



Theses of the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International

(On Manuilsky's and Khitarov's Reports.)

1. The third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism is characterized by a further shaking up of capitalist stabilization, a general sharpening of class struggles, increasing war danger, first of all against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (the Chinese-Eastern Railway events), the growth of revolutionary activity of the proletariat and the exploited masses in the colonies, and a growing new revolutionary upsurge. The working class, having recovered from its defeats, is going over from the defensive into the counter-offensive. The beginning of a crisis in the United States and its consequences for Europe, refuting the reformist lie about "organized capitalism," are increasing the international and domestic contradictions of capitalist stabilization. Meanwhile there is a speedy and successful process of construction of Socialism going on in the Soviet Union. The carrying out of the Five Year Plan will not only tremendously strengthen the positions of the international proletariat; it will also serve as a vital factor in the further shaking up of capitalist stabilization. In order to strengthen its tottering positions, the bourgeoisie is increasing its oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses, leaning on the social-democracy which is degenerating into social-fascism, and is at the same time strengthening its fascist organizations (America, Austria, Germany, etc.). Every attempt of the working class to improve its conditions is met with a consolidated front of the triple alliance, the bosses, the bourgeois state and social fascism. The economic struggle of the proletariat is more and more growing into a political struggle. The task of winning over the majority of the working class is becoming more and more imperative for the Communist Parties, which must be accomplished on the basis of the new offensive tactic indicated by the VI Congress of the Communist International and X Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; independent leadership of struggles of the working class, sharpening struggles against reformism, organization of a united fighting front from below (the political mass strike, fighting committees, representatives of shop committees, organization of the unorganized in the struggle against imperialist war and in defense of the Soviet Union, against the Young Plan, against capitalist rationalization and social-fascism), decisive struggle against Right deviations and waverings as the basic pre-requisites for the accomplishment of the militant tasks of the Communist Parties.

In these circumstances the role of the working class youth in the process of production and in the class struggle, is growing, and at the same time grows its fighting activity. Capitalist rationalization, increasing the relative importance of the youth in production, simultaneously subjects it to ever-greater exploitation, and the social-fascist and fascist laws are constantly worsening its condition (for instance the laws about unemployed in Germany and England, new reactionary laws concerning apprentices and the protection of the youth in France, Poland, Austria, etc.). The process of radicalization of the working class is particularly strong among the youth, which is sharply turning towards the Left. The analysis given by the V Congress of the Young Communist International has been fully confirmed. The youth has taken an active part in all class struggles since then and was often the initiator. The growing number of

spontaneous youth strikes flaring up everywhere in spite of the furious terror of the bosses, the police and the trade union bureaucrats, and at times a passive attitude of the adult workers, indicate a growing radicalization and activity of the working class youth. A new phenomenon specially to be observed is the growing participation of girls (who in some cases even declare independent strikes).

In the struggle against revolutionary sentiments of the working class youth, the bourgeoisie on the one hand intensifies repression and terror against the revolutionary youth organizations, and on the other increases and strengthens the system of ideological moulding of the youth, understanding that the outcome of the impending wars and class struggles depends now to a considerable extent on the part which will be played in them by the toiling youth. The school, church, art, literature, sport—everything is placed at the service of militarization and fascisation of the toiling youth. The bourgeois youth organizations, embracing in the major capitalist countries more than half of the entire young generation, are developing feverish activity. The work of political demoralization of the working class youth, its subjection to the influence of the bourgeoisie, is being concentrated in the hands of the state, which creates for this purpose an apparatus with broad ramifications and a united leading center. The Socialist Youth International is also working at the behest of the bourgeoisie; it has openly entered on the path of social-fascism (its support of the military program of the German Social Democracy, slander against the Soviet Union, the preaching of "peace in industry," strikebreaking in economic struggles of young workers, etc.). "Left" phraseology often resorted to by the Socialist Youth International in order more easily to win the masses for social-fascism is particularly dangerous under these conditions. The reformists succeeded with the assistance of the entire Party and trade union apparatus temporarily to stop the rapid disintegration of the Young Socialist International, and they are now trying to broaden its influence under the slogan of "unification of socialist work among the youth." They want the Young Socialist International to have a monopoly right to work among the youth in the mass labor organizations in the hands of Social Democracy. But nothing will save the Young Socialist International from disintegration as the class struggle grows in intensity.

