. It was difficult, however, to restrain the revolutionary energy of the youth, and already before the world war, the socialist youth organisations constituted a support of the revolutionary left-wing in the labour movement.

The fight against capitalism creates the necessity for international activity and organisation on the part of the working class, regardless of State boundaries. Soon the revolutionary proletarian youth, too, realised that its struggle could not be successful unless conducted on an international scale. In spite of the resistance of the reformist elements of the social-democracy, it formed its Youth International, under the guidance of one of the best champions of the international proletariat—Karl Liebknecht.

In 1907 the proletarian youth leagues allied themselves in the "International Association of Socialist Youth Organisations." At its inaugural congress at Stuttgart, the principles of the proletarian youth movement were laid down in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism. During the pre-war period the International Association of Socialist Youth Organisations performed great service to the socialist movement in winning and training the young workers for socialist struggle, and especially in combatting militarism.

The imperialist world war, and the epoch of world revolution which followed in its wake, had a tremendous effect upon the youth, in town and village. Millions of youth slaves in the colonies were roused from their deep slumber and drawn into the revolutionary fighting front. The young workers who, in the flames of war and world revolution, had been drawn into the political struggle, rallied to the banner of Communism.

While in the imperialist war of 1914-18 practically all the social-democratic parties went over to the side of the bourgeoisie, most of the proletarian youth organisations and the Youth International remained true to the principles of the revolutionary class struggle. The banner of revolution, disgraced and betrayed by the parties of the Second International, was held aloft again by the proletarian youth, jointly with the Bolsheviks. Even where the official leadership of the youth leagues followed the treacherous social-democracy, powerful opposition groups were formed. In the purifying flames of the imperialist war, the proletarian youth movement freed itself more and more from early weaknesses and fought its way towards a truly Bolshevik position. Since the working class in most countries had no revolutionary party, the youth organisations conducted an independent political struggle against the imperialist war, against the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents, thus to a large extent preparing the ground for the formation of revolutionary proletarian parties.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and the formation of the Soviet Union gave a tremendous impulse to the revolutionary youth movement all over the world.

The Youth International, which held high the banner of revolution during the war, was one of the first to affiliate to the Communist International. It became the Young Communist International, and millions of young workers in the

capitalist countries, in the Soviet Union, and in the colonies, are fighting to-day under its banner and for its slogans.

The Y.C.I. is the true heir of the Youth International founded at Stuttgart. It owes its existence to the tens of thousands of young proletarian militants in all countries who fought for revolution amidst the horrors of the world war, and who by persistent work built up the Youth International in defiance of all traitors. The Y.C.I. embodies the heroic struggle of the young fighters who sacrificed life and liberty in the battles of the revolution, in the struggle against militarism and white terror, in serving the great cause of their class. The Y.C.I. organises and leads the struggle of the working and poor peasant youth of all countries, and the toiling youth in the colonies, against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. Under the banner of proletarian internationalism, the Y.C.I., as a real world organisation of the working youth, works and fights in the ranks of the Communist International. Its great task is to win the youth for the Communist International. For the movement which has the young workers behind it is indestructible, to it belongs the future and victory.

In its programme the Y.C.I. expounds its views, principles and aims.

The Y.C.I. is a section of the Communist International working upon the basis of the programme and the statutes of the C.I. On this basis the Y.C.I. has drawn up its own programme, which lays down its own specific tasks within the struggle of the C.I. for Communism.

The Epoch of Imperialism, Wars and World Revolution.

Capitalism, which, at the present time oppresses the overwhelming majority of mankind, arose on the basis of private ownership and the developing production of commodities. Capitalist society is characterised by the fact that in it the capitalist class and the big landowners have the monopoly of the most important and decisive means of production, and that they exploit the class of wage workers (proletarians), who are deprived of all means of production and are compelled therefore to sell their labour power. Production for profit, and competition between the capitalists lead to anarchy and a lack of system in production. Capitalist society, like any other society which rests on private ownership and exploitation, is divided into classes, of which two, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are the fundamental ones.

A continuous struggle goes on between them as a result of their irreconcilable differences. The exploitation and economic domination exercised by the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie) finds political expression in the bourgeois State. The bourgeois State, however varied its forms may be (monarchy, republic), is an organ of violence of the ruling capitalist class for maintaining its power of exploitation and for suppressing the workers and toilers, who strive to liberate themselves.

The development of capitalism has brought about an ever-increasing concentration and centralisation of capital, and the formation of huge capitalist alliances (cartels, syndicates, trusts) which monopolise whole industries and branches of production. Industrial capital fuses with bank capital into financial capital, which becomes the ruling form of capitalist economy. Thus, beginning with the twentieth century, the epoch of the domination of industrial capital of which "free competition" was the predominant feature, is converted into the last stage of capitalism, imperialism, characterised by the monopolistic power of financial capital. Instead of the export of goods, which was one of the dominant features of industrial capitalism, under imperialism the export of capital is the dominant feature, and this is closely connected with the intensified struggle between various capitalist groups for sources of cheap raw materials, markets of sale, and spheres for the investment of capital. Already during the pre-imperialist stage of development, the capitalist States had both politically and economically divided the greater part of the earth into colonies, semi-colonies, and spheres of influence. In the imperialist stage of development, this division of the world causes struggles to arise for a new division.

The different national capitalist groups use their State power in a bitter fight for a new division and subjugation of the world, for colonies, for markets, for spheres of capital investments, for sources of raw materials and fuel. This continuous struggle inevitably leads to armed conflicts and imperialist wars, which develop into world wars.

Under imperialism the capitalist system reaches its highest stage of development. Imperialism tremendously increases the productive forces of world economy and thereby brings the whole world within its influence. But at the same time imperialism shows features of parasitic decline, of the rot and decay of capitalism; imperialism greatly sharpens the

inner contradictions and conflicts of capitalism and thus leads unavoidably to the downfall of the whole capitalist system.

Finance capital, which is continually acquiring new monopolies in all spheres, restricts and retards for this very reason, the higher development of the productive forces within the framework of capitalist society. Power is entirely in the hands of a few financial magnates who live like parasites on the body of society. Imperialism accentuates to the highest degree, the contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited, between the imperialist States and the colonies, and divides mankind into oppressor and oppressed nations. All of these conflicts and contradictions lead to world revolution. Imperialism produces such a highly developed concentration of the means of production, such a socialisation of labour, such a growth of the working class and its organisations, such a revolutionary spirit among wide sections of exploited, that it creates thereby all prerequisites for the victory of socialism.

This fundamental revolutionary tendency, however, is partly checked through the corruption of some portions of the proletariat by the imperialist bourgeoisie and, in colonial and semi-colonial countries through the treachery of the native bourgeoisie who fear the revolutionary movements of the masses. The supremacy of the bourgeoisie of the great imperialist powers and their exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies yields them extra ("super") profits, which they utilise to increase the wages of a section of "their" workers, in order to interest the latter in the development of capitalism in the "fatherland," the plundering of the colonies, and in order to draw them on to the side of the imperialist State. Thus imperialism creates within the working class a section having better conditions of life, and a conservative outlook—the labour aristocracy. The labour aristocracy and the bureaucratic officialdom (trade union leaders etc.) which are coming closer and closer to the capitalist State organisations, form the economic basis of reformism in the working class movement, i.e., of social-democracy. Social-democracy is thus bound up with imperialism and has proven to be a direct agency of the bourgeoisie in the working class and a most valuable support of the capitalist order.

However, the sharpening of imperialist contradictions, the worsening of the situation of the broad working masses, the enormous costs and burdens of military conflicts, the destruction of the dominating position of certain powers in

the world market, the loss of colonies etc., serve to undermine the basis of reformism amongst the masses.

Imperialism is decaying, dying, capitalism. It is the last stage of capitalist development. It is the threshold of the socialist world revolution.

Capitalism is characterised by the uneven economic and political development of individual countries and territories. Imperialism intensifies this inequality of development. Therefore, the world revolution is not a single, simultaneous event. The world revolution embraces a whole epoch in the history of mankind, which is full of tremendous social struggles, wars, and revolutions. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible at first only in a few countries, and even in a single country, as a stage towards the victory of socialism throughout the world.

The first imperialist war of 1914-18 exacted a toll of many millions killed and wounded, undermined and ruined finances, industry and transport, and inflicted starvation and misery upon the masses of the workers. It shook the whole capitalist system and was the beginning of a state of crisis and decline which is pregnant with terrible new wars and which will end in the overthrow of the capitalist system throughout the world and in the victory of the world revolution.

The world revolution commenced with the victorious October insurrection of the Russian proletariat. The working class won power and established the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics across a tremendous area in Europe and Asia, covering one-sixth of the earth's surface. In the U.S.S.R., the socialist commonwealth is being erected. The U.S.S.R. has become the backbone of the international working class which now has the support of an organised State. Its living example has a revolutionary effect on the toiling masses, its very existence indicates the mortal sickness of imperialism.

Within the framework of world economy there now exists two irreconcilable social systems: the system of imperialism and the system of Socialism. The imperialist powers armed to the teeth, torn by internal class struggle and external differences, are forging a common front against the U.S.S.R., the first proletarian State, around which gather the revolutionary forces of the whole world. Imperialism is striving to destroy the U.S.S.R. by means of a new economic blockade, counter-revolutionary plots, intervention and war. But by

this, imperialism is digging for itself a grave, into which the revolutionary masses of the world will fling it.

The Russian revolution was followed by the revolution in Finland and by a wave of revolutions in central Europe, first of all in Germany, Austria and Hungary. Outside of the Soviet Union the first wave of revolution in 1918-1921 ended in a defeat of the proletariat owing to the treachery of the social-democracy and the absence of strong and tried Communist Parties. But the international working class emerged from it with enormous achievements: the Soviet Union, the Communist International.

By fierce political and social reaction, and economic measures which oppressively burdened the masses, the capitalist class succeeded in most countries, after the first big revolutionary wave of the post-war period, in effecting a partial and temporary stabilisation of capitalism. But in the conditions of this stabilisation arose gigantic new contradictions, such as were unknown prior to the first world war. The working class and the toiling masses endeavour by renewed powerful struggles not only to repulse the capitalist offensive, but also to pass over to the counter-offensive.

Germany, which has once more become an imperialist power, is an arena of renewed class struggles on a large scale. The General Strike and miners' lock-out of 1926 showed the profound crisis of British capitalism. The revolt of the working class of Vienna in July, 1927, showed the revolutionary processes at work among the masses of the European workers. All the capitalist countries are stirred by powerful strikes and social struggles of unparalleled intensity. The oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies have risen in their millions in the fight for emancipation from national and social oppression. The revolution has broken out in China, threatening the very stronghold of the imperialist powers. Syria, Morocco, Indonesia have raised the banner of the rebellion. In Central and South America, from Mexico to Argentine, there is a growing atmosphere of revolt.

The capitalist class, seeing its position in jeopardy, applies ever more violent methods of direct dictatorship. "Democratic" rights are either abolished or mutilated, parliamentarism falls into ruins, the role of the executive power in the State increases, and the whole apparatus of power is strengthened by the establishment of new organs of violence. The development of this bourgeois-imperialist

reaction, assumes under specific conditions the features of Fascism. Fascism uses methods of social demagoguery, and utilises the discontent of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, as well as of the different declassed sections of the proletariat, in order to crush the revolutionary Labour movement. It is the latest form of the terroristic dictatorship of big capital. In certain cases the bourgeoisie masks the application of Fascist methods by forming coalitions with social-democracy, the object of which is to paralyse the militancy of the workers and to assist the bourgeoisie in its efforts to throttle the workers.

Nevertheless every step taken by capitalism towards the restoration of its power is purchased at the price of increased exploitation of the workers, thus leading to a further intensification of class antagonisms, which undermine the foundations of capitalism. At the same time every change in the relation of forces between capitalist countries leads to imperialist rivalry among them which harbours the menace of new imperialist wars, and consequently of new disturbances to the whole capitalist system. The sharpening of imperialist pressure gives a tremendous impetus to the national emancipation movements and revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism. Imperialism has landed mankind in a blind alley, from which only the proletarian world revolution can free it. The overthrow of capitalism has thus become the direct fighting aim of the international working class. It can be achieved only by means of violent revolution.

The gradual, step-by-step democratic development from capitalism to socialism of which the social-democrats talk so much, is contrary to the fundamental facts and laws of social development, and is but a fraud behind which they conceal their shameless co-operation with the bourgeoisie in the maintenance and strengthening of the capitalist system.

The proletarian world revolution consists of a series of varied processes: purely proletarian revolutions, bourgeois democratic revolutions which grow into proletarian revolutions, national-liberation wars and colonial revolutions. All those kind of revolutions lead in their totality to the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The social revolution can only take place in an epoch which combines civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries with a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary

movements, including national-liberation movements, among the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations."—*Lenin*.

The working class cannot free itself without destroying the whole capitalist system and thereby liberating all oppressed and exploited toilers. Therefore, it remains a revolutionary class to the end.

The working class must lead the workers of the town and village in the fight against capitalism, it must ally with itself the poor peasants and the oppressed toiling masses in the colonies in order to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, establish the proletarian dictatorship (Soviet rule) expropriate the big landed estates, the banks, transport and industries and put them in the possession of the State (proletarian nationalisation). The proletariat uses its dictatorship to break down ruthlessly the resistance of the exploiting classes and to establish proletarian democracy by means of workers' councils (Soviets). Upon this firm political and social foundation, the working class in alliance with the toiling peasant masses will build socialism, and will enable mankind to attain a Communist order of society.

The working class can reach this goal only under the leadership of the Communist Party in which are organised the most advanced, courageous, conscious and tried elements, and which represents the interests and aims of the working class as a whole.

The existence of a Communist Party in every country is the prerequisite of successful struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

The material prerequisites for the victory of the world revolution already exist. This victory depends on the fighting will and power of the working class and the oppressed and toiling masses in alliance with it. It is therefore essential to free the working class of all reformist illusions, to destroy the influence of the social-democracy and to rally the toiling masses for struggle under the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Parties. The fundamental condition for the conquest of power is to win the majority of the working class for the principles and aims of Communism. The strategy and tactics of the Communist International show the proletariat the way to victory.

