

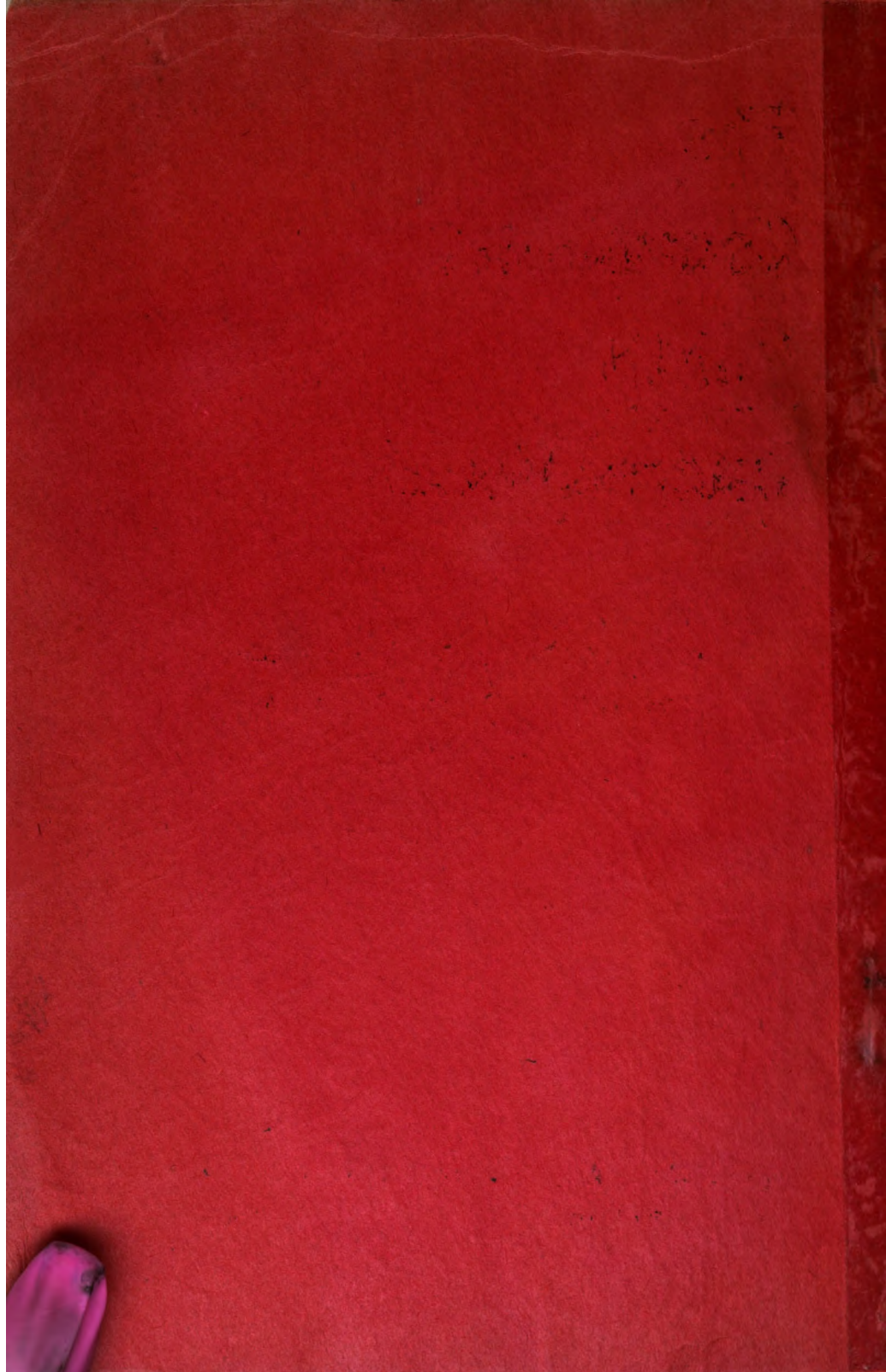
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# The Communist Youth International

REPORT OF ACTIVITY BETWEEN  
THE 4TH AND 5TH CONGRESS  
1924 - 1928

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THE YOUNG COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL

*The*  
**YOUNG COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL**

**BETWEEN THE FOURTH  
AND FIFTH CONGRESSES  
1924-1928**

*Max Manus*

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THE  
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# Contents

## PART ONE

	Page
The Political Background of the Activity of the Y.C.I. during the last Four Years - - - - -	1
Campaigns and Activities of the Y.C.I. - - -	8
The Role of the Young Communist Leagues in the Inner-Party Discussions - - - - -	20
The Fight Against Imperialist War and Militarism -	24
The Fight for the United Front - - - - -	33
Leading the Struggle for the Demands and Interests of the Young Workers - - - - -	49
With the Youth of the Eastern and Colonial Countries in the Fight against Imperialism - - - -	71
Agitation and Propaganda - - - - -	78
Activity Among the Young Workers of the Countryside	87
Our Fight Against the Opposing Organisations - -	91
The Y.C.I. and the Non-Party Mass Organisations -	99
The Y.C.I. and the Elections - - - - -	102
Communist Children's Movement - - - - -	109
The Activity of the Presidium of the E.C. of Y.C.I. -	113
Sessions of the Plenary and Enlarged Executive - -	127
Central European Conference of the Y.C.I. - - -	132
International Organisational Conference - - -	135
The Y.C.I. and International Youth Day - - -	138
The Y.C.I. in Figures - - - - -	143



## CONTENTS

### PART TWO

	Page
Soviet Union - . . . . .	153
Germany - . . . . .	170
France - . . . . .	175
Great Britain - . . . . .	182
China - . . . . .	189
Poland - . . . . .	192
Czecho-Slovakia - . . . . .	196
Italy - . . . . .	203
Sweden - . . . . .	207
Norway - . . . . .	209
U.S.A. - . . . . .	212
Austria - . . . . .	216
Balkan Countries - . . . . .	218
Baltic States - . . . . .	223
Latin America - . . . . .	228
Other Leagues - . . . . .	232
Statutes of the Y.C.I. - . . . . .	233
Thesis of the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. on the Question of Sport Work - . . . . .	239

Page

153

170

175

182

189

192

196

203

207

209

212

216

218

223

228

232

233

39

## PART I.



## The Political Background of the Activity of the Y.C.I. During the last Four Years

In considering the activities of the Y.C.I. during the years 1924-28, it is first of all necessary to review the general political development which took place during this period. The Fifth World Congress of the Comintern took place after the defeat of 1923 in Germany had become a fact, and after capitalism in Germany and other countries was about to start a counter offensive, undertaking the first steps to stabilise its economic and political power through suppression of the working-class movement, and attacks against the workers' standards of living. This policy was, however, hidden by all sorts of pacifist phrases, because in England at that time the Labour Party had come into power, and pretended to usher in an era of "peaceful development" throughout the whole world. The effects of this "peaceful era" were to become felt immediately. In Germany the Dawes Plan was announced, and under this slogan German economy was put under the control of Anglo-American capitalism. The MacDonald Government soon proved itself very clearly to be an imperialist government. This was shown still more clearly by its scandalous downfall, brought about by the so-called Zinoviev letter. This episode caused, however, the English working-class movement to move very strongly to the Left. The expression of this was a growing sympathy for the Soviet Union, and the creation of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, at its sessions in the spring of 1925, whilst pointing out the fact of the capitalist stabilisation, showed at the same time its unstable temporary character.

This Plenary Executive also accepted the thesis of Bolshevikisation of the Communist Parties, which represented an extract of Lenin's teaching on the rôle of the Communist Parties and the collective experiences of all sections of the Comintern.

In May, 1925, a new force entered the arena of international class struggle with unexpected vehemence. This was the Chinese proletariat, which, awakened by the shootings in Shanghai, was brought into the streets and the open struggle. This open fight of the Chinese proletariat against the imperialists, side by side with the uprising, and the tenacious struggles of the suppressed peoples in Morocco against French imperialism, considerably increased the danger of a new war. The imperialists piled up

armaments and prepared more and more frantically for a war against the Soviet Union and the oppressed nations, but this only resulted in the broad masses of the European proletariat coming more clearly to a realisation of the importance of the national liberation movements of colonial peoples, and, at the same time, their sympathies towards the Soviet Union, which had entered the epoch of Socialist construction, growing stronger and stronger. A whole army of workers' delegations visited the Soviet Union, and their reports confirmed very strikingly the correctness of the policy of the Soviet Government, the Bolshevik Parties, and the Comintern.

The feeling of depression, which showed itself after the defeat of 1923, began to disappear. A movement towards the Left on the part of the masses of European workers became visible. This new situation presented new tasks for the Communist Party, viz., to give a correct lead to the masses by an extensive use of the tactics of the united front; by harnessing their sympathies towards the Soviet Union, so as to mobilise them in a struggle against the war danger, as well as in a struggle for economic demands.

The struggle for the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties received a new impetus and new meaning, and brought about very positive results, particularly in Germany. The leadership of Maslow and Ruth Fisher, which had come to the top of the German Party because of the defeat of 1923, proved itself at that period to be completely bankrupt and unable to lead the Party in a Bolshevik sense. For this reason they were removed by the German Party and the Comintern supported this change of policy in the C.P.G. by issuing an Open Letter to the membership of the Party, which very strongly criticised the mistakes of the Maslow-Fisher leadership.

Towards the end of that year a new danger in the Comintern became apparent. This was the so-called new opposition in the C.P. of the Soviet Union, which for the first time showed itself openly at the Fourteenth Party Congress, and which later on went through such a fateful development. The appearance of this opposition was mainly caused through the difficulties of Socialist construction, which at this period became clearly visible for the first time.

The Enlarged Executive in the spring of 1926 made a thorough examination of capitalist stabilisation and showed very clearly its unstable, shakable character. The stabilisation crisis, which occurred in France at that time, proved the correctness of the criticism.

This Executive session very strongly condemned the ultra-



Left opposition in the Communist Party of Germany and confirmed the course adopted by the E.C.C.I. in Germany.

The year 1926 was overshadowed by the great struggle of the British working class. On the 1st of May millions of British workers entered the general strike in sympathy with the locked out miners. Although this General Strike was very quickly betrayed by its leaders and the mine workers, left to themselves, had to fight to the end and suffer a defeat, nevertheless this struggle, unequalled in the history of Great Britain, met with magnificent response from the whole world, and had great results for the British working-class movement. The British reformists who wrapped themselves up to this time in Left phrases, proved themselves to be mean traitors, who helped the British capitalists to smash the struggling working class. When the trade union movement of the U.S.S.R., which was connected with them through the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, very strongly criticised this policy of betrayal, the British reformists forced the break with the trade unions of the Soviet Union, in order to do a favour to the Conservative Government. All this, however, resulted in a further radicalisation of the British working class. Broader masses of British workers began to recognise the real face of reformism, and to rally under the revolutionary banners of the Communist Party and Minority Movement.

These occurrences in England were used by the opposition in the C.P. of the Soviet Union in order to strengthen their attacks against the Bolshevik leadership of the Party and the policy of the Comintern. They finally went so far that their representatives openly broke Party discipline and tried to force a discussion in the C.P.S.U. This the leaders of the new Trotskyist opposition did not achieve. The C.P.S.U. unanimously repelled their attacks, stood united behind the Bolshevik Central Committee, and at the Fifteenth Party Congress condemned the opposition as a Social Democratic deviation. The Plenary Executive of the Comintern in November, December, 1926, strongly supported this estimation of the Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. and drew its conclusions also for other countries, particularly Germany, where an end was made to the Maslow-Ruth Fisher group, who were expelled from the Party for counter-revolutionary activities.

This Enlarged Executive also did some other important work. It drew its conclusions from the great struggle of the British working class and gave instructions accordingly for the future activity of the British section.

In addition, for the first time in the Comintern, the problems of the Chinese Revolution were very thoroughly analysed. The Chinese question was dealt with in a period when the new upward rising of the Chinese Revolution resulted in the victorious

#### 4 YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

advance of Cantonese armies towards Wuhan. The theses of the Comintern declared the Chinese Revolution at this period to be a bourgeois democratic revolution. They regarded the task of this epoch to be the achievement of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in order to make possible the development of China along non-capitalist lines, but always towards Socialism. They also laid down most important practical tasks for the Chinese Party: for its co-operation in the Kuomintang Party and Government (in which it must attempt to realise the leading rôle of the proletariat), and for the development of a broad peasants' movement with the agrarian revolution as its object.

The year 1927 was also completely overshadowed by the struggles of the Chinese Revolution. First came the victorious uprising of the workers in Shanghai and the triumph of revolution in the whole of Southern China. This was followed, however, by the bourgeois counter-revolution, the defeat of the revolutionary forces, and a series of set-backs for the revolution. This temporary defeat of the Chinese Revolution encouraged the imperialists in their war plans against the Soviet Union. The English Conservatives thought the moment opportune to bring about a break of relations with the Soviet Union. Through a series of provocations they tried to draw the Soviet Union into warlike conflicts.

The Plenary Executive of the Comintern in May, 1927, had, therefore, to deal in the first place with the question of the serious danger of imperialist war, and to lay down the tasks of the fight against the warmongers. It also analysed the situation in China, drew attention to the most important defects of the Chinese Party, and set, as the most important task of the working class of all countries, the rallying to the assistance of the Chinese Revolution in its difficult position. Shortly after this session, for the first time for many years, Europe witnessed anew an armed struggle in the streets of one of its centres: the heroic uprising of the proletariat of Vienna against Fascist reaction. The fights in the streets of Vienna revealed like lightning the position of the capitalist world, the whole shaky foundation of its stabilisation, and the enormous revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

The events in China began to move very rapidly and only a few weeks after the victory of the counter-revolution the leadership of the Communist Party of China revealed its complete bankruptcy and lack of ability. The Comintern, therefore, insisted with firmness that a change in the leadership of the Party and its policy be brought about. This was carried through by the Party. The Communist Party of China realized its mis-

takes, created a new revolutionary party leadership and approached the solution of its new tasks—the organisation of the armed uprising against the counter-revolutionary Kuamin-tang—under the most difficult conditions.

Though it should be clear to everybody that the policy of the Comintern in China was absolutely correct, and that mistakes have happened only where the line laid down by the Sixth Enlarged Plenum has not been carried out, the Trotskyist opposition in the C.P.S.U., which in the meantime had established connections with the different oppositional elements in the other parties, and which had become active again, tried to utilise the difficulties of the Chinese Revolution for its struggle against the Bolshevik leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. The opposition intensified its fight more and more and finally went to unheard of methods. On the day when the revolutionary proletariat celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Union the opposition brought the struggle into the streets and tried to appeal to the non-Party elements and the enemies of the Party against the policy of the Party. This was clearly an open breach with the Party and a counter-revolutionary action entailing all the consequences of such action. As such it was stamped by the C.P.S.U., by the Comintern, and by all revolutionary workers.

The Trotskyist opposition was removed from the C.P.S.U. and all other sections of the Comintern. The corresponding decisions of the Fifteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., and later on of the Plenum of the Comintern met with unanimous approval and support from all sections of the Communist International.

The Plenum of the Executive of the Comintern, which assembled in February, 1928, finally liquidated Trotskyism in the ranks of the Comintern and analysed very carefully the international situation and the tasks of the most important parties. The Plenum stated that a general sharpening of the international situation as a result of the intensified attacks and increased armaments of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, and correspondingly an increased struggle of reformists and the capitalist governments against the Communist movement had taken place.

This sharpening of the general situation had caused a further increasing radicalisation of the working class, thus offering very good opportunities for the work of the Communist movement. From this the Plenum drew the necessary conclusions, and instructed the Communist Parties to increase their work among the masses; not to draw back a single step from the reformists, but to proceed to a counter-offensive against them, and particu-

## 6 YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

larly to struggle in the trade unions in order to free them from reformist influence and win revolutionary positions

The Plenum also laid down tactics for the two most important sections of the Comintern—the British and the French. It decided on a movement to the left in the policy of these two parties, as a clear expression of our intensified fight against reformism. This tactic should particularly express itself in the elections. The Parties will in the future definitely refuse to support social democratic candidates unless the latter declare themselves quite clearly in favour of our programme of action and for the united front of the working class.

The Plenum of the Executive again dealt with the Chinese situation, and decided on directives for the Chinese Party, based on the rich experience of last year's struggles. The Canton uprising, and a series of peasant uprisings in various provinces, have shown that the Chinese Revolution not only goes on, but develops further, and gathers new strength. The Communist Party must also learn to prepare and lead these uprisings correctly through better work amongst the masses, in order to avoid the mistakes of the past.

The developments since the last Plenum of the Comintern have confirmed the perspectives, which were set in the Plenum decisions. The International situation becomes increasingly sharp. The imperialists conduct a systematic attack against the Soviet Union. The continuous slanderous attacks in the bourgeois papers of all countries; the British intrigues in all parts of the world, instigated for the sole purpose of drawing the Soviet Union into war, and of creating a unified anti-Soviet block of the capitalist countries; the refusal to accept the proposals of the Soviet Government at the Geneva session of the so-called armament conferences; and the recently detected great counter-revolutionary plot in the Don Basin, show quite clearly the trend of development. A new war against the first workers' and peasants' State is being prepared by the imperialists. Side by side with this go the persecutions of the revolutionary Communist movements in all countries.

The masses of workers begin to realise this development more clearly, to free themselves from reformist influences and pay more attention to our Communist slogans. The Communist Parties in the most important countries visibly make great progress. The splendid success of the French and German Parties in the recent elections is a striking example of this. The complete bankruptcy of all oppositional elements which still existed, for instance, the miserable collapse of the so-called "Lenin League" in Germany, show the political correctness and strength of our movement in all countries.



Every day brings new signs of progress towards Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties in the direction of rallying the broad masses of the working class under the banner of the Communist International.

This was the political background against which the activities of the Y.C.I. have developed during the last four years. The Y.C.I., remaining true to its traditions of struggle, as the vanguard of the young workers of the whole world and as one of the best sections of the Comintern, has actively participated in the struggles related above, and has greatly contributed towards strengthening the revolutionary front of the Communist International and the revolutionary proletariat.

The final balance of the work and struggle of the Y.C.I. in the period of 1924-27 will be drawn at the Fifth World Congress. We do not want to foretell its deliberation and judgments, and only give in the following a review of the activities of the Y.C.I. in the various fields of work and in the most important countries.

## **Campaigns and Activities of the Y.C.I.**

The feverish arming of the imperialists, the systematic preparations for a new war against the Soviet Union, the liberation movement of the oppressed nations against American, English, and Japanese imperialism, the war in Morocco and Syria against French Imperialism, the struggle for control in the Mediterranean on the part of Fascist Italy, all these determined the particular character of the struggles of the Y.C.I. in the period under review. The increased repression against our illegal Leagues and the many victims of White Terror demanded an increased fight against reaction.

### **THE EVENTS IN CHINA AND MOROCCO AND THE BERLIN CONFERENCE.**

Immediately after the receipt of news about the shooting in Shanghai, the Y.C.I. published a manifesto to the young workers, peasants, and students of the whole world. This manifesto was sent to all sections of the C.Y.I. by wireless. In addition to that, a joint manifesto was issued with the signatures of the Comintern, the Y.C.I., and the Profintern on the occasion of the Chinese events, and a manifesto against the war in Morocco was printed in the French press. In the above documents the Y.C.I. declared its general standpoint towards the events in China and Morocco, and issued its general slogans.

All sections of the Y.C.I. were given a series of practical tasks. The Leagues immediately launched an agitation campaign demanding the complete independence of China and Morocco, the abrogation of the unequal treaties with China, the immediate recalling of the foreign soldiers and police from China, and protesting against the bloody war policy of the Imperialist Powers. Special tasks were set to the Y.C.I. of Great Britain, France, Italy, America, and Japan regarding work among soldiers and sailors of the battleships. All activities on the occasion of the Shanghai events and the war in Morocco were carried through under the banner of the United Front.

The French League appealed to the French soldiers to fraternise with the Cabyles of the Riff and to turn their weapons against their own exploiters. They demanded full freedom for the Riff and immediate evacuation of all French troops from Morocco.

Our Chinese comrades called upon the whole Chinese nation to fight for complete national liberation of China against all privileges of foreigners and the unequal treaties.

In July, 1925, in connection with Chinese events and the war in Morocco, as well as the preparation of blockade and offensive against the Soviet Union by the international imperialists, a special conference of the Y.C.I.'s of Europe was called in Berlin. This conference dealt with the tasks of the Y.C.I. in the struggle against the war danger. The resolution on the danger of a new world war, the imperialist armed preparations for an attack against the U.S.S.R., and the tasks of the Y.C.I., is the basic platform of the Y.C.I. on the question of war danger. The Berlin Conference issued a manifesto to the young workers, calling upon them for a special week of struggle to fight against war prior to the International Youth Day. This week of struggle was the starting point of a permanent campaign with the slogan—"war against imperialist war." In the resolution dealing with the events in China and the war in Morocco the basic facts and the importance of these events were pointed out, and the tasks of the Y.C.I. in general, and for the French League in particular, were laid down. In a special letter to the Y.C.I. of France concrete tasks were formulated.

### **THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS AND THE WEEK OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR DANGER AND INTERVENTION IN CHINA.**

In 1927 the relations between England and the Soviet Union became more and more strained, and the situation in China grew ever more serious. The danger of an imperialist war became very acute. The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. decided consequently to launch an international campaign against the danger of war and the intervention in China and against the Soviet Union from the 10th to the 18th of March, 1927. The following were the slogans :

Hands off China, Down with Intervention, Immediate  
Recalling of all Troops and Battleships, Against Imperialist  
Preparation for War against the Soviet Union, Fraternisa-  
tion with the Oppressed Chinese Nation, Unity of the Soldiers  
and Workers in the Struggle for Chinese Freedom, Fraterni-  
sation of the Soldiers of the Armies of Intervention with the  
Chinese Soldiers of Freedom, Against the Imperialist Policy  
of the U.S.A. in South America.

The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. in considering the activities of the various Leagues, were forced to the conclusion that the majority of the Leagues with the exception of the English, French, and Italian Leagues, developed insufficient activity among the masses. The main reasons for the failure of our Leagues in this campaign are of a political nature. Many Leagues have neglected this campaign, stating that they are con-

fronted with important national problems. The Leagues also did not understand how to apply concretely the instructions of the Y.C.I., to connect the concrete national questions with the campaign against the general war danger and the interventions. The Leagues were given the tasks of developing broad mass agitation, in order to popularise the importance of the Chinese events, and to expose the war plans of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, the undertaking of energetic anti-militarist work, the agitation for the slogans "fraternisation" and "direct action," and the fight against reformism and pacifist illusions.

### **THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR DANGER.**

The struggle against the imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union and support of the Chinese Revolution can be noticed in all campaigns of the Y.C.I. in the last years.

The Y.C.I. has issued manifestoes on various occasions, drawing attention to the importance of the fights and armaments of the imperialists. In June, 1927, a joint manifesto of the English and Russian Y.C.I.-s was published on the occasion of the break of diplomatic relations of British Imperialism with the Soviet Union.