2. Although the Young Communist International can record a series of important political successes since the V Congress: active participation in the struggle of the Comintern against the Rights and conciliators on the part of the Young Communist League as a whole, as well as on the part of its individual Sections—in France, Poland, China, Mongolia and particularly striking activity of the Young Communist League in Sweden; mass work during the strike in Lodz and the Ruhr; the heroic struggle of the Young Communists of Berlin during the May days; the increasing of Young Communist League International influence in new countries (Latin America, the East) there was to be observed during the past year an exceedingly dangerous lagging behind in the tempo of work of the Young Communist International compared with the general tempo of revolutionary development. The Sections of the Young Communist International did not show due political activity in the sphere of economic struggle of the working class youth,

anti-militarist work, the struggle against opponent organizations, etc. The struggle of the working class youth frequently passed unobserved by them. They were not able to counteract to a sufficient extent the increasing ideological, political and economic pressure of the bourgeoisie on the toiling youth by resorting to new forms of mass struggle. They did not embrace and organize the activity of the broad masses of the young workers. For this reason they at times remained at the tail of events, lagged behind the general political development. Along with serious opportunist waverings in the leadership of a number of Leagues (Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.), tendencies of isolation, narrow sectarianism, handicraft methods of work, which are in reality a manifestation of passivity, frequently covered up with radical phrases made themselves sharply felt in the Leagues. Under these conditions the turn towards mass work correctly indicated by the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International and the need of which was borne out by subsequent events, as a direct basic task of all Young Communist International Sections in the capitalist countries, was not realized, and not even the necessary pre-requisites have been created for it in the form of a broad popularization of the decisions of the Congress.

As a result of this, we are faced with a serious political and organizational crisis in a number of Leagues (Czechoslovakia, England, Austria, Norway); there is no growth, and even a decrease in the number of members and factory nuclei (on the average about 20%) in almost all the other countries. In spite of the devotion and steadfastness shown in the ten years of revolutionary struggle for Communism and the line of the Comintern, the Young Communist International will not be able to cope with the great tasks confronting it at the present time if the Leagues will continue to work as they do.

3. The Right danger in the world Communist movement is the greatest danger. It has been nourished and is still nourished by illusions regarding the firm character of capitalist stabilization, the pressure of a strong social democracy (in the countries of white terror) and repression), and leads to a lagging behind of the rapidly developing revolutionary upsurge. In the third period, in the period of tottering capitalist stabilization, the Right danger by no means disappears or diminishes: it is even intensified on account of the fact that the opportunists are frightened by the revolutionary wave, the sharpening of class struggles and are so much more rapidly going away from the Party. For this reason, the Right danger is the main danger in all Sections of the Comintern, including the Young Communist International which is organically connected with the Comintern. Manifestations of the Right danger in the Sections of the Young Communist International can be seen for instance in the under-estimation of the radicalization of the working class youth, the minimizing of the role of the Young Communist International as a militant political organization of the young workers, the tendency to separate cultural from political work, political neutrality sentiments, lagging behind, failure to appreciate the significance of such forms of struggle as strikes, negative attitude towards such new forms of organization as youth representatives elected in the enterprises, open and hidden sabotage of reorganization on a factory nuclei basis, legalist tendencies, etc. But the Right danger is not the only danger in the revolutionary movement of the youth. Along with this danger there is also the so-called "Left danger," namely: a tendency towards petty bourgeois radicalism leading to divorcement of the leadership from the masses and the mass organizations, its transformation into narrow groups of "Left" phrasemongers. This danger is expressed in tendencies to counterpose "politics" to the organizational tasks, leading in reality to the negation of mass work in economic, cultural and sport organizations, in survivals of vanguardism; in ignoring the role of the Young Communist League as a political-educational organization the basis of which must be broader than that of the Party. The error of the active Young Communists consists in the fact that they do not see or that they under-estimate this danger, that they do not want to or are unable to carry on the struggle against it, that they frequently take a neutral position in relation to "Left" deviations, and by this cultivate the "Left" danger and endanger the success of the work for the transformation of the Young Communist League organizations into mass organizations of the working class youth. In order to transform the Young Communist League into real mass

organizations, the leadership of the Young Communist International must, without delay, liquidate these mistakes and enter on the path of active struggle with the "Left" danger. By this very fact the leading Young Communist members will overcome the main hindrance which now interferes with its entering on to the path of mass work.