The Young Workers Under Imperialism

The class character of capitalist society is clearly expressed in the present situation and social position of the youth. Class divisions find full expression among the youth too. The youth of the oppressed class and the youth of the ruling class have no more in common than the exploited class and the exploiting. While the youth of the ruling class occupy the position of privileged idlers, enjoying all the advantages and privileges of a careful upbringing and education, and all the benefits of culture, science and art, while they prepare themselves for the role of an exploiting and ruling class, the young workers of town and country in the capitalist countries and colonies share the bitter fate of the adult workers. They are the objects of the most ruthless exploitation. The small expenditure of the bourgeois State in the education of the young workers serves only to prepare them for their future exploitation as wage slaves of capitalism, as mere accessories to the machines to which they are condemned for life.

If the economic situation of the adult workers is exceptionally difficult under capitalism, the situation of the working youth is absolutely unbearable.

From early childhood the sons and daughters of working class families are the objects of capitalist exploitation. *With the exception of the Soviet Union child labour in the most gruesome forms is still widely spread.*

The apprentice of olden times who had the expectation of himself becoming a master-workman, is gone beyond recall. Apprenticeship to-day is only a pretext for intensified exploitation of the youth, and is in process of disappearance in the capitalist countries. Owing to the development of industrial technique it has become possible for the capitalists to enrol masses of children and adolescents as unskilled workers in the productive process. It is particularly difficult for girls to learn a trade. The capitalists utilise the existing bourgeois reactionary prejudices concerning female labour in order to keep women from learning trades and in order to intensify their exploitation. Even in those cases where girls do have a chance to learn a trade their apprenticeship term is longer and their pay is lower than that of boys. Only a small upper strata of the proletarian youth is receiving vocational training from the capitalists so that subsequently they can become operators, foremen, and highly skilled technical workers.

But the vocational training of even this narrow strata which, moreover, is continually shrinking as capitalism itself develops—although this training provides for very high qualifications in some cases—takes place at the expense of the wide mass of workers. There is no labour aristocracy, in the true sense of the word, among the working youth.

Child and youth labour-power is cheaper than adult labour-power. But as a rule this by no means signifies a lower productivity of labour than in the case of adults. Owing to modern methods of production, there is, in many industries, no difference between youth and adult labour. In most cases where young workers are doing the same work as adults, they receive considerably lower wages; or else, the young workers are forced to work, on various pretexts, without being paid (under the cloak of apprenticeship, side-jobs, etc.). Even where the productivity of labour of the young workers is less than that of the adults, capitalists draw relatively more surplus-value from youth labour, owing to the very low wages paid to young workers. The capitalists take advantage of the lack of organisation and the small resistant power of the children and youth, as well as of backward craft conceptions among the workers themselves, in order to lower the price of the labour-power of the youth. Because of their physical weakness and their need for training and education the youth should enjoy specially favourable working conditions. But capitalism does just the opposite: precisely because the youth is undeveloped and weaker, the young workers are even more exploited. Long hours which, because of side-jobs, school-time, and apprenticeship, generally exceed those of the adults, lower wages, night work and jobs in unhealthy factories, utterly inadequate protection against accidents, complete neglect of the vocational training of the mass of young workers, harsh treatment by employers and foremen, mass unemployment and in most cases no maintenance—such is the sad fate of the young workers under capitalism.

One of the biggest obstacles in the struggle for higher wages and better labour conditions is the craft outlook of many adult workers *which the reformist trade union leaders foster by all possible means*. They often look upon young workers merely as competitors, and are indifferent to their position. Capitalism makes clever use of craft differences in order to cause division and strife between young and adult workers; on the one hand, to keep down the wages of the working youth and mercilessly worsen their conditions of

labour; on the other hand, to bring pressure to bear on the wages and living standards of the adult workers through cheap youth labour.

Working conditions for the youth are particularly bad in small industry and in handicraft, which seek salvation from the competition of big industry by relentless exploitation of the apprentices, and in which the "apprenticeship system"—still widely existent—serves therefore as a cloak for exploitation. This applies particularly to backward countries and colonies. The apprentices in handicraft and in the small workshops are submitted to the arbitrary rule of the employer or foreman.

For capitalism, girls are objects of a particularly brutal and despicable exploitation, and their situation is even worse than that of the boys. A number of industries and branches of production employ almost exclusively female labour, mostly girls (textile industry, as domestic servants etc.) with long working hours and miserable wages, which are even lower than those of boys. The employment of girls is increasing, not excepting industries injurious to their health. Working girls are placed in particularly shameful dependence upon their employers and foremen. Owing to these unbearable economic conditions, thousands of girls from the ranks of the working class and peasantry are driven to prostitution.

During the world war and the period following, the misery of the working youth was considerably intensified. Large masses of adolescents were sent to the front as cannon-fodder, and to replace them and the adult workers, new armies of children and youths (boys and girls) were drawn into war industries. Deprived of any training they suffered there the greatest exploitation, which disregarded even the few existing meagre protective laws. Although after the world war the revolutionary struggle of the working class forced the bourgeoisie to grant a few measures and social laws for the protection of the young workers, they were either not adhered to or subsequently wiped out. In its efforts to overcome the crisis, to bring about stabilisation and to shift all the costs of the destruction caused by the world war on to the shoulders of the working class, the bourgeoisie is sharpening the exploitation of the workers and particularly of the youth, seeking by countless attacks to depress their conditions and their standard of living to a level, long unknown.

Capitalist rationalisation with its most harmful effects (wage cuts, mass unemployment, lengthening of hours, worsening of social legislation, monstrous increase in labour intensity), hits the young workers in a particularly hard fashion. A special consequence of rationalisation for the youth, is the increasing diminution of apprenticeship in industry, since it aims at the still greater replacement of skilled workers by unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Simultaneously it increases the part played by the working youth in the whole process of production. There is a tremendous difference between the youth who is working at a conveyor and the apprentice of bygone days. The young worker now plays a much more important role, and is, more than hitherto, an indispensable part of the process of production. This however in no way contradicts the fact that there is chronic mass unemployment among the youth, especially among the youth leaving school who from the very beginning can find no place in the process of production and become declassed.

The rural working youth in the capitalist countries also suffers terrible exploitation. Child labour is common in rural districts. Not only are the poor peasants compelled by their bad economic position to depend on the help of their children, but child labour is also as widespread as hired labour. The working and living conditions of young agricultural labourers are, generally speaking, much worse than those of the youth employed in industry. The youth of the village labourers and poor peasantry are condemned to arduous toil without proper education and are frequently compelled to seek employment in the towns. But since continuous mass unemployment prevails in the present epoch of capitalist decline, they swell in most cases the ranks of the unemployed or are compelled either to emigrate or join the army.

Militarism, which serves the purpose of imperialist wars, and in the suppression of the toiling masses at home and in the colonies, recruits its soldiers primarily from amongst the working and peasant youth. Militarism aims at making the young workers into suitable cannon-fodder for imperialist wars, and in many countries it already catches the youth during school age by special military training. The capitalist barracks seek to turn the young workers into automatons who will go blindly against their class brothers at home and abroad. The blood of the working youth drenches the battlefields of imperialist wars.

The position of the working youth in colonies and semi-colonies is even worse than in the capitalist countries. The youth proletariat there suffers from the double pressure of intense foreign and native exploitation, which still frequently assumes feudal and patriarchal forms. The predominance of domestic industries and small trade, which carry on a difficult struggle for existence, brings with it ruthless exploitation such as is unknown to the working youth of Europe and North America. Child labour is general. Together with the growth of industry (above all light industry) in the colonies, ever growing numbers of children and youngsters are mercilessly drawn into the process of production. Children from the ages of 4 and 5 slave from 15 to 18 hours a day at the looms in stuffy factories, and produce surplus value for the big bankers in London, New York and Paris. Wages are ridiculously small. Corporal punishment of children and young workers by foremen and employers is widely resorted to.

The lot of the working rural youth in the colonies and semi-colonies is terribly hard. Imperialism brings about an ever-growing impoverishment of the rural population, and converts the mass of the poor landless peasantry and peasant youth into beggars who eke out a miserable existence, many of them taking refuge in mercenary armies or bandit gangs. Labour conditions of agricultural labourers on big estates and plantations differ little from conditions of slavery.

While capitalism demands such terrific sacrifices of work and blood from the young workers, it yet refuses them even the most elementary political rights. The high minimum age limit for election suffrage robs the young workers of active and passive suffrage in bourgeois democratic bodies. The young workers are not allowed representation in the factory committees, where the latter exist legally. Apprentices particularly in handicraft workshops are entirely dependent upon their employers. In many countries there still exist reactionary interdicts prohibiting the trade union organisation of young workers under a certain age, the participation of apprentices in strikes, membership of political organisations, participation in political meetings, demonstrations etc. In many countries there are special laws prohibiting the Communist youth and children's movement. But even without special laws, the Y.C.L. in many countries is kept in a state of semi-illegality by continuous persecution. The so-called "obscenity laws for the protection of the youth"

provide capitalist authorities with rich opportunities for persecuting the revolutionary press and youth organisations. Employers brutally persecute the active elements amongst the young workers in the factories. The organs of oppression of the capitalist State with their class justice wage relentless war against the revolutionary working youth. As class differences become more acute, the reactionary offensive against the working youth and its organisations is strengthened. Fascism and white terror wage a campaign of extermination against all non-Fascist organisations in order to destroy them. Class conscious proletarian soldiers and sailors in the imperialist armies are subjected to the worst persecution. The working youth make countless sacrifices in the struggle for the most elementary and fundamental rights and demands.

Closely bound up with the economic subjection of the working youth are the efforts of the bourgeoisie to dominate the youth intellectually. The bourgeoisie conducts a systematic struggle for the mental subjugation of the working youth. The bourgeois school gives the young workers knowledge only to the extent and of the kind that makes them capable and submissive slaves of capitalism—in the factory, in the office, in the army, and in political life. The elementary schools and the vocational training schools serve this aim. Admission to intermediate and higher schools is in general open only to the children of the bourgeoisie and sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. These schools, according to their aims and curriculum, are institutions for training the “officials,” commanders and officers of the bourgeois on the economic and political field. In the colonies and also in some backward capitalist countries there are no schools at all for proletarian children.

The training of the youth in a spirit of capitalist “loyalty” is fostered also by an extensive literature, by the bourgeois press, by religion and bourgeois art, trashy literature, films, places of amusement, etc. *Special bourgeois and reformist youth organisations, which make their appearance in the most varied forms* (educational, recreational, rambling, sport, military, political, religious, even free-thought organisations, factory sport clubs and Boy Scouts), serve to spread the ideological poison of the bourgeoisie among the toiling youth.

The crisis of capitalism which has greatly increased the exploitation and sufferings of the working youth, creates at the same time effective conditions for their inclusion into the

class struggle side by side with their adult brothers, and for their unification in the struggle for their special demands.

In this struggle, the young workers as part of the working class, and in accordance with their position in the process of production, play a similar role amongst the toiling youth as the working class among the toiling masses as a whole. The young workers are called upon to act as the leaders and to win over the other sections of the toiling youth, especially the poor peasant youth, and the toiling youth in the colonies, for the struggle against imperialism, to organise them and lead them to victory.

The Ultimate Aim of the Y.C.I.: World Communism

The ultimate aim of the C.I. and Y.C.I is world Communism. Under Communism private ownership is abolished and classes disappear. Their place is taken by a community of labour and by systematic social organisation of economy. The State dies out gradually, together with the classes. All oppression of man by man is abolished. Owing to the abolition of classes and the enormous development of productive forces under the Communist order, insecurity, division into rich and poor, poverty and destitution, disappear. All relics of national and racial inequality, as well as social inequality between the sexes, disappear. The false distinction between physical and mental labour is eliminated. General well-being reigns, culture flourishes and the Communist principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" is realised. A uniform social and democratic order embraces the whole world. Struggles between classes and peoples, wars, with their destruction of innumerable human lives and invaluable wealth, disappear forever. Mankind now directs all its forces to the struggle with nature, to the higher development and increase of systematic production, to science and culture. Mankind leaps from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom.

The young workers pursue this aim together with their adult class comrades. All their struggles and efforts are in the final analysis directed towards its realisation. World Communism ensures the youth, too, such a bright future that, compared with it, the present position of the working youth, exploited and oppressed by imperialism, will seem like a black shadow, or an incredible nightmare.

But already under socialism, i.e., at that stage of society to which proletarian dictatorship leads and which precedes complete Communism, the position of the youth undergoes a fundamental change. Socialism is the prelude to Communism. Under socialism productive forces are not yet developed sufficiently to allow the products of labour to be distributed according to individual needs. Distribution is still according to the work performed. Under socialism, in spite of the abolition of classes, there are still relics of class division, the bourgeois conception of right and wrong and of the proletarian class State; nor have the differences between the town and country entirely disappeared. But these relics of the old society disappear as mankind emancipated from the fetters of capitalism, subjugates the forces of nature, educates itself in the Communist spirit, and proceeds from socialism to complete Communism.

The establishment of the socialist society demands and makes possible, a complete change in the conditions of youth labour. The socialist re-organisation of youth labour is the linking up of productive work with training and education, and the entire transformation of youth labour from the viewpoint and with the aim of training fully developed members of the socialist society. Because of this, socialism replaces wage labour for the youth by social maintenance.

This aim was pointed out to us by the great teachers of the proletariat, Marx and Lenin. Marx said:

"In the factory system we have the embryo of the education of the future which will combine productive work with tuition and gymnastics for all children over a certain age, not only as a method of increasing social production, but as the only method of bringing up fully developed human beings."

Lenin taught us:

"It is impossible to visualise the ideal future society without linking up for the young generation the process of production work and education. Neither training and education without productive work, nor productive work without education and training, can reach the level required by modern technical development and scientific knowledge."

Thus, the working youth which under capitalism was only an object of exploitation, acquires under socialism an entirely different social position and role. The socialist society

does its utmost to protect and care for the working youth. The physical weakness and intellectual immaturity of the youth, which under capitalism is an object of special exploitation, becomes in the socialist society an object of special protection. The simplification of the process of labour by machines, and the successes of science and technique, which, under capitalism are the source of so much misery for the young workers, become under the socialist organisation of production a means of perfecting the education of the youth and improving its standard of living.