At the thirteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War in nearly all countries big demonstrations were organised under the slogans: Against Imperialist War, For the Defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution, Against the Reformist Pillars of Capitalism. The preparations for the sending of youth delegations to the Soviet Union were equally utilised for the struggles against the war danger.

On the occasion of the visit of the English Fleet to Sweden and Norway, the Leagues of those countries issued manifestoes to the sailors, calling upon them not to allow themselves to be used for war against the Soviet Union.

### **THE FIGHT AGAINST WHITE TERROR AND FASCISM.**

On the eve of the Twelfth International Youth Day, hundreds of our comrades were thrown into prison by the Bulgarian Government. These mass arrests were a long prepared reply against the increased political and organisational activity of the Y.C.I. of Bulgaria. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. decided to organise immediately a campaign in all countries against Bulgarian Fascism, and for the rescue of our imprisoned comrades. The campaign was carried through under the following slogans:—

Save the Young Victims from the Bulgarian Hangmen.  
Stop the Murder of the Bulgarian Nation.  
Down with the Bloody Bulgarian Ruling Class.

For the Legalisation of the Y.C.L. of Bulgaria.

Long Live the United Struggle Against Reaction and Fasism.

The Leagues sent telegrams of protest to the Bulgarian Government, from factory meetings and from schools and workshops, where the young workers were informed about the events in Bulgaria, and the heroic struggles of the Bulgarian Y.C.L. In front of the Bulgarian Legations and Consulates spontaneous demonstrations of protest took place. Steps were taken to draw the Socialist youth organisations into joint demonstrations of protest and to adopt resolutions of protest against the Bulgarian Government in meetings of the Socialist youth organisation and the trade union youth organisations. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. published a manifesto to the young workers of the whole world, protesting against the trial of the Bulgarian comrades, and calling upon the young workers of the whole world to fight against Bulgarian Fascism. The Russian Y.C.L. issued a special manifesto protesting in the name of the young workers, peasants and the Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union.

After the attempted assassination of Musolini in 1926, Italian Fascism again adopted the most terrible terrorist methods against the proletariat, and in the first place against the Communist Party and Young Communist League. A court-martial was set up for the prosecution of the Communists, and capital punishment was introduced. The Comintern launched an international campaign against Fascism and for the support of the Italian proletariat. The Y.C.I. called upon its sections to mobilise the young workers for the support of this campaign.

In this campaign the following tasks were given to the Leagues: Explanation of Fascism, as a constant danger of war; agitation against Fascist repression of the young worker; and popularisation of the activity of the Y.C.L. of Italy, which has to work under very difficult circumstances. The forms of practical participation in the anti-Fascist campaign were: Special campaigns in the Press; mobilisation of the young workers for anti-Fascist demonstrations; participation of the youth in the special campaign of the International Red Aid and the anti-Fascist Committee for material support of the Italian proletariat.

Special campaigns were also carried through against the prosecutions of the Communist Youth League of Yugo-Slavia and the oppression of the young workers. On the occasion of the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union and the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Union and distribution of Communist papers in Belgrade and other towns, more than sixty young workers were thrown into prison and condemned to long terms of imprisonment after going through inhuman tortures. In the manifesto of the Y.C.I. attention is drawn to the



cruelties in the Yugo-Slavian prisons, and the attempts on the lives of the young workers sentenced to imprisonment.

During the campaign for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti the Y.C.L.'s. participated in the general campaign. Against the persecution of young workers in Horthy-Hungary, several campaigns were carried through, and particularly in connection with the trial of Comrade Weinberger, the masses of young workers were mobilised for struggle against Hungarian Fascism. It must be said however, that the legal Leagues did not carry on continuous campaigns against White Terror and Fascism and that the Leagues have not yet understood how to answer each terroristic action in the countries of the White Terror by energetic protest campaigns.

### **THE 15th OF JULY IN VIENNA.**

Our Austrian Y.C.L. participated in the uprisings of the Viennese proletariat on the 15th of July in the most active and splendid fashion. The Austrian League demanded the disarming and disbanding of all Fascist organisations and of the police, arming of the proletariat, liberation of the prisoners of the 15th of July, fight for the workers and peasants government and continuation of the general strike. Immediately upon receipt of the news from Vienna the Leagues appealed through manifestos to the young workers to rally to the assistance of the heroic struggle of the Viennese workers by means of action, demonstrations and practical international help and solidarity in a united fighting front.

### **THE LEAGUE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION.**

At the Congress against Colonial Oppression which assembled in Brussels, a special conference of the National revolutionary youth organisations, participating in the Congress, was organised. This conference was attended, apart from the representatives of the various colonial and semi-colonial countries by the representatives of the English and French Young Communist Leagues. The conference adopted a resolution calling on the oppressed youth of the whole world to join the League against Imperialist Oppression. In order to better organise and intensify the activity of the League among the young workers of Europe, American and particularly of the East, a demand was made that the League should establish a special Youth Bureau as a sub-department of the League, the duty of which would be the organisation of youth departments of the League in the different countries, to increase the propaganda of the aims and ideas of the League among the young workers of all countries, the organisa-

tion of youth conferences to study the position of the young workers and students in the colonies, and to fight for their interests. The sections of the Y.C.I. were asked to participate actively in the organisation of youth sections of the League in the different countries.

### **THE GENERAL STRIKE IN ENGLAND.**

On the occasion of the tremendous struggle of the working class in England, campaigns of solidarity with the British workers were organised everywhere. By means of collections, and the organisation of sympathetic strikes, the struggle of the British proletariat was supported by the working class of all countries. The Y.C.I. sent a special telegram to the Socialist Youth International, proposing joint action in defence of the British working class. As was to be expected, this proposal was not accepted by the Socialist Youth International.

A broad campaign was carried through explaining the necessity of supporting the British mine workers and the whole working class of Great Britain in their heroic struggle. The young workers were called upon to fight against those who, by smashing the united front of the British workers, supported a reduction of wages and increase in the hours of work. A demand was made that the International Federation of Trade Unions should accept the proposal of the Red International of Labour Unions for a joint campaign in support of the British miners and that it should immediately send out instructions to all sections to start a propaganda campaign in order to explain the questions connected with this struggle and to instruct all unions of mine and transport workers to hold back all shipments of coal intended for England. Particularly the Young Communist Leagues of Germany, Belgium, France, Czecho-Slovakia and the United States were asked to increase their activity among the young miners to organise miners and general trade union conferences, to raise the question of support in the local trade union branches. The campaign was carried through with the following main slogan: A defeat of the British miners is a defeat for the International working class.

The Y.C.I. before the strike and, immediately on the first day of the strike, carried out successfully a series of steps in order to support in England as well as in other countries the struggle of the British working class and to lead young workers into this struggle. The Russian Y.C.I. set a splendid example of how to fulfill the duty of international solidarity.

### **JUBILEE CAMPAIGNS.**

#### **10th Anniversary of the Bern Conference.**

The 10th anniversary of the Bern Conference was utilised in

order to explain to our comrades the necessity for struggle against militarism and imperialism. In connection with the explanation of the history of the Youth International a broad propaganda for the Communist International was carried through. In the Party and League press on that day, articles were published dealing with the history and the present tasks of the Young Communist International.

### **20th Anniversary of the Communist Youth International.**

The 20th anniversary of the Y.C.I. was celebrated by a big campaign, with the celebration of the 13th International Youth Day and the 10th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution as a climax.

From the 26th of August, the anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference, to the 7th of September, the International Day of Youth, a big propaganda campaign was carried on. The purpose of this campaign was to show the young workers that the Young Communist International is the sole representative and heir of the organisation set up at the Stuttgart Conference. The attempt of the Socialist Youth International to utilise this twentieth anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference for their own purposes was exposed by pointing out the deeds and decisions at the Socialist Youth International to the young workers, and particularly to the Socialist youth, thus proving that the Socialist Youth International has long ago departed from the original programme of the revolutionary young workers. Great attention was given to the opposition within the Socialist Youth International. Short courses were held in preparation for this campaign, explaining the history of the Socialist Youth movement. In the period up to the International Day of Youth the League held many meetings and demonstrations. In Stuttgart a magnificent International Youth demonstration took place which was considerably greater than the demonstration of the Socialist Youth International, which was also held in Stuttgart.

The Y.C.I. published a series of materials for this campaign.

### **PERIODICAL CAMPAIGNS.**

Every year, in commemoration of the death of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and the anniversary of the French Commune and the victorious October Revolution, special campaigns, connected with the actual political events, were carried through.

### **Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week.**

In 1925 the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week was held under the banner of the Chinese revolution, the bloody terror in Asia, Africa and in European countries. In commemoration of Lenin and Liebknecht the young workers were called upon to

study Lenin's teachings, to test them in their daily struggle, and to put them into practice. The main slogan was: Join the Young Communist League, which fights under the banner of Lenin, against imperialism and against Socialist betrayers, for Lenin's teachings, and for liberty for the oppressed nations of the East.

The anniversary was preceded by a week of recruiting, in which the main slogan issued was: Double the membership. The aim of this international recruiting week was not only to achieve a numerical increase, but an activation of the membership.

After this recruiting week the Leagues were set the task of achieving a doubling of their membership up to the Eleventh International Day of Youth.

The main line laid down for the campaign for the second anniversary of Lenin's death was: Explanation of Leninism, struggle against all ultra-Left and Right deviations, and drawing in of the active section to the study of Leninism. During Lenin week a mass agitation among the non-Party workers, peasants and employees for the explanation of Lenin's and Liebknecht's teachings, particularly on the proletarian youth movement, was organised. The political slogans of this campaign were: Struggle against militarism and the war danger, development of the Y.C.L.s into leading mass organisations of the young workers and peasants.

Prior to the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg campaign special evening courses were organised for the agitational and propaganda preparation of the campaign. In addition to the manifesto of the E.C.Y.C.I., an agitational pamphlet, "Lenin and the Youth," was published.

In 1927 the following propaganda and organisational tasks were set: Discussion of the decisions of the Enlarged Plenum of the C.I. and Y.C.I. and propagation of the basic problems of tactics and immediate political and organisational tasks of the sections of the Y.C.I. in the light of Lenin's teachings; organisation of a propaganda campaign dealing with the building up of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of the ideological struggle against the new opposition in the C.P.S.U. and against the ultra-Left elements in the Comintern. This Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week was again linked up with a recruiting campaign.

On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Lenin's death and the eighth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg all the tasks undertaken by our Leagues at the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution were continued. In the centre of the campaign stood the agitation for the struggle against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union and the propaganda of Lenin's and Liebknecht's teachings.



The Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week of 1928 was of particular importance because it took place after the Fifteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., and consequently had the task of carrying on a broad campaign of explanation of the struggle against the opposition.

The political slogans of the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week were: Fight against the imperialist war danger and bourgeois militarism in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht—for the defence of the Soviet Union, the mother country of the workers of the world—struggle against the lowering of the economic conditions; join the Y.C.L. In carrying through this recruiting campaign great stress was laid on the experience of previous recruiting campaigns, which had shown that it is necessary to bring about the most active and broad participation of the non-Party young workers and that particular attention must be paid to the indifferent young workers. The campaign must be based on the factories and active participation of the factory groups must be assured.

### **The Anniversary of the Paris Commune.**

The anniversary of the Paris Commune is for us not only a day of historical observations, and of commemoration of the victims of the revolution. In the centre of our mass campaign are the most important lessons of the Paris Commune, derived from the historic facts.

In 1925 the anniversary of the 18th of March was utilised for the popularisation of the lessons of the Paris Commune for the struggle of the proletariat. As a practical application of the teaching of the Paris Commune, the following slogans were issued:—Organisation of the broad masses of the young workers in the trade unions, the ideological unification (Bolshevisation) of the Communist movement—against White Terror—for the amnesty of political prisoners. The E.C.Y.C.I. published detailed theses dealing with the lessons of the Paris Commune, giving extracts and quotations from the basic literature and unpublished articles by Lenin on the Commune.

The Paris Commune celebrations in 1926 were centred around the following basic questions: Popularisation of the experiences of the Paris Commune as a first attempt at the seizure of power by the working class on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, discussion on the mistakes of the Paris proletariat in the days of the Commune as a guide to the European proletariat during their revolutions, and examinations of the experiences of the victorious proletariat of the U.S.S.R. who brought to a successful conclusion the attempts of the French Communards—and finally, propaganda for the current tasks of the international

working class in relation to the present commune, the victorious workers' and peasants' republic, the U.S.S.R. For the latter the youth delegations were extensively utilised.

The tenth anniversary of the October Revolution gave all proletarian days of commemoration in 1927 a festive character. Beginning from the 12th of March (the anniversary of the February revolution of 1917 in Russia) extensive preparatory work was conducted in order to rally the broad masses of the young workers and peasants for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R. The 18th of March was therefore in the main concentrated on the impending celebration of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution and was linked up with the international week against the war danger and intervention in China.

The factory meetings and mass demonstrations which were organised during this week against the war danger and intervention were, therefore, linked up with the Paris Commune. On the other hand, all celebrations and demonstrations in commemoration of the Paris Commune were linked up with the campaign against the danger and the intervention. The campaign of the International Class War Prisoners, which utilised this month for collections on behalf of victims of White Terror, was actively supported by our Leagues and children's organisations.

### **THE CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.**

The eighth anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated in all countries by a widespread campaign. At the same time the Revolution of 1905 was included in the celebration programme, as the 20th anniversary of the Revolution of 1905 coincided with the eighth anniversary of the October Revolution. The tasks of this campaign were :—

To make the broad masses of young workers acquainted with the achievements of the Soviet Union and to win their sympathies for Soviet Russia and for active support against the attacks of World Imperialism on the proletarian Soviet Republic—to point out to the functionaries and to the broad masses of the League membership the theoretical and practical problems of the October Revolution and the Revolution of 1905, together with the development of the Bolshevik Party in the years 1905-17 and the lessons which the Parties in the West must draw from this development. In connection with this a broad campaign was launched in all countries for the sending of young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, utilising the experience of the young workers' delegation from Austria which had visited the Soviet Union about that time.

Among the materials issued were the pamphlet "The position of the Young Workers in Soviet Russia," by Comrade Chaplin, and "The Russian Leninist Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R." by Comrade Bulach.

The character of the October campaign in 1926 was decided by the danger of intervention against U.S.S.R. and by the threatening war among the imperialist countries, by a sharpening of the class struggle in the various countries caused by the increased attack against the rights and conditions of living of the working class on the one hand, and the success in the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union on the other hand, and the consequent improvement in the position of the Russian young workers and peasants. The following slogan was published for this campaign :—

Every member an active agitator! In order that every comrade should be able to do justice to this task, adequate propaganda preparations were organised and reports on the experiences of the Russian proletariat in their struggle for power, on the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, and on the subject "What Have Nine Years of Proletarian Dictatorship Given to the Russian Young Workers?" were given in the groups and nuclei.

### **THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.**

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution a campaign was launched in all countries. In order to achieve the aim of the campaign "strengthening of the struggle of the working class and the young workers of the whole world for the seizure of political power and for the building of Socialism and for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist war preparations," the following tasks were given to the Leagues :— To give a picture of the history of the struggle for October, underlining the role which was played by the young workers, to point out the successes of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the achievements for the young workers and peasants in the political, economic and cultural sphere—to draw a parallel between the steady upward movement in the position of the working class and young workers in the Soviet Union and the further enslavement of the working class and young workers in the capitalist countries—to show clearly to the young workers the armed preparations of the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

Propaganda was carried through for the sending of delegations of young workers and peasants to the Soviet Union from all capitalist countries, unity committees for sending these delegations were set up, and a widespread agitation was

carried through on all questions connected with the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

The preparation for this campaign began already with the tenth anniversary of the February Revolution and the celebration campaign of the Paris Commune. For the 1st of May, the campaign for the sending of young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union was launched. This campaign was continued during the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference and of the Thirteenth International Youth Day.

Lectures and courses were organised in all Leagues for propaganda work, in which all special youth questions were dealt with. On the occasion of the visit of the youth delegations to the Soviet Union in connection with the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R., a special Congress of the Young Friends of the U.S.S.R. was organised. The main line during this campaign was to mobilise the broadest possible masses of young workers and the various mass organisations of the working youth, the trade union organisations, sport and gymnastic organisations, Young Front Fighters, pioneer organisations, etc. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. instructed all Leagues to put the campaign for the celebration of the October Revolution in the centre of all their activity and to link up all current tasks with this campaign.

### **TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY.**

For the tenth anniversary of the Red Army, the Leagues were given the tasks of carrying through this jubilee on the following lines :—

Popularisation of the Red Army, laying stress on its specific character as an instrument for the defence of the October Revolution and for peace, and its importance for the international proletariat movement. The young workers were informed on the structure and work of the Red Army, its educational tasks, and the character and form of the voluntary pre-military education in the Soviet Union.

In the campaign against the war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the rôle of the Red Army was clearly brought out, and the peace policy of the Soviet Union on the basis of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the disarmament proposals of the Russian Delegation were popularised.

The tenth anniversary of the Red Army served as an occasion for strengthening and improving the ties with the Red Army, and particularly between the Y.C.I. divisions and our Leagues in the West. In the days of the tenth anniversary, a delegation of the Y.C.I., consisting of six representatives of various sections of the Y.C.I. celebrated this occasion with the Budienny Division.

## **The Role of the Young Communist Leagues in the Inner-Party Discussions.**

In the course of the period from the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I., the relations of the Young Communist Leagues to the Communist Parties developed further in the direction laid down by the Second World Congress of the Y.C.I. and the Third Congress of the Comintern, on national as well as international lines. Our Leagues and our international organisation accepted the political leadership of the Parties and Comintern without opposition, retaining at the same time their organisational autonomy. The understanding by the youth of the necessity for such a political leadership during this period was very apparent, and there were no cases or even discussion of vanguardism as in the previous period.

On the question of the practical collaboration of the youth organisations and the Parties, great progress was made during these years. The Parties reveal to-day a greater understanding of the importance and the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues than previously. This is proved by the ever-growing support of the Communist youth organisation, nationally and internationally, by the Communist Parties and the Comintern. Needless to say, there is still much room for improvement in this connection. Our old slogan, "A League Nucleus Wherever a Party Nucleus Exists—A League Local Wherever a Party Local Exists," has up to now, although it is generally accepted throughout the whole International, not yet been put into effect. The instructions sent out by the Comintern at the request of the Y.C.I. on particular occasions, as, for instance, Youth Days, anti-Militarist Campaigns, etc., in order to rally the Parties to the support of the Y.C.L.s, have only been partly carried through by them. There are still Party organisations, even whole Parties, which do not take any interest in the Youth Movement, and do not support it in any way.

The Communist Youth International and its sections have, during the past period, proved themselves again to be the best fighters for the ideas and the policy of the Comintern. The fact that the Y.C.I. and its sections have always been in the first ranks of the fight for the revolutionary Leninist line of the Comintern can, in the first place, be explained by the fact that the youth is not burdened with the old social democratic traditions. In all big political questions of the working class, in the discussions of the individual Communist Parties, our Leagues have most actively



supported the line and policy of the Comintern. Particularly must we underline the great part which our youth organisations played in the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition in all countries. Our youth organisations were, as a rule, much less affected by the opposition than the Party. They often recognised earlier the dangerous and counter-revolutionary character of the opposition and jointly with the Executive carried on the sharpest struggle against it.

In the four years since the Fourth World Congress, a number of serious problems and differences arose in the various Parties of the Comintern, on which the League had to take a stand. We can to-day say with pride that our youth organisations, with the help of the Executive, almost always adopted the correct attitude, the attitude of the Comintern, and supported it with great force.

In Germany our Young Communist League, even before the "Open Letter" of the Comintern, took an opposing stand against the course pursued by Ruth Fisher. After the "Open Letter" the League supported, with all its forces, the majority of the Party. Our German League has played a great part in the liquidation of the ultra-Left crisis in Germany. The League could join easier in this struggle, because the ultra-Left elements had only very few supporters within the League, who were very soon defeated. The League equally fought always against the Right elements within the Party. The German League also took an active part in the practical work of the Party, and particularly supported the election campaigns of the German Party.

In Great Britain our Y.C.L. carried on good work in collaboration with the Party during the great British General Strike and the Miners' Strike. On the questions of a General Strike in the event of the outbreak of a new Imperialist War, and the slogan of a General Strike in the struggle against the Anti-Trade Union Bill, our League immediately took up a correct stand. The change in the policy of the British Party as laid down by the last Plenum was carried through by the British Young Communist League in the decisions of the Fifth League Congress in March of this year, and the League is now one of the most active fighters for the new line.

In France the League carried through a sharp struggle against the Right liquidators, Souvarine, Lorient, Paz, etc., and fought equally energetically against the ultra-Left renegades like Treint and Susanne Girault. At the same time the League undertook to develop an active propaganda for the tactics carried through at the last elections and the Party itself declared that the youth was particularly active in bringing about the change of policy. The practical support of the work of the Party by the League, particularly during the last elections, was very strong.

The Chinese Young Communist League was the first organised force which accepted the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the C.I. and which undertook the struggle for their application in the Chinese Communist movement with all the forces at its disposal. The League also played a most important part in the fight against the supporters of the Opportunist line of the C.P. of China.

In Italy the League actively supported the struggle of the Party against Bordiga and his group. Here we must particularly emphasise the practical work of the Young Communist League in support of the Party.

In Poland our League took an oppositional stand against Domskey during the ultra-Left crisis, after some vacillation, and supported the line of the Comintern. In the discussion which the C.P. of Poland carried through after Pilsudski's coup, our League was among the first to recognise the criticism by the Comintern as being correct. In the later stages of the discussion our League has always shown that it is ready to support the line of the Comintern even if it has linked itself up somewhat stronger with one group within the Party. In the practical work of the Party our League played an important part, as was shown during the last elections.

In Czecho-Slovakia our League played an important rôle during the great Party crisis by carrying through a sharp struggle against the Rights like Bubnik, etc., dissociating themselves at the same time from the Centre group existing at that time. The League afterwards actively participated with the Comintern in the policy of co-operation of the Centre with the Left. In the struggle against the Opposition (Michalee) the League has shown great activity and completely defeated the opposition within its own ranks.

In the United States of America our League participated actively in the Party discussion and after some hesitation accepted the line of the Comintern and actively fought for its application.

In Sweden good work was carried on by the League in the struggle to overcome the Höglund crisis. The League fought absolutely united against the Social Democratic tendencies and methods of Höglund and his supporters. The small minority of Höglund supporters within the League has disappeared very quickly, thanks to the intensive work of explanation on the part of the League.

In Norway the League stood unreservedly for the line of the Comintern during the crisis in the Party in connection with the Norwegian Labour Government, liquidated the vacillations of some members of the Central Committee, and supported the

Party in its struggle against the Tranmal Labour Party and the Right Liquidators (Scheffo).