4. The main reason for the unsatisfactory situation in the Young Communist International should be sought in the sectarian isolation and separation from the basic mass of the working class youth which dominates in the organizations of the Young Communist International. In spite of the decisions of the Fifth Congress, the Young Communist International has not begun to work among the broad mass and undertaken the winning over of these masses, of drawing them into the general revolutionary struggle, on the basis of their elementary needs and immediate interests. The fear of the masses which exist in the Sections of the Young Communist International has not been actually eliminated. The cadres of the Young Communist International organizations have still frequently covered up with petty bourgeois radical phrases their political passivity and organizational helplessness.

Narrow sectarianism, isolation and the absence in the organizations of the Young Communist International of a general line favoring the real winning over of the masses of the working class youth to the side of Communism is expressed in:

a) A systematic detachment of the League from the daily questions arising from the struggles of the working class youth; this separation is due chiefly to the fact that in the present period the majority of strikes and activities of the working masses and the youth are taking place unobserved by the Young Communist Leagues.

b) The absence of a firm and consistent course for the conquest of large enterprises.

c) The absence of serious stubborn daily work in the various mass and auxiliary organizations of the working class youth (trade unions sport, educational, etc.).

d) A neglect of systematic work of demoralization of the opponent mass organization (socialist, catholic and the other religious societies, sport organizations, particularly in the factories, fascist groups, etc.).

e) No connection between the upper and lower organizations, inability of the leaders to draw the entire membership into the everyday work and to make the daily tasks of the League accessible to every Young Communist in his work.

f) The discrepancy between words and deeds, between phrases about a correct political line and the ability to apply it in practice.

The social composition of the League is unsatisfactory. As in the past, most of the members are recruited in the small and medium-sized enterprises, and, in some countries (England, America, Czechoslovakia, China) the Leagues have a considerable petty bourgeois percentage. The influence of these strata is manifested in a substitution of the actual struggle for the masses of the working class youth by radical phraseology.

The "revolutionary phrase," wrote Lenin, "is most frequently a malady of revolutionary parties when these are directly or indirectly connecting, uniting and intertwining proletarian and the petty-bourgeois elements, and when the course of revolutionary events effects big and rapid changes." Work among the masses, to the extent that it has been carried on, nevertheless, was more for show, it was done for its external effects, without making use of the results. The system of leadership also corresponds to this: there is no deep study of the processes in the movement and among the working class youth, stereotyped methods and hackneyed phrases predominate. Party formulas are mechanically repeated and there is no live concrete leadership; circulars and bureaucratic methods of work prevail; the rank and file is not drawn into work; there is no systematic promotion of new cadres; all work lays on the shoulders of a small section of active members who are heavily overburdened and among whom there are also opportunist elements who in a concealed and open manner hinder the promotion of new cadres, who frequently cover up their opportunism with radical phrases; there is no mass self-criticism or control of carrying out of decisions; the work proceeds for the most part of itself and often the machine works without results, and even the very best decisions remain a dead letter. And finally, there is no due attention, assistance and leadership from the Communist Parties.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

The Situation in the Y. C. I. and the Turn Towards Mass Work

Theses of the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Note: Because of a typographical error, the following final sentence in the last paragraph of yesterday's installment was omitted:

And finally, there is no due attention, assistance and leadership from the Communist Parties; there are instead attempts to establish guardianship over the youth; the Party kernel in the Young Communist League is very weak and, in addition to that, is not doing what it should do.

(Continued)

5. The task placed by the V Congress before all the Sections of the Young Communist International in the capitalist countries: to bring about a decisive turn towards Bolshevik mass work, continues to confront them in its full scope and with growing persistence on account of the new revolutionary upsurge to be observed in the labor movement. The winning of the majority of the working classes by the Communist Parties, which is the main task of the Communist International, has as one of its necessary conditions the winning of the majority of the young workers. The Young Communist Leagues upon which this task is placed, will be able to accomplish it only by applying the new forms of united front tactics, new forms of struggle and organization of the working class youth, transferring in actual reality the center of gravity of their entire work towards the shops and factories and the mass organizations of the young workers. The most important and basic element of the turn is the struggle of the Young Communist Leagues for leadership in the class struggles of the working class youth. Not a single strike, not a single demonstration, even the most insignificant, should pass without the Young Communist League trying to get control of the movement. The gigantic class struggles in the third period of post-war capitalist development do not remove from the agenda the daily routine, tedious and persistent work among the trade unions, homes, schools, educational organizations, on sport grounds, during rambles, in places of entertainment, etc. Without this work, into which every member of the Young Communist League must be drawn, without tying up the most varied interests and requirements of the proletarian youth, with the gen-

eral class tasks, the matter of winning over the majority of the working class youth cannot be fulfilled.