The progressive simplification of the process of production makes it possible to change from time to time the work and training at individual machines and in individual industries, thereby providing children with a many-sided education and possibility of development. The fatal separation between physical and mental work disappears. Instead of being tied from year to year to dull and grinding repetition work, as under capitalism, man is now able to get a clear survey of the whole process of social production and to master it completely. From a mere appendix of the machine, the young worker becomes in this way its master and a free man.

After the seizure of power the working class takes the first fundamental steps towards the socialist re-organisation of youth labour, towards its adequate protection and socialist education. These fundamental measures are more and more developed. The overthrow of capitalist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat, open the road to the final emancipation of the working youth, to socialism and Communism.

The Necessity and the Role of the Young Communist League

The working class has a basic interest in rousing the class consciousness of the working youth, in drawing it into the class struggle and assuring itself of a constant accession of new and fresh forces, which will continue the struggle for the complete emancipation of the working class.

In particular, the Communist Party, the leader of the working class, needs a reserve, which would assure a new cadre of young forces for its ranks and which would serve as a preparatory school, training the young generation of workers for the Communist Party. Further, the Communist Party is in need of an organisation which would lead the toiling masses of the working youth in the struggle for Communism.

The general political and economic position of the working class, as well as the special situation of the young workers under capitalism, lead the latter to active participation in the class struggle of the proletariat, and in particular also demands that within the confines of the fulfilment of the general tasks of the proletarian struggle, they carry on a struggle for the transformation of the conditions of their own work and education. The physical and psychological peculiarities of the youth are such that they demand the establishment of special organisations, in which the youth can work and be trained, and which provide the youth with the fullest opportunity for developing their initiative and activity. All these circumstances make necessary the establishment of a Young Communist League in each country. Only the Young Communist League, in the present epoch of world revolution can be the class organisation of the working youth.

There are fundamental differences in the conceptions of the Communists on the one hand, and the social-democrats on the other, as to the role of the youth and the youth organisations in general. There are some unessential shadings between the bourgeoisie and the social-democracy, but the fundamental conception of both is the same. Social-democracy for the most part declares the role of the youth organisations to be "purely" educational or cultural. It is opposed to active participation of the youth in political struggles, i.e., in the class struggle. It declares that the youth is not capable of active participation in political struggle. Social-democracy has put class collaboration in place of the class struggle, and it seeks therefore to train the working youth too in the spirit of class peace.

Fascism and the Fascist organisations come out openly for anti-proletarian military training and the utilisation of their youth organisations as shock troops. But in so far as the bourgeois youth organisations are not of a purely militarist character and not openly fighting organisations, they allege that they reject the active participation of the youth in the political struggle. In reality this is merely a pretext. The basis of this "theory" and the features of these methods of "education," which are similar to the system prevalent in the bourgeois schools and educational system, consist in disguising the real nature of the class divisions and class rule in capitalist society, by work for the "whole nation," for the "fatherland" etc., i.e., for the bourgeoisie. The false, mendacious slogans of the bourgeois and social-democratic youth organisations stand in glaring contradiction to the actual

reality of class society and the class struggle, to the true role of these organisations as servants of the bourgeoisie.

The social-democracy does not want the young workers to acquaint themselves with the real conditions in class society and with the hard facts of the class struggle. It seeks to prevent them growing up into conscious class fighters and wishes to draw them completely in the wake of its class-collaboration policy. In conformity with this, the social-democracy indulges in chatter about the "youth" in general, without regard to class differences, in order to cloak the fact of its collaboration with bourgeois organisations. Hence the social-democrats set their youth organisations the utopian and petty-bourgeois task of creating "the new man" by means of cultural work within the youth organisations, to be undertaken in the conditions of the still existent capitalist society, i.e., divorced from all relationship to class society and to reality itself. Actually, however, these organisations carry on petty-bourgeois educational work of a quite definite political trend, the aim being to divert the youth from the class struggle and turn them into social-democrats, i.e., accomplices of the bourgeoisie.

The Young Communist League decisively repudiates the hypocritical slogan of the bourgeoisie and social-democracy to the effect that the youth must not interfere in politics. The energetic participation of the young workers, who are an important factor in social production, in the political struggle of their class, signifies a powerful increase of forces for the proletarian class struggle and is the main lever for the Communist training of the young workers.

The Y.C.L. is a political organisation. The Y.C.L. is an organisation that trains the toiling youth for the struggle. Our conception, the Marxist-Leninist conception, does not permit of any separation of theory from practice, it sees no contradiction between education and struggle.

The Basis of Communist Education is Struggle

The most general task of the Y.C.L. is "to study Communism" (Lenin). The Y.C.L. is the school of Communism for the toiling youth, but "the growing young generation can only learn Communism by linking up every step in its training and education with the incessant struggle of the proletariat and the toiling masses against the old exploiting society . . . At the basis of Communist morality lies the

struggle for the consolidation and the establishment of Communism. That is the underlying principle of Communist education, training and study. That is the answer to the question of how Communism should be studied." (Lenin.)

This struggle consists in the organised participation of the Y.C.L. in the general class struggle of the proletariat and the toilers, and, within the limits of this struggle, in the advocacy of and struggle for the special demands and interests of the working youth in all fields of its life and struggle, above all, against militarism and imperialist wars, and questions concerning the economic demands of the working youth.

The Y.C.L. opposes the idea of "youth syndicalism," which considers that an independent and isolated struggle of the working youth is possible. The Y.C.L. is a part of the Communist movement as a whole. The C.P. is the leader of the Communist movement and the entire working class; there cannot be no dual leadership, or the existence of two Communist Parties. The Y.C.L., while organisationally independent, works under the direction of the C.P. and the C.I., and recognises the programme and tactics of the C.I. and C.P. The Y.C.L. submits to instructions of the C.P. and of the C.I. as the supreme body in the world Communist movement. The nature of the Y.C.L. as a mass school of Communism for the working youth implies that not every member of the Y.C.L. is automatically a member of the C.P. The Y.C.L., however, bears the name Communist because, although it is not formally a Party organisation, it is nevertheless a Communist organisation.

From its very essence as an organisation of Communist education it follows that the Y.C.L. can by no means be a kind of "young Communist Party." Its educational tasks, and its essence as an educational organisation, determine the difference between its methods and tasks as compared with those of the Party, and give to the activity of the League a definite youthful character (one adapted to and understandable by the youth).

The Y.C.L. is not an organisation of the elite, it is a mass organisation. Its task is to organise within its ranks not only the advanced elements, but the broad masses of the toiling youth. Outside the limits of its membership the Y.C.L. must extend its leadership and influence over the youth by various means (agitation and propaganda, press,

campaigns, various auxiliary organisations, etc.). It must strive to gain the majority of the working youth, and the other decisive sections of the toiling youth. This is one of the essential conditions in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Still more clear becomes the mass character of the League under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship. Then the Y.C.L. has the task of organising into its ranks the whole working youth and the best sections of the toiling youth generally.

Under all conditions, as an organisation of Communist education and as a preparatory school for the Party, the Y.C.L. is a much broader organisation than the Communist Party. Under legal conditions its doors are open to every working boy and girl. The Y.C.L. should therefore strive to exceed the C.P. in numerical strength. As regards social composition too, the Y.C.L. recruits more broadly because as an educational organisation it can and must strive, more than the Party, to draw into its ranks semi-proletarian and other toiling elements in town and countryside.

Politically the Y.C.L. is an organisation of the working youth in town and countryside. Hence the Y.C.L. strives to give the working class elements the leading role in the League, and in countries where industry, and therefore the working class, is well developed to recruit the majority of its members from among the young workers. The proletarian majority of the Leagues should be secured in particular in the leading cadres (functionaries). Whilst maintaining the leading role of the proletarian element, the Y.C.L. strives to draw into its ranks the toiling youth of other social strata as well as the revolutionary section of the poor peasant youth. Further, the Y.C.L. admits into its ranks also certain elements of the proletarianised petty-bourgeois and middle peasantry, who, by their activity, show themselves devoted to the revolution. The Y.C.L. can accept members from the ranks of the middle peasantry on a wider scale, only under the dictatorship of the proletariat when the task with respect to the middle peasantry is not only to neutralise them but to form an alliance with them. Although the Y.C.L. accepts only tested elements from among the petty-bourgeois middle classes it must, nevertheless, carry out definite work among them, the students included, in order to obtain influence among them.

Although the Y.C.L. is a mass organisation, this does not eliminate the usefulness of non-Party mass organisations

of the working youth, and of the toiling youth in general, for special tasks. Precisely for the purpose of winning the masses and for the development of the Y.C.L. itself into a mass organisation, it is necessary, under certain conditions, to initiate such special subsidiary youth organisations, for special tasks and fields of work. These auxiliary organisations are a sort of "transmission belt" which link up the Y.C.L. more closely with the masses. They may be independent organisations or they may be formed in connection with, and within the limits of, the mass organisations of the working class as a whole (organisations of the type of the "Young Red Front," special forms of trade union organisation for the youth—youth commissions or youth sections; sports organisations; proletarian freethinkers' organisations; cultural organisations of various types; peasant youth organisations etc.). The formation of such special youth organisations, or of bodies in or alongside existing mass organisations of the workers as a whole (trade unions, sports organisations, Red Front Fighters etc.) must not lead to a separation of the youth from the adult workers. The auxiliary organisations do not limit the activity of the Y.C.L., as a mass organisation, as the leader of the whole toiling youth; the Y.C.L. strives for actual leadership over them (by fractions, agreements, collaboration etc.) and to draw young members of these organisations into the Y.C.L. the fundamental aim and purpose of work in such auxiliary organisations is to develop the Y.C.L. itself into the mass organisation of the entire toiling youth.

The concrete tasks of the Y.C.L. in the work of the Parties consist in tireless agitation for the fighting aims of the Communist International, in supporting the Communist Party in its daily work and struggles, in participation in all revolutionary activities of the proletariat, in discussion and explanation of current political events and of the immediate tasks of the proletariat, and in active participation in Party discussions. The Y.C.L. repudiates the theory of Y.C.L. "neutrality" in political struggle within the Party. This participation of the Y.C.L. in the whole life of the Party serves simultaneously the purpose of strengthening Party work and of training the members of the Y.C.L. for membership in the Party. Political activity must not be confined to the higher bodies of the Y.C.L., but must permeate the entire organisation.

There is no contradiction between the participation of

the Y.C.L. in Party life and the special tasks of the youth. On the contrary, the Y.C.L. conducts its struggle for the special demands, slogans and aims of the working youth as a part of the entire Communist struggle and as part of the general political activity. The Y.C.L. does not confine itself to putting forward general political questions before the masses of the working youth. It examines the effects of general political events upon the youth, and on this basis raises the concrete, political, economic and cultural questions and demands of the young workers and of the other sections of the toiling youth. By associating itself in a live way with the general political questions which affect the working masses and toilers as a whole, the Y.C.L. develops in this way "youth politics," a special struggle on youth questions. It devotes most of its attention to the fight against militarism and imperialist war, and for the economic demands of the youth.

The Y.C.L. fights relentlessly for the immediate partial demands of the working and poor peasant youth, of the soldiers and sailors, and of the toiling masses in the colonies, and closely connects its demands with the fight for the general political slogans of Communism and its final aims, thus utilising them in order to gather together the masses of the working youth, and organise them for the revolutionary struggle for Communist slogans.

The Y.C.L. fights together with the Communist Party against all special laws directed against apprentices, young workers and youth organisations of the toiling masses which limit the economic and political rights of the youth. The Y.C.L. fights for complete freedom of meeting and of the press, for full freedom for the working and peasant youth and for the soldiers and sailors to set up their own political and economic organisations. The Y.C.L. demands active and passive suffrage to parliament, district councils etc., for both sexes upon reaching the age of 18.

In the epoch of imperialism and world revolution, when a struggle is being conducted against the world system of imperialism and for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, an international organisation and leadership in the struggle of the working class is of decisive importance. For the working youth it is essential to join the international fighting front and to unite on an international scale their own forces and struggles within the frame of the proletarian class struggle. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues of all

countries unite in the Young Communist International, which is in itself a part of the world Communist Party, the Communist International.

Principles of Organisational Structure

The organisational structure of Communist youth organisations corresponds with their revolutionary role and tasks in the class struggle. The social-democratic organisations which, already in the pre-war period, gave up revolutionary methods of class struggle, created an organisational structure adapted to the reformist standpoint and particularly to parliamentary elections. This structure unites their members, therefore, according to their place of residence. This form of organisation does not ensure that the young workers in the organisation will play the leading role, and it is not adapted to the development and guidance of the revolutionary mass struggle. The fact that the structure of the social-democratic organisations is not based on centralism and firm discipline, and at the same time does not further the development of inner Party-democracy, is in accordance with the whole reformist conception of organisation. The Y.C.L. discards these obsolete forms, and is creating an organisation capable of rallying the widest masses of the toiling youth and of leading them in the struggle, as well as ensuring that the leading role in the League is played by the youth of the working class. Therefore, the basis of the Y.C.L. is the factory group which co-ordinates League members according to their place of employment, and corresponds to all requirements of a basic unit of the Leagues both as regards work among the masses and as regards inner-League work. Y.C.L. members who cannot be organised in factory groups because of the nature of their work, are organised in street groups. Street groups are also basic units of the League organisations, but the centre of gravity and the main role is played by the factory groups.

The organisation of the Young Communist League is based on the principles of democratic centralism. It combines maximum independence and activity of the members of the organisation with strict discipline. On the basis of internal democracy all members participate in the life of the League and have a share in the fixing of the League's policy. This is achieved (when strict illegality does not prevent it) through the election of the leading bodies, the organisation of League conferences and congresses on a large scale, the

holding of discussions for the purpose of preparing for League decisions on various questions. The lower organisations are subordinate to the higher, leadership in the League is strictly centralised and all members are under the obligation of carrying out the decisions of the organisation and of doing their duty towards it. It is only as a strictly centralised organisation that the Y.C.L., in conjunction with the Communist Party, can carry on a revolutionary struggle for the interests of the working youth and the general Communist aims. The proletarian democracy which reigns in the Y.C.L. is in glaring contrast with the bureaucratic rule in the social-democratic organisations.