In Belgium during the serious crisis in the Party caused by the Trotskyist Opposition, our League almost unanimously from the beginning fought against the oppositional elements in the Party centre and participated in the good work which resulted in the Party Conference declaring itself by an overwhelming majority against the Trotskyist Opposition.

In the Balkans our Leagues in general stood for the line of the Comintern in the discussions within the Parties.

In Yugo-Slavia the League, after some short temporary vacillations, accepted the standpoint of the Comintern in the inner-Party struggle at the most decisive period.

In Greece our League was the most active fighter against the Liquidators and the Social-Democratic remnants within the Party.

In Roumania the League at present actively participates in the solution of the inner-Party crisis side by side with the Comintern.

Our small League of Holland was greatly affected by the Wynkoop crisis in the Party. However, it succeeded in winning the majority and the best elements of the League for the line of the Comintern.

In Argentine the majority of the Central Committee of our League for some time followed the Right group in the Party. At the present time the League is on the way to becoming a fighter for the carrying through of the line of the Comintern.

Summing up: The period since the Fourth World Congress shows increased political activity on the part of the Communist Youth Leagues, greater participation in Party life and solution of Party questions, continuous support of the line of the Communist International, improvement in the practical co-operation between League and Party, in which, however, the support of the Parties by the Leagues is comparatively much better than the support of the Leagues by the Party.

## **Fight against Imperialist War and Militarism**

The period since the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. was characterised by an increased war danger and a series of small imperialist wars against the revolutionary uprisings of the oppressed nations in the colonies and the semi-colonies (Morocco, Syria, China, Nicaragua, etc.). Various conflicts between the imperialist countries, for instance, the Polish-Latvian and the Italian-Yugoslav conflict, threatened to lead overnight to warlike clashes, and to plunge the world into a new blood bath. A number of intentional provocations against the U.S.S.R., as the raid on the Soviet Consulate in Peking, the siege of the Soviet Consulate in Canton, the police raids on Arcos in London, and the breach of diplomatic relations by Great Britain following upon this raid, the assassination of the Soviet representative, Voikoff, in Warsaw—all these threatened to create a new intervention of the imperialist powers against the first workers' and peasants' republic.

The increasing contradictions between the imperialist powers on the one hand, and the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union on the other, the military preparations and armaments of the imperialist countries on land and sea, completely vindicated the correctness of the perspectives laid down by the last World Congress of the Y.C.I., as an increased danger of new wars.

The growing war danger has made the struggle against imperialist war and militarism the main task of the Y.C.I. and its sections. The work of the Young Communist International was concentrated consequently on the struggle against war danger and militarism, on the defence of the Soviet Union, and the revolutionary movements of the colonies and semi-colonies.

The Fourth World Congress had to draw conclusions in the sphere of anti-militarist work, particularly from the rich experiences of international anti-militarist action, carried on in the French Armies of Occupation in the Ruhr Valley, and from the experiences gathered by the other Leagues. The main guiding line of the last Congress for anti-militarist work was: (1) Bolshevik treatment of all questions appertaining to war and militarism, and disassociation from pacifism. (2) Closely linking up the work in the army and navy with the general work of the Leagues. (3) Concentration of anti-militarist work in the direction of establishing organisational supports in the army and the navy, and

the awakening of the class struggle in the barracks on the basis of special soldiers' and sailors' demands of a political, economic, and service character.

Since the last World Congress it is evident that in most sections of the Y.C.I. the anti-militarist work not only takes up much more space in the general work of the Leagues, but it is also being carried on much more systematically and qualitatively on a much higher scale.

In connection with the revolutionary events in China, and the French war in Morocco, the Y.C.I. in June, 1925, called a conference in Berlin of representatives of the European Young Communist Leagues, which was to take a stand against the imperialist wars upon the nations in the colonies and semi-colonies, and to lay down the tasks, which the Communists had to carry out in these wars. The conference decided in favour of active material and moral support of the national liberation movements in order to defeat the imperialist governments. In this sense, the Communist Youth Leagues, particularly the English, French, and Spanish Leagues carried on their activity. This conference was the starting point of international action against imperialism.

Tactical problems and questions of principle arising from the struggle against the war danger as well as from our work in the army and navy, were placed on the agenda of almost all plenary sessions of the Y.C.I. Very thoroughly were these questions discussed at the Enlarged Executive meeting in July, 1927, which met after the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern. This Plenum again restated the line of principle to be followed by the Communists in wars of differing historical importance and social content, as, for instance, in wars among imperialist countries, in wars of imperialistic Powers against colonial and semi-colonial nations, and the war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. It also had to criticise the pacifist deviations of some Leagues. The Communists must, in all imperialist wars, under all circumstances, refute the argument for the defence of the mother country, the imperialist state, and work to bring about the defeat of their own bourgeois governments. "The difficulties of the imperialists must be the opportunity for the working class." The difficulties and defeats of the imperialists must be utilised to awaken the proletariat and to transform the imperialist war into civil war. In imperialist wars against national revolutionary movements and against the Soviet Union, the Communists must extend the slogan of "fraternisation" to an appeal for the soldiers to go over to the side of the revolutionary armies against imperialism. The Plenum further brought again complete clarity into the question of disarmament, general strikes and boycotts, and took a stand on various military political questions, such as



militia, voluntary armies, militia of the workers, etc., and sharply underlined the necessity of work in the army and navy.

As a splendid example the work of the Young Communist League of France can serve. The anti-militarist propaganda of the League has reached the masses of the soldiers and sailors, and very effectively disintegrates French militarism.

The French League stood before particularly responsible tasks in connection with the wars in Morocco and Syria. Immediately on commencement of the imperialist expeditions, the League developed mass action against the imperialist war and for the support of the revolting tribes. The defeatist propaganda reached the French troops in Morocco and Syria. Revolts on the front, fraternisations with the natives, and in some cases going over to their side, these were the fruits of the anti-militarist propaganda of the League. The extent of the disintegrating influence of this propaganda can be judged by the fact, that according to the figures given by the French Ministry of the Interior, during the period of the Riff campaign, 1,400 sentences had to be passed against French soldiers.

In the same way, activities against the French military expeditions to China were undertaken.

Of special importance were the activities in 1927 against the new military laws worked out by the Government with the help of the French Socialists, and the agitation for the demands of the reservists. The French Communist Section succeeded in rallying many thousands of reservists to the struggle for such demands as "Struggle against service in the reserve army and against the periodical services of the reservists," "Inclusion of the reservists in the local original territorial units of the reserve army," "Continued payment of full wages by the employers during the periodical services," etc.

The first reservist movement in Bourges, where reservists and soldiers forced the release of some imprisoned comrades, was followed by a reservists' demonstration in Sissonne in front of the Officers' Casino, and in Bourg-Lastic by a great demonstration for the release of arrested soldiers. The regular troops sent against the demonstrators refused to take action.

After these events movements sprang up in other parts of France. There followed demonstrations in barracks and camps, in cities together with the workers, and during transport on the railways. In Toulon it came to a bloody clash with the regular troops and police sent against the revolting reservists. The events in Besancon, Versailles, Douai, Lille, Cambrai, Satory, Belfort, Metz, Coetquidou, Chalons, Brest, Blois, Cherbourg—these are the most important landmarks of the reservists' movement. In eleven demonstrations alone more than 11,000

soldiers and sailors from twenty-two regiments and camps participated.

On the 29th of September a bloody revolt sprang up in the military prison in Toulon. Workers and sailors demonstrated in the streets of Toulon. This was followed by a revolt on the war cruiser "Ernest Renan," in which two-thirds of the crew participated. The revolt of the sailors in the prisons of Calvy soon followed.

The bourgeoisie was greatly agitated by the revolts in the army and navy. The Minister of the Interior issued a slogan: "Communism, that is the enemy." The reactionary "Temps" wrote: "... These manifestations are a danger sign to the nation, which must be correctly estimated by all good citizens, so that all can join together against the Bolshevik invasion." And later on the same "Temps" wrote, under the heading, "An Alarm Cry": "It is necessary in any case that the War Ministry and the whole Government should double its attention and activity. The Communist propaganda in the army and navy is the great danger. We must gather our courage to look straight into the face of these facts, and to make up our minds firmly to remove same." The French Minister of Interior, Sarraut, said in Parliament: "Communism strives to lead the whole army into the camp of revolution with weapons and baggage, and—what is the most terrifying fact—Communism has won the souls of the soldiers, has achieved the systematic transformation of their consciousness."

These alarm cries of the bourgeoisie were followed by a series of repressions against the Young Communist League, and numerous arrests in the army and navy took place, which, however, could not stop the work of the French Communists.

The French League regularly issues two papers for the soldiers and sailors, and publishes in addition many leaflets and pamphlets. Important also is its work on the occasion of calling in of the recruits and its work in the organisations of the recruits.

Of no less importance was the anti-militarist work of the Young Communist League of Great Britain, which has to fight against the most rapacious and war-mongering imperialist Power in the world. Among the soldiers and sailors leaving for China a broad agitation was carried on for the support of the Chinese revolution. "The defeat of British Imperialism in China means victory for the working class of Great Britain." This was the main slogan of the British Communists in their struggle against British intervention in China. The anti-militarist propaganda was greatly strengthened during the General Strike. The reactionary "Daily Mail" was forced to write even before the

General Strike: "... that the revolutionary propaganda during the last period begins to extend considerably in the army, navy and in the industrial centres of Great Britain. In the arsenals, the ports, and the barracks considerable quantities of material have been distributed, appealing to the soldiers to refuse obedience if called upon to fight against the workers." The revolutionary propaganda was also extended to the British sailors and soldiers stationed in China. Leaflets were distributed among the troops in Shanghai and Canton calling forth the ire of the bourgeois Press. On the occasion of the visit of the French Fleet to England, the British Communists distributed leaflets among the French sailors, calling on them to co-operate with the English sailors and workers against Anglo-French Imperialism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Y.C.L. of G.B. has issued a detailed program of soldiers' and sailors' demands. Important is the fact that during the last period the British Parliament decided on some concessions for the soldiers and sailors, among others the right to wear civilian clothes during free time, which is one of the demands of the soldiers' and sailors' program for a long time propagated by the Y.C.L.

The Y.C.L. of America started two years ago its systematic work in the army and navy.

Chief importance was placed on propaganda among the troops leaving for China. With the commencement of American intervention in Nicaragua the League developed a broad defeatist propaganda action among the population and in the army. The slogans issued in the struggle against the attack on Nicaragua were:

"Down with American Imperialism."

"Long Live the Revolt in Nicaragua."

"Soldiers and Sailors, Refuse to Shoot Down the Revolutionists in Nicaragua."

"Soldiers, Fraternise With the Revolutionists."

As a result of this propaganda some soldiers of the American Army went over to the side of the revolutionary Nicaraguans, and are now fighting in the ranks of Sandino against American Imperialism. The League Press warmly greeted this news, and openly called upon the sailors and soldiers to follow the example

Other very important spheres of anti-militarist work are the Citizens' Military Training Camps (bourgeois camps for the military training of the youth), which received during the last period a great influx of young workers. The League, therefore, carries on revolutionary propaganda inside these camps. In many cases they succeeded in winning from the ranks of the C.M.T.C. members for the League.

American class justice has thrown some comrades, and also some soldiers, in prison for many years, because of their anti-militarist propaganda.

The possibilities of revolutionary propaganda in the army is comparatively favourable. If you take into consideration that (according to reports of the War Department in 1927) 13,000 soldiers deserted from the army because of bad treatment and hard service, we can see, that the American Army offers good soil for revolutionary propaganda.

Before the American League still stands the great task of ideological clarification and the overcoming of pacifist deviations.

In Belgium the League considerably strengthened its anti-militarist work. Proof of the influence of the League in the army are the many letters from active soldiers, published in the League press. On the occasion of the yearly calling in of recruits, the League organises throughout the country meetings and conferences of recruits. Quite recently the League has also carried on a campaign against the intended reorganisation of the army and for the shortening of the time of service from twelve to six months. In the various garrisons, soldiers' papers have been issued. The Government has instructed all units of the army to adopt strong methods against anti-militarist propaganda in the army, and to prosecute ruthlessly all soldiers who write for the workers' press. The Government also plans further measures against the Y.C.L.

In spite of certain successes in anti-militarist work, it must be stated that the Y.C.L. of Belgium does not sufficiently utilise all possibilities of work in the army.

The Young Communist League of Italy carries on its anti-militarist work under tremendously difficult illegal conditions. It publishes regularly soldiers' papers and a special paper during the yearly calling in of recruits called "The Recruit." During the recent period many revolts occurred in the Italian army and navy. In the town of Cramone, for instance, young soldiers returning from military exercises sang the Internationale, thus protesting against the War Danger and Fascism. This incident created great excitement among the officers and Fascists.

In general, the anti-militarist activity of the League is much weaker than its work in other spheres.

Splendid revolutionary activity in the army is being carried on by the Y.C.L. of Greece. The League has great influence in the navy and army and regularly publishes literature for the soldiers. In 1925, in various places revolts in the Greek army took place, resulting in mass arrests. In Salonika alone 24 young soldiers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

During the last few years the Young Communist Leagues of Poland and Czechoslovakia have begun to carry on systematic

anit-military work in the armies. The Polish League, working under most difficult illegal conditions, published at its last conference a detailed soldiers' programme and has issued for some time a central soldiers' paper and various other soldiers' papers. It extends its propaganda of disintegration also to the Fascist military organisations like "Strjelok" and "Sokol." During the calling in of recruits, many demonstrations have taken place. In Poland, which immediately threatens the U.S.S.R., the anti-militarist propaganda in the army and among the civilian population, particularly in the territories bordering on Russia, with their strong national minorities, is of the utmost importance.

In Czecho-Slovakia the League carried through, two years ago, jointly with the Party, widespread agitation against the taking away from the soldiers the right to vote, and against the intended introduction of obligatory, pre-military training of the youth. This campaign was warmly greeted by the soldiers in the barracks. The Government was obliged because of this resistance to drop for the time being its plan for pre-military training of the youth.

When the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, during the July uprising of the workers in Vienna, threatened an armed expedition against Austria, the League, in thousands of illegal leaflets, urged the soldiers to refuse to murder the Austrian workers.

In the last year the League has carried on good work among the recruits. In most of the districts numerous recruit farewell celebrations and meetings were held. Newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets were issued in four languages. During the calling in of the recruits, demonstrations took place in various localities. The recruits marched to the stations with red flowers in their buttonholes, singing the "Internationale."

The same picture could be seen during this year's campaign among the recruits. In the course of the year the League has undertaken the organisation of Recruit Leagues.

The anti-militarist work of the Czechish League is very weak, in spite of the fact that there are good possibilities for this work, e.g., the existence of a mass Communist Party, great Communist influence in the army, the fact that more than half of the soldiers voted Communist, the fact that the army consists of many nationalities, etc.

The Young Communist League of Germany still pays insufficient attention to revolutionary work in the army and police, which can be traced back in the main to the difficult conditions for propaganda inside the German army and police.

On the other hand, the League works well in the "Reichslanner" (social democratic semi-military organisation), and in

the Fascist organisations, and carried on joint work with the French Communists among the French Armies of Occupation on the Rhine.

The Y.C.L. of Holland carried through a big campaign in conjunction with the revolt in Java against Dutch Imperialism. During the last period, leaflets and duplicated soldiers' papers have been regularly published.

Considerable success in anti-militarist work, has been achieved by the Leagues in the Scandinavian countries. On the occasion of the yearly visits of fleets to the Scandinavian countries the Young Communist Leagues of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden distributed leaflets among crews of the foreign battleships. The sailors of the English, French and other battleships were called upon to act in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia and the workers of all countries, and to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers of all countries against international imperialism. In the course of the last year many arrests were made in connection with the propaganda among the foreign crews in Denmark and Norway.

The Y.C.L. of Argentina has undertaken a few good campaigns against militarism. Particularly good work was done during last year's campaign among the recruits, which was followed by many arrests.

The Y.C.L. of Canada has also developed good anti-militarist work.

In spite of its numerical weakness, the Young Communist League of Japan has extended its work to the army, and published a program of soldiers' and sailors' demands. During the recent mass arrests in Japan in connection with the dissolution of the League, many active soldiers were arrested.

On the occasion of the Italo-French conflict, which threatened to lead to new war, the Young Communist Leagues of Italy and France launched a joint campaign against French and Italian Imperialism. In a joint manifesto the young workers of Italy and France were called upon to refuse to defend their own country in case of war, to fight for fraternisation and transformation of the imperialist war into civil war on both fronts. Similar action was undertaken by the Y.C.L.s of Italy and Jugoslavia, when the conflict between the two countries very nearly broke out into open war. The breaking off of diplomatic relations on the part of Great Britain was answered by the Young Communist Leagues of England and U.S.S.R. by a joint manifesto calling for struggle against British Imperialism and for the defence of the U.S.S.R., the mother country of the workers of the whole world.

The international actions of the Y.C.I. on the occasion of

intervention in China, the imperialist wars against Morocco, Syria, and Nicaragua during the conflicts among the capitalist powers, or the imperialist war threats against the Soviet Union—all these have proved that the Y.C.I. has risen far above the limits of bourgeois mother countries, and that it acts in the spirit of true international proletarian solidarity. The Y.C.I. is an international of action, which knows but one mother country, the country of the proletarian revolution—the U.S.S.R.

The anti-militarist propaganda in the army and among the young generation of workers, who have not made the personal acquaintance with a world war, and who, therefore, fall easier victims to the influence of the imperialist war-mongers, must also in the future remain the chief task of the Young Communist International. The most important tasks in the sphere of anti-militarist work are: Systematic propaganda in the army for the raising of its political level, strengthening of our organisational work inside the army and navy, and drawing in also the Communist Parties to systematic anti-militarist work.



## The Fight for the United Front

The question of the United Front tactics was in the centre of discussion at the Fifth Congress of the C.I. and the Fourth of the Y.C.I. The Congresses condemned the opportunist degeneration of United Front tactics, as shown in Germany in 1923, but at the same time the ultra-left tendencies were absolutely rejected. Although, therefore, the question was clear in the International considerable resistance against the practical application of the United Front tactics was evidenced in the various Parties and Leagues. The European conference of the Y.C.I. in July, 1925, took, therefore, a stand against those deviations, and laid down concrete guiding lines for the most important European Leagues.

In August, 1925, the Y.C.I., by means of an open letter, approached the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International, proposing to build the United Front against the danger of new wars, particularly against the intervention in China and the war preparations against the Soviet Union, against the White Terror and for the defence of the economic interests of the young workers, for international trade union unity. At the same time, we proposed to the S.Y.I. to undertake a campaign for the sending of young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union.

After a long silence the Bureau of the S.Y.I. gave an answer. Our proposal of joint struggle against White Terror and reaction was left unanswered. The proposal of joint struggle against War was rejected with the explanation that the S.Y.I. had already taken a stand on the question of war in the decisions of their congresses, and that it reserves to itself the freedom of calling the young workers to action against war and war danger "at the opportune moment." Also, the proposal for a joint campaign in favour of international trade union unity was rejected by the S.Y.I. It declared itself, however, willing to accept our proposal for the sending of youth delegations to the Soviet Union on condition that the composition of the delegations should be arranged with the full agreement of the Central Committees of the Socialist Youth Organisations in the various countries. Furthermore, the Socialist Youth International declared its readiness to send themselves a delegation to the Soviet Union, the members of which should be selected by them, which should have their own interpreters and full rights to get in personal contact with the imprisoned members of the Menshevik Youth organisations in the Soviet Union.

When the S.Y.I. wrote this letter, delegations from Austria, Germany, Czech-Slovakia, Belgium, and France had gone to Russia. Among those delegations were many young social democratic workers. In all these countries the Central Committees of the Socialist Youth organisations had refused to participate in the campaigns for the sending of delegations, and even threatened the members of the Social Democratic Youth organisations participating in these delegations with expulsion. The Y.C.I., in its reply, pointed out this contradiction between the words and deeds of the social democrats, and declared that it is still ready to set up a committee with equal representation from the Social Democratic Youth organisations for the organisation of delegations, stressing, however, the absolute necessity that the delegates should be young workers elected by the youth working in the respective factories. The second proposal, to send a delegation of the Socialist Youth International, in other words, a delegation of the leaders of the Socialist Youth organisations, was rejected by us, as we could not expect an unbiassed judgment of the position in the Soviet Union from avowed political enemies.

This second letter was never answered by the Socialist Youth International, but, in their Press, they tried to inform their membership, to whom they did not disclose the wording of our letters, that the Communists had refused joint delegations. However, the German Socialist Youth paper, "The Leader," had to admit that we only rejected a delegation from the Central Committees, and not a delegation of young workers from the factories. The paper opposed the letter with the explanation: "They (the Communists) do not want, therefore, a delegation which has sufficient knowledge necessary for this purpose, but they only want young workers, who go on their journeys totally unprepared, in order that they should report as facts that which they have heard, without any criticism." This was not only an insult to the "simple" young workers, members of the Socialist Youth International, but it proved again that the Socialist Youth International was not at all keen on sending an unprejudiced young workers' delegation, but wanted to send a delegation of counter-revolutionary social democratic leaders, consciously opposed beforehand to the Soviet Union.

In spite of the refusal of the Socialist Youth leaders to participate in the organisation of delegations of young factory workers, and in spite of the fact that they prohibited the participation of members of the Socialist Youth International in these delegations, large sections of their membership actively participated in the sending of youth delegations to the Soviet Union, and in every one of the many young workers' delegations, social democratic young workers were represented. The Socialist Youth

International could not prevent the rapidly growing sympathy of the young workers for the Soviet Union, or stop broad masses of social democratic young workers from participating in many other actions jointly with young Communists. In the actions of the Y.C.I. against the capitalist offensive and for international trade union unity—against war in Morocco—in support of the General Strike and Miners' Strike in Great Britain—against intervention in China and for the defence of the Soviet Union—against the consequences of capitalist rationalisation—not only broad masses of non-party young workers participated, but the best sections of the membership of the Socialist Youth International. If in all countries an ever-growing opposition has developed in the Socialist Youth organisations, it is to no small extent caused by the growing revolutionary consciousness which is growing among the young worker members of the Socialist Youth International, as a result of the sabotage by their leaders of the proposal to carry on a joint struggle with the Young Communist Leagues.

It is impossible to enumerate the most important United Front actions in all countries, and we must, therefore, limit ourselves here to a review of a few countries.

Our Italian League carried through the United Front under the most difficult conditions of illegality and Fascist terror. In the years 1924-25 the League organised 52 young workers' conferences, in which approximately 2,000 delegates participated, representing more than 50,000 young workers. The conferences were mostly composed of delegates from the factories, many were non-Party young workers and members of the Social-Democratic youth organisation. All these conferences were called illegally under the Fascist terror. The National Congress of Young Workers, which was held in Milan, was detected by the police, and every delegate was arrested. The questions discussed at the conference were the struggle against Fascism, the defence of the economic interests of the young workers against the employers, and their henchmen, the reformist trade union leaders, and the reconstruction of the Free Trade unions, smashed up by the Fascists. The results of this conference were a series of economic movements and strikes of young workers which, in consideration of the difficult conditions, were comparatively frequent and successful. The young textile workers of Biella, for instance, forced an increase of their wages from 10-12 lire to 18-20 lire per day.