The turn means a struggle against tendencies "to work where it is easier,"—in territorial organizations, rather than in factory nuclei; it means the struggle against the neglect of "tedious" and allegedly "unpolitical" work in sport clubs and other mass auxiliary organizations. The turn means a further application of the new offensive tactics in all struggles of the working class youth and organization of its participation in general struggles of the proletariat; it means a decisive overcoming of sectarian isolation of the Young Communist League organizations, their narrowness, the fear of the masses, culture tendencies and backwardness.

The turn can be made only on the basis of the line of the Party in the Young Communist League and on the basis of broad development of Communist "Youth Politics." For this purpose it is necessary:

(a) Decisively to fight against the right-deviation, against the conciliatory attitude towards it, against opportunism in practice, both in the Party as well as in the Young Communist League, and simultaneously to carry on a decisive struggle not only in words, but in deeds, against the Trotskyist and all other tendencies of petty bourgeois radicalism, sectarianism and "left" phrases and deviations, against a neutral and indifferent attitude towards the "left" danger; to renew the League cadres by decisive promotion of rank and filers and by systematic work amongst them, carrying on a decisive struggle against all group manifestations, the selection of people according to group principles, group concealment of each other's mistakes, the covering up of shortcomings and defects in work. A system of responsibility for work is necessary from top to bottom, establishing as a criterion in the selection of cadres their ability to follow the course of mass Bolshevik work in accordance with the political line of the Comintern, to establish the leading role of the Party in relation to the Young Communist League from the bottom to the top, decisively discarding the system of a purely formal representation of the Communist Party in the Young Communist League organizations and striving for real work and leadership of the delegated Party comrades in these organizations; to create and strengthen the Party kernels in the Leagues by drawing all active Youth into the Party.

(b) To organize on the basis of the united front from below tactics the struggles of the working class youth for its daily demands jointly with the general struggle of the proletariat; this means that the Young Communist League must formulate and propagandize the demands of the working class youth in the struggles against militarism, fascism and capitalist rationalization and subordinate them to the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Without lowering to any extent the political level of the work of the Young Communist League, it should be brought closer to the psychology and understanding of the youth, adopting the methods of agitation and propaganda. To permeate the entire work with the spirit of militant internationalism, organizing

on a broad scale the work of international education of the toiling youth.

The turn embraces all the political tasks confronting the Young Communist International at the present time and for this reason the attempts to picture the turn as a narrow "organizational" task, pertaining only to a change of the system of work, and the tendencies to cover up the passivity in mass work and the failure actually to accomplish the turn by general abstract discussions about the "political significance of the turn," depriving it of its organizational practical importance, are absolutely wrong and politically harmful.

6. The Plenum records weakness in the discussion regarding the turn which up to the present time has been carried on abstractly and mainly by the committees.

The shifting of the center of gravity of carrying out the turn from discussion in the upper quarters to practical work at the bottom, in the nuclei, the local organizations, the drawing into this work on the basis of actual mass and relentless self-criticism and self-activity of the lower organizations, the entire rank and file and every individual member of the Young Communist League—are a basic condition for the realization of the turn.

The Plenum particularly warns all Sections of the Young Communist International against a formal approach to the question of the turn towards mass work. A relentless struggle must be declared against all those who will pay lip service to the decision about the turn, but who will sabotage it in practice, and against those who will simply limit themselves to its formal acceptance, because a formal attitude towards the turn, as was shown by the fate of the decisions of the V Congress, is the greatest danger.

Taking into account the unsatisfactory situation in the Sections of the Young Communist International which in some countries takes on a form of a crisis, the Plenum of the Executive Committee considers it necessary to make a close study of the main causes of the crisis in the Czecho-Slovakian, British, Norwegian and Austrian Leagues (an investigation of the lower organizations, reports, instructions, conferences) and point out the concrete measures necessary to guarantee that the necessary change will be effected in the Leagues. The most important lessons of development of these Leagues on the basis of examples from the actual activity to make this the possession of all Sections of the Young Communist International and all the members of the Young Communist organizations (press, directions to the Leagues, conferences, actual personal instructions, etc.).