Although the Y.C.L. is organisationally independent, the closest organisational connections exists between it and the Communist Party. This connection is effected through mutual representation on all rungs of the organisational ladder. To secure Party leadership in the Y.C.L. it is necessary to have an adequate number of Party members in the Y.C.L. This is achieved by the overwhelming majority of the functionaries (cadres) being simultaneously members of the Communist Party.

In accordance with its political role and social character as an organisation of the working youth, the Y.C.L. ensures that the working class membership plays the leading role, and, with the exception of countries without industry, forms also the majority in the League. Especially in colonial countries and countries with a big peasantry, it is of the utmost importance to secure for the working class membership the leading role in the most important organs of the League.

In order to extend a guiding influence to the youth in the mass organisations of adult and young workers (trade unions, sport leagues, various auxiliary organisations etc.), the Y.C.L. organises its members in these organisations into Y.C.L. fractions. The fractions are the mouthpiece and most important instrument of the Y.C.L. in these organisations. Strict discipline is maintained in the Y.C.L. fractions, this is all the more necessary here as the fractions are working in non-Party or even hostile surroundings. The fractions are subordinated to the leadership of the Y.C.L. organisation.

The Y.C.L. does not limit its activity to the framework of "legality" ordained by the bourgeoisie. In its struggle against capitalism, the Y.C.L. is continually compelled to

combine its open legal activity with illegal and semi-legal work and therefore to overstep the limits laid down for it by bourgeois legality.

The Y.C.L. fully realises that it is surrounded by enemies on all sides and that it must expect at any moment to be driven into illegality by the bourgeoisie. It therefore prepares itself technically and politically for such an eventuality and creates for itself—in legal conditions too—an organised apparatus, through which it will be able to continue its work in case of enforced illegality. But even in a state of illegality the Y.C.L. must remain a mass organisation, i.e., it must not lose contact with and influence over the masses. For this purpose it creates various legal organisations (including political ones) of the working youth. But the Y.C.L. looks upon these organisations only as legal forms of work for the illegal Y.C.L. The main thing is to ensure the leadership and development of the Y.C.L. itself. Even the fiercest capitalist terror, the dissolution of all legal youth organisations, cannot prevent the Y.C.L. itself continuing to be active among the masses and working untiringly for its aims.

Contrary to the Social-Democratic Youth International, which is only a loose federation, the Young Communist International is built up on principles of international centralism. The decisions are binding to the national sections, for the Y.C.I. is a united international Young Communist League.

The Attitude of the Young Communist League to War.

Its Revolutionary Anti-Militarist Work.

Militarism constitutes one of the most important and powerful constituent parts of capitalist society. In the imperialist phase of capitalist development, militarism assumes colossal and unprecedented dimensions and strives to directly or indirectly embrace the entire population by means of a wide net of organisations. Militarism does not confine itself merely to forming military organisations. It strives to militarise the entire life of the population and to subordinate it to its objects. Militarism has a twofold purpose: on the one hand it is used as a weapon against the toilers at home, against the oppressed colonial peoples, and against the Socialist Soviet Republics; on the other hand, it is used against imperialist competitors.

In the epoch of the world revolution militarism directs itself more openly than ever before against the working class and the oppressed colonial peoples; it becomes a means of struggle against the Soviet Union, and an instrument of White Terror. A series of reorganisation measures is being carried out by the bourgeoisie in order to fit the capitalist armies for the tasks of the new epoch. More and more the imperialists are proceeding to reduce the number of drafted soldiers, and to increase the number of permanent professional soldiers, as well as to create an extensive system of reserves and to effect the militarisation of the entire population. By this means the imperialist armies are to be strengthened made more mobile and more capable of being used against the toiling masses. The entire civil population is now being drawn into the preparation for imperialist wars.

Hence, the struggle against militarism is a struggle against one of the most powerful weapons of bourgeois class rule. The great mass of toiling youth in town and countryside, from whose ranks militarism draws its victims, forms the human material with which the armies and battlefields are filled. Militarism seeks to poison the youth from early childhood and to ideologically and organisationally control it. Therefore, a primary task of the Y.C.I. is to wage a tireless struggle against militarism, and to develop energetic anti-militarist activity among the masses of the working and peasant youth both inside and outside of the army.

Especially on the question of militarism has social-democracy proven that it has gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. After its great betrayal in the imperialist world war, it to-day not only does not fight against militarism, but actively supports it. Despite the use of hypocritical pacifist phrases, this support becomes more and more obvious; social-democracy openly endorses the principle of the defence of the bourgeois fatherland, and thereby the necessity for militarism. It even takes an active part in consolidating and reorganising the military system.

The Socialist Youth International and the various socialist youth organisations fully share this policy of the Social-Democratic Parties, and supplement it by the false doctrine of "combatting" and "removing" war, through training the children and youth of the working class in a pacifist spirit.

Jointly with petty-bourgeois and bourgeois circles, and even together with bourgeois governments themselves, social-

democracy uses varying grades of pacifism as a cloak before the masses. Pacifism, which claims to reject all wars, and any application of armed force, and which pretends that this can be achieved gradually by peaceful means through disarmament and the persuasion of mankind, regardless of classes, and without the abolition of the capitalist social order, is a hopeless Utopia and a deception of the toiling masses. It is used by the bourgeoisie and its willing servants as a means of deceiving the war-weary masses, and of keeping them in ignorance of the preparations for new imperialist wars. There will be wars as long as the imperialist system exists. The bourgeoisie, fighting for the division of the world and fearing the proletarian revolution, will continue to wage imperialist and civil war until the victorious proletariat takes control. Imperialist peace conferences and anti-war pacts are used by the capitalists only to disguise war preparations and imperialist intrigues. The League of Nations is a dangerous instrument of the big imperialist Powers thirsting for war and war booty. Pacifism is of the greatest harm to the working class since, without disarming the bourgeoisie, it robs the oppressed classes of weapons, steepens them in illusions and surrenders them unarmed to class foes, who are armed to the teeth.

Lenin in this connection said to the youth: "An oppressed class which does not endeavour to possess and learn to handle arms would deserve to be treated as slaves. We would become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists if we forget that we are living in a class society, and that the only way out is through class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class. Our slogan must be: "Arming of the proletariat, to conquer, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its historic task, to throw all arms on the scrap heap. This the proletariat will undoubtedly do. But only then, and on no account sooner."

The Communists fight for the establishment of a Communist society, and therefore for the abolition of armed compulsion and wars. But so long as the capitalist system exists "true socialists cannot simply be against every war, without thereby ceasing to be socialists." (Lenin.) It is necessary to differentiate between three kinds of war: (a) Wars carried on by the imperialist States between themselves; (b) national revolutionary liberation wars—above all in the colonies and semi-

colonies; (c) wars of the capitalist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, as well as of the capitalist States against countries where the proletarian revolution has been victorious.

The Communists are deadly enemies of imperialist war and fight with the greatest determination against the imperialist war danger and the imperialist wars themselves. But they give their utmost support to national revolutionary uprisings and to the wars of the oppressed peoples, especially in the colonies and semi-colonies, against imperialism. They organise and lead the revolutionary war of the working class against the capitalist counter-revolution, and of the Socialist Soviet Republics against the imperialist Powers, who are constantly plotting attacks on the Soviet Republics with the aim of destroying them. The Communists publicly declare that, in order to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the proletarian dictatorship, the armed uprising of the proletariat is necessary. Only by the victory of proletarian arms, by the formation of a Red Army and the armed defence of the achievements of the revolution against all attempts of the bourgeoisie, will the proletariat gradually be able to lead mankind towards a classless society in which the use of arms will be a thing forgotten.

If for the protection of the proletarian dictatorship—a transitional stage towards a classless Communist society, a society without wars—the workers must be armed and organised in a Red Army, this army is, according to its role and class-consciousness entirely different from any bourgeois army. The Red Army is the armed working class which, together with the toiling peasantry, defends the domination of its own class, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peaceful construction of socialism. Only toilers have the honour and right to serve in it. Its commanders come from the same class as the soldiers; voluntary comradesly discipline reigns in its ranks, and it is itself one of the most powerful means for the education and cultural development of the toiling masses.

The Y.C.L. consider the struggle against imperialist war one of the chief aims of its existence. The Communists exert all forces to prevent imperialist wars from breaking out, by mobilising the masses for mass action against war and by work inside the armies themselves. In the event of the proletariat lacking the necessary strength to prevent or delay

the imperialist war breaking out, Communists work with the utmost energy for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war in order to overthrow imperialism by means of a victorious proletarian revolution.

In the struggle against imperialist war by means of the mass action of the working class, Communists propagate also mass strikes and a general strike. However, the transformation of the general strike slogan from a propaganda slogan into an immediate slogan of action depends upon circumstances, since the Communists clearly recognise that a general strike for the prevention of war immediately raises the question of power and of an armed clash with the imperialist State apparatus. Therefore, the Communists reject the hypocritical phrases of the "left" social-democrats, who, without preparation in the army and amongst the masses, without a day-to-day fight against the danger of imperialist wars, without being in any way prepared to raise the question of power, declare that they will "answer" the outbreak of war with a general strike. By these means the "left" social-democrats restrain the working class from any serious struggle against imperialist war, and lull it into security, when will and readiness to fight is imperative, and thus give most effectively support to the bourgeois in their preparations for new imperialist wars.

The Communists decisively repudiate the slogan of "The defence of the Fatherland"—when this is used in respect of the capitalist State—as signifying an endorsement of imperialist war. On the contrary, it is in the interest of the working class of every country which is waging an imperialist war, to stand for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie, in order the more rapidly to overthrow it and thus be able to end the imperialist war. The Communists therefore propagate revolutionary defeatism in imperialist wars. The Communists agitate for the fraternisation of the soldiers of the imperialist armies which are arrayed against each other.

The Communists, however, decisively declare themselves for the defence of a revolutionary socialist fatherland against imperialism. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. The Communists likewise recognise the revolutionary right and duty of national defence against imperialism for the rebellious oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. In a struggle between the imperialist Powers and the Socialist

Soviet Republics, or a war against a national revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples, the working class must fight for the victory of the revolutionary side, and work not only for the fraternisation but for the going over of the troops of the imperialist Powers to the side of the revolution.

The Communists reject the anarcho-syndicalist slogan of individual refusal to serve, or the "military strike." They do this in the spirit of the teaching of Lenin, who had the proletarian mother speak to her son in the following manner :

"You will soon be grown up. They will give you a gun. Take it and learn how to use it. This knowledge is necessary for the proletariat : not in order to shoot down their brothers, the workers of other countries, but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of their own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by means of pious wishes, but by victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming it."

Similarly, "Boycott of the war is a stupid phrase." (Lenin.) The effect of individual refusal to serve is to free the army from precisely the revolutionary elements of the working class, and thereby to prevent the influencing of the masses of toilers in the army by means of revolutionary explanatory work and organisation.

In its struggle against the imperialist system the proletariat strives to enlighten the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the bourgeois army, and to draw it over to its side ; to divert the soldiers' rifles from against the working class and to turn them against the ruling class. Work in the army plays a particularly important role, since only by the "creation of a secret organisation of revolutionists in the army" (Lenin), *i.e.*, in the first place of Communist nuclei, together with the mass action of the working class, can imperialist war be combatted and the premises be created for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The Y.C.I., jointly with the C.P., puts the following tasks foremost in its anti-militarist work :

(a) Defence of the Soviet Union against the attacks of the capitalists.

(b) Active participation in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism.

(c) Revolutionary work in the bourgeois army through the organisation of nuclei, revolutionary circles and groups, *i.e.*, work among the recruits and regular troops, among the reserves and colonial occupation troops, among organisations for military training; educational propaganda against war, militarism, and the utilisation of the army in the service of capitalism.

(d) Struggle against the militarisation of the youth, carried on by the bourgeoisie. This militarisation is carried out in various forms, the most important of which are the measures for the military training of the youth. While in some cases the bourgeois military training of the youth is obligatory, there are cases when the bourgeoisie endeavours to conceal the true character of this militarisation, by either establishing or encouraging various so-called neutral and voluntary organisations for the military training of the youth. In the majority of cases, however, even in the case of voluntary youth organisations, economic and political pressure is brought to bear on the young people, so as to induce them to join these organisations.

The Y.C.L. combats both compulsory and voluntary forms of bourgeois military training of the youth, not in the spirit of pacifism, but from the standpoint of the class struggle. Hence it sets up against bourgeois military training its own voluntary military training of the working class through its own proletarian organisations. It bases this attitude on Lenin's demand for : "The right of voluntary associations for every hundred inhabitants of a given country, for the purpose of studying warfare, with free selection of instructors, paid out of State funds, etc. It is only under such conditions that the proletariat can learn the art of war for its own benefit, and not for the benefit of its slaveholders. Such study undoubtedly is in the interests of the proletariat."

Where military training of the youth is compulsory the Y.C.L. adopts a similar attitude towards it as to the army itself, of which such training is a component part. This applies to entry into these organisations, as well as disintegrating work within them. The Y.C.L. tells the young workers called up for service in these organisations to join them and to carry on educational and disintegrative work there. The Y.C.L. organises this work. In the voluntary training organisations the Y.C.L., apart from the struggle against them which it carries on from outside, also organises

enlightenment and disintegrative work from within. It is inadmissible to renounce internal disintegrative work in military training organisations for the youth, *i.e.*, to prevent educational and organisational work among the young workers in these organisations.

(e) Struggle for the political and economic rights of the soldiers. While the Y.C.L. fights militarism in principle it, nevertheless, does not fail to fight for the immediate partial demands for the improvement of the conditions of the soldiers and sailors, just as it fights for the young workers in the factories and fields. It links up the struggle for these partial demands with the struggle for its final aims. It champions full political and trade union rights for the soldiers and sailors, higher wages, vacations, the right to wear civil garb when off duty, the election of officers by the soldiers, the abolition of court-martials, the formation and recognition of special committees of reservists, soldiers and sailors, the formation of soldiers' trade unions.

The Y.C.L. also defends the interests of the professional soldiers who, as a result of the reorganisation of the imperialist armies, attain an ever greater importance. It combats the capitalist policy of keeping the conscripted and professional soldiers apart from each other, and seeks to unite them in a common front against the imperialist army system.