In 1926, our Young Communist League made a United Front proposal to the Republican, Maximalist and Reformist youth organisations, in which it proposed, apart from the struggle against Fascism, and for the economic demands of the young workers, the struggle against the war danger and the defence

of the Soviet Union. The League also made a proposal to send a young workers' delegation to the Soviet Union. The leaders of the above youth organisations rejected the United Front proposal, but nevertheless in the localities and factories, the Maximalists, Republicans, Reformists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and Catholics entered into the United Front Committees side by side with non-Party young workers. In Milan, where the strongest Maximalist youth organisations exist, the Central Committee officially participated in the work of the United Front Committee. This also happened in many other localities. Among the Catholic young workers, the proposal to send a young workers' delegation to the Soviet Union was particularly popular. Groups of young Catholics were organised in order to collect the necessary money and raise an agitation. In Turin, group of young Catholics issued a manifesto for the sending of a delegation. In spite of the active counter-campaign of the leaders of the Maximalist and Catholic youth organisations, a great section of the membership worked jointly with the Communists. During 1926, 20 young workers' conferences were organised. The following table shows the composition of 11 conferences.

	From factories.	Dele- gates.	Com.	Non- Party.	Maxim.	Anarch.	Cath.	Uni- tarians.	Repub.	Syndic.
Turin	39	61	29	25	—	5	2	—	—	—
Viella	38	60	36	22	2	—	—	—	—	—
Milan	44	70	29	25	10	3	—	3	—	—
Varese	29	47	28	19	—	—	—	—	—	—
Messina	15	20	9	8	—	1	1	1	—	—
Genoa	35	50	20	20	5	3	—	—	—	2
Bologna	36	51	30	15	—	2	—	—	4	—
Verona	20	33	14	8	11	—	—	—	—	—
Novara	35	45	27	15	3	—	—	—	—	—
Parma	15	40	20	18	—	—	2	—	—	—
Rome	20	35	12	10	3	2	3	—	5	—
	326	512	254	185	34	16	8	4	9	2

In the most important industrial centres and in many factories Youth Committees for proletarian unity were set up. A National Committee for sending a youth delegation to the Soviet Union was organised, consisting of three young Communists, three Maximilists, three non-Party young workers, two Republicans, two Catholics, one Anarchist and one Syndicalist.

After more repression through Fascist persecutions, the League again organised, in the second half of 1927, a series of conferences, which were still more largely attended by delegates from the factories. In the period from July to October, eight large factory conferences took place. Five of these were attended by 107 young workers' delegates from 76 factories employing 31,000 adults and 10,000 young workers. Among the

delegates were 56 Communists, 37 non-Party, 10 trade unionists, 4 Catholics, 1 Maximalist and 1 Anarchist. The agenda for these conferences consisted in most cases of reports from representatives of the individual factories on the conditions of the young workers and reports from the youth delegations to the Soviet Union. All factory conferences had for their object the creation of United Front Committees from delegates of different factories. In some cases delegate conferences for single factories were called. Through the dissolution of all other anti-Fascist youth organisations, with the exception of the Young Communist League, the United Front committees in the factories played an important role and became the centre and rallying point of all anti-Fascist young workers. Through them our Y.C.L. has succeeded in winning the best elements from the Maximalists, Reformist, Republican and Catholic young workers' organisations for the Y.C.L.

Our Young Communist League of France carried through in 1925 a widespread anti-militarist campaign against the war in Morocco. From March to July, 17 regional conferences were organised, which were preceded by a great number of factory meetings and public demonstrations. In the district of Lyons, 140 such conferences were held, in the Paris district 250. The young workers' congresses rallied 1,500 delegates representing 410 factories, 7 coal districts, 15 localities. About 900 of the delegates were members of the Y.C.L. or the Red Trade Unions, and 550 non-Party young workers. At each of the congresses the Red Trade Unions were represented, in some cases also Autonomic and Reformist Trade Unions. The Congresses mostly dealt with the question of the anti-militarist struggle against the war in Morocco, and the position of the young workers and their demands. In the French workers' and peasants' congresses, many youth delegates participated, who were linked up in a special young workers' conference. The result of this active mobilization was a growing movement against the war in Morocco. About one million workers participated in the General Strike, which lasted twenty-four hours, in protest against the war in Morocco. Approximately 30 per cent. of the strikers were young workers.

In the second half of 1925, a series of young workers' conferences were organised. In the Paris district sixteen conferences took place, with 744 delegates attending, 342 of whom were unorganised. In the provinces forty-seven conferences were held, five of which were conferences of young peasants. These young workers' conferences were attended by 2,000 delegates, 700 of whom were unorganised.

Through these district conferences the national Congress of young workers and peasants were organised, which took place

in Paris on November 1st and 2nd, attended by 426 delegates. This Congress was in the first place a demonstration against the war in Morocco and Syria. In the discussion on war questions, two soldiers and one sailor participated. Apart from the question of struggle against war, the Congress dealt with the situation and the economic demands of the young workers. Special concrete demands were worked out for a series of industries and groups of industries. A general programme of struggle was drawn up. These demands were completely accepted by the Red Trade Unions, which, after the Congress, also organised a series of conferences of young workers in the trade unions, in order to popularise the demands drawn up by the National Congress, and to mobilise the young workers for the struggle. Finally, the Congress accepted the reports on the situation of the young workers in the Soviet Union, and elected a youth delegation.

In the years following the French League continued its United Front campaign. During this period, with the change in the war position, the economic demands and the struggle against the effects of capitalist rationalisation, stood in the foreground. Our comrades linked up the campaign for the economic demands of the young workers with a drive for the organisation of the young workers in the trade unions. In this they were supported by the Red Trade Unions. In several cases strikes of young workers were jointly led by the Communist League and Red Trade Unions.

In Great Britain the struggle for the United Front received particular importance in connection with the strong leftward swing of the British working class, expressed in the setting up of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in 1924. The League worked actively in the Minority Movement, the Congresses of which accepted the proposals of the Young Communist League for the organisation of the young workers in the trade unions, and the programmes of demands. Representatives of the Young Communist League were elected to the Executive Committee and to numerous local committees of the Minority Movement. The League conducted, with the help of the Left Wing of the trade unions, a series of trade union youth conferences, in which demands of young workers were put forth, and methods to organise the young workers in the trade unions were discussed.

The Y.C.L. approached the National Committee of the Independent Labour Party Guild of Youth with the proposal for a joint struggle on behalf of youth demands. In spite of the refusal of the National Committee, large sections of the Guild organisations, locally and on a district scale, participated in the United Front. The District Conference of the Guilds in London decided by a twenty to one majority for participation in the United

Front. United Front Committees were also set up in Edinburgh and Manchester.

The betrayal by the reformist leaders of the general and miners' strike increased the United Front movement among the members of the Guilds. When the Y.C.L. approached the National Committee of the Guilds with a new United Front proposal, for struggle against the threatening war danger and the imperialist intervention in China, the Guild leadership again rejected this proposal. Many local organisations of the Guilds, however, declared their readiness to jointly conduct a campaign with the Y.C.L. against intervention by British imperialism in China, and consequently a series of joint meetings and demonstrations were organised.

The National Conference of the Guilds in June, 1927, again dealt with the question of the United Front, and rejected the resolution calling for the United Front by only a small majority of twenty-nine to twenty-four votes. Whilst they thus rejected the United Front on a national scale, they unanimously accepted resolutions calling for the United Front on the international scale. In spite of the decision of the conference the United Front movement kept on growing. The Left Wing of the Guilds stood for the United Front with the Y.C.L., and many local organisations, among these the District Committees of Lancashire and Scotland participated in the United Front under the slogans: Down with the Baldwin Government, General Strike against the Anti-Trade Union Bill, Struggle against the Cutting of the Unemployment Benefit, Withdrawal of the Troops from China. After the break-up of Anglo-Russian relations, the slogan of: Resume the Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations and defend the Soviet Union against the attacks of British Imperialism became the main slogan. The result of the United Front tactics was that the Left Wing of the Guilds came nearer and nearer to the Y.C.L. The Left Wing put forth the demand of: Unity of the proletarian youth organisation on the basis of a revolutionary programme, and in spring, 1928, a large section of the Left Wing groups entered the Y.C.L.

The German League organised in spring, 1925, a broad campaign for the sending of the first youth delegation to the Soviet Union. In young workers' conferences, which were held in all districts, not only were delegates elected, but at the same time the situation of the young workers was discussed, and plans of struggle for their demands outlined. After the return of the delegation, a series of district young workers' conferences were again organised, attended by delegates from factories, unemployed, factory schools, trade unions, sport organisations, etc. In all seventeen such young workers' congresses took place, attended by about 1,750 delegates, representing more than



60,000 young workers. These congresses received the reports of the young workers' delegation and discussed the fighting programme proposed by the Central Committee of the German League. This programme, which was accepted by all congresses, demanded the sharpest struggle against the reduction of wages, lengthening of hours, shortening of holidays. It also included a series of demands for the unemployed young workers. Demands were made to the General Federation of German Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.) to immediately call an extraordinary Trade Union Congress to devise plans to fight against the capitalist offensive. The Congresses also declared in favour of complete expropriation of the ruling houses, and the organisation of a national ballot.

The question of expropriation came to the foreground particularly sharply in the spring of 1926. The Y.C.L. approached the leading committees of the Socialist youth organisation and all other proletarian youth organisations with the proposal of a joint agitation for expropriation and the national ballot. The Socialist youth organisation rejected this proposal, but a series of sport and cultural organisations set up jointly, with the Y.C.L., a national committee to conduct the expropriation campaign. Many members of the Socialist youth entered the sub-committees in districts and localities in contradiction to the instructions of the Central Committee. The catholic young workers participated very strongly in the expropriation campaign. A series of catholic young organisations, in spite of the instructions of the Centre Party and of the Bishops, issued a manifesto in favour of expropriation and many catholic young workers worked jointly with the Communists in the United Front Committees and in the agitation for expropriation.

In order to continue the broad mass movement created by the expropriation campaign, the Young Communist League of Germany organised a National Conference of the young workers. This National Conference was again preceded by a series of young workers' conferences in the districts at which the delegates to the National Young Workers' Conference and to the second Youth Delegation to the Soviet Union, were elected. The conference laid particular stress on the participation of delegates from the factories and factory schools. At the Berlin conference, for instance, there were among the 458 delegates 95 delegates by the factories and an equal number of delegates elected from factory schools. The agenda for the National Conference was: (1) The struggle of the young workers against capitalist rationalisation; (2) unemployment and the young workers. The decisions underlined, particularly the necessity of creating youth representatives in the schools and electing young factory delegates of the trade unions in the factories as organs of the broad mass

movement of the young workers. The youth delegates participated also in the Congress of Toilers, which was held at the same time, and which accepted the resolution of the Youth Conference. The results of the National Young Workers' Conference was first of all a revival of the youth movement in the free trade unions. At the same time, in a series of large cities a broad movement in the factory schools sprang up. School papers were issued, schools councils elected and the struggle of the young workers in the factory schools against growing reaction, against arrests and corporal punishment, for free school supplies, etc., was conducted.

At the sharpening of the situation in the Far East, the National Committee of the Young workers issued a manifesto against the war danger, against intervention in China and the attacks against the Soviet Union, and called for a mass movement of protest. In a series of localities joint demonstrations with the workers' sport organisations took place.

The Young Communist League also carried on a campaign against cultural reaction, against the law prohibiting the sale and distribution of literature, etc., and against the intended reactionary school bill, jointly with the workers' sports and cultural organisations.

The Executive Committee gave great attention to the development of the United Front tactics, and all plenary sessions discussed the results and experience of the practical application of the United Front. In this, it had to correct also some opportunist mistakes. Particularly in Czecho-Slovakia there was uncertainty in the Central Committee on the necessity of openly coming out with the exposure of the leadership of the Czechish social democratic youth. A local organisation gave up its right to openly criticise the social democratic leaders during the United Front actions, and in another case our comrades approached a nationalist organisation with a United Front proposal. In Bulgaria our comrades set up a United Front with the small and very weak Socialist youth organisation, and gave up the criticism of its leadership. In Great Britain some comrades were of the opinion that we must not try to win recruits from the social democratic youth for the Y.C.L., in order not to disturb the United Front. However, all these mistakes were only exceptional cases, and were comparatively easily overcome.

With the exception of a few cases, the executive could point to very good successes in the United Front tactics and utilised the practical experiences of some Leagues for the whole International. Such an experience was the organisation of the young workers' conferences, which served as a good means to rally and mobilise broad masses of young workers. Weaknesses were, however, often noticeable, in the following up of these con-

ferences. The United Front actions often stopped at joint meetings and acceptance of unanimous resolutions, and it was not always possible to conduct activities (demonstrations, strikes) for concrete demands.

The Y.C.I. conducted a discussion on the question of the organs of the United Front. The Sixth Plenum at the end of 1926 decided on the necessity of laying the centre of gravity on the United Front Committees in factories and make these the only organs of the United Front over a long period. On the other hand, United Front Committees on a district and national scale should only be set up as temporary organisations, and only for special campaigns. The correctness of these decisions were proved in practice. The United Front Committees on the district scale proved mostly only to be temporary organisations for specially defined tasks. United Front Committees in the factories were, however, only set up in a few cases. It was mostly only possible to organise local committees with strong representations from the factories.

Another question which was cleared at the Sixth Plenum was the question of the United Front with the republican, pacifist and religious youth organisations. Particularly with some Catholic organisations, our Leagues in Germany and Italy carried through United Front action. These were generally very successful, but our comrades also committed some mistakes by entering into discussions with the religious leaders, instead of rallying the young worker members against them. The Plenum, therefore, decided that a United Front in such organisations is only admissible in certain circumstances and on a local scale, and if the organisations in question consist of a majority of workers and has great influence among them.

While in 1925-26 our Leagues made comparatively many United Front proposals to the leading committees of the Socialist youth organisations, those have become rare, because of the open right swing of the leaders of the Socialist youth organisations, and consequently the ever-increasing hopelessness of joint action through the leading organisations. The June Plenum in 1927 consequently decided to throw the weight of our work more than ever into the United Front from below in the factories and on a local scale, and only make approaches to the leaders in exceptional circumstances.

During the last period a certain falling off in the United Front activity is noticeable. This is mainly caused by the growing reactionary activities of the social democratic leaders, which demands from us sharper opposition, thus accentuating the differences between the social democratic and Communist organisations. The reformists tried to utilise this in order to draw the

working-class elements of their organisations into a sharp struggle against the Communists, and they adopted consequently harsh methods against the United Front. This, however, cannot alone explain the weakening of United Front activity. The fault lies partly also with our Leagues, which do not sufficiently understand during the sharpest fight against the social democratic leaders, how to establish the closest contact with the social democratic workers and to build stronger than ever the United Front from below. Our German comrades, for instance, have only in exceptional cases approached the Socialist youth groups and membership with proposals to draw up joint demands and jointly mobilise the young workers during grave economic struggles.

The World Congress will also have to pay more attention to deepening and strengthening the United Front from below.

### **THE YOUNG WORKERS' DELEGATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION.**

The young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union have considerably added to the strengthening and broadening of the movement for the United Front. Hundreds of thousands of young workers actively participated in the organisation, election and sending of the youth delegations, and in the report campaigns after their return. In all delegations, not only non-party young workers were included, but also very many social democratic young workers. Despite the sabotage of the leaders of the Socialist youth organisations, and in spite of the fact that in most countries participation in the organisation of delegations to the Soviet Union were strictly prohibited, and everywhere social democratic delegates were expelled, large sections of the membership of the S.Y.I. participated in this work. The delegation campaigns were broad mass movements of the young workers, as powerful demonstrations of sympathy with the young workers of the Soviet Union, the first proletarian republic.

The reports of the delegations at the same time gave a great impetus to the workers to follow the example of the Russian young workers and to carry on the United Front at home for the demands and interests of the young workers in order to achieve the same successes as the young workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. In all countries not only the questions of the situation in the Soviet Union, and the condition of the Russian youth were explained, but these were also compared with the condition in the capitalist countries, and measures for the joint struggle of the young workers on a national and international scale were discussed. In most countries, therefore, the young

workers' delegations became the starting point for United Front action, in defence of the economic and political interests of the young workers.

The first young workers' delegation to the Soviet Union was sent in September, 1925, by the Austrian young workers. It consisted of three members of the Socialist youth organisation, three members of the Independent Socialist Youth organisation, which had split from the Socialist Youth League, two members of the Y.C.L., and one member of the Social Democratic Party. The delegation was enthusiastically received in the Soviet Union, visited Leningrad, Moscow, Charkov, Baku and Tiflis, and had an opportunity to convince themselves in factories, workshops, schools, clubs, and even in the prisons, of the real situation. On their return, they gave the first report to the Young Workers' Congress in Vienna, which was attended by about 300 delegates from factories, schools, trade unions, sport organisations, Y.C.L., Independent Socialist Youth League, and Socialist Youth League. After acceptance of the report, the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution in which it said: "The Russian workers and young workers have won after eight years of heroic struggle against a world of enemies, conditions of labour which should be a splendid example to the whole international proletariat. The achievements of the Russian Revolution, the four-six hour day, adequate wages, four-six weeks' paid holiday spent in sanatoriums, free and unhampered political activity, which are obvious things to-day for the Russian youth, all these must spur us in Austria to improve the position of the Austrian young workers by an energetic struggle." The Congress also decided to invite a delegation of young workers from the Soviet Union to Austria. After the Congress, a series of report meetings were organised in which the decision to invite a delegation of Russian young workers was accepted particularly with great enthusiasm. A reception committee was organised from the representatives of the various young workers' organisations. Unfortunately, the young workers from the Soviet Union could not satisfy the great expectation of the Austrian young workers, because the Austrian Government refused visas to the already elected delegation in spite of many demonstrations of protest by the workers and particularly young workers.

The Austrian young workers' delegation was followed by a series of delegations from other countries invited by the Russian young workers. Young workers from Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium visited the Soviet Union. The German delegation consisted of five members of the Socialist Youth League, four members of the Y.C.L., three members of the Socialist Party of Germany, two members of the Socialist Prole-

tarian League, and one from the Red Young Front Fighters. The Czechish delegation consisted of three social democrats and three Communists. In spite of the prohibition of the social democratic leaders, the majority of the delegates were social democratic young workers. Their reports were listened to with the greatest interest. The German young workers' delegation reported at seventeen young workers' conferences representing over 60,000 young workers. In addition to these conferences the delegates spoke in the beginning of March, 1926, at over 300 meetings to more than 50,000 young workers. The delegates also reported in meetings of the members of the trade union youth sections, the workers' sport organisations, and individual groups of the Socialist youth. The Czechish young worker delegation succeeded in carrying through up to the middle of 1926 110 report meetings.

The report campaigns of the first workers' and young workers' delegation to the Soviet Union greatly contributed towards exposing the lies of the social democracy and the bourgeoisie about the Soviet Union, and made the workers of Western Europe become acquainted with the conditions and life of the Russian proletariat. This strengthened the sympathy for the Soviet Union and increased the desire to receive still more detailed information about Soviet Russia, and to establish closer ties with the workers of the Soviet Union.

In autumn, 1926, youth delegations again travelled to the Soviet Union. This time from Great Britain, Italy, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, and Holland. Particularly important was the delegation from Great Britain, in which, in spite of the refusal of the National Committee of the Guilds of Youth to participate, five leading functionaries of the Guilds were represented. A very important rôle was also played by the youth delegation from Fascist Italy, which travelled illegally to the Soviet Union, and in which social democratic and Catholic young workers were included. These delegations on their return conducted a broad campaign which met with the greatest interest and participation of the young workers. Particularly good were the results of the young workers' delegation in Great Britain. The reports of the social democrat young workers considerably added towards the strengthening of the Left Wing in the Guilds of Youth of the Independent Labour Party and towards the establishment of the United Front of the British young workers against the attacks of British Imperialism against the Soviet Union. In Sweden the delegation campaign resulted in a wide movement for an invitation of a young workers' delegation from the Soviet Union to Sweden, in which campaign, in spite of the refusal of the Social Democratic Youth Leagues, various groups of the Socialist youth

participated. Again, in this case the bourgeois government was careful to prevent young workers from Soviet Russia from personally reporting about their life, their conditions of living to their brothers of the capitalist countries, and to establish close contacts with them.

Of particular importance were the young workers' delegations which visited the Soviet Union during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in November, 1927, because of the serious political situation, in which they took place. It was over-shadowed by the increased imperialist war preparations and the attacks against the Soviet Union, the only workers' republic of the whole world, which for ten years victoriously defended itself against an army of enemies, and which was building up Socialist economy. In this situation the demonstrations and conferences to organise the delegations to the Soviet Union took the character of demonstrations for the defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist attacks. The sending of over a thousand young and adult workers was a tremendous demonstration of sympathy towards the Soviet Union, an expression of the active participation of the class-conscious workers of the whole world in the celebration by the Russian proletariat, and a pledge to defend the Soviet Union. The international bourgeoisie correctly understood the meaning and increased political importance of these delegations. This they proved by increased persecutions and attacks against the delegations. The Italian young workers' delegation, of course, had to travel again illegally, and the Greek Government also prohibited and prevented the young workers' delegation by refusing to issue visas. In Bulgaria the youth delegates were arrested, and in Czecho-Slovakia the demonstration and meetings in preparation of the youth delegations were prohibited.

All this oppression, however, did not prevent the young workers from travelling in greater numbers than ever before to the Soviet Union. There came youth delegations from Great Britain, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Norway and Belgium. Apart from this there were strong youth groups in the general workers delegations of all countries, as for instance, from China, Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Austria and Switzerland. In all there were eighty youth delegates from twenty countries. Of these thirty-seven were Communists, sixteen Social Democrats, three Christians, one Czechish Socialist and the rest non party young workers.

For the first time, youth delegations from China and South America, the colonies and semi-colonies, had arrived which play a particular important role in the struggle against world

imperialism, and the young workers and peasants of which are therefore attached to Soviet Russia with increasing sympathy.

The delegates were not only able to study the situation in the Soviet Union, but were also witnesses of how the workers in the Soviet Union celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the achievements of ten years of work, and they pledged themselves to do all in their power to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against the attacks of the capitalist world.

The young workers delegations participated in the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union, which was attended by over 1,000 delegates, and afterwards held a special conference of the Young Friends of the Soviet Union. The conference accepted the report of the secretary of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union on the economic, political and cultural achievement of the young workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. The delegates, who, during their travels in the Soviet Union, had an opportunity of personally convincing themselves of the correctness of the statements, pointed out, in the resolution, the tremendous improvement in the situation of the young workers under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and stated that only through the proletarian revolution, through the correct policy of the Soviet Government under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, could the youth of the Soviet Union win such great achievements.