In order to bring about the necessary change the Plenum raises before all Sections of the Young Communist International and before the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International the following concrete tasks, the carrying out of which must be accomplished under the closest observation:

(a) All forces of the organizations must be immediately concentrated on work in large enterprises of the most important industries where masses of young workers are concentrated. The Plenum makes it obligatory for all leading organs of the Leagues, beginning with the Central Committees and ending with the lower local and section committees—to carry out a systematic and most thorough investigation of the economic work done in the enterprises, analyzing in the most thorough manner, its achievements and defects, and, simultaneously, selecting leading cadres among the young proletarians who proved in practice their ability to do mass work among the working class youth. The Enlarged Plenum of the

Executive Committee makes it mandatory for all Leagues to create in the immediate future strong working factory nuclei in the large enterprises employing many young workers. The failure to carry this out must bring with it a change in the composition of the leading organs of the Leagues. The Plenum binds all Leagues to pay most serious attention to systematic and uninterrupted recruiting of members, transferring the center of gravity of this work to the enterprises.

(b) All the work in the factories cannot be done from the point of view of capturing the leadership in the class struggles of the young workers and active participation of the entire Young Communist League organization in them. A strike (particularly strikes of the youth, the drawing in of all young workers into strikes and other demonstrations of the working class, the extension of every movement, the transformation of economic into political strikes, formation of fighting committees of the youth, organization of the unorganized, etc.) is one of the chief means whereby the Young Communist League can most quickly become a Bolshevik mass organization of the proletarian youth.

In bringing about the turn, the application of the united front tactics from below is of paramount importance. In the present conditions of the class struggle, negligence in the application of the united front tactics from below, a method of winning the majority of young workers is seriously jeopardizing the solution of this task. In this connection the question of youth delegates in the factories is becoming of great importance. These delegates should be elected by all young workers employed in a given factory (both organized and unorganized), and should be regularly convened.

The Plenum instructs the Presidium and all Sections to collect and study in the next two months all the most important material regarding strikes and the participation of the youth in the general struggles of the working class, the negative and positive examples of application of the united front tactics and, on the basis of experience of the recent struggles, demonstrations and activities, draw the necessary lessons, popularize and utilize them for further work of the various Sections, and ensure the carrying out of the turn.

(c) The development of broad anti-imperialist and anti-militarist activity which is of first-rate importance at the present time in all countries. Along with the intensification of the ideological struggle against all forms of militarization of the youth, and particularly its pacifist camouflage, it is necessary to apply new forms of mass anti-militarist work, ensuring the mobilization of the broad masses of the toiling youth in the struggle against imperialist wars, in defense of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and for the liberation of the colonies (anti-military conferences and committees on the basis of enterprise and mass organizations, youth sections of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues; defense organizations of the Jungfront type; unions of recruits and the reserves, etc.). It is necessary to begin a systematic building up of nuclei in the army and navy and also in the enterprises of the war industries. In developing in every way the struggle of the soldiers and sailors for their partial daily demands, it is necessary to always link it up with the struggle for our general and ultimate slogans.

d) A radical reconstruction of the present work of the Young Communist organizations in the general proletarian and mass youth organization is also absolutely necessary.

It is first of all necessary to develop inten-

sive work in all existing auxiliary organizations with a view to the political moulding to the youth and a systematic recruiting of members for the Young Communist League. Secondly, maximum initiative is necessary in the creation of new types of auxiliary organizations, namely, factory organizations (along industrial lines on the basis of youth delegates in the factories, sport and other factory groups, etc.), youth trade union sections on the factory principle, International Red Army groups, mutual aid and various anti-fascist, sport, educational and other youth associations. Young Communist League members belonging to auxiliary organizations should constitute properly functioning fractions.