The soldiers', reservists' and sailors' committees must champion these partial demands, and rally broad masses of the troops in a struggle for their achievement; the Y.C.L. fights for the legalisation and recognition of these committees, but also creates them illegally where they are not recognised or permitted by the bourgeois authorities. In the period of immediate struggle for power the formation of soldiers' councils (Soviets) is essential.

The Y.C.L. struggles for the reduction of the military service period. It links up this demand with its ultimate aims, and makes perfectly clear its attitude in principle to wars and the imperialist army, thus making this demand a lever for the disintegration of the imperialist army system. The concrete form of such a demand, and the right moment for issuing it depends on various circumstances, including the mood of the mass of soldiers and workers.

The Y.C.L., however, draws a sharp distinction between the Communist demand for the reduction of the military

service period and the various bourgeois and social democratic proposals for such reductions. The latter are purely demagogic demands, and in most cases correspond to the measures of the imperialists for the reorganisation of the army with a view to increasing its effectiveness. The Y.C.L. exposes and combats such proposals, as part of the imperialist war preparations, by setting against them its own demands and fundamental slogans.

(f) The struggle against the military organisations (Fascist militia, national defence corps, Stahlhelm, Reichsbanner, Schutzbund, etc.), which are specially established by the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the proletariat, and for which the reactionary military and nationalist youth organisations serve as reserves. In the event of an imperialist war they are called upon by the bourgeoisie as auxiliary military forces. The Y.C.L., together with the Communist Party, struggles for their disarmament and sets up special proletarian defence organisations for the protection of the working class.

(g) Work in war industries. The decisive role of industry in the coming imperialist wars, demands without delay, systematic organised activity among the young workers in the war industries (engineering, chemical industry, transport, etc.), so that Communist groups can be formed in these industries.

The Y.C.L.'s conduct extensive propaganda and agitation among the broad masses of the working youth, and especially among those toilers in the army, for these general and partial demands against militarism.

The Struggle of the Young Communist League for the Economic Demands of the Young Workers

Any fundamental improvement in the situation of the working youth is impossible under capitalism. Furthermore, during the period of the decay of capitalism, in which the bourgeoisie strives to depress the standard of living of the proletariat as much as possible, all the forces of capitalism are directed towards resisting even the slightest attempt at improvement. The epoch of imperialist decay brings with it an enormous decline in the conditions of the working youth. Hence the working youth can expect no real change in its conditions of work and education except through the victory of the proletariat.

But this does not signify that the Y.C.L. gives up the struggle to change the situation and working conditions of the youth in capitalist society.

Even prior to the assumption of power by the proletariat the Y.C.L. struggles for the partial demands and improvement of the situation of the working youth, proceeding from the viewpoint that these demands represent an immediate and vital need of the masses, irrespective of their reconcilability with the capitalist profit system. To the extent that this struggle contrasts the vital needs of the masses with the interests of capitalist society, the working youth becomes conscious that without the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the fulfilment of the whole of their demands cannot be attained.

The Y.C.L. defends the partial demands and interests of the working youth in real struggle, whereas the social-democratic youth organisations utilise the economic slogans of the young workers only for demagogic purposes, whilst in reality doing nothing for the betterment of the situation of the working youth. The socialist youth organisations participate in the class-collaboration, reformist policy of the Social-Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy, which facilitates and makes possible the capitalist attack on the working class. This is becoming most clearly shown by their collaboration with bourgeois organisations in the economic sphere too (*e.g.*, the National Committee of the German Youth Leagues).

The most important partial demands of the Y.C.L. for young workers are :

Prohibition of child labour under the age of 14, including indirect wage labour in domestic industry and agriculture.

Obligatory vocational training for the youth up to the age of 18 in factory schools, with full pay. The factory schools shall include : (a) apprentice department or apprentice workshops in the factories ; (b) theoretical training and physical culture ; (c) work in the factory itself as a part of the school programme.

Trade union regulation of all apprenticeship and labour questions in these factory schools, and workers' control over these factory schools (through the trade unions, factory committees, youth delegates). In such factory schools the period of the education of the youth will be lengthened beyond the

present school age, to the eighteenth or at least sixteenth year.

Maximum work day of six hours for the youth under 18 with a four-hour day for those between 14 and 16.

After the six and four-hour day is introduced wages must remain as for the full eight hours.

Struggle against low wages for young workers, for higher wages, and the minimum wage with the existence minimum as the lowest level.

For all young and adult workers of both sexes equal pay for equal work. Progressive wage increases for apprentices during the period of apprenticeship.

A 44-hour week-end rest period.

Abolition of the speed-up system and piecework, which is physically harmful to the youth.

A four weeks' vacation, with pay, annually for all workers under the age of 18, and opportunities for recreation in holiday homes, sanatoria, etc., free of charge to the youth.

Prohibition of night work under the age of 20.

Prohibition of the employment of young workers under the age of 20 in occupations and enterprises and tasks harmful to health, or too hard for young people (glass factories, underground work in mines, certain branches of the chemical industry, etc.).

Special labour protection for girls.

Adequate and frequent rest intervals during working hours in rationalised enterprises.

Introduction or development under workers' control of social insurance at the expense of the employer and the State.

Against the system of penalties and punishment (fines and corporal punishment).

Work and opportunities of training for the unemployed youth. Hiring of unemployed youths in factories and workshops with a guarantee of the continuation of vocational training and full pay. Otherwise adequate unemployment insurance on the basis of the existence minimum.

As regards apprenticeship :

Abolition of individual apprenticeship agreements and the inclusion of apprentices in the collective agreements.

Prevention of the abuses of apprenticeship labour by exact definition of the right to employ apprentices (maximum number of apprentices to a definite number of workers, strict

punishment of abuses or violation of workday and youth protection laws).

Establishment of collective training workshops for a number of handicraft and small enterprises, in which a part of the workday must be spent.

Prohibition of the use of apprentices for work not connected with the trade being learned; prohibition of enforced board and lodging.

Reorganisation of existing vocational schools by connecting them with industry. The right of the student-apprentices to share in the drawing up of the syllabus, school administration, etc., by means of councils elected by them in the apprentice workshops, factory schools and continuation schools.

Strict control over vocational training and apprenticeship as a whole by the working-class bodies (trade unions, factory committees, factory youth delegates, etc.).

Equal opportunities of training for boys and girls. The Y.C.I. furthermore demands that from the moment they enter their employment the youth shall have active and passive suffrage in elections to the factory committees.

The circumstances in which the Y.C.L. uses any of its demands as a concrete fighting slogan depends upon the situation and the mood of the working youth, the influence of the League, the degree of ripeness of the class struggle, etc., in the respective country.

Thus, although the Y.C.L. is for the introduction or prolongation of a real and thorough vocational training, it demands in particular cases a shortening of the capitalist apprenticeship period to two years. Similarly the question of the workday for apprentices and young workers is not the same in all countries. Where continuation or vocational schools exist, the Y.C.L. must advocate the inclusion of school hours in working time and full payment for these hours as part of the workday. The Y.C.L. must also participate in the drafting of wage agreements where they concern the youth. The Y.C.L. defends every demand of the young workers in the factories and mills.

The fate of the working youth is bound up with that of the working class as a whole. The economic struggle of the working youth can be crowned with success only if carried out jointly with the struggle of the adult workers and with their support. The adult workers must support the fighting

youth since the interests of the young workers are the interests of the entire proletariat, and their own immediate interests are involved in the economic struggles of the young workers.

Likewise, the working youth and its leader, the Y.C.L., must take an active part in all the struggles of the working class for partial demands against capitalism.

The Y.C.L. repudiates decisively the reformist viewpoint that apprentices and young workers shall not be drawn into the labour struggle, a viewpoint which degrades the apprentices and young workers to the position of strike-breakers. Young workers and apprentices must take part in all strikes and struggles whether limited to one factory or industry, or spread over the entire working class. Consequently the young workers must also be represented in the fighting organs of the workers, formed in the struggle against capital.

Since the struggle of the working youth for their economic demands is only a part of the struggle of the workers as a whole, the Y.C.L. does not set itself the task of waging this struggle independently. It must try to secure the help of the adult workers and the trade unions. It is true that the Y.C.L. strives, together with the C.P., and within the limits of the struggle as a whole, to obtain the leadership of the fighting young workers, yet as a rule the Y.C.L. itself cannot be the only bearer of this struggle against capitalism.

Cases of independent youth action are, however, possible, especially where the reformist trade union bureaucracy sabotages, or in countries where the youth has not much trade union organisation, in these cases the Y.C.L. must be in the front line of the struggle. The Y.C.L. must especially put itself at the head of the youth strikes, and when feasible, organise such strikes itself. It must at the same time strive to get the support of the adult workers to force the trade unions to take up the fight and to organise the unorganised youth into the trade unions. In general the task of defending youth demands against the capitalists must be solved jointly by the trade unions and the Y.C.L.

The trade unions are the broad mass organisations for the defence of the economic interests of both the adult and young workers. As such they constitute, under revolutionary leadership, one of the most important schools of Communism for the working masses. This applies to-day only to some trade unions, and in the first place to the sections of the Red International of Labour Unions. While the red trade unions

carry on an energetic struggle against trust capital for the economic interests of the workers, and link up this struggle with the final aims of the working class, the trade unions under reformist leadership are gradually becoming a part of the bourgeois State, and pursue the task of keeping the workers away from the class struggle. Class collaboration instead of class struggle is their principle. Industrial peace and compulsory arbitration are the new fetters with which the reformist trade union bureaucrats, in full harmony with the employers, wish to enslave the working class.

The class-collaboration, reactionary pro-State policy of the reformist trade union bureaucrats is clearly expressed in their hostile attitude to the young workers' struggle. Most of the trade unions, under reformist leadership, are still burdened with narrow craft sentiment, and oppose the admission of young workers and apprentices into the unions, or exclude them up to a certain age from membership. In many cases young trade union members do not enjoy the same rights as adult members.

The Y.C.L. believes that the real defence of the demands of the working youth is possible only through the trade unions under revolutionary leadership. The Y.C.L. systematically fights in the trade unions for the defeat of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and for turning them into revolutionary organisations.

In the trade union movement the Y.C.L. supports the principles and aims of the Red International of Labour Unions and wholeheartedly assists its struggle.

The Y.C.L. combats all limitations upon the admission of young workers into the trade unions. It demands the 100 per cent. organisation of the young workers in the trade unions with the same rights as the adult workers, with lower membership dues for the young members. The Y.C.L. fights against the neglect of youth demands by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which, true to its usual role, not only does not defend the interests of the youth but even directly sacrifices them to the capitalists. The Y.C.L. fights for the effective championship of youth demands by the trade unions.

In order to win the working youth more readily to the trade union organisations, and in order to defend better their demands and interests within the limits of the movement as a whole, the Y.C.L. considers it necessary that special organs within the trade unions should be formed. These special

organs for trade union work, the form and name of which may differ according to conditions and countries (youth commissions, youth committees, youth sections, etc.), must be based upon the principle of equal rights for young and adult workers, and must not divide the youth from the adult members, but must rally and train them inside the trade union organisations.

The leading bodies of such organs must be elected on a democratic basis, they must bring the young trade union members together regularly for meetings and conferences, and must be built up on the basis of delegates in the factories themselves. They must champion the economic demands of the working youth, and get the trade unions to struggle for them. In such a form they constitute really revolutionary mass organs of the working youth in the trade unions.

The Y.C.L. fights against reformist distortions of the idea of forming special forms of youth organisation in the trade unions, as expressed in the youth sections created and guided by the reformists. These reformist youth sections divide the young workers from the adults. They are under bureaucratic control from above, and their object is to compete with the political youth movement as reformist cultural organisations. The Y.C.L. struggles to capture these youth sections and to convert them into militant revolutionary bodies of the young workers.

Where apprentices and young workers are not admitted to trade unions or where no trade unions exist, the Y.C.L. can form as a temporary and transitional measure special economic youth organisations of various kinds. The object of such organisations is struggle for the economic demands of the youth and for their admission to the trade unions. Such organisations are not parallel organisations to the trade unions. The Y.C.L. rejects the idea of special youth trade unions.

The Y.C.L. endeavours also to rally and organise the unemployed youth. It draws them into the general unemployed organisations and establishes special committees of unemployed youth within the general movement.

Every member of the Y.C.L. must be a member of his trade union. The members of the Y.C.L. inside the trade unions are organised into fractions. They work together with the fractions of the Party, and under their political leadership. In addition, the Y.C.L. strives to achieve closer

collaboration with the trade unions (Y.C.L. representatives in trade union organs), joint action, which is, to be sure, attainable only in trade unions under revolutionary leadership.

The Special Tasks of the Y.C.L. Among the Rural Working Youth

Capitalism has brought with it a mighty proletarianisation of the rural population, and has plunged the poor peasantry into destitution. The continuous crisis in capitalist society has created since the world war a serious and ever-extending agrarian crisis in all capitalist countries. The efforts of the capitalist to re-establish the equilibrium of national economy at the expense of the workers and peasants by burdening them with taxation and protective tariffs, lead only to the enrichment of capitalists and big landlords at the expense of the proletarian and working rural population, and hence to a sharpening of class differences in the village.

The agrarian crisis gives an impetus to and accelerates the process of differentiation among the peasantry, and class struggle in the countryside, and leads to the economic impoverishment and enslavement of the majority of the peasantry. The sections of the rural population which suffer under capitalism are :

- (a) Agricultural labourers.
- (b) Peasants with small allotments (semi-proletarians).
- (c) Small peasants.
- (d) Middle peasants.

From the economic viewpoint, big peasants and landowners in capitalist countries are capitalist employers.

The living standards of the agricultural labourers are being continually lowered. The working day is very long, real wages are falling and living conditions are becoming worse. Small farms are being ruined. The economic dependence of the small peasants upon big landowners and capitalists is becoming more and more oppressive. They are heavily in debt, and their position is growing steadily worse.

The middle peasantry, too, is affected by unfavourable conditions, such as high prices and taxes, war indemnity burdens, etc. To all this must be added the heavy burden of militarism which deprives the peasantry of its best forces and saddles it with armament expenditures.