On the question of "The War Danger the Soviet Union and the Youth" three reporters spoke; a British social democratic young worker, a German social democratic young worker and a French Young Communist. After a good discussion a resolution was accepted, which called upon young workers of the whole world to be ready to defend the first proletarian state against all attacks of world imperialism, which recalls the glorious traditions of the proletarian youth in the anti-militarist struggle, the teachings of Karl Liebknecht and the example of the French sailors in the Black Sea, and which appeals to the young workers to fight in the spirit of these heroic examples. The resolution opposes pacifist phrases and illusions about the League of Nations, Courts of Arbitration and other organisations of the capitalist powers and underlines that only the revolutionary struggle of the working class through mass actions, demonstrations, strikes and revolutionary work in the army can war be prevented, or in case of an outbreak of war result in the victory of the Soviet Union. This resolution was unanimously accepted with great enthusiasm by the Congress, which consisted of a majority of non Communist young workers.

With these guiding lines the young workers delegations



returned to their respective countries in order to report to their electors and all the young workers. Again broad masses of young workers and peasants in all countries received with tremendous interest the reports on the life, achievements, and the struggle of the youth in the Soviet Union. They supported in their overwhelming majority the decisions of the Congress of the Young Friends of the U.S.S.R. that it is the duty of the young workers of the whole world to support the youth of the Soviet Union in its struggle and to defend the building of socialism against all capitalist attacks.

It is now the duty of the Young Communist Leagues to rally the young workers, sympathising with the Soviet Union, in an organised mighty front of struggle against all war preparations against the socialist mother country of the toilers of the whole world.

# **Leading the Struggle for the Demands and Interests of the Young Workers**

## **I. FROM THE FOURTH TO THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE Y.C.I.**

The period since the Fourth World Congress is the period of the practical commencement of the work in the trade unions by many sections of the Y.C.I. These four years of trade union work were conducted in a period of relative stabilisation of capitalism during which it attempted to throw the burden of rationalisation, the costs of resurrection of capitalist economy on the shoulders of the young and adult workers. Reduction in wages, lengthening of hours, intensification of labour, piece-work, and speeding-up system, robbing of social and political rights—these were the aims of capitalism in the years of rationalisation, which was carried through with the active or passive support of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which aided the rebuilding of capitalist economy with their theory of economic democracy and industrial peace.

One of the characteristics of the work since the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. is the inception and leadership of the struggle for the elementary demands of the youth in the factories. At the time of the Fourth Congress the question of our trade union work was very hotly discussed, but very little practical activity was carried on.

It has been proved by experience that in the struggle against the effects of capitalist rationalisation no general demands or so-called programmes of demands should be put in the foreground, but the struggle for elementary demands which arise in the factories and work schools.

In the field of knowledge of practical trade union questions (youth welfare and rights, legislation, tariff systems, knowledge of trade union agreements, trade union statutes and trade union apparatus, etc.) there was little understanding by our trade union functionaries. The increased attention which the trade union questions demanded in the factories, forced our trade union functionaries to go deeper into the nature of these problems. Some Leagues, particularly the German League, had to lead a broad campaign of clarification in order to train trade union "specialists," who were equal to the sly reformists in questions of trade union affairs. This task of continuously training trade union functionaries is not yet completed in the German and other Leagues.

Some Leagues, which up to and after the time of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. were considered to be the most backward in the sphere of trade union work, considerably improved and overcame their backwardness. The German League, in their present trade union work, compared with the trade union work previous to the Fourth World Congress, have made great strides. The open letter of the Comintern to the German Party and the discussion on the open letter, which was conducted by the whole German League, including the lowest organisational units, groups and nuclei, has contributed much towards this improvement.

The period from the Fourth to the Fifth Congress saw the clarification of important problems in trade union work. The effects of capitalist rationalisation on the young workers; raising of the school-leaving age, which was proposed by the reformists as a measure to reduce unemployment; the question of the organisational forms of the youth work in the trade unions (youth committees and youth sections), which had been discussed ever since the Second World Congress of the Y.C.I.; the rôle of the young workers in the economic struggles, the inclusion of apprentices in the strikes of the workers and the independent youth strikes; all these questions were subjects of discussion at various plenary sessions of the E.C.Y.C.I., which considerably contributed towards intensification of our trade union work by all the Leagues.

## **II. THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE AND AGAINST THE EFFECTS OF CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION.**

The Sixth Plenum of the Y.C.I. (November-December, 1926) for the first time took a stand on the questions of capitalist rationalisation and its effects on the young workers. In the political resolution of the Plenum, it was said:—

“The capitalist ‘rationalisation’ of production which gives prominence to the specific weight of young workers in the factories, throws at the same time considerable numbers of young workers into the street, with the result that the reserve army of unemployed young workers is steadily growing. Apart from this, ‘rationalisation’ is coupled with an enormous intensification of the exploitation of young workers employed in the factories. The most important task of the Y.C.I. in the struggle against these inevitable consequences of ‘rationalisation’ is the co-ordination of the employed and unemployed working-class youth into one movement. The mobilisation of the mass of the working-class youth must take place on the basis of partial demands. In connection

with the new phenomena which are the outcome of rationalisation, the Plenum deems it necessary to put the economic partial demands of the youth into a more concrete form. Particular care should be taken in the signing of new collective agreements and in connection with all economic conflicts that special demands be included for young workers over 18, which has up till now hardly ever been the practice of the Y.C.L.s. But while the centre of gravity of the struggle against the social consequences of capitalist rationalisation are partial demands, slogans must be found for the linking up of these partial demands with the uniform revolutionary policy which will stir up the masses for political struggle—such slogans should be: (1) Against capitalist stabilisation, (2) against allowing the capitalist rationalisation swindle to make the position of the workers still worse, (3) for raising the standard of life of the working class, (4) for proletarian dictatorship and the socialist organisation of economy, (5) not capitalist but Socialist rationalisation.”

The principal discussion on the question of the effects of rationalisation on the young workers did not take place so much at this Sixth Plenum of the Y.C.I., but was in the main commenced after the Sixth Plenum.

There were comrades who denied that the specific importance of the young workers in the factories increases, as a result of rationalisation. After these discussions which took place in the period after the Sixth Enlarged Plenum, and which were also conducted throughout the various Leagues, the Plenary sessions of the E.C. Y.C.I. from the 18th-27th of June, 1927, again took a stand on the question of capitalist rationalisation, and accepted a resolution in which is was said:—

“ The Sixth Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. declared that : ‘ The capitalist rationalisation of production increases the specific weight of the youth in the factories, but that at the same time masses of young workers are turned on to the streets, leading to an absolute increase of the reserve army of unemployed young workers. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. declares that the development since the period of the Sixth Enlarged Executive has correctly shown this decision to be an indication of the effect of capitalist rationalisation on the young workers, and that the proportion of young workers to adults in rationalised industry is increasing. . . . ’ ”

All further investigations in this field showed that this decision of the Sixth Enlarged Executive was absolutely correct, and the February Plenum of 1928 could deal thoroughly with the

question of the economic struggles and strikes of the young workers against the effects of capitalist rationalisation.

With the introduction of capitalist rationalisation and closing down of unprofitable plants, millions of young workers of both sexes were thrown on the unemployment market. This affected mostly young skilled workers between the ages of 18 and 21, who completed their training period as cheap and willing objects of exploitation for the employer, but who after the conclusion of their apprenticeship period, when they demanded wages according to trade union rates, became too expensive for the employer, and were therefore replaced by the young workers who had just left school.

The March Plenum of 1926 dealt with the question of mass unemployment among young workers and accepted a resolution: "The Fight for the Unemployed Youth," which instructed the Young Communist Leagues to conduct campaigns on behalf of the young unemployed, and to draw up programmes of demand, jointly with the parties organising the young unemployed in unemployed organisations. The resolution makes the following demands:—

(a) Unemployment relief to be paid by the State and municipalities to all young unemployed workers.

(b) The raising of the present miserable unemployment benefits for young workers to the cost of living minimum and the rates of benefit of the adult unemployed workers.

(c) Special relief through the municipalities by erection of homes, free food and clothing, and other special facilities.

Many Leagues immediately after the Plenum launched campaigns for the young unemployed. The British and German Leagues had previously made good beginnings. At the end of 1925, when unemployment among the young workers tremendously increased, the German League drew up a fighting programme of demands for the young unemployed. A series of young workers' conferences which were organised in all districts to send a delegation to the U.S.S.R., in most cases accepted the programme which included the demands of the unemployed. At the same time the Y.C.L. of Germany set itself the task to organise the young unemployed. This was as undertaken in conjunction with the C.P.G. In the districts delegates representing the young unemployed were included in the district committees of the unemployed movement. Also on the national scale the youth were represented in the national unemployed committees. In the instructions of the German League on the work among the unemployed it was said: "Complete unity between the young and adult unemployed in order not to split the fighting power of the proletariat. Therefore no separate committees of the young un-

employed, but everywhere participation of the youth in the unemployment committees."

The demands which were put forth by the Y.C.L. of Germany in its programme for the unemployed were model concrete demands, which can be understood by all unemployed:—

"Creation of public works, young workers to be paid at trade union rates; Support of all young workers immediately after leaving school irrespective of conditions in the family; Equal benefit for both sexes.

In addition such demands as "daily feeding in adequate premises, erection of baths, supply of clothing, coats, shoes, shirts, etc." were put forward. The Y.C.L. published for this unemployment campaign, in addition to other printed material, "Mass Unemployment on the Proletariat Youth," distributed leaflets and organised many meetings and demonstrations for the young unemployed.

The Y.C.L. of Austria drew up a programme of demands of the unemployed workers of Vienna, which was accepted at a National Young Workers' Conference on the suggestion of the Y.C.L. delegates. In this programme a demand for unemployment relief for all young unemployed was put forward.

In Sweden particularly good work was carried on among the unemployed by our Stockholm organisation. A manifesto was published calling on the trade unions to assist in formulating demands of the unemployed similar to the programme of demands put forward in Germany.

The Young Communist League of Norway attempted to conduct a united front campaign for the demands of the young unemployed which, however, failed, owing to the opposition and sabotage of the Social Democratic youth.

In Poland our Y.C.L. was very active in organising demonstrations which were held in all parts of the country almost daily. The main slogans put forward by our League for the unemployed were: "Work and bread, relief to the unemployed according to the existence minimum."

Our French League also conducted a broad campaign on behalf of the young unemployed, in which it issued a fighting programme for the young unemployed.

### THE YOUNG WORKERS' CONGRESSES.

The reformist trade union bureaucracy, which, by supporting the slogan of economic democracy and industrial peace, aided capitalist rationalisation, refused to lead the young workers in the factories and factory schools, and the young unemployed in their struggle against the effects of capitalist rationalisation. Our Y.C.L.'s had the tasks of organising all sections of the

young workers by means of the United Front tactics within and outside of the trade unions. Many Leagues conducted this campaign with good success. The German League organised, in the course of the period under review, a series of young workers' conferences on a district and national scale. These conferences were partly organised in order to elect delegates for the youth delegations to the Soviet Union. In addition to this, conferences were held which had as their sole purpose the task of fighting against the attacks of capitalist rationalisation, as for instance, the First National Conference of the young workers, which was held on the 3rd and 4th of December, 1926, in Berlin. The League succeeded at these conferences in linking up the struggle against the effects of rationalisation with the political struggle of to-day.

The agenda of the National Conference was as follows :—

- (1) Struggle of the young workers against capitalist rationalisation.
- (2) Unemployment and the young workers.
- (3) Election of the National Young Workers' Committee.

At the Conference 70 delegates represented 100,000 young workers.

The election of the delegates to the National Conference took place at special young workers' conferences in the districts. Such young workers' conferences were held in all parts of Germany on the initiative of the Y.C.L., and put forward United Front proposals to the Socialist Youth League, the young trade unionists, the sport and cultural organisations. Good information on the character of these district young workers' conferences can be obtained from the report of the Berlin Young Workers' Conference which was attended by 458 delegates, 83 of whom were elected in factory conferences, 83 by young workers in factory school meetings, 93 by sport organisations, 39 delegates from the unemployed, 19 trade-union delegates, and 23 representatives of the youth organisation of the Kuszinsky Committee. All these young workers' conferences laid stress on the organisation of the young workers and the strengthening of the opposition in the reformist trade unions.

Young workers' conferences, organised for the purpose of rallying the youth into the trade unions, were held also in Czecho-Slovakia.

Our Young Communist League of Italy has for a long time organised factory conferences of young workers, corresponding to the particular illegal conditions prevailing in Fascist Italy. In the individual factories, factory meetings are being held, which elect delegates for a factory conference for the whole

industrial centre. Such factory conferences were held very frequently during the last few years.

Our Young Communist League of Holland organised last year a young textile workers' conference. It drew up a programme of demands which is to be published as a small pamphlet for the young textile workers.

The Young Communist League of Austria in 1928 organised a young metal workers' conference in Vienna and young workers' conferences in Steiermark. These conferences drew up fighting programmes.

Our Polish League undertook the organisation of young workers' conferences. Such conferences mostly bore the character of industrial conferences and were held in various industrial centres of Poland. An example is the textile conference in Lodz. The conference organised by our Lodz organisation had the following agenda: (1) political and economic situation; (2) struggle against the Factory Act; (3) reports and future activity. The conference decided to fight against the Factory Act and laid down the tasks in the trade union youth sections. It also decided to organise new youth sections.

### **ECONOMIC STRUGGLES AND YOUNG WORKERS' STRIKES.**

After the end of 1926 the European workers showed a growing desire to fight against the effects of capitalist rationalisation. This spirit found expression in many economic struggles and in the growing international strike wave. In these struggles the young workers very often played a very active rôle.

During the period under review we have witnessed a series of large-scale strikes and smaller struggles in which our Young Communist Leagues played an important part. For instance, the British General and miners' strike, the Passaic strike in America, the strike in the Hamburg docks, and the wave of economic struggles during the last six months in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries. In the last year there were also a series of young workers' strikes. There were sixteen such young workers' strikes in Germany, and a number of such like strikes in Poland, America, Canada, Tunis, Italy, etc.

Great masses of apprentices, young workers, organised and unorganised, participated in the British General Strike in 1926, in spite of the difficulties caused through the anti-strike laws and the apprenticeship agreements.

The slogans issued by our Young Communist League were: participation of all young workers in the strike, representation of young workers in the Strike Committees, and Councils of Action,



fraternisation of the soldiers and strikers, united front of the young workers.

In these General and miners' strikes, the Young Communist League of Great Britain proved its capability to lead the young workers. The masses of young workers followed the slogans of the Y.C.L. against the decision of the trade union bureaucracy which mostly refused the inclusion of the young workers in the strike. During the General Strike and miners' strike, in many cases, the young workers won the right to enter the various trade unions by actually entering the strike. Our Young Communist League utilised the miners' strike to organise conferences of young trade unionists. Such conferences took place in London for the members of the Shop Assistants' Union and in the mining districts of South Wales. Our Y.C.L. proved to possess good knowledge of the conditions of the young miners which found expression in the drawing up of concrete demands.

In the first days of the gigantic strike, when all factories stood still, and when no papers of the League could be issued, the Central Committee of the Y.C.L.G.B. immediately published a duplicated daily news bulletin, "The Young Striker." The London edition was immediately copied by the organisers, whom the Central Committee had sent to all the districts. Thus it was possible to publish the first young workers' daily papers during the tremendous struggle in Great Britain.

The demands of the League were strongly supported and great demonstrations of young workers demanded from the reformist trade union leaders measures to include the young workers in all programmes of demands. After the betrayal and calling off of the strike by the reformist leaders, the League immediately continued its work among the young miners by carrying on a broad campaign for demands. "Equal Pay for Equal Work," "Six-hour day for all young workers," "No underground work for young workers under 16," "Vocational training for young workers." Even A. J. Cook, the leader of the British miners, appreciated the services of the League in a series of articles which appeared in the organ of the British Y.C.L., "The Young Worker," and in interviews.

The activity of the young workers in the Passaic Strike had the following results :—

(a) Demands for the young workers were formulated and accepted by the trade unions.

(b) Mass meetings of the young strikers were organised. Two of those mass demonstrations were called by the United Front Committee and one under the auspices of the Y.C.L. Each of these demonstrations called by the United Front Committee was attended by about 1,500 young workers.

The meeting of the Y.C.L. was attended by 2,000 young workers. The Conference accepted the demands put forward by the Y.C.L.

(c) In the bulletin of the textile strikers, which was published weekly, one of the eight pages was reserved as a special youth and children's page.

(d) A paper for workers' correspondence was established, which was greatly utilised by the young workers.

Our Y.C.L. regularly issued its organ, the "Young Worker," every week during the textile strike. In addition two special strike issues were published and distributed in several thousand copies.

The Hamburg dockers' strike was the first strike on a large scale which took place in Germany since the end of 1924. Our Y.C.L. did very little preparatory organisational work for this struggle. Even during the strike itself it limited its activities to the organisation of strike meetings and publications of leaflets. A deciding factor of course was that the number of young workers in the port of Hamburg was not very big.

The Plenum of the Y.C.I. in March 1928, in analysing the growing strike movement and the young workers' strikes in 1927 made the following observation :—

"Young workers who, through rationalisation, are playing an utterly different and more important rôle in industry than before, take, as shown by events in many capitalist countries, a special part in workers' struggles. Participation of young workers and apprentices in the strike of adults as well as independent youth strikes in Germany, Poland, Italy, America, Canada, Tunis, etc., bear testimony to this."

With the growing strike movement a series of youth questions were put to the front. Thus arose the question of the participation of the young workers and apprentices in the struggles of the working class which, in the period of the united struggle against organised trust capital, is of great importance. In the Central German metal workers' strike of 1927 there were still a number of doubts as to the correctness of the question of including the apprentices in the strike. It was suggested to replace the clear slogan of "Inclusion of the apprentices in the strike of the adults," by the slogan: "Refusal to scab" for the apprentices, and to leave them in the factories. Although the question of apprenticeship agreements plays a great rôle in the inclusion of apprentices in the strike, it must be remembered that our struggle is directed against the individual apprenticeship agreements and for inclusion of the apprentices into the collective agreements. This struggle can be fought most

effectively by practical participation of the apprentices in all struggles of the working class. The last Plenum also decided in this direction.

The sixteen young workers' strikes in Germany are of great importance for all our Y.C.L.s. They showed that independent young workers' strikes are possible and can be successfully led by our Y.C.L.s. A series of young workers' strikes in Germany also resulted in developing great struggles of the adult workers. From the many examples at our disposal we only want to sketch a few.

An example of good preparation of a wage movement for the young workers and for the putting forward of concrete factory demands is the wage movement in the metal-screw factory R.M.A.G. in Finsterwalde, near Berlin, which was led by our factory nucleus of thirty comrades. On the 11th of June, 1927, 115 young workers and apprentices started a wage movement for a rise in wages of ten per cent. Our factory nucleus immediately took over the leadership and organised a factory meeting which elected a young factory delegate. The factory meeting was attended by the young trade unionists in the factory and a large section of the unorganised youth. After four days' struggle the following demands were conceded:—

- (1) Immediate stoppage of night work for all young workers under sixteen.
- (2) Young workers under sixteen to work in the afternoon shift only up to 10 p.m. (seven hours), but to receive payment for full eight hours.
- (3) The management to agree to a ten per cent. rise in wages for all young workers.
- (4) The question of vacation for the apprentices to be dealt with after conclusion of a collective agreement, as the apprentices do not come within the category of workers working on "automaton machines."
- (5) The young factory delegate to be recognised and to be consulted when youth questions are being discussed.

A further strike which shows how the trade union bureaucracy can be forced to recognise the demands of the young workers was the strike of the young miners in the "Defence" pit in Upper Silesia. On the 15th March, 1927, in the above pit, 400 young miners downed tools. The reasons for this were the fines deducted by the administration for "dirty work," which often amounted to fifty per cent. of the wages. (In February alone about 9,550 marks were deducted in fines.)

A pit meeting, which elected a strike committee, demanded the abolition of fines, repayment of deductions made since October 1st, 1926. The young miners are very strongly organised.

On the day of the outbreak of the strike they put out strike pickets, who prevented the young workers entering the pits. Consequently the number of young miners on strike increased on the following day to 900. On the suggestion of our comrades, a delegation was sent to the German Miners' Union, urging them to fight for the demands put up by the young miners. The delegation consisted of one Young Communist, one Young Socialist, three Young Trade Unionists, and one Christian Young Worker. The Miners' Union accepted the demands of the young miners. A conference between the miners' union and the management of the pit took place, in which the following demands were conceded:

- (1) Fines deducted for February to be refunded.
- (2) No further fines in future.
- (3) No victimisation of strikers.
- (4) The time lost during strike to be paid for.

A pit meeting rejected these conditions, but after a further meeting it was decided to start work again on the agreement arrived at.

The strike of the young riveters in the German Wharf in Hamburg was carried through for three weeks under the leadership of the Young Communist League. At the beginning the young workers struck independently, but after a week's strike the adult riveters also joined, although they had previously declared themselves against the strike. This was done under the slogan: "No Scab-work," and a number of demands were put forward. The riveters of the wharf of Blohm and Voss and the young workers of the wharfs Johannsen and Schmielenski and the riveters of the Vulcan wharf put forward similar demands to the young workers of the German Wharf. Our district "Wasserkante" issued leaflets, agitational sheets, factory papers and organised a series of strike meetings for the young strikers. Unfortunately this strike had to be called off after three weeks' duration because of the treacherous attitude of the reformists.

In December, 1925, a strike of young miners in Drumbheller-Lata, in Canada, broke out. All putters employed in the mines are young workers. The Young Communist League of Drumbheller called a conference of representatives from the various pits, which called a strike. The demands put forward were: Return to the wages of 1924 (the wages have been twice reduced since then—in 1924 by twelve per cent. and in June, 1925, by fifteen per cent.). The demands meant a rise in wages by twenty-seven per cent. for work over- and underground above the wages paid at the time of the strike.

Every putter came out on strike, and the pits consequently had to close down. Unfortunately, this strike was lost, because

of the splits caused by the I.W. W., and the miners had to start work at the old rates.

This strike again showed that the young workers in industry play sometimes even a leading part, because of the changed role of the young workers in industry; in the above example, the young putters were able to stop the whole pit.

Our Y.C.L. of Holland, which, in previous years, paid very little attention to the economic trade union work, succeeded in leading in 1928 two young-workers' strikes in Rotterdam. One held out for fourteen days, the other, which was a sympathetic strike, two days.

Also political strike actions were carried through by the young workers. In August, 1927, in Nova Scotia and Alberta (Drumheller-Canada) one day's strike of protest against the intended murder of Sacco-Vanzetti took place. The young putters also took the leadership in these political strikes. These were the only strikes which were conducted by the miners of Canada in protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The trade union section of the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. will deal particularly with the question of economic struggle and young workers' strikes. For this question special theses will be submitted.