The work carried on by Young Communist organizations in the industrial, cultural and sport associations, must be of a political character. It is not the task of the Young Communists working in these organizations to show that they are good sportsmen and educational workers, but that they can carry on systematic agitation and propaganda, that they can rouse the class-consciousness of the young workers, and make the latter understand the general class tasks of the proletariat and the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

e) The Young Communist League organizations must pay particular attention to sport unions of the working class youth. In these unions they must crystallize the basic kernel for strike pickets, proletarian self-defense, workers' fighting committees and Red Guards, people for work in the imperialist armies. They should utilize sport organizations for the military training of the working class youth.

f) In all of the opponent and "neutral" organizations having many of the working class youth in their midst, it is necessary to work stubbornly and persistently for their disintegration and for the winning of the young workers to our side. For this purpose it is necessary to send steadfast Young Communist members into such organizations and draw into this work organizations which are under Young Communist influence. It is necessary to attend all public meetings of political opponents, to carry on open discussions in factories as well as outside of them in order to demoralize their organizations. The Plenum instructs the Presidium specially to work out concrete measures and tasks in the matter of disruption of the Young Socialist International, and religious and fascist organizations (the "Dopo Lavoro" and the "Strelak," etc.).

g) Work must immediately begin amongst the agricultural laborers and poor peasants, especially in agrarian countries. In this connection the ties that some workers have with villages should be made use of. Rural work requires extensive application of subsidiary forms of organization of the youth.

h) The illegal Leagues will be able to make the turning only if they fight against the peculiar deviations which are particularly strong in them owing to the peculiar conditions under which they have to work. On the one hand, there are legalist tendencies to be observed, a striving to carry on all activities legally and to under-estimate the importance and the leading role of the illegal organizations. On the other hand, there is a very strong tendency to be isolated from the external world, to neglect the possibilities of carrying on legal work, a sharply expressed spirit of sectarianism, often giving rise to pernicious political theories (terrorism). Both these deviations result in a limited development of the Young Communist League, a rejection of mass work and, in the end, liquidation. Attention in the countries where the Young Communist Leagues are illegal must be directed chiefly to the strengthening and development of the illegal organizations, and to a skillful coordination of legal and illegal methods of work.

The underground Leagues should also devote much of their attention to those spheres of activity which have hitherto been in a most negligible state; weakness of the organizational apparatus, especially with regard to conspiracy, inadequate contact between the Central Committees and the lower organizations, insufficient contact with the Party in all of its links, insufficiency of literature and inadequacy of the press, extremely poor contact with the international movement.

i) It is necessary to emphasize the importance of preparing the Leagues which are still legal for illegality with which they are threatened and which they will soon have to experience. This preparation is first and foremost a political task. It consists in a strengthening of our connections with the masses through the instrumentality of a wide struggle for the League's legal existence and an ideological preparation of the League members for clandestine work. Parallel with this, all organizational measures must be taken to prepare the organizations in all their stages for a transition to illegality.

j) Revolutionary competition in all spheres of Young Communist League activity must become one of the basic interests in raising the initiative and revolutionary self-activity of each organization and every member of the Young Communist League. It is necessary to draw into the revolutionary competitions the broad masses of young workers as well as the auxiliary organizations.

7. A decisive turn in all Young Communist International work towards broad mass activity is the only way out of the present impasse in the Young Communist International Sections and of successful solution of the task of winning the majority of the working class and peasant youth. The discussion about the turn has already reached the most advanced sections of Leagues. But this is only a beginning, it is only the first step in the struggle for the turn. The struggle is still ahead, it is gigantic and stubborn. It is necessary courageously to move forward without fearing the difficulties, unflinchingly exposing the errors and shortcomings, removing the bad leaders, boldly promoting new people whose distinguishing features would be possible clarity and steadfastness, contact with the masses, ability to organize and lead them, perseverance and persistent work, unlimited devotion to the cause, and unwavering faith in the final victory of the proletariat. The execution of the accepted decisions must be looked after, verbal declarations will not suffice; everyone must be checked up in practice, talk about mass work must not substitute actual mass work, as has been frequently the case in the past.

It is necessary to generalize and broadly to popularize the experiences of the various countries in the matter of realization of the turn. The struggle is sharpening, persecutions are increasing, the bourgeoisie is intensifying its attack on the youth; the time we still have at our disposal before the decisive battle for the proletarian revolution is being shortened; the conditions of Young Communist International work are becoming more complex, but also more favorable as the militant activity of the mass of the proletariat and of the working class youth is growing. In these conditions the Young Communist International must direct all its inspiration and enthusiasm towards the realization, and an acceleration of the tempo, of the turn, inspiration and enthusiasm which is inexhaustible among the brave members of the Young Communist League who, many times, have proven their devotion to the revolution and to the Comintern. Only thus will the Young Communist International be able to carry out its historic mission, its duty before the proletarian revolution and the Communist International.

THE END

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