Revolutionary experience, and in particular the Russian revolution, has shown that without enlisting the poor peasantry, a complete victory of the proletariat is impossible. The peasantry cannot shake off the yoke of the capitalists and landlords by its own efforts because it is not a united class, because it consists of property owners, is scattered among the villages, and is therefore unable to create strong revolutionary organisations. The emancipation of the peasantry can be achieved only in alliance with the proletariat and under its leadership, in a struggle against capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat has the historic task of making this alliance with the working peasantry a reality. In capitalist countries the working class must endeavour to make allies of the small and semi-proletarian peasants and to neutralise the middle peasantry in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Under proletarian dictatorship the working class must conclude a close alliance with the middle peasantry also, and must draw it into the work of socialist construction. In colonies and semi-colonies and in other countries with strong remnants of semi-feudal relations, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has still to be achieved, extension of the alliance to the middle peasantry is also necessary. It is on the basis of these tasks that the Y.C.L. must enlist the sympathy of the rural working youth.

The Y.C.L. adapts its work among the rural youth to the conditions and requirements of the various strata. First and foremost it turns its attention to rallying and organising the young agricultural labourers. The Y.C.L. endeavours to organise the widest masses of this proletarian section in its own ranks. The League works also among the youth of the poor peasantry. It endeavours to draw them into an alliance with the working youth; it organises the active and revolutionary section in its own ranks. In accordance with national conditions the Y.C.L. also carries on special work among the youth of the middle peasantry in order to combat the influence of the bourgeoisie, and to neutralise it, drawing it also partly into certain struggles (for instance, against militarism). But in capitalist conditions the Y.C.L. admits to its ranks only a few of the best elements of the middle peasant youth.

The Y.C.L. carries on an energetic struggle for the political, economic and cultural interests of the young agricultural labourers in the first place, but also for the other

strata of the rural working youth. It attaches particular importance to anti-militarist agitation among the rural youth, and brings forward also a series of special demands for soldiers drawn from the peasantry (furlough for harvest-time, etc.). Within the limits of the struggle for the general Communist agrarian programme it brings forward special partial demands for the rural working youth, particularly young agricultural labourers' demands. The Y.C.L. demands equality between the rural and the urban youth in regard to protective labour legislation, and also brings forward its general economic demands for young agricultural labourers. They are: vocational training and education, equal pay for equal work, six-hour day, four weeks' holiday, etc. These demands are supplemented by special demands arising out of the labour conditions in rural districts.

The League particularly combats the various bourgeois and big-peasant youth organisations in rural districts, among which religious organisations (for instance, the Young Catholic League) play an important role. It energetically fights against Fascist organisations such as the "Fatherland Defence League," etc., which incite and organise the rural working youth for armed struggle against the working class. One of the means of the Y.C.L. for counteracting the influence of bourgeois and big-peasant organisations, and for increasing its influence, is the organisation of conferences and committees of the rural working youth and of youth departments in the revolutionary peasant organisations. In some countries the organisation of special leagues of the working peasant youth is also expedient.

The Educational Work of the Young Communist Leagues

"Without revolutionary theory a revolutionary movement is impossible." This saying of Lenin forms the basis of the Y.C.L.'s work. Maintaining a living connection between practice and theory, in pursuance of and in the framework of its general education of the toiling youth in the spirit of Communism, the Y.C.L. carries on special work of education, which is intended to acquaint the toiling youth with the theory of Communism. The educational work, even if dealt with as a special branch of work, does not represent something separated from the practical militant activity of the League. On the contrary, the struggle itself is one of

the most important means of education, while the Y.C.L.'s educational work is one of its most important weapons in the struggle. *Theoretical work gives the struggle its correct direction.*

The special educational work is intended to gather the working youth's experiences in fighting practice, and to present them in a ready, logical and supplemented form. It has to train from the ranks of the young proletariat, educated and persistent class fighters against capitalism, and for the proletarian revolution, to train the master builders of the new society.

Educational work is, therefore, simultaneously agitation and propaganda; agitation in the sense of the dissemination of various slogans among the masses, and propaganda in the sense of a deepened education of the young workers with regard to the aims and principles of Communism and of the Y.C.L.

The Young Communist League carries on in the first place the political education of its membership and of the broad masses of young proletarians. It spreads amongst them a knowledge of the laws of development of economy and society, an understanding of history, of the forms and methods of the class struggle and the labour movement, a knowledge of the political and economic situation and of the tasks and aims of the proletarian revolution. It carries on among them the propaganda of socialism and Communism, and explains the essence, structure, history, programme, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party. Marxism—the theory of the proletariat—is the most important weapon in the struggle against capitalism and the most valuable instrument in the building of the new society. The Young Communist League therefore strives to spread a Marxian philosophy amongst its members, and to accustom them first of all to Marxian methods of thinking. The Y.C.L. concentrates its educational work especially upon the propaganda and study of Leninism, which is the application of Marxism to the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. The Communist youth must master the basic problems, the organisational principles, tactics and theory of Leninism, in order to fulfil the requirements of the class struggle fully armed with revolutionary theory.

The Young Communist League also sets itself the task of raising the general cultural level of the working youth

in the interest of the proletarian struggle. The working youth must acquire the knowledge which is necessary for the organisation and the conduct of its struggle against capitalism. The Y.C.L. occupies itself with these questions only in so far as they are connected with the class struggle, and are of value in training the youth for the class struggle. The struggle against bourgeois society includes also a struggle against the evils arising from it (alcoholism, prostitution, etc.), which can be overcome only with the disappearance of the existing regime. The Y.C.L. energetically combats hypocritical bourgeois "morality," and exposes it as one of the means of maintaining the system of exploitation. The Y.C.L. combats with particular energy the bourgeois attitude to woman, which proclaims that woman is but an accessory to the family, and is a conception closely bound up with the existing system of private ownership. In exposing the hypocrisy of bourgeois "morality," the Y.C.L. opposes to it the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist system through the joint struggle of all the exploited. This alone is capable of emancipating woman, of creating new human relations which will have nothing in common with the property-owning ideas on woman characteristic of capitalist society.

The Y.C.L. pays special attention to the struggle against the church and religion by means of untiring educational work. "Religion is the opium of the people." Religion is one of the most important means for exerting influence on the youth in the interests of the existing capitalist social order. It is particularly harmful among the working youth in rural districts and colonies. The Y.C.L. popularises among the working youth the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

As a supplement to its political, cultural and educational work, the Y.C.L. also seeks as far as possible to satisfy the need for entertainment and recreation on the part of the working youth. It by no means, however, copies the bourgeois and social democratic forms of entertainment and recreation, but seeks for new methods of genuine proletarian sociability and entertainment which, in the last analysis, also serve to develop class-consciousness and Communist training. Proletarian festivals, political satire, dramatic circles, choirs, youth homes, camps, outings, rambles, etc., are used by the Y.C.L. for this purpose.

In its methods of educational work the Y.C.L. bases itself on the concrete habits of the youth and takes their psychological peculiarities into consideration. Furthermore, because it clearly understands its essential character as a Communist educational organisation, the Y.C.L. strives in its whole activity to apply methods comprehensible and adapted to the youth, to give its whole work a lively character and to create an attractive inner-League life.

In this sense also the Communist utilisation of certain forms of work particularly attractive to the youth, such as semi-military discipline in parades, bands, uniforms, etc., is useful and of great value to the propaganda and recruiting power of the Y.C.L.

One of the most important means for agitation and propaganda among the masses is the special Communist youth press and literature. The Y.C.L., apart from its regular newspapers and magazines, publishes through its factory groups special factory papers. Communist groups in the army circulate barrack newspapers, etc. In the League organisation itself, wall newspapers are an important means of education and encouragement to self-activity. The Y.C.L. press, with its many ramifications, is an exceptionally important weapon in the struggle to win over the masses of young workers, soldiers and working peasants to the revolution.

The educational work of the Y.C.L. is carried on in a systematically organised manner. In the first place the Y.C.L. carries out mass educational work, which in the main consists of the propaganda of Communist principles in various forms among the broad masses of young toilers. Furthermore, the Y.C.L. conducts systematic work to educate its members in the basic questions of political science and, in addition, carries on the higher training of the League cadres by a number of special measures, courses and schools.

The Y.C.L. Under the Conditions of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Soviet Union—A Shining Example

On an enormous area which embraces one-sixth of the globe, the working youth has already been emancipated from the yoke of capitalism, and lives free and protected in its own State—the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, the first proletarian state in the world, renders the work of the youth, which under capitalism was an object of exploitation, the basis of socialist education and training. The proletarian State is already engaged in the reorganisation of youth labour on a socialist basis. Productive youth labour is not eliminated but reorganised. It is linked up with vocational training, political and general education, as well as with physical culture, and is regulated from an educational standpoint. This socialist reorganisation of youth labour is effected in the factory schools attached to the socialised factories and mills, (i.e., apprenticeship workshops or departments linked up with theoretical teaching, and with instruction in the factory itself).

As the necessary premise for the socialist re-organisation of youth labour, the proletarian State introduces a whole system of measures for the protection of youth labour and the improvement of its economic position.

- (1) Prohibition of child labour up to the age of 14.
- (2) Curtailment of the working day to six hours for young people under 18 and to four hours for young people under 16.
- (3) Prohibition of night and piece work, and also of work in enterprises injurious to health (at first for young people under 18 and subsequently under 20).
- (4) A wage policy which guarantees the genuine introduction of the shorter working day (the pay for the shorter day is the same as for the eight-hour day) and which serves to improve the economic position of the working youth at the same rate as that of the adult workers; equal pay for equal work.

(5) Four weeks' holiday for young people under 18, with full pay.

(6) Protection of the young workers' health by regular medical examinations and by placing young workers in special or general rest homes, sanatoria, health establishments, etc.

(7) Guarantee of a definite quota of places for young people in the various industries.

(8) Comprehensive social insurance at the expense of the State and the factory, in case of sickness, unemployment or in capacity.

In the course of socialist construction, the State strives to an ever-increasing degree to take the care for the youth entirely upon itself.

The proletarian State does full justice to the juridical and political demands of the youth by making them fully fledged citizens who have the right to elect and be elected (active and passive suffrage) from the age of 18, to all State and economic organs, and to factory councils from the moment they begin to work. Moreover, admission to all social and State organisations is open to them.

The Soviet Union is engaged in reorganising the entire educational system of the youth. "Only by thoroughly reorganising the education, organisation and training of the youth will we be able to help the young generation to establish a social order (the Communist Social Order) unlike the old one (Lenin). The establishment of factory schools for the working youth in the socialised enterprises was a stride in this direction. In these factory schools the Soviet Union aims at an all-round education of the working youth, for whom the process of education acquires now a real meaning, both technically and socially, and converts the worker into a class-conscious leader of socialist production. Factory schools also encourage the development and consolidation of all theoretical inclinations of the youth, and develop the body and mind of the youth by club work and physical culture.

The proletarian State develops in this way, the whole system of public education, which is now a State monopoly and serves the main object of spreading the propaganda of Communism among the working masses, thus providing the working youth with the opportunity of acquiring all the necessary knowledge for the construction of socialism. The Soviet Union is working energetically for the construction of

a new system of public education, above all by the establishment of a unified labour school as the basis, by the opening of secondary schools and universities for the toilers (the organisation of special workers' faculties), as well by the reorganisation of these schools in accordance with the requirements of proletarian dictatorship and socialist education.

The position and, in many ways, the work of the Young Communist League also undergoes a thorough change. The Communist youth organisation, oppressed and persecuted under capitalism, receives every kind of support from the Soviet power, and takes an active part in the entire work and struggle of the proletarian State, especially in its activity in the sphere of education and youth labour. The proletarian organisations and the proletarian State recognise the Y.C.L. as the representative of the interests of the working youth.

Thus under the dictatorship of the proletariat the Y.C.L. is given unlimited opportunities to develop into a mass organisation for the Communist training of the working youth, an organisation whose activity concerns itself with all sides of the life of the youth.

The Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, which works under the direct leadership of the Bolshevik party has by its activity solved the task of its transformation into a mass organisation, representing and leading the entire proletarian and toiling youth. It has grown into a powerful million-strong army, which received its baptism of fire in the civil war and is now participating in the construction of socialism, drawing into this construction the entire toiling youth.

The victorious proletariat also liberates the youth of the oppressed peoples; it gives it full political rights and ensures it real equality by a series of economic, juridical and cultural measures. In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the working youth of all nationalities is for the first time transformed from an oppressed mass, kept in mental slavery and ignorance, into free and full-fledged citizens, into class-conscious fighters and collaborators in the construction of the new society.

The Soviet Union, which affords the poor peasantry every possible assistance, has also considerably improved the position of the peasant youth. It is beginning through the State to introduce agricultural vocational training for the peasant

youth, and strives to educate this youth in the spirit of the socialisation of agriculture on a co-operative basis.

In connection with the change in the class character of the Young Communist League, its activity also undergoes a change. While under the capitalist regime, it was an instrument for the overthrow of the bourgeois State power, it becomes under the dictatorship of the proletariat the support of the proletarian State. Henceforth the main task of the Y.C.L. is the Communist education and training of the wide masses of the working youth in the process of active participation in Socialist construction. While in the period of struggle for proletarian dictatorship, the basis of the proletarian class education of the youth is its participation in the class struggle for the destruction of the capitalist bourgeois social order, under proletarian dictatorship, the basis is positive co-operation in the construction of the new life, in the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the struggle against all relics of the old order. All this is closely connected with participation in the international working-class struggle, with the study of the theory of Marxism and Leninism, and has as its aim the development of experienced, class-conscious socialist workers, fighters in the class struggle for the victory of the world proletariat, for the proletarian world revolution. Thus the Y.C.L. endeavours, in all its activity, to win the entire toiling youth for active participation in the work of socialist construction, remembering Lenin's advice to the youth at the Third Congress of the Russian Y.C.L.: "You must be to the forefront among the millions of builders of the Communist society, to whom every young man and woman should belong. If you do not draw the whole mass of the working and peasant youth into this construction of Communism, you will not be able to establish the Communist society."