We must link up our struggle against the effects of capitalist rationalisation with our work inside the trade unions. This was done insufficiently during the period reported on. The February Plenum of 1928, therefore, stated in its resolution:—

“Every strike must be utilised by the Y.C.L. for the strengthening of its own organisation. The enlistment of young workers in trade unions and the strengthening of the opposition movement in the trade unions must also be undertaken.”

### III. OUR WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

A sign of improvement in our trade union work is the inception of the work in the Reformist, and the strengthening of our work in the Red trade unions. However, in spite of all our successes, it must be stated that our work has not yet developed sufficiently inside the trade unions.

In some countries the work in the reformist trade unions has not yet been taken up. This applies first of all to the reformist trade unions in France and Czecho-Slovakia. In other countries we were satisfied with only occasional actions, as in the case of Sweden and Norway. Systematic work in the reformist trade unions is only being conducted in Germany, Poland, England, Belgium and in the Red trade unions only of France and Czecho-Slovakia.

In many countries our Y.C.L. is still confronted with the task of fighting for the organisation of the young workers in the trade unions with equal rights and for the creation of special youth sections. Special youth sections (youth committees, youth commissions, etc.) exist in the reformist trade unions in Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Denmark, Poland, Latvia, Palestine, Holland, and Switzerland. In the Red trade unions they exist only in France and Czecho-Slovakia. In the Balkans and practically in all countries of the East there are no special organisations at all for the young workers in the trade unions, or only very small attempts at the creation of some such organisations (Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece).

In America the young workers are in many cases not accepted in the trade unions. On the other hand, there are countries where the entrance fees and dues are so high that the young workers cannot join the union.

The question of the attitude of the Y.C.I. to the organisational forms for the youth in the trade unions had been discussed since the Second Congress of the Y.C.I. The last Plenum in February, 1928, brought clarity into the question of youth sections, youth committees, and youth commissions. The decision of the Plenum reads:—

“We can and must co-ordinate the youth in the trade unions under the name ‘committee’ as well as under the name of ‘youth section,’ setting up, thereby, in regard to the youth sections, our proposals. Factory council delegates, labour democracy, equal rights for the young workers in the trade unions, leadership of the revolutionary economic struggle of the working youth, revolutionary educational work.

“There is no essential difference between such a youth section and a revolutionary youth commission which has become a mass organ.”

This decision, therefore, points out the possibility of creating youth sections on a revolutionary basis, particularly in the trade unions of those countries where, so far, no special organisational forms for the young workers exist.

### **THE ORGANISATION OF OUR TRADE UNION WORK.**

An important preliminary for good work inside the trade unions is 100 per cent. trade union organisation of our membership, and the creation of well-functioning fractions of our League members in all trade-union bodies. The task of 100 per cent. organisation of our members and the creation of fractions were laid down by the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. In reality, however, the position is very bad. According to the last reports,

on the average only about 30 per cent. of the membership of the Y.C.I. are organised in trade unions.

In the field of linking up the young Communists in the individual unions into fractions there is much room for improvement. Only in Poland and Germany comparatively well functioning fractions are organised in the individual trade unions. Even here there are many shortcomings. It is very difficult to get complete figures about the number of fractions for the whole country, and for the individual trade unions. In some Leagues there were still doubts on the question of fraction work. Some were of the opinion that a youth commission could replace the fraction. Such erroneous opinions were put forward in Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia. It must be stressed again that we must organise the young Communists in fractions, which must work in close unity with the Party fractions, in all trade union organs, including the Red trade unions.

A good method for concentrating the organisation on our trade union work, for the conduct of political campaigns in the youth sections, for raising the percentage of the Y.C.L. members in the trade unions, for the preparation of wage movements, and for the organisation of special industrial campaigns, on the holding of the youth Communist trade union conferences and trade union discussions, which have proved to be of tremendous value. Such conferences were organised in exemplary fashion, by our German Y.C.L. After the Tenth League Congress nine such trade union conferences were held in all parts of the country for the preparation and carrying through of the above tasks. These conferences were attended by our Communist trade union youth functionaries from the factories and trade unions. In addition the German League organised during this period, eight trade union conferences which had to deal concretely with the questions of youth strikes and economic movements of the young worker. Trade union discussions with the individual fraction leaders of the trade unions in certain districts were organised by the German League from July, 1927 to February, 1928. Seventeen of such meetings were held.

In various countries industrial campaigns were conducted for the organisation of our trade union work for the preparation and propaganda of definite demands, and for the mobilisation of the young workers. In Germany the industrial campaigns were prepared by trade union youth conferences and discussions. Such industrial conferences decided on plans of work in the trade unions, work in the factories (factory meetings, election of young factory delegates, trade union organisation of the young workers in the factories).

Similar industrial campaigns were held for the young miners,

young textile workers, and young railroad workers in Great Britain, and in Germany for the young metal workers and young miners, in Poland and Canada for the young textile workers.

We cannot discuss the question of the organisation of our trade union work without dealing with the training of young trade union functionaries. In this field very little had been done by our Leagues. Only the German League organised from July, 1927, to February, 1928, fourteen week-end courses in various districts: of these six were held in the industrial districts of Berlin, Brandenburg, and two in East Saxony. The others were held in small districts. A week-end school for trade union functionaries was held in one German district, Berlin-Brandenburg. On a national scale the German League organised a national trade union school lasting a fortnight, from 17th-30th of July, 1928.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY.

The Fifth Enlarged Executive (7th-13th April, 1925), stated that in view of the general position and the situation of the economic trade union work of the Leagues, the main tasks of the Y.C.I. in this field of work upon which we must concentrate, should be the following:—

(a) An international campaign for the 100 per cent. trade union organisation of our membership.

(b) Building up and strengthening of the fractions of the Y.C.L. in the trade unions.

(c) A campaign for international trade union unity.

(d) Transition from general propaganda to the organisation of industrial campaigns and concrete work in the factories.

These main tasks, which still stand before us to-day, were still more concretely laid down at the conference of Young Communist Leagues of Europe, which was held in Berlin on the 21st-22nd July, 1925. This conference worked out concrete instructions for sixteen European Y.C.L.s, which deal with the tasks. The Congress decided to organise an International Trade Union Youth Week to concentrate attention on trade union work and to develop a broad campaign for national and international trade union unity. In addition this European conference of Y.C.L.s dispatched a letter to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee drawing their attention to the imperialist war preparations, and demanded from the British and Russian trade unions the mobilisation of the workers for the struggle against the threatening war danger.

The International Trade Union Week was held from 14th-20th of November, 1925. It fell during a period in which a series



of industrial actions were being carried through in the various countries. In Great Britain a campaign was under way, organised by the railway and transport workers unions in order to win the wakening unorganised young workers. In Germany the German Federation of Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.) conducted a youth campaign. In France during this period the General Unitary Federation of Trade Unions (C.G.T.U.) held a recruiting campaign, and in America the Amsterdam trade unions organised a campaign for the Gompers' trade unions to enter the Amsterdam International.

Leagues, which had done very little in the sphere of trade union work, as the Scandinavian and Swiss Leagues, made a good start during the Trade Union Week. Those Leagues which had previously done some work, intensified their activities, as, for instance, the British League, and the Czechish Y.C.L., which linked up the Trade Union Week with the Second Congress of the International Trade Union League (I.A.V.). The Norwegian, British, and Czecho-Slovakian Leagues issued special numbers of their youth papers, and the German League published a special number of its organ for functionaries.

The main weakness consisted in insufficient support by the Communist Parties and the sections of the Profintern. On the other hand, several Leagues did not understand how to utilise international events as for instance, the sessions of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in Berlin, which took place at the time, and the sessions of the Amsterdam International.

### **OUR WORK IN THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.**

Our work in the reformist trade unions shows many good results, particularly in Germany, Poland, Great Britain and Belgium.

Our German League was represented at many trade union congresses, youth conferences and youth meetings of the trade unions during last year. It can also be seen that we have learned in Germany to prepare systematically and in good time, our work for the trade union congresses. Resolutions and proposals were drawn up by our League for the Congresses of the German Wood Workers' Union, the German Textile Workers' Union, the Food Workers' Union and for the National Youth Conference of the German Wood Workers' Union and the Youth Day of the German Miners' Union. These proposals and resolutions were submitted by our members in many local branches and councils of the Trade Unions before the congresses, and in some cases accepted. Our resolutions were accepted by the German Wood Workers' Union in Hamburg, Mannheim, Breslau, Halle, and by the German Miners' Union in Braunschweig, Celle and Jena. The

local branches in which our resolutions have been passed supported these at the Trade Union Congresses. The Youth Conference of the German Wood Workers' Union was attended by only two delegates from the Y.C.L. and at the Trade Union Congress of the German Miners' Union only two Y.C.L. delegates were sent (the number was so small because the delegates were not elected but chosen). The Congress of the German Wood Workers' Union was attended by one delegate from the Y.C.L. who had been included in the Berlin delegation.

In addition to these conferences a series of Youth Conferences of the Trade Unions were held on a district and county scale. These were also attended by our Young Communists. The Youth Conference of the German Metal Workers' Union of the Ruhr district was attended by ten Y.C.L. members out of 24 delegates; at the German Metal Workers' Union Youth Conference in Hesen-Frankfurt, five Y.C.L. members were present, at the Youth Conference of the Carpenters' Union of Berlin-Brandenburg, four delegates, and at the Youth Conference of the Clerks' Union in Thuringia, three delegates.

Our League also participated in many Trade Union Youth meetings organised by the individual Trade Unions, issued on these occasions leaflets, and demonstrated for our demands. Some of these youth meetings were under our strong influence, as for instance, the youth meeting of the Miners' Union in Wilten, which was completely under our influence, and the Youth meeting of the German Builders' Union in Goslar, at which three Youth groups supported our demands.

Our position in the German Trade Union Youth Sections is steadily becoming stronger. In 1924 we had to make the observation that our German League had no posts in the Trade Union Youth Sections.\*

We can only quote part of the results of the elections of 1928, as only eight districts had so far rendered reports: in the Lower Rhine, we won thirty-six Trade Union Youth positions in ten Youth Sections. In the previous year we had only twelve positions in these Youth Sections. In the Saar district we won sixteen positions as youth chairmen. Last year we had only seven. In Halle-Merselburg we succeeded in winning twenty-one Trade Union posts against seventeen last year. Up to the time of the report nine new Trade Union positions were won in the Ruhr district.

All this work of our German League in the Reformist Trade Unions was supported by the issuing of plenty of material, pamphlets, leaflets, etc.

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\* Exact figures of our positions in the Youth Sections of the Trade Unions are published in our pamphlet on organisation.

In Poland our Young Communist League set up Youth Sections in the Reformist Trade Unions under its leadership. The work of our Polish League shows how revolutionary Trade Union Work can be carried out by the Youth Sections, which are under our leadership or influenced by us. All questions of the economic struggle, the position of the young workers, etc., were dealt with in the Youth Sections. Our League succeeded also in linking up all its political campaigns with the general work of the Youth Sections. An example is the thirteenth International Youth Day, in the celebrations of which many Trade Union Youth Sections which were under our influence participated. In the celebration of the Tenth anniversary of the Soviet Union in Vilna, three meetings of the Leather Workers', Metal Workers' and Builders' were held, which were attended by 150 young workers.

Our Young Communist League of Great Britain succeeded in taking the initiative for the creation of Trade Union Youth Committees which are mostly under its leadership. These Trade Union Youth Committees were organised on a district or on an industrial scale in the various Trade Unions. The most important task of these committees was the organisation of the young workers in the various industries.

During last year a conference of young miners was held in Fife youth delegates from the miners' union, called by the Y.C.L. The League also organised youth conferences called by the existing Trades Councils in collaboration with the Minority Movement, which organised a special Minority Movement Youth Section on a proposal of the Y.C.L. Such conferences took place (in London, with 125 delegates), Manchester, Newcastle, Brighton, and other important districts. A series of miners' organisations have elected youth representatives to their committees, and in Rhondda (South Wales) the first youth functionary of the miners has been elected. In London a youth conference was organised by the Shop Assistants' Union, which was under the leadership of our fraction. This conference accepted our resolution on the war danger, and with only two abstentions adopted the programme put forth by the Y.C.L. The conference further agreed to our proposal to call a national conference of the young shop assistants. The Executive of the Shop Assistants' Union agreed to the expenditure of £500.

Similar conferences were held in Lancashire for the young miners, and London and Manchester for the young metal workers (A.E.U.), at which our League members were represented, and played a leading rôle. The Youth Conference of the metal workers elected a youth committee of the Metal Workers' Union.

The Minority Movement also called several youth con-

ferences, which were under the leadership of the Y.C.L., for the young miners of Durham and Northumberland. All these youth conferences elected trade union youth committees which are carrying on a continuous struggle for recognition by trade unions and for full rights for the young workers.

The National Youth Conference of the Shop Assistants' Union, in January, 1928, was attended by ten members of the Y.C.L. The preparations for this conference were undertaken in good time, and our resolutions were partly accepted by the Shop Assistants' conferences, held in the various localities, and were later on supported at the National Conference.

In Belgium our League also took the initiative in leading the trade union youth work. It undertook the organisation of youth committees, particularly in the metal workers' unions in Brussels. These metal worker youth committees, which are under our leadership, carry on good work. They are organising regular meetings, and have issued a programme of demands for the young metal workers.

### OUR WORK IN THE RED TRADE UNIONS.

The work in the Red Trade Unions of Czecho-Slovakia (I.A.V.) has been strengthened again during the last year by the commencement of the organisation of youth committees. So far youth sections existed only at the centre and in a few sections (textile sections) of the I.A.V., which were created from above. In most cases they disappeared again because they had insufficient contact with the masses of young trade unionists. The League succeeded in greatly improving its work during a Trade Union Week, which was held from March 3rd-10th, 1928. During this week 745 new members were won for the Red Trade Unions in eleven districts, and twenty-one new young members for the reformist trade unions. In these eleven districts, nine public meetings, forty-five factory meetings, 125 meetings organised by our nuclei in all 179 meetings were held during this week. In addition to these meetings eight conferences of the young workers organised in the trade unions were held. These youth conferences elected a youth commission at the I.A.V. The positions of all youth commissions after the trade union campaign are as follows: A central commission at the central committee of the I.A.V. in Prague, thirteen district commissions and ten local commissions, in all twenty-four youth commissions. The League continues its campaign for the election of young factory delegates and the creation of youth commissions at the district committees of the Red Trade Unions.

In France, youth commissions at the local, district, and central committees of the T.U.s have been set up under our leader-

ship. The following figures show the youth representation in the leading organ of the C.G.T.U. :—

Two youth representatives in the central committee of the C.G.T.U., five in the central committee of the metal section, three in the textile section, two in the woodworkers' section, two in the clerks' section, five in the miners' section, three in the food-workers' section, three in the builders' section, two in the chemical section, two in the leather workers' section, in all twenty-nine youth representatives in the leading committees. In addition to this there are youth representatives in all district committees of the various trade unions.

These individual youth representatives work in conjunction with the youth commissions set up by the individual trade union sections. During the period under review, these youth commissions have called many youth conferences. At these youth conferences a programme of demands for the young workers, containing the elementary fighting demands of the youth, was agreed to. Various youth conferences of individual trade unions also decided to undertake the organisation of industrial campaigns. Since the beginning of 1928 the youth representatives and youth committees are being linked up in special national and district conferences. Such a district conference was held at the beginning of 1928 attended by representatives of ten industrial unions. This conference took up a stand on the demands of the young workers, and on the question of organisation of the young workers in the trade unions. It was decided to call periodical meetings of the youth representatives at the district committees.

In connection with the Trade Union Congress of the C.G.T.U. in Bordeaux (September, 1927), a conference of young trade unionists was held, attended by sixty youth delegates. The agenda of the conference was as follows :—

1. Apprenticeship system and labour protection.
2. Forms of anti-militarist activity and the "Sou de Soldat" (special fund for the anti-militarist work).
3. Dues for the young trade unionists.

Resolutions on all these questions were accepted which were later agreed upon by the Trade Union Congress. The Congress decided on special low dues for the young workers corresponding to the wages paid.

Our French League carried on excellent anti-militarist trade union work in conjunction with the C.G.T.U. The "Sou de Soldat," has been created for the special purpose of making possible continuous contacts between the trade unions and the workers in the army and the navy, to support them financially and supply them with revolutionary literature. A special commission for the organisation of the "Sou de

Soldat," was set the task to organise "farewell celebrations" for the members of the trade unions going into the army. The conference also drew up, in conjunction with the C.G.T.U. Congress, a fighting programme, including elementary demands for the soldiers and sailors.

In spite of all this good work in the Red trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia and France, it must be stressed that there are still various weaknesses. First of all there is still insufficient contact with the masses of the young workers. Our youth commissions have not yet been transformed into widespread mass organisations. They have not sufficiently close connections with the factories, are not based on a body of elected factory delegates; they are partly not even elected, and in many cases still work irregularly. All these mistakes and weaknesses were pointed out by the February Plenum, 1928, of the E.C., Y.C.I., which set the Czechist and French Leagues the task of broadening the youth commissions into real mass organs.

### OUR WORK IN OTHER TRADE UNIONS.

Under the heading of work in such trade unions, as are neither affiliated to the Red nor to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, we can only report on the work of the Norwegian League and on the Pan-Pacific Conference.

In Norway the trade union work of our League is still rather weak; however, the League took the initiative at the last Norwegian Trade Union Congress in starting trade union youth work. The League drew up a memorandum, "The Position of the Young Workers and Apprentices," which was distributed to all congress delegates. Even the most Right Wing elements in this congress had to admit that only the Y.C.L. of Norway had put forward questions dealing with the conditions of the young workers and apprentices. Our proposals for organisation of young workers and the struggle for our demands were, however, voted down by the Rights and the Tranmalists.

For the Pan-Pacific Conference, which took place in May, 1927, in Hankow, a resolution dealing with the question of child and youth labour was put forward by us, and for the first time such elementary demands as "prohibition of child labour, sale of children, demands dealing with wages and hours, against night work," for such countries as China, Japan, Indonesia, etc., were proposed.

### IV. THE Y.C.I. AND THE PROFINTERN.

The co-operation between the Y.C.I. and the Red International Labour Unions improved during the last period. At the beginning of 1927 a Youth Commission at the R.I.L.U. was

set up jointly with the Y.C.I. This Youth Commission consisted of three representatives of the Y.C.I. and three representatives of the R.I.L.U. It had the task jointly with the R.I.L.U., of taking up the youth work in the trade unions which so far was very weak. Reports on the youth work in the Red trade unions of France and Czecho-Slovakia were accepted and in many sessions the forms of youth organisations and the organisation of youth work were discussed and a programme was drawn up.

The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. in March, 1928, dealt with the question, "Youth in the Trade Unions?" A resolution on the question of youth work, the role of the young workers in the economic struggle, in the questions of organisational forms and the organisation of the young workers was accepted. The Congress further agreed upon a programme of demands, which contains the international demands of action for the young workers of the world. The Congress also decided to employ a special youth secretary who will work in close contact with the Youth Commission, and to issue a special youth information bulletin. Two youth representatives were elected to the General Council of the R.I.L.U.

## With the Youth of the Eastern and Colonial Countries in the Fight against Imperialism

The Second International and its satellite, the Socialist Youth International, completely penetrated as it is by bourgeois ideology, has never recognised and does not even now recognise the full importance of the colonial question and the national revolutionary movements in the Eastern countries during the progress of the proletarian world struggle. Whilst in the whole practical activities of the Y.C.I. and its Executive, in its apparatus, Plenums, and Congresses, the questions of the revolutionary movement in the East played a particularly important rôle, the S.Y.I. has not at any single congress dealt with the colonial question. This, however, does not mean that the S.Y.I. has no basis of principle on this question. Its basis of principle is derived from the archives of the Second International.

In general, we are here dealing with the internationalism of a free-trade party, which attempts to overcome the imperialist contradictions by "free" development of the international exchange of goods.

Against this satellite internationalism and the opportunism of social democracy, there stands at present the true proletarian International of the Third Communist International, which regards the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries not from the point of view of formal democracy, but from the point of view of the actual results obtained in the struggle against imperialism—not of isolated imperialism, but world imperialism. The Young Communist International is a real organisation of international solidarity, and draws the millions of exploited and oppressed young workers into the struggle and organises them, helps in their struggle and their work, and strengthens by all means the connection between the revolutionary movement of the youth in the colonies and the revolutionary proletarian youth of the whole world. As a result of this activity there is no single country in the East where the Y.C.I. has not got its organisations, sections and groups, whilst the S.Y.I., with the exception of one very small organisation of the social democratic youth in Palestine, "Bachrut Socialistit" (Socialist Youth), has no single organisation in the East. While the existence of the S.Y.I. is totally unknown, or is only remembered with curses by the coolies in China, the slaves of the Congo, the fellahs of Egypt, the beduins of Morocco, because of the imperialist practice of



leaders like Vandervelde, MacDonald and Renaudel, etc; the young revolutionists of the East march to the fight, with the name of the Y.C.I. on their lips, with its hymns and slogans, and with greetings to the Young Communists of the whole world.

### THE CONDITIONS OF THE YOUTH.

The imperialist oppression of the colonial countries weigh heaviest on the shoulders of the youth. The exploitation of young labour in the East reaches colossal dimensions. Small producers, artisans, industrialists, home producers, who cannot compete otherwise with European colonial capital, are forced to employ the cheapest labour power, the labour power of the young. The handicraft trade use, in the majority of cases, the sweated, toiling youth and also child labour. The number of working children under fourteen years of age employed in the largest Eastern countries, India, China, Japan, Egypt, and the Phillipines is, according to incomplete statistics, about 240,000. The young workers under twenty-three years of age make up one-third of the whole industrial proletariat. Some branches of industry, as, for instance, the textile industry, employ from 60-70 per cent. children and young workers. The conditions of labour of the young workers, suffering from the double exploitation of native and foreign capital, is characterised by an unlimited working day (from eleven to sixteen hours), which is made still more unbearable by insufferable working conditions, scandalously low wages (one-third to one-fifth of the wages of an adult worker for the same hours of work) and by cruel treatment on the part of the employers. The condition of the young peasants who make up the most important part of the toiling youth, is no better. Remnants of the feudal system in the villages of the East, the landlords, khans, and beks, are autocratic rulers, with powers of life and death over their subjects, and they enslave completely the peasant youth and the young agricultural labourers. The economic enslavement of the whole peasantry in the East lies particularly heavy on the youth. The loss of land ruins the peasantry, and the young peasant workers swell the already immense army of the unemployed proletariat. Thus the youth becomes an active force in the revolutionary movement. The young peasants and workers are the chief cadres of the revolutionary peasants' armies and revolting groups in China. The guerilla forces fighting against the Japanese colonisators in Korea are also composed of the youth. The young workers of Japan constitute the main guiding power of the Left revolutionary wing in the Japanese labour movement. The participants in the glorious but unsuccessful revolt in Indonesia were exclusively youth. In the development of the revolutionary struggles in India, Persia, Egypt, and other countries, the young workers and

peasants and the revolutionary students are the main source of the disintegration of imperialism in the process of revolution.

### THE RESULTS OF FOUR YEARS' WORK.

In striking a balance we must take into consideration the fact that up to 1919-20, in many cases even up to 1924, no Communist youth organisations existed in the Eastern countries. We must further consider the weakness of the labour movement, the lack of revolutionary struggles, and the repressive methods of the native and imperialist governments. The subjective conditions for the development of the Communist youth movement in the Eastern countries during these four years were very unfavourable. The struggle of the young Communist Youth Leagues in the Eastern countries took place in the midst of a sharpened class struggle, combined with unequalled white terror, which came down with brutal force and ruthlessness upon the revolutionary youth organisations. Out of eighteen sections of the Y.C.I. in the East not a single one can work legally. Yet the last four years witnessed a glorious struggle of the revolutionary youth in the East, and the creation of Young Communist Leagues, despite the many victims and sacrifices.

At the time of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. there was no section of the Y.C.I. in the East, which could be called strongly developed. At the present moment the Y.C.I. has eighteen sections and organisations in various countries of the East. First among these stands the Chinese Young Communist League. The Y.C.I. has now Communist organisations in the following countries: China, Japan, Indonesia, Korea, Persia, Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Algiers, Tunis, South Africa; Communist groups in India, the Phillipines, Egypt, Formosa, and national revolutionary organisations affiliated to the Y.C.I. in Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, and Tanu-Tuwa.

### THE SITUATION IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

The Y.C.I. of China was set up in 1920, originally in the form of a Socialist Youth League, which absorbed all Left Socialists, together with anarcho-Syndicalist elements of the Left wing students' movement. The variety in the composition and the differences in the activity of this League, and in 1921 it was transformed into a Communist League by the expulsion of the phrase-mongers and the anarcho-Syndicalists with their petty bourgeois revolutionism. At the time of the Fourth Congress the Y.C.L. of China had 2,500 members, whilst on the 1st of May, 1927, it numbered already 40,000. At the present moment the numerical strength of the Chinese Y.C.L. has dropped to 10,000, because of the cruel repressions directed

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against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations. In the course of one year of struggle and work during the reaction, the Y.C.L. of China lost thousands of its members, who fell victims to the Chinese hangmen. Very serious losses were suffered by the body of functionaries, and a whole series of organisations were completely destroyed. In spite of these heavy blows the Y.C.L. of China has now become the fighting vanguard of the young workers and peasants of China. The active struggle of the Chinese Y.C.L. for a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants for the agrarian revolution, for a social and democratic transformation of China, makes it one of the most able fighting political organisations of China, in spite of the ruthless persecution by the bourgeois militarist reactionaries.

Y.C.L. of Japan, consisting of Young Communist and Left students, was set up in 1923, but together with the Communist Party, was destroyed in the reaction through the loss of the best and most able comrades. In January, 1925, groups of Young Communists again began to develop, which distinguished themselves by active work among the young workers. Because of the cruel police regime the whole activity of the Young Communist groups had to be conducted under completely illegal conditions. In spite of the youthful age of its members and of splits in the Labour Movement, the movement of the Japanese young workers resulted in the setting up of the Proletarian Youth League, which at one time had about 12,000 members in its ranks, later on dropping back to 4,000, but which was an organisation of great importance among the young proletarians. A new attack of reaction destroyed this organisation of the proletarian youth of Japan, which unwaveringly stood for the class struggle.

There are at present several hundreds different youth organisations with over 100,000 members. About 15,000 of these are organised around the Korean Youth Federation, which stands on the platform of a national revolutionary struggle for the independence of Korea. The first Young Communist groups developed in 1921 in the middle of a process of disintegration of the National Revolutionary Liberation Movement, and the sharpening of the guerilla struggle against the Japanese Imperialists. The numerical and organisational weakness of the Korean proletariat is also expressed in these Communist Youth Groups. The majority of them consist of pretty bourgeois intellectuals imbued with remnants of provincial and group prejudices. This was, of course, a great obstacle to the development of the Y.C.L. and to the rallying of all sections of the youth under the banner of Communism. Not till 1925, did the Korean Y.C.L. succeed in organising in its ranks all the more or less important Communist

Groups, which had influence among the youths. During this period the Korean Y.C.L. developed great activity, propagating Communist ideas and organising the masses of young workers and peasants, so that it became at times the real leader of the masses of Korean youth. The anti-Japanese action of the toiling masses of Korea in June, 1926, which found its echo everywhere, was conducted under the organisational and ideological leadership of the Korean Y.C.L. The ruthless struggle which took place in the midst of a cruel police regime, claimed many thousands of active young Communists, condemned to long terms of imprisonment by the Japanese plutocrats, as victims. In autumn, 1927, a trial of 101 Communists and Young Communists took place, which showed to the toiling masses with full clarity, who were the real friends of the people, and the future leaders of a revolutionary uprising of enslaved Korea.

In the Revolutionary Liberation Movement of the toiling masses of Indonesia against Dutch Imperialism, the Indonesian youth played a very important rôle. It participated in all the revolutionary actions of the working masses, and in the process threw up a series of organisations, which rallied the masses of young workers and peasants and the student youth for a revolutionary struggle. The numerical strength in 1927 was about 10,000. In Indonesia there are three kinds of youth organisations : (1) the organisation "Barisan-Muda," which stands on the Left Wing of the revolutionary movement. In addition to its general revolutionary work this organisation also conducts great educational activities. It possesses 50 schools, which train about 4,500 students. (2) The organisation of the central school youth. The largest organisation is "Young Java," numbering over 3,000 members. It publishes a monthly journal and pays great attention to sports. At the present moment a process of political awakening of this organisation and its transformation into revolutionary organisation is taking place. Finally, there is a whole series of other youth organisations, existing legally or semi-legally, which have greatly suffered under the repressions following the unsuccessful revolt, and all of which are part of the Y.C.L. of Indonesia, now in the process of development.

The Y.C.L. of Persia, which existed during the Gilan Revolution, was destroyed after the defeat. Not till last year did spontaneous Communist youth organisations begin to develop, and join together in the Y.C.L. of Persia. This organisation is of great importance in the strengthening and consolidation of the national revolutionary forces, drawing in the masses of young workers, peasants, and artisans and students into the revolutionary struggle.

The Y.C.L. of Turkey, which was set up in 1921 on the

crest of the national revolutionary struggle, had in its ranks the most progressive radical elements. The transformation of the League into an organisation of young workers and peasants, closely connected with the masses, for the conduct of industrial campaigns and struggle with the Kemalists for influence in the trade unions, and for labour legislation, resulted in repression on the part of the Government, which delivered heavy blows to the Y.C.L., but could not destroy the organisation. At the present moment the social composition of the Turkish Y.C.L. has changed considerably since the groups of intellectuals, who could not endure the terrible persecutions, have left its ranks. The greater part of the membership of the Turkish Y.C.L. is now composed of young workers.

### **REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANISATIONS.**

A special place in the ranks of the Y.C.I. is taken by the revolutionary youth organisations. Such youth organisations are at present only developed in the Mongolian countries (Outer and Inner Mongolia, Tanu-Tuwa). The low level of the social and economic development of these countries, and almost complete absence of a proletariat, do not offer a basis for the Communist youth movement. The programme of these organisations is based upon a struggle against feudal autocratic remnants, a struggle for independence, for social and democratic transformation, for the distribution of knowledge and European culture and technic, and for an alliance with the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the oppressed nations of the East. At present there exists in Outer Mongolia a Revolutionary Youth League numbering about 7,000. In Tanu-Tuwa this League has about 1,500, and in Inner Mongolia about 1,000 members. Whilst the revolutionary youth organisation in Outer Mongolia and Tanu-Tuwa developed under peaceful conditions, and participates in the Government, the Revolutionary Youth League of Inner Mongolia, which has not yet reached the stage of final development, conducts a struggle against the Chinese militarists and feudal lords and Lamas for the independence of the country. This type of youth organisation must be carefully studied for the purpose of applying its experiences to other countries in similar social and economic position.

### **THE ROLE OF THE Y.C.L. IN THE SOVIET EAST.**

Of great importance for the development of the revolutionary Communist movement in the East are the successes of the Communist Youth Movement in the Soviet East. The decisive breaking of the old feudal forms of social relations in the villages, the

land reforms in the republics of Asia, Kasakstan, and Kirgisia, and the growth of industry in these territories resulted in a growing activity among the young workers and peasants. As an example, we may quote the fact, that the numerical strength of the national organisations of the L.Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union has grown in two years from 310,000 to 753,000 members.

All these facts are of tremendous importance for the revolutionising of the youth in the territories bordering on the Soviet Union, and for the countries of the East generally. Hundreds of thousands of youths emigrating from China, Japan, Korea, Persia, Turkey, and other countries, who take an active part in the social and political life of the proletarian republic, and enter the ranks of the Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union, become enthusiastic, and most devoted fighters for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes.

## Agitation and Propaganda

Serious work in the sphere of agitation and propaganda was only taken up after the Fourth World Congress. The Fourth World Congress insisted upon the study of Leninism by all the League. In special courses and circles the basic questions of Leninism: Imperialism, the national question, relations between the working class and peasantry, the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet Power, organisational principles of Bolshivism, questions of tactics, etc., were thoroughly investigated. Lenin's writings were published as a series and created the basis for the strengthening of the theoretical work of our Leagues. The Fourth World Congress laid it down that the political educational work must be the foundation of all practical work.

After the Fourth World Congress Agit Prop departments were set up on a national and international scale, their function being to lead the work of agitation and propaganda in all the fields of work.

The work of agitation and propaganda was divided into the following sections: (1) Political education. (2) Agitational and political campaigns. (3) Brightening of the inner League life and introduction of new methods of work. (4) Improvement and better distribution of the Press.

### TRAINING OF FUNCTIONARIES.

After the Fourth World Congress the E.C. of the Y.C.I. undertook the following tasks in the sphere of Agit-Prop work:—

(1) Unification of the educational system. (2) Organisation of membership training. (3) Training of functionaries.

These tasks had to be linked up closely, whilst the centre of gravity had to be laid on the mass training of the membership.

In the period from the Fourth to and the Fifth World Congress a system of training has been developed, which has been improved on the basis of our practical experience. The first grade of the political training system had as an object to give political education to the mass membership. This training was carried out in training courses, circles, and joint groups. This grade, the basis of which is the politminimum is the broadest form of our educational work.

The second grade had as object the training of functionaries, so as to raise their political level. This was carried through in evening courses, week-end schools, weekly and fortnightly schools, circles, etc.

The highest grade of our training system—the third grade—trains the leading functionaries by means of the organisation of national schools in courses of several weeks' duration.

This system has proved to be good, and the experiences show that the schools fulfil their purpose.

An international school was also planned. This school should have been organised in conjunction with the Lenin course of the Comintern, and was to be a six-months' school. Because of the immense difficulties, of a financial and technical character, as well as other practical considerations, the preparations for this international school were stopped. In the delegations of the International Lenin School members of the Y.C.L.'s are included:—

### LEAGUE SCHOOLS.

League schools were held as follows:—

America	...	1	1926	duration	3 weeks
England	...	1	1927	"	3 "
Austria	...	1	1926	"	3 "
France	...	3	1924-26	"	2 schools 3 weeks
Czecho - Slovakia	3	1924-27	"	1 school	10 days
Germany	...	3	1925-27	"	5, 6 4 weeks
Jugo-Slavia	(illegal)	1	1927	"	3 "
Sweden	...	1	1926	"	3 "
Norway	...	1	1926	"	3 "
China	...	1	1925	"	4 "
Switzerland	...	1	1926	"	9 days

The programme of these schools were discussed by the Agit-Prop department of the Y.C.I. and instructions were sent to the Central Committees. Comrades, who took charge, were also sent to some of these schools. The fault of the first schools lay mainly in insufficient preparation and overburdening of the scholars, who, in many cases, were unable to cope with the subjects. The programme of the schools was, therefore, improved in line with our experiences. The schools of short duration not only did not give a possibility of practical work for the students but also basic theoretical questions could not be gone through in such a short time, and the material could not be prepared in sufficient detail. The national schools are meant in the first place for comrades, who have already been in leading positions, for a considerable time and for particularly important comrades from the factories.

### SCHOOLS FOR FUNCTIONARIES.

During the period under review great attention was given to the training of functionaries. We have several forms of such



training: week end schools, one week schools, district courses and short courses. The German League, for instance, organised in one year ten schools of two weeks duration, two of three weeks and several of one week. The programme of these schools dealt with important special questions after a thorough review of a given situation as well as with problems of world policy. Conjointly, the concrete situation in the various districts was discussed. The schools also dealt with the question of the history and growth of the Young Communist League and with practical questions, Trade Union Work, Agit-Prop Work, Opponent Work, etc.

The week-end schools were arranged so as to deal in one Sunday with a theoretical problem in the form of a lecture or group work.

Comrades who had passed through the national schools were utilised for the district schools. In Czecho-Slovakia on every Saturday and Sunday for six weeks, district courses on the basis of a unified programme were held. In the short courses actual concrete questions were discussed dealing with the most important political events. Such short courses were also organised in Great Britain.

The Agit-Prop department has issued material and plans in connection with the campaigns for the organisation of such short courses.

### TRAINING OF MEMBERSHIP.

The Agit-Prop department has dealt with this question very thoroughly and has contributed much to the improvement in the training of the membership. We must, however, say to-day that the training of the membership is generally conducted in a very unsystematic fashion. The training syllabus published in 1923 (10,000 copies) did not meet the entire requirements of training and consequently a new syllabus had to be published, which dealt with theoretical questions in the part called "Basic Political Knowledge" and with general questions in the part "Basic Questions of the Y.C.L." This syllabus has been published so far in German, Czechish and Greek, and is in preparation in French, Polish and Swedish. This syllabus has also some shortcomings and the Agit-Prop department is considering the publishing of a new improved edition. Many Leagues also published their own Politminimum syllabus.

So far it has not been possible to reach the whole membership with a system of politminimum education. The German League has put forward a limit up to which every member must have passed through the politminimum courses. It has not been pos-

sible to carry this out. In Czecho-Slovakia four to five thousand members passed through the elementary courses organised in 1926.

### SELF-EDUCATION.

Self-education has as its object: (1) establishing connections between various grades of our system of political education and assisting in those cases where the desire to learn has not been satisfied by the existing training system. (2) Giving additional training to those comrades who have already passed through the minimum courses.

The E.C. of the Y.C.L. proposed to the Leagues the setting up of self-study bureaus, which should lead the work of self-education and control same. These proposals were, however, not put into effect by our Leagues. Only in France and Czecho-Slovakia were experiments made, which, however, did not bring forth any positive results.

### SCHOOLS FOR SPECIAL FIELDS OF WORK.

The German League made a first attempt at organising an Agit-Prop school, which was attended by 45 comrades, among whom were representatives of the Y.C.L.s of Czecho-Slovakia and Switzerland. In this central Agit-Prop school questions of agitation and propaganda were fully dealt with. On the basis of the subjects dealt with in the school materials were prepared in a series of collective groups.

In the district of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Y.C.L. of Germany conducted a school for factory group work. All questions relating to factory group work were discussed by the 45 comrades participating. (More than half of them were from large and medium-sized factories). The school curriculum started from the system of capitalist economy, dealt with the basic questions of the organisation of the Comintern and with practical questions such as the organisation of factory nuclei, factory papers, labour law, questions of young workers in trade unions, strike strategy, etc.

The results obtained by these schools for the special fields of work were excellent. The training of comrades for particular subjects has been very useful, and should be undertaken by other leagues. The German League continues this kind of training, and has just conducted a school for trade union functionaries.

### MASS WORK AND THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW METHODS OF WORK.

The centre of gravity of our Agit-Prop work must lie in the mass work. It is necessary to link up this work closely with our

work in the factories, trade unions and factory schools. The question of broadening our work and of introducing new methods was raised for the first time in 1926. It was pointed out with full justification that we must cater for the specific requirements of the youth in the fields of sport, entertainment, political satirical plays, blue blouses, living newspapers, youth days, youth clubs and young workers homes. The discussion on the dangers of introduction of new methods of work soon contradicted by actual practice. The so-called "new methods of work" have been introduced into all spheres of activity. We have started to brighten our group and nucleus meetings by recitations, music and readings. The creation of clubs, young workers homes, with wall-newspapers, Lenin corners, etc., will make it possible to draw nearer to our organisation, not only our own members, but also the young workers who sympathise with us.

Some Leagues have started to hold their schools, not in towns, but in holiday homes or summer camps. Thus political training is being linked up with recreation and community life.

We have now also begun to enliven our demonstrations by carrying posters, tableaux, living newspapers, etc. Youth days were turned into festivals by the introduction of dramatic plays, plays, gymnastic exhibitions and all sorts of entertainments. Films and lantern-slides were also brought into the service of our Agit-Prop work. There is still a lack of special youth films, and only Russian revolutionary films could be utilised for work among young workers.

Some Leagues have organised exhibitions dealing with the situation of the young workers and the work of the Y.C.L. Counter exhibitions were also organised against bourgeois organisations, as for instance, in Germany.

The new methods of work were introduced into our press and literature.

In the summer months, when the main work is not being carried on indoors, we have organised plays and gymnastic evenings in order to approach the masses of the young workers. Youth days and youth meets were linked up with agitation in the country-side and organisation of new groups.

We have also begun to brighten our training work by the introduction of good training material and supplies, and by means of pictures, diagrams, and graphs, thus making our training easier and lighter.

The new methods of work have been introduced by the German League. The Y.C.L. has issued special material for different occasions, such as graduation celebrations, introductory celebrations for youth days and for different campaigns. Very popular are the living newspapers. Actual political questions

have been dealt with in the form of satirical plays, or lately, in the form of serious agitational ones. The Agit-Prop troops in Germany are growing, and are being copied by our other Leagues.

The Y.C.L. has so far issued series of lantern slides with 640 pictures. These series are distributed in many copies, for instance, the series on Lenin-Liebkecht and Luxemburg, and the January fights, in 42 copies.

In Czecho-Slovakia the question of the introduction of new methods was put forward concretely only in 1927. Here the Blue Blouses which are similar to those in the Soviet Union are popular. An attempt to organise youth clubs has failed.

In France we have only the very first beginnings. The comrades tried to organise a dramatic circle which, however, had not the desired result.

After the instructions sent out by the Central Committee on the brightening of the work, a series of circles which existed before the war, and which were of petty bourgeois character, sprang up again. However, it has not been possible to generally introduce the new methods of work. It is now intended to organise the so-called "Foyer de jeunes" (youth clubs and young workers homes, which should be open not only to the membership, but to other young workers.

In the Balkan countries the introduction of new methods is fraught with great difficulties.

In Bulgaria we have organised legal circles which give lectures on political questions; and evenings, the programme of which consists of reports, recitations, singing, concerts, etc.

In Yugo-Slavia we have practically no possibility of enlivening our work by the introduction of new methods. In some cases, however, the League utilised football matches between two workers organisations for the purpose of holding "flying" meetings.

In Rumania we have created dramatic circles with the help of the trade unions.

The Greek League has not succeeded so far in utilising the experiences of others Leagues in its work. But the presence of the Greek representative at the last Plenum gave us the possibility of concretely putting the question to our Greek League.

The Polish League was only able to introduce new methods to a small extent owing to its illegality. Good cultural work is, however, being carried on in the youth sections of the trade unions. In 1927 attempts were made to organise a youth educational organisation, and for this purpose an entertainment magazine was published and very well received. A second journal, which was of outspoken revolutionary character, was confiscated by the police.

Although there have been some negative results, such as excessive shirking, watering down of our work and dropping of political activity, looseness, etc., nevertheless the positive successes of the introduction of new methods of work considerably over-weigh the bad features.

### SHORTCOMINGS AND TASKS.

The greatest weakness of our work, and the reason that our Leagues are stagnating, can be found in the fact that our forms of work have not been broadened sufficiently so as to satisfy the young workers, to bind them to the organisation, and to make their duties more interesting. The inner life of our organisation is still unsatisfying and dry, and we do not pay sufficient attention to the desires of the young workers for entertainment and culture. We must free our meetings from the discussion of long-winded administrative or organisational questions, or reduce these questions to the barest minimum. We must underline the more youthful character of our work. In this sense, we must approach the introduction of new methods of work, and we should not discuss merits and demerits so much as the practical side of this question.

Particularly important is the work of agitation and propaganda in the factory groups. In connection with this stands the question of the fluctuation of membership in our Leagues, the reasons for which, apart from the objective difficulties, lie in the fact that we do not carry on a regular and systematically planned recruiting activity.

Since the Fourth World Congress we have made great progress in the training of functionaries. Totally unsatisfactory, however, is the training of our membership, and the self-study work has not yet been seriously approached. It is therefore necessary in our future work, not only to continue the training of functionaries and to broaden this training, but to find forms for the training of our entire membership, and to pay particular attention to the new recruits.

### PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF THE Y.C.L. OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

(1927).

Subject.	Lectures.	Instructors.
Basic Question of Marxian Economy ...	3	3
The History of the Comintern, C.P.S.U. and C.P.Cz. ...	2	1
Historical Materialism ...	2	2

History of the Y.C.I., Y.C.L.S.U., and		
Y.C.L. Cz. ... ..	2	1
State, Democracy, Dictatorship ... ..	2	2
Strategy and Tactics ... ..	2	2
Agrarian Question ... ..	1	1
Economic and Political Development of the-		
Czecho-Slovakian Republic ... ..	2	2
The National Question ... ..	1	1
Trade Union Question ... ..	2	2
Organisational Questions ... ..	3	3
Russian Revolution and the Building of		
Socialism in the U.S.S.R. ... ..	2	2
Agitation and Propaganda ... ..	1	1
Chinese Revolution ... ..	2	1
Leninism ... ..	2	1

**PROGRAMME OF THE FIRST FACTORY SCHOOL OF  
THE Y.C.L. GERMANY, BERLIN-BRANDENBURG  
DISTRICT.**

Subjects :

Rôle and Tasks of the Party.  
 Structure of Present-Day German Capitalism.  
 Rôle of the Factories in the Class Struggle.  
 Work of the Y.C.L. in the Factories. Building of nuclei.  
 Plan of Work, for the Factory group.  
 Strike-Strategy and Tactic.  
 Situation of the Young Workers in the Soviet Union.  
 Rôle of the Young Workers in the Capitalist Process of  
 Production.  
 Labour Law, Shop Stewards' Law, Arbitration, etc.  
 Discussion on the Shop Stewards' Law and on Factory  
 Groups of the Young Red Front organisation.  
 Communists and the Trade Unions.  
 The Trade Union work of the Y.C.L.

**PLAN OF THE NATIONAL AGIT-PROP SCHOOL.**

**15-21 January, 1928.**

(Y.C.L., Germany).

OPENING.—Late afternoon or evening by a report on "Agitation  
 and Propaganda," to be followed by discussion of  
 the plan and conduct of school.

Subjects :

Psychology of the Young Workers.  
 Our Work.  
 Fractions in the Trade Unions and Factory Schools.