The Y.C.L., therefore, does its utmost to draw the entire toiling youth into the activity of the socialist State apparatus and socialist industry, as well as into the entire political, military, economic and cultural activity of the Soviet power in town and country. The Y.C.L. which, under capitalism, fought against the bourgeois army and militarism, now devotes all forces to defend the proletarian dictatorship, by strengthening the Red army and navy, which protect the proletarian State against all attempts at capitalist intervention or restoration. The Y.C.L. gives its best forces to the Red

army and navy, providing Red army men, commanders and political workers. It promotes the proletarian military training of the toiling youth. It is the first and the bravest in the struggle for the defence of the Proletarian State, the Fatherland of the toilers of the world against the greedy imperialist bandits, and in the struggle for the world revolution.

The Y.C.L. is particularly active in the socialist reorganisation of the work and life of the youth. But since the working youth is part of the working class and the socialist reorganisation of youth labour is the duty of the entire working class—the proletarian State and the trade unions—the Y.C.L. does not replace by its work the activity of the State organs and trade unions, but carries out all its economic and cultural demands in close connection with and through them. It participates in their work and represents in them the demands of the entire working youth. In this the Y.C.L. is guided by the common general tasks of Socialist construction and harmonises the demands of the working youth with the interests of the whole working class.

In accordance with the changed conditions and character of the activity of the Y.C.L. in the period of proletarian dictatorship, the social framework of the Y.C.L. is also widened. The Y.C.L. is now the only social and political mass organisation of the young workers and peasants. The Y.C.L. endeavours to organise in its ranks the entire working youth in town and country, and also to attract wide sections of the poorest peasant youth and the best young elements from the middle peasantry. The Y.C.L. unites in its ranks ever-growing sections of the population; according to its composition it is now a workers' and peasants' organisation. Nevertheless it remains, according to its political role and the character and methods of its work, a proletarian organisation.

The most important condition for the work of the Y.C.L. and for the carrying out of a correct proletarian line is, in view of the considerable percentage of young peasants in its ranks, the maintenance of close unity between the two elements of the Y.C.L., the workers and peasants, on the basis of a firm proletarian leadership. The young workers must undeviatingly and firmly maintain the leading role in the Y.C.L. The growth of the Y.C.L. and the composition of its cadre of functionaries are regulated in accordance with this. The dictatorship of the proletariat makes possible the

full realisation of the hegemony (leadership) of the youth proletariat over the other sections of the toiling youth, through the Y.C.L. The guarantee that the Y.C.L. will have a proletarian leadership and that it will be able to cope with the tremendous problems which confront it is to be found in the leadership of the Party, both through the Party members working in the Y.C.L. as well as through the Party organisations. Lenin's Party, which guides the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., provides a brilliant example of the proper relationships between the old and young generation in the Communist movement.

Apart from organising the youth in its ranks, the Y.C.L. has other possibilities of extending its influence to the non-proletarian sections of the toiling youth and of leading them through participation in the work of the State apparatus, the trade unions, co-operatives, sport, cultural and other organisations).

The political and educational work of the Y.C.L. becomes wider and more intensive in view of increased ideological and financial means. The Y.C.L. does considerable and important work in regard to the political education of the toiling youth and does its utmost to raise its cultural level. It strives constantly to educate the toiling youth in a collective spirit. It popularises and explains to the working youth the tasks of socialist construction and is in the forefront of the cultural revolution, which is imperative immediately after the political and economic proletarian revolution.

Together with the Party and the Soviet Government, the Y.C.L. struggles with all forces against the relics of the old conditions of exploitation, against capitalist lack of culture, ignorance and backwardness, against bourgeois and petty bourgeois relations between man and woman, and against the heavy burdens of the heritage received from the capitalist society. The Y.C.L. fights energetically against religious dope, selfishness, petty bourgeois carelessness, individualistic and narrow craft sentiments, etc. The Y.C.L. shows to the youth the methods and forms of struggle against the relics of anti-proletarian, capitalistic elements and mobilises the working youth for the struggle against them.

The Y.C.L. pays special attention to the workers' children. The position of the workers' children undergoes a fundamental change, not only because the position of workers

and the position and rights of proletarian mothers undergo a change, but also because the proletarian State gradually creates the necessary conditions for the upbringing and education of children, for the development of all their powers and capacities. The proletarian dictatorship sees in the children its own future; the Y.C.L. considers support and guidance for the Communist children's movement one of its main tasks.

After the seizure of power by the proletariat, the Y.C.L. is thus confronted with the historic task of taking a big and responsible share in the recasting of the classes, in the sense of the ideological remoulding of the human material of the old society and in the training and education of a new Socialist generation. The Y.C.L. subordinates its cultural work to its fundamental political tasks, because only thus can this work become a real component part of Communist education.

As long as the relics of the old exploiting classes continue the struggle against proletarian dictatorship the class struggle will continue, although in other forms.

In countries where the proletariat has been victorious, Young Communist Leagues are in duty bound to give special help and support to the militant toiling youth of other countries. Y.C.L.'s in capitalist countries struggle with all the means at their disposal for the defence of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Struggle of the Young Communist International in the Colonies

The Young Communist League and the National Question.

Over one-half of mankind suffers under the yoke of imperialism in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations, its partition into spheres of influence and colonies among a few imperialist powers, the exploitation and national oppression of economically backward peoples by these imperialist powers is one of the strongest bases on which the present capitalist order rests. Imperialism destroys the old culture in the colonies; it reduces the toiling masses to a terrible state of poverty and turns masses of the peasantry into beggars. It exhausts the country economically and endeavours to impede the growth of its productive forces and the development of a national economy.

Like parasites who suck blood out of the toiling masses, British, American, French, Japanese, Italian, Belgian and other imperialists prey on the oppressed peoples. While the blood and sweat of Indian workers, Chinese coolies, African peasants, South American agricultural labourers is being transformed into sovereigns and dollars on the London and New York exchanges, while greedy Japanese imperialism is endeavouring to swallow the whole of East Asia, while the insatiable finance capital of France, Belgium and Italy, is plundering one-half of Africa, and Holland is swinging its whip over the plantation slaves of Indonesia, the imperialist powers are squabbling among themselves like beasts of prey over a tempting quarry.

The national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries plays a tremendous role in the world revolution against capitalism. The importance of national revolutionary movements in the colonial countries lies in the fact that: (1) They directly assist the working class in the struggle against imperialism and for the international dictatorship of the proletariat, and (2) They pave the way for the Socialist revolution in the colonies. The alliance of the proletariat of the imperialist countries with

the oppressed colonial peoples, for joint struggle against imperialism, is one of the most important conditions for the victory of the working class.

The fundamental task of the Communists in the colonies and semi-colonies is to organise the workers in independent organisations in order to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie. This is only possible if the Communists carry on an energetic struggle against bourgeois national reformism. Only by means of revolution under the leadership of the working class is the liberation of the colonies possible. The working class must secure an alliance with the peasantry, the freeing of the peasants' organisations from the influence of the bourgeoisie, and hegemony (leadership) in the colonial revolution. Temporary agreements with the national bourgeoisie are admissible only in so far as they do not impede the independent alliance of the workers and peasants, and only if the bourgeoisie takes an active part in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

In capitalist countries also various national minorities are oppressed and exploited by the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie. This pressure is directed first and foremost against the working masses, against the workers and peasants, whereas the upper strata of the bourgeoisie of the national minorities co-operate with the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie. In the national question, Communists support the right to self-determination for nations, including the right to complete separation and independence. In connection with this fundamental slogan, the Y.C.L., together with the C.P., defends the national rights and demands of the oppressed national minorities, such as the right to use their own language, to teach all subjects in the schools in the national language, special demands for soldiers drawn from the national minorities, etc

The Y.C.L. in defending the national rights of the oppressed peoples, at the same time combats all national chauvinism, particularly in the ruling nations, and consistently maintains the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. The Y.C.L. works within the revolutionary organisations of the national minorities oppressed in the capitalist countries, in order to win them for a joint struggle under the leadership of the C.P. and the Y.C.L.

The Y.C.L. in the same way supports the right of

colonies and semi-colonies to self-determination, including the right to complete separation and independence

Only through such a solution of the national question is it possible to have a free and voluntary alliance of all peoples who have been freed from capitalism, in the common struggle against imperialism, and in the construction of socialism. In this way the World Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics will be established.

The Communist solution of the national question has already been applied in the Soviet Union. The formerly oppressed national minorities, the former Tsarist colonies, have awakened to a new national cultural and economic life; they have obtained national independence and State status and have united with the other nations into a federation of equals, into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Therefore, the Soviet Union is a powerful example and model which inspires with hope and courage all the oppressed peoples in their struggle against the imperialist yoke.

The Y.C.L. supports also all movements against imperialist domination not only in the colonies and semi-colonies, but also in countries which formally are independent, as in Central and South America.

The situation in colonies and semi-colonies differs according to the degree of capitalist development in these countries. Whereas in backward colonies and semi-colonies, class differentiation is still incomplete from the viewpoint of capitalist development, and therefore feudal and patriarchal conditions dominate, in the more advanced colonies differentiation between the big landlords and nobility who embody the relics of feudalism, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry, is becoming more and more evident.

The chief demands of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies are national emancipation and unification, and the solution of the agrarian problem, i.e., emancipation from feudalism and imperialism. In this revolution the proletariat strives to establish a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, on the basis of Soviets. Even in the bourgeois democratic phase of development the working class of the advanced colonies must aim at securing the leading role (hegemony) in relation to the peasantry and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. In view of the inevitable betrayal of the revolution by the national bourgeoisie as the revolution advances, the bourgeois demo-

cratic revolution can be carried to its conclusion only under the leadership of the proletariat, and only in this way is the struggle of the proletariat for its final class aims and for the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a Socialist revolution made possible. The process of this transformation depends upon a number of factors, the most important of which are: the extent to which the bourgeois-democratic problems are solved by the revolution; the strength of the proletariat and its Party and its influence among the peasantry; the assistance given by the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries; the assistance given by the already existent Socialist Republics.

In this way it is possible for the colonies in the present epoch to evade the capitalist stage of development. In an epoch when the proletarian dictatorship already exists on a vast section of the globe—the Soviet Union—when in the advanced countries seizure of power by the working class is on the order of the day, colonial revolutions—with the support of the general proletarian movement—can lead these countries, in spite of their individual social immaturity, into the path of Socialist development.

The toiling youth, which bears in the colonies and semi-colonies a double yoke of terrible exploitation, oppression and slavery, plays a particularly vital role there. For, on the one hand, an enormous percentage of children and youngsters are employed in industry, the youth fills the ranks of the army, and an important part of the student youth is closely connected with the toiling masses and suffers similar exploitation. On the other hand, the youth has grown up in the atmosphere of world war, of accentuated imperialist pressure, of revolutionary uprisings and changes, is filled with hatred for imperialism and is exhibiting remarkable courage and contempt of death in all revolutionary struggles. The class differentiation in the colonies has its effect also on the youth. Not only the representatives of feudalism and imperialism, but the native bourgeoisie also endeavours to bring the youth under its influence, and establishes organisations for this purpose. The main condition for the struggle of the toiling youth is the fight against the influence of national reformism in its ranks and the independent organisation of the working and peasant youth.

The fundamental task of the Y.C.I. in regard to the

leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling youth is the formation of Y.C.L.'s in all colonies and semi-colonies. The practical details of establishing Y.C.L.'s is not the same in all colonies and semi-colonies.

According to the degree of development the concrete tasks of the Y.C.L. in the different colonies and semi-colonies can be divided into two groups:

In advanced colonies and semi-colonies where industry and a proletariat exist, the main and immediate task of the Y.C.L. is the establishment of a Y.C.L. The latter must endeavour to become a mass organisation and the leader of the toiling youth, both in the national revolutionary, and the social struggle. In order to gain and organise the masses for the Y.C.L. the formation of various parallel organisations is also essential.

In some cases the Y.C.L. can organise a broad national revolutionary youth organisation, the form and character of which depends on the conditions of the country and the degree of development of the national revolution, and which embodies in essence a bloc of the working and peasant youth. In these cases it must, from the very beginning, direct its chief attention to securing the leading role for the young workers and the Y.C.L.

In the backward colonies where capitalism has not yet clearly divided the population into classes, and where the proletariat is still in an undeveloped state, the tasks of the Y.C.L. are as follows:—

1. The rallying of Communist elements and formation of class-conscious Communist cadres or groups.

2. Organisation of a wide mass movement of the toiling youth with definite Communist leadership, under the banner of revolutionary liberation from the foreign imperialist yoke, the carrying out of the agrarian revolution, the establishment of an alliance with the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the struggle for the economic, cultural and political demands of the youth.

The more the influence of the Communist cadres or groups penetrates into the masses, and the more they show themselves capable of consolidating their mass influence, the sooner will the formation of a genuine Young Communist League be possible in these countries. The Y.C.L. energetically combats the various forms of inequality and slavery of women and girls in the colonies; the sale of girls, early

marriage, prohibition of participation in social affairs, etc. It does this by drawing the girls into the general struggle and organisations of the toilers.

The great example of the Chinese Revolution and of the heroic Y.C.L. of China has borne out the correctness of the general policy of the Y.C.I. in the colonies. In spite of extremely difficult conditions, the Y.C.L. of China has developed from a small semi-student group into a powerful proletarian mass organisation. It has secured the leadership of the Chinese* working youth and has heroically led the masses of young toilers in the struggle against feudalism, imperialism, and the native bourgeoisie. It has led the struggle both for the fundamental slogans of the revolution and for the immediate concrete demands and requirements of the working and peasant youth. The most savage terror could not destroy it. It maintained and even strengthened its positions under a regime of bourgeois and militarist hangmen.

The development and struggle of the Y.C.L. of China are an inspiring example to the working youth of India, Indonesia, and the entire colonial world.

The Communist Training of Workers' Children.

Communist educational work among working-class children is a special task of the Y.C.L.

The bourgeoisie does not rest content with exploiting an enormous number of children; it enslaves them intellectually too. Schools and all State educational institutions are used by them as instruments of bourgeois class education. As a supplement to this school education there are the religious, reactionary, and so-called "neutral" children's organisations which contain considerable numbers of working class children, are supported by the bourgeoisie and exert enormous influence. Social democratic children's organisations work in perfect harmony with them. The church, the press, the cinema, etc., are also used as a means to imbue the children with a capitalist ideology. The working class sets against the class education of the bourgeoisie its own revolutionary class education of the proletarian children.

In order to assist this revolutionary class education of the growing generation, to organise its struggle against exploitation and mental slavery, to train new fighters from its midst who will struggle in the ranks of the Communist

movement for the social revolution and the construction of Communism, the Y.C.L. organises, under the leadership of the C.P., Communist Children's Leagues (Young Pioneers).

There can be no Communist education and training unless the Proletarian children are drawn into the struggle and work of their class.

The basis of the entire educational work of the Communist Children's League is the systematic drawing in of the children into the proletarian class struggle, in a form understandable to the children, and adapted to the interests of various ages, as well as, where possible, their attraction in certain forms into the revolutionary activity of the Y.C.L. and C.P. By the development of a richer inner life, lively and diverse methods of agitation and propaganda adapted to child mentality, the cultivation of special pioneer methods, physical culture, sports, proletarian cultural activity, etc., the Children's League trains the coming Communist generation. Among these training methods there must be included the development of the greatest possible self-activity and initiative on the part of the children, inside and outside of the children's organisations. The Communist Children's league fights for the interests and demands of the workers children. It struggles against all child exploitation, militarisation and religious and nationalist deception, spread in the schools. Its task is to combat bourgeois, and, in particular, religious and nationalist and Social-Democratic children's organisations. In placing these tasks before itself, it rallies and organises the widest masses of rural and urban workers' children.

The Children's League naturally has simpler tasks than the Y.C.L. in its educational work. Its social basis must therefore be wider than that of the Y.C.L. The Communist Children's League is an organisation for the Communist education of the children of all toilers.

The Communist Children's League works under the guidance of the Y.C.L. and on the basis of the general leadership of the C.P.

The Y. C. L. provides the leading cadres for the Communist Children's League, and ensures that the necessary support and help on the part of the adult workers is forthcoming. The Children's League initiates its organisations primarily where masses of children work and study, where they are most of all subjected to bourgeois influence and exploitation, in schools—school groups; in factories—factory

groups attached to the Y.C.L. groups. These school or factory children's groups constitute the organisational basis of the Communist Children's League.

In its methods and aims for the training of the workers' children, the Y.C.L. greatly differs, therefore, from the Social-Democrats, who "reject" all "dragging in" of children into the class struggle and politics, who in place of a children's organisation constitute a guardianship of the children that stifles all self-activity. The Social-Democrats, while encouraging games and so-called "purely cultural" work, in reality serve only to prepare submissive slaves of capitalism.

The Y.C.L. and the Physical Training of the Working Youth.

The Y.C.L. advocates the physical training of the toiling youth, and of the workers generally, in their own gymnastic and sport organisations, and upon a class basis. The formation of workers' gymnastic and sport organisations is necessary in order to make the toilers, and especially the toiling youth, physically capable of the efforts demanded by the proletarian class struggle, and in order to draw them away from the bourgeois gymnastic and sport organisations. Sport organisations are not, and cannot be, politically neutral bodies. For the bourgeoisie, as well as for the working class, they are a means of strengthening political influence, and an auxiliary means for the carrying out of definite tasks in the class struggle. For the Y.C.L., the workers' gymnastic and sport organisations are one of the most important ways to reach and win over the masses of the toiling youth.

In no other labour organisation is the working youth so strongly represented numerically as in the workers' gymnastic and sport organisations. The struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the youth in the sport organisations, sharpens with the increase of class antagonisms. The bourgeoisie uses sport as one of the most important means of ideologically winning the working youth, of giving them military training, and increasing their economic exploitation (factory sports, recess gymnastics, military drill in the schools). The struggle against the bourgeoisie in the sport movement is, simultaneously, also a struggle against the Social-Democracy which, by its policy, assists the realisation of the aims of the bourgeoisie in the workers' gymnastic and sport movement.

The most important task of the Young Communist

League in this field is : the ideological and organisational separation of the workers' sport organisations from the bourgeois sport movement, and the creation of independent workers' sport federations. For this purpose, the Y.C.L. carries on fractional and disintegrative work in the bourgeois mass sport leagues, in order to induce the membership to leave them and join the workers' sport movement. For the same purpose, it also organises, where necessary, an opposition of working-class elements. Within the workers' sport movement the tasks of the Y.C.L. are : to draw all workers' sport organisations into the daily struggles of the working class, and, in particular, into the fight against the war danger and Fascism ; political and inner-organisational struggle against reformist leaders and policies, as also against the reformist Lucerne Sport International, through fractions and oppositions ; intensive day-to-day work among the masses of worker sportsmen, for the unification on a revolutionary basis, of the national and international labour sports movement. Support and popularisation of the Red Sport International and the application of its principles, policies and directives in all workers' gymnastic and sport organisations ; development of the red sport organisations into mass leagues.

A form of physical culture, which is of enormous importance in connection with the struggle against Fascism, and the necessity of military self-training for the working class, is military sport. In questions concerning the physical training of the youth, the Y.C.L. endeavours to bring about close collaboration between the workers' sport organisations and such organisations as the Red Front Fighters, the Young Red Front, etc.

Under capitalism, sport and gymnastics are a means whereby the bourgeoisie can extend its political influence, preparing cadres for the imperialist army, and for profit-making. In reality the mass of the working youth are, under capitalism, deprived of the means and possibilities for genuine physical culture and sport activity. This becomes possible only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which curtails the working day of young workers, protects their health, regulates their work in industry from the standpoint of education, imbues sport with a collective spirit, and places at its disposal the vast means of the proletarian state. The best proof of this is the brilliant development of physical culture in the Soviet Union.

The Struggle for the Youth

The Opponents of the Y.C.L.'s.

Between the working class and the bourgeoisie in all countries an uninterrupted struggle is going on for the ideological influencing of the youth. For both contending sides, for the old moribund capitalist society, as well as for the rapidly advancing proletariat, the question of winning the youth is vital. "He who has the youth, has the future"; "He who has the youth has the army"; these two sentences express the whole question in a nut-shell.

The sharper the class antagonisms and the class struggle the greater the role played by the question of war, the more bitter and determined becomes the fight of the bourgeoisie for maintaining its spiritual hold on the youth. It develops a deep-rooted system for the training of the youth, in a spirit of militarism and Fascism, which begins even during the early school period, and of which the most important and most dangerous instruments are the various organisations of the bourgeois youth.

Fascism is a form of bourgeois-imperialist reaction, which strives to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, by means of brutal terror and bloody attacks upon the workers, at the same time, resorting to social demagoguery and corruption. Fascism uses as a basis various urban and rural petty bourgeois elements, and also tries to penetrate to the working class. It devotes particular attention to the question of ideologically corrupting and captivating the working youth, which it strives to attract by means of special methods. Closely allied and related to Fascism, and frequently forming the common whole, are sundry state and "neutral," compulsory and "voluntary" organisations for the military training of the youth.

The bourgeoisie develops a whole net of special youth organisations which address themselves to the wide masses of toiling youth, and assume the most varied political colours from Fascism to Social-Pacifism. These organisations take on different forms and occupy themselves with all questions

affecting the life of the youth, from purely political demands to the pursuit of sports, and the satisfaction of the elementary cultural requirements of the youth. This manifold system contains both military training organisations and bourgeois sport organisations, as well as religious associations and pacifist organisations. Particularly numerous are the bourgeois sport and religious organisations that are maintained for the young workers, and which cleverly conceal their anti-labour nature under the mask of neutrality or patriotic sport and religion. The various bourgeois and petty bourgeois pacifist organisations, which in reality merely conceal imperialism's war preparations, and serve to divert attention from the real fight against imperialist war and against the capitalist system, are very dangerous for the toiling youth.

In rural districts, various youth organisations, under the guidance of big landowners, landlords, and the church, carry out the work of the bourgeoisie.

In the struggle for the youth, reformist Social-Democracy, in its various guises, plays the role of an auxiliary force of the bourgeoisie. The Social-Democratic parties of all shadings have become the direct and indirect allies of the bourgeoisie within the camp of the proletariat. They strive to save capitalism from its doom, and pursue the task of helping in the restoration and strengthening of capitalist society. The Social-Democratic parties under the mask of Socialism, support the aims of the imperialist bourgeoisie (Social-imperialism) and the strengthening of militarism in the different countries. They resist by all means the revolutionary struggle of the working class, betraying not only the final aims, but even the elementary every-day demands of the working masses. The Social-Democratic parties are, therefore, nothing but bourgeois "labour parties"—labour parties only according to composition and name, but bourgeois and reactionary according to their role and substance. Without the support of the Social-Democrats, it would be impossible for capitalism to stem the onrush of the revolution which threatens to swallow it. Therefore, Social-Democratic reformism, is for the Young Communist League the most immediate and dangerous opponent among the working youth.

The young Socialist organisations, together with the Social-Democratic parties, have completely finished the process of degeneration into bourgeois labour organisations,

advocating class peace, and the consolidation of capitalism. This is revealed not only in their general political attitude, but also in their theory, and in their practical activity in youth questions. The Social-Democratic youth organisations, in common with the Social-Democratic parties, constitute a barrier which must be removed from the road to the emancipation of the working youth.

A particularly dangerous shading of Social-Democratic reformism is the so-called "Left" (Centrist) Social-Democracy, which conceals by means of ostensibly revolutionary "Left" phrases, its complete and actual agreement with the most reactionary Social-Democratic reformism, and, its hostility to revolution. The "Left" wing of the Social-Democracy thus serves only as an instrument of more subtle deception of the working masses; its special role is to deceive and keep under the influence of Social-Democracy (i.e., of the bourgeoisie) those workers who are already on the road towards Communism. Therefore, this brand of Social-Democratic reformism is an even more dangerous enemy than an open opponent of Communism, or the open supporters of social-imperialism.

Anarchism and Syndicalism are to-day only another brand of reformism, since they deny the need for the proletarian dictatorship, a proletarian party and proletarian centralism, reject uprisings as a form of a proletarian struggle, and fight against the Soviet Union.

Social Democratic reformism in its more political form, as Socialist youth organisation, has not attained the same dimensions among the youth as the Social-Democratic parties among the adult workers, because among the young workers there is no Labour aristocracy in the real sense of the term. Yet reformism tries to extend its influence over the youth in other, outwardly non-political forms. For this purpose it utilises the trade unions under reformist leadership, the reformist gymnastic and sport organisations, rambling clubs, cultural youth organisations, etc. In this manner it extends considerable influence over the working youth.

A struggle is taking place between the reactionary and the revolutionary forces, for the young people in the colonies. The bourgeoisie of the oppressing imperialist countries as well as the landowners, bourgeoisie and religious ministers in the colonies and semi-colonies endeavour to attract the youth

by means of various organisations. An important part is played by the utilisation of religious doctrines (Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedism, etc.). The bourgeoisie in the colonies makes use of various forms of national-reformism. Examples of this kind are furnished by the teachings of Sun Yat-sen and Gandhi, which at a certain stage played a definite part in the anti-imperialist movement, but to-day, at the new stage of development, have become a reactionary force. The teaching of Sun Yat-sen conceals the division of classes under the hazy conception of "the people," and has therefore become, at the present stage, a dangerous obstacle to the development of the class struggle of the working class and peasants. The teaching of Gandhi is for toleration, non-resistance towards the oppressors, the denial of the class struggle, the return to reactionary economic and social forms, and is therefore directed against the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses.

The Y.C.L. wages an energetic struggle against all the bourgeois youth organisations and associations. This fight is intimately connected with the common struggle of the working class and the C.P. against the bourgeois parties, and the bourgeoisie in general, which forms and supports these youth organisations. The Y.C.L. endeavours to win over the young workers who are in these organisations for the working class, and to get them to join the proletarian class organisations and the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. in alliance with the other organisations of the working class (above all, the Red Front Fighters and the Young Red Front), fights with particular determination, and with all means, against the Fascist organisations.

The Y.C.L. sets itself the task of eliminating Social-Democratic, Syndicalist and Anarchist influences over the youth.

The Y.C.L. endeavours to lead the unorganised masses of the young workers, along with those who are misled by the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats, on to the path of class struggle. It endeavours to unite all young workers upon the basis of Communism. The reformist and Centrist Social-Democratic youth leagues, in particular since the war, have deserted the only revolutionary Youth International and formed a rival organisation, a so-called "International" which is only an organisation of disrupters. They split the young

workers, whilst at the same time demagogically pretending to be in favour of "unity." In this way they demonstrated that the expulsion of the Social-Democratic youth leaders from the proletarian youth movement was inevitable. Organizational and political unity (i.e. amalgamation) between the Y.C.L.'s and the Young Socialist organisations is impossible, because the latter are affiliated to, follow the policies of, the Social-Democratic parties, which are essentially bourgeois parties.

Unity among all young workers is possible, and will be accomplished, only on the platform of the Comintern and the Y.C.I.

Whilst the Y.C.L. wages a struggle against the enemy organisations as such, it nevertheless endeavours to get the working class members of these organisations to participate in the struggle for the demands of the working youth, and generally to gain the allegiance of the working boys and girls in the different organisations, as well as those who belong to no party. The Y.C.L. considers the struggle for the proletarian united front of the masses of the young workers, i.e. the tactics of the united front, as one of the most essential means during the revolutionary period for the winning and mobilisation of the young workers, and for exposing the reformist leaders as opponents of the united front, and the struggling masses.

In spite of all frontiers and barriers, in spite of the barbed-wire fences erected by the imperialists and their reformist lackeys, the working youth of all countries forms one big army under the leadership of the Y.C.I.

The revolutionary youth has, till now, been the purest and brightest flame of the revolution; it will remain an inextinguishable flame in the world proletarian revolution. Marching with the Y.C.I. in the ranks of the Communist International, the toiling youth of all countries approaches the achievement of its great aim:

The overthrow of world capitalism! The victory of world Communism! The complete emancipation of the toiling youth from the slavery of to-day!

We have begun the struggle! Against a world of bourgeois enemies! Against those who have betrayed our banners!

No executioners, extraordinary tribunals or gallows can stifle our challenge. Our deeds and sacrifices will silence both the murderers and those who sneer at us.

The iron course of history, our scientific foresight of the future, our Communist consciousness, the enthusiasm and daring determination of our youthful hearts ensure our ultimate victory.

Young workers! Young toilers of all countries!

Close the ranks!

Unite under the red banner of the Young Communist International!