Festivals and Celebrations.

Walking, Camp-life, Agitation in the Countryside.

Politminimum Courses. Week Schools.

Factory Nucleus.

Public Demonstrations and Appearances in Public.

Group Evenings and Young Workers' Home.

Our Press.

Training of Functionaries, Self-Study.

Archives and Library.

The Picture as a means of agitation.

How to Produce a Factory Paper.

National Youth Day.

National Holiday Camp.

## Activity among the Young Workers of the Countryside

The importance of work among the young agricultural wage labourers and the poor and middle peasants is conditioned by the following facts :—

(a) By the increased struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for winning over the youth. (b) The class differentiation among the peasantry, caused by a whole series of economic reasons. On the basis of this class differentiation, a sharpening of the class struggle and a leftward swing of the majority of the peasant youth, which, with increased political consciousness expresses itself in a strong desire for organisation. (c) The existence of peasant youth organisations which, as a rule, are mass organisation under the influence of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie develops systematic activity among the peasant youth, and it must be admitted that they have achieved rather good results in this connection. In the existing peasant youth organisations, a process of class differentiation takes place on the basis of which in some countries a leftward movement develops, which struggles against the reactionary leadership which is very often under our ideological influence, and which stands on the platform of an alliance between the workers and peasants. (d) The attempts of the bourgeoisie to strengthen their influence over the peasants' organisations, and in this way over the whole peasantry. For this purpose the bourgeoisie endeavours to link up all peasants' organisations on the international scale.

Unfortunately it must be stated that the activity of our Leagues among the peasant youth falls far short of the work carried on in other spheres. This work, however, must not be looked upon as something of minor importance. No systematic work on this field has been carried on by our Leagues during the last few years. Not only is no mass work being conducted among the peasant youth, but the work for the winning of the young agricultural labourers, the poor peasant youth, and the best elements of the middle peasant youth for the Y.C.L., is characterised by great shortcomings. The number of village groups, which are the basis of the Y.C.L. in the countryside, is very small.

The Y.C.L. of Italy organised in 1924-25 about eight young peasants' conferences, which put forth the chief demands of the peasant youth. At the same time a special "Sunday" of the peasant youth was organised, and a leaflet, "The Sunday of the



Young Peasant," was issued. A special pamphlet was published, "To the Young Toilers in the Fields." Through this activity the Y.C.L. of Italy increased its influence also among those sections of the peasant youth, which are organised in the Catholic organisations (this is a mass organisation). The representatives of some local groups of this Catholic organisation participated in the conferences called by the Y.C.L. In the summer of 1927 the Y.C.L. of Milan published a special small paper for the peasant youth under the name, "The Peasant Youth." This paper came out illegally in 400 copies. In it the young peasants were called upon to organise themselves in the Federation of Agricultural Labourers, in the "Association for the Defence of the Poor Peasantry," and to set up peasant agitational committees. In the conferences in Milan and Trieste in the fall of 1927 delegation of peasant youth participated. In the second half of 1927 the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. fought again for the organisation of peasant youth conferences, and for the setting up of unity committees of the villages and the factories.

The Y.C.L. of France in 1926 also organised a series of peasant-youth conferences, at which special demands were put forward. Anti-militarist propaganda, even if not systematic, was carried on. In the first half of 1927 there was hardly any work conducted among the young peasants. The direction was in the hands of the Central Committee. However, the lower organisations were fairly active, although they did not receive any instructions. Thus in May a peasant youth conference of the Carpentier department was organised in order to draw up special demands for the seasonal workers.

The Y.C.L. of Poland began approximately in 1926 to conduct more systematic work among the peasant youth. This activity was carried on in two directions: direct activity of the Y.C.L. among the peasant youth, organisation of Y.C.L. and Party groups, sale of literature, participation in the campaigns organised by the Party, and participation in the work among the opponent peasant organisations, particularly in the Central League of Peasant Youth.

In spite of a whole series of difficulties the Y.C.L. succeeded in making headway in this work, and in setting up peasant groups in the principal localities. It issued many leaflets, and organised training courses for functionaries, who would help to draw up concrete demands for the peasant youth.

The Y.C.L. of Poland is active in the Central League of Peasant Youth by way of fractions in the League of Independent Peasant Youth, and makes attempts to build up a left wing in this league, which will fight against the official leadership with a

slogan of a united front of young workers and peasants and with the demand of "land and soil for the peasants."

During the last period the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. of Poland has organised special conferences of country functionaries, which have helped considerably towards forwarding the Leagues' activity among the peasant youth.

Some activity among the young agricultural labourers was conducted, even if not systematically, by our Scandinavian and Baltic Leagues.

The same can be said about our Balkan countries. The Y.C.L. of Bulgaria, which works under terribly difficult conditions, nevertheless work is active in setting up village groups. Apart from that it carried on considerable work inside the Young Peasants' League, where it achieved good results. The majority of the membership of this League followed our slogans, and is in favour of the united front of the young workers. The Left Wing has considerable influence, but is not sufficiently well organised. A left peasant youth paper was issued. The Y.C.L. of Bulgaria, however, committed mistakes in connection with this League. During 1927 they concentrated too much on work with the leadership, which caused them to commit mistakes.

The Y.C.L. of Czecho-Slovakia has got many village groups, but the work in this field is very unsatisfactory.

Certain activity among the peasant youth was also conducted by Y.C.L.'s of China and Japan. The Y.C.L. of China utilised, for purposes of mass organisation, the Peasant Section of the revolutionary peasant leagues. These sections had, however, only a very short existence and consequently it is difficult to estimate correctly the experience won by them. However, they carried on good work by drawing in the masses of young peasantry into the revolutionary peasant organisations.

In Japan youth sections exist in the peasant organisations.

In the work of the Y.C.L. among the young agricultural labourers and the poor peasant youth, the concrete partial demands of an economic and cultural character are of great importance. Our Leagues have few well-prepared demands as yet, and do not understand how to put them forward at the correct time.

What demands have so far been put forward? A six-hour day for young agricultural labourers under 16 and an eight-hour day for those above; the establishment of schools in every village, with facilities for attending same; two weeks' holiday every six months (Italy); the prohibition of heavy agricultural wage-labour for young workers under 18; no wage-labour for children; relief for the unemployed to the amount of the minimum wage; abolition of guardians' rights exercised by employers over young

agricultural labourers (Czecho-Slovakia); the establishment by law of hours and conditions of labour for young agricultural labourers; free schools for young agricultural labourers and poor peasants; the right of self-determination for the oppressed White Russians and Ukrainians (Poland); decent sleeping places; good hygienic conditions; no Sunday work (France); utilisation of the village funds for the establishment of clubs and cultural institutions for the peasant youth (China); unbroken forty-two hours interval every week; collective agreements under the control of the trade unions; relief for the unemployed by the state and municipal bodies; relief for young agricultural labourers and adults to be equal (Finland), etc.

The activity of the Y.C.L.s' among the peasant youth must be increased, better organised and systematically developed. In this field we are faced by a whole series of problems which must be solved. These are: the organisational forms of our work among the peasant youth; the methods of work and aims of the Y.C.L. in the villages; activity of the opponent peasant organisations, etc. At the same time our ideological activity among the peasant youth must be strengthened. We must criticise still more strongly the various theories of the agrarians, social democrats, etc.

All these questions must be solved by our Leagues and the Y.C.I.. A thorough and deep analysis of the experiences gained in this field, and a detailed working out of our problems—this is the task that faces the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. in connection with the work among the young workers of the countryside.

# **Our Fight Against the Opposing Organisations**

## **I. THE FIGHT FOR THE YOUNG WORKERS.**

One of the outstanding characteristics of the period since our Fourth World Congress is the sharpening of the fight for influence among the masses of young workers and peasants. In all countries the bourgeoisie pays increased attention to the work of influencing and winning the young workers to give better support to the bourgeois and also to the social democratic youth organisations. The wave of increased suppression of the Communist movement, and the passing spirit of depression among the workers and young workers, following the defeat of the revolutionary struggles of 1923, created a favourable situation for the opponent youth movement. Particularly noticeable during this period was the steady growth and increased activity of the Fascist organisation. The reformist and pacifist illusions which were created by the relative stabilisation of capitalism and its "pacifist era," brought about a certain activities and partial strengthening of the other bourgeois, and to a lesser extent also of the social democratic youth organisations. Most important, however, is the fact that the bourgeois youth organisation started to interest themselves in the questions of the economic and social conditions of the young workers, and even put forward special demands for the young workers. We can notice this change in tactics on a larger or smaller scale in all bourgeois organisation. The religious organisation dealt with the questions of the situation of the young workers and the methods of influencing them at their international meetings. The same manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie expressed itself in the programme of youth protection demands put forward by the Committee of German Youth Organisations—a grouping of all bourgeois youth organisations influenced by the Socialist Youth League. The Socialist Youth League participated in this manoeuvre and put forward an international programme of youth protection demands in conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

By these tactics, the bourgeoisie tried from the beginning a radicalisation of the masses of youth workers. This process of radicalisation, however, expressed itself in a opposition movement inside the bourgeois but mostly in the social democratic youth organisations.

We can only pride ourselves that by the work of our League among the members of the opponent youth organisation, the

creation of proletarian opposition movements has been accelerated and increased. Particularly, has this been strengthened by the application of the tactic of the united front in all countries, resulting in the leftward move of masses of young workers.

## II. THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL.

The process of radicalisation found its strongest expression in the continuous crisis of the S.Y.I. Since its inception, the membership has dropped continuously. According to their own figures they have dropped from 1923 to 1927, from 250,000 members to 175,000. This falling off of membership becomes still more evident if we analyse the individual countries. In Great Britain, the membership dropped from 9,000 to 1,000, in Germany from 110,000 to 50,000, in Belgium from 20,000 to 13,000, in Austria from 34,000 to 24,000, in Holland from 14,000 to 3,000. The Italian Section of the S.Y.I., one time amounting to 11,000 members has given in to the Fascist terror and, unable to exist illegally, has voluntarily dissolved its organisation. All these figures are taken from the official reports of the S.Y.I. In reality, the collapse is still more catastrophic. According to objective estimation the S.Y.I. has to-day at best, 130,000 members.

This drop is the result of the policy of the S.Y.I. which is an outspoken reactionary one. After the fusion of the Centrist International Federation of Socialist Youth Organisations with the Social Democratic Youth International, the former attempted to build a so-called Left wing within the Socialist Youth International. At the Amsterdam Congress in 1926, the Austrians particularly still tried to take up a pseudo-radical Left position on the question of the attitude towards the Soviet Union, the mobilisation of the young workers and the co-operation with the bourgeois youth organisation. These Lefts have, however, very quickly capitulated in all questions before the Right wing.

The cultural work of the German Socialist Youth League which finds its main occupation in entertainment is being extended to all sections of the Socialist Youth International. The last executive session of the Socialist Youth International unanimously accepted the resolution which takes up an even sharper attitude against the Soviet Union than the corresponding resolution of the second International. Delegates to the Soviet Union are being treated much harsher by the Socialist Youth Organisations than was done by the Social Democratic Parties. It is no exaggeration if we say that the leadership of the Socialist Youth International stands to-day on the extreme Right wing of International Social-Democracy.

At the same time, concurrently with the Right wing movement of the leaders, the Social Democratic workers went to the Left. In all sections the S.Y.I. opposition movements have been active during the last few years.

In Great Britain, a strong Left wing sprang up in the Guild of Youth of the Independent Labour Party after the Reformist treachery in the General and Miners Strikes, which declared in favour of the United Front with the Y.C.L.G.B. In spite of the fact that the United Front was rejected by a very narrow majority at the national congress, many local guilds and district committees participated in organising United Front committees and carrying on United Front actions against the war danger, the intervention in China, the Anti-Trade Union Bill, etc.

The difference between the opportunist leadership and the Left wing became ever deeper. This development found its conclusion by the splitting off of the Left wing and the entry of its large majority into the Y.C.L.

In Austria, in 1925, a strong oppositional movement grew up which resulted in the breakaway of 500 members of the so-called Independent Socialist Youth League. After a short existence this organisation joined the Y.C.L. After the July events of 1927, the opposition in the Austrian Socialist Youth League again developed, resulting in the breakaway of a few hundred oppositional members and many new recruits for the Young Communist League.

The opposition in Germany directed its activity mostly against the co-operation with the bourgeois youth organisations in the National Committee of German Youth Organisations. The opposition movement which was against this policy of coalition and for the United Front with the Communists was sharply attacked by the bureaucracy and suppressed with the strongest methods. The result was that over a thousand oppositional Young Socialist workers left the organisation in the Spring of 1927—some being expelled, some leaving out of sympathy with the expelled. A large section of them joined the Y.C.L.

In France, where only a weak Socialist Youth organisation exists, an opposition movement also grew up which fought against the attitude of the French Socialist-Democracy to the new Military Law. There again, the attempts at suppression on the part of the leaders were answered by resignations and going over to the Y.C.L.

In other countries, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Sweden, oppositional movements in the Socialist youth organisations grew up, building up the united front of the social democratic young workers with the Y.C.L., in spite of the prohibition and resistance on the part of their leaders. The leadership of the Socialist Youth

International made frantic attempts to get the organisation out of this crisis. They took a course of dropping all political activity by the Socialist Youth Organisations, and further introduction of plays, sports, and entertainment. It is very significant that all proposals which have even some vestige of political activities (Young Red Front Fighters and Red Falcons) have been decisively rejected by the leaders. However, the most important measure to overcome the crisis is looked upon by the Socialist Youth International in the "simplification of the Socialist Youth Work." By this, they understand the fusion of the Socialist youth organisations with the youth sections of the various workers' organisations, in the first place, with the trade unions and sports organisations. By this fusion, the young members of these mass organisations should come more than before under the influence of the social democrat, and new blood would be transfused into the dying Socialist youth organisations. In reality, the Socialist Youth International has already brought about such fusion and organised cartels with the youth sections of the trade unions and the workers' sports organisations. This was the case also in Austria, Belgium, and Poland. Discussions between the Socialist Youth International and the Lucerne Sports International have taken place in order to bring about this co-operation on an international scale.

From these intentions of the reformists new important tasks fall upon our Young Communist Leagues. We must carry on the sharpest struggle against the handing over of the organised young workers in the trade unions and sport organisations to the Socialist Youth Organisations. It is necessary to carry on the struggle in the first place, inside the youth sections of the trade unions and of the sports organisations, and to mobilise the members of those organisations against the plans of the social democrats.

Although we can consider our fight against the S.Y.I. in general as satisfactory, we must point out the mistakes in the work of our Leagues. We did not succeed in winning the hundred thousands of young workers which have left the S.Y.I. for our Leagues. Even the opposition members of the Socialist Youth Organisations who were expelled, or split off, from the S.Y.I., only a small percentage come into the Y.C.L.s. The reason can be found in the insufficient recruiting and propaganda activity among the members of the S.Y.I., and particularly in the fact that our Leagues have not paid sufficient attention to the opposition movements inside the S.Y. organisations. The work among the oppositional young workers was very often one-sided and our comrades did not always understand how to support them in their struggle against the reformist leaders so as to drive them forward and to fight with them. It is necessary to correct these mistakes in our future work.

### III. THE RELIGIOUS YOUTH ORGANISATIONS.

The religious youth organisations are, as far as figures go, our strongest enemy in the bourgeois camp, and they have the strongest opponent youth international. The Catholic Youth Leagues have over two and three-quarter million members, two million of which are organised in the International Secretariat for Catholic youth. The International of Evangelic Youth has one and a-half million members. A great percentage of the members of both organisations, particularly Catholic organisations, are young workers and peasants. This explains the fact that the religious organisations have, during the last years, more than any other bourgeois youth organisations, taken an interest in the social position of the young workers. The World Congress of the Catholic Youth in Rome 1925, had as a special point on the agenda, the organisation of the young workers. Also the International Conference of Catholic Boys' Leagues in Antwerp in 1926 paid great attention to the youth by hearing a report on the situation of Catholic work, which dealt very thoroughly with the mentality of the Catholic young workers. The Evangelic Church at its World Congress in Stockholm in 1925 discussed the situation of the young workers, and called upon its organisations to give greater attention to this question. Finally, the conference of the Y.M.C.A. in Helsingfors interested itself in perhaps, smaller degree, with the work among the proletarian youth.

It is, of course, no accident that all these organisations suddenly discovered a warm spot in their hearts for the young workers. This is only an expression of the spirit of dissatisfaction among the proletarian members of these organisations. The oppositional movements were strongest among the members of the Catholic youth organisations in Germany. In a series of congresses, oppositional Catholic young workers opposed the policy of the Centre Party, and demanded united front with the Communist and social democratic workers, instead of co-operation with the Christian employers. The ecclesiastical leaders of the Catholic youth organisations reacted very cleverly to these movements by putting forward a series of rather far-reaching economic demands for the young workers, and even by declaring their agreement to the united front with the Y.C.L., by publishing joint manifestoes with the demands for the unemployed young workers, etc.

These manœuvres could, however, not stop the growth of the opposition movement. It was particularly strong in the campaign for the expropriation of the ex-ruling houses in 1926. A National Committee of Catholic Youth in Defence of the Eighth Commandment against the ex-rulers, was organised, and was joined by a



series of Catholic youth organisations, who, against the policy of the leaders of the Centre Party, carried on joint agitation with the Y.C.L. in favour of expropriation. It is important to state that the oppositional young Catholic workers did not co-operate with the social democrats, but with the Communists, and that the Y.C.L., by its agitation, supported and developed the opposition and strengthened their struggle against the Catholic leaders. This disproved the lies of the social democrats, which say that the Communists do not fight against the bourgeois parties and organisations, but only carry on fratricidal struggle against the social democratic.

After the Peoples' Ballot there was a slight falling off in the opposition movement. A section of the oppositional young workers joined the Christian Socialist Party, which had split off from the Centre Party. However, there is still a fairly strong opposition spirit in the Catholic youth organisations.

In the Catholic youth organisations in Italy, which consist mostly of young peasants, there was a strong opposition movement against the leaders, who compromised with Fascism. In many localities of Italy, Catholic young workers and young peasants entered the United Front, in order to lead the struggle against Fascism, jointly with the Young Communist League. Many Catholic young workers also participated in the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union. After the dissolution of the Catholic Youth Organisation by Fascism, the best elements fought under the leadership of our Young Communist League.

In spite of these successes in Germany and Italy, we must state that our work among the Catholic youth, even in those countries it is insufficient and unsystematic, whilst the other Leagues have not even seriously started this work. This work must be considerably strengthened during the next period.

#### IV. FASCIST ORGANISATIONS.

The Fascist Youth have witnessed during the last years a considerable growth of their organisations. The reasons for this are, (i) the strong support by the Fascist Parties and Government (ii) the sharpening of the class contradictions, and the class struggle in most countries. The strongest Fascist Youth organisations exists in Italy. The "Avanguardists" have, according to their figures from April, 1927, to April, 1928, increased in numbers from 180,000 to 437,000; the organisation Red trade unions of France and Czecho-Slovakia were accepted of the Young Italian Girls during the same period grew from 12,000 to 49,000, and the Fascist children's organisation, "Balilla," from 350,000 to 490,000. Although these figures are undoubtedly very exaggerated, they nevertheless show the ten-

dency of the considerable growth of the Fascist organisations. Italian Fascism strives hard to win the young workers and peasants in order to influence and educate them in the fascist sense. It uses methods of force, forcible inclusion in organisations, prohibition and suppression of other bourgeois organisations.

The Fascist organisations are very strong in Fascist Poland, but also in the democratic countries like Germany, France, Great Britain, we can see a strengthening and increased activity of the Fascist Youth organisations. They play an important rôle in the attempts of the bourgeoisie to militarise the young workers. Strong efforts are being made to disintegrate the factories in order to bring the workers in large factories under their influence. This is being done very effectively by the works sport organisations. In contradiction to the general upward tendency there is in Germany during last year, a certain stagnation in the Fascist Youth organisations, which is caused by the changed rôle of German Fascism.

Our Y.C.L.s are conducting very good work in the struggle against Fascism. In Italy the Y.C.L. is the only youth organisation which exists illegally, in spite of Fascist terror, and carries on active work. In all countries our Young Communists are very active in the defence against Fascist attacks, in counter demonstrations against Fascist demonstration, etc. Our Y.C.L.s also played a leading rôle in the creation of the Young Red Front Fighters' organisation in Germany, France and Austria, which have set as their main task the struggle against Fascism.

Entirely insufficient is, however, our agitational work among members of the Fascist Youth organisations, the establishment of contacts and discussions with them for the purpose of disintegrating the Fascist organisations. It is absolutely necessary to undertake a systematic agitation among the many young workers inside the Fascist organisations.

Among Fascist organisations we must also count the Boy Scout organisations, which in spite of their avowed impartiality, are taking a more reactionary course and are actively serving in a series of countries to militarise the young workers. The international organisation of Boy Scouts has about two-and-a-half million members in its rank. The strongest organisations are in America and Great Britain. To this opponent we have paid very little attention in the past. Only our British League has carried on good work in this field. Towards the end of 1927 it conducted a campaign against the Boy Scouts organisations, which created considerable stir, and had good results.

In the last year we can also notice a certain growth of the Pacifist Youth movement. This is not a firm organisation with

a unified ideology, but a shapeless movement which links up the young workers of various political creeds of the bourgeois youth movement, particularly the catholic and petty-bourgeois organisations. We must oppose the Pacifist propaganda with all our power, expose the real character of bourgeois pacifism, and must try to win the young workers from these organisations into our camp.

The position in most of our opponent organisations is very favourable for the winning of the young workers from their ranks. We do not, however, take sufficient advantage of this favourable situation. Although this work has considerably improved since the Fourth World Congress, there is still much room for improvement. Our work among the membership of the S.Y.I., although we have had a number of successes, has also not been sufficiently systematic. It is now necessary to undertake systematic, planned work among the bourgeois youth organisations, particularly among the Catholic and Fascist youth organisations.

In order to carry on the work systematically and successfully in the opponent organisations, it is necessary to strengthen our apparatus and put new life and energy, not only in the central committees, but also in all districts, localities, and nuclei.

## The Y.C.I. and the Non-Party Mass Organisations

In spite of the fact that the work of the Y.C.I. in the mass organisations shows considerable improvement since the last World Congress, it must be said, that many Leagues, even up to now, do not appreciate sufficiently the necessity of this work. Consequently it is not being conducted regularly and patiently enough. Our fractions in most cases are very weak, and in a number of countries the mass organisations are still under the leadership of the Social Democrats. The fight for leadership in the mass organisation of the young workers and peasants has resulted in very sharp measures of suppression leading to expulsion of the radical elements and even to splits.

### WORKERS' SPORTS ORGANISATIONS.

The German Workers Sports movement, which has about 1,100,000 members is affiliated to the L.S.I. There are very few fractions of the German Y.C.L., and those which exist do not work very systematically towards winning the leadership as a means of harnessing the great influence which the League possesses, particularly in the local organisations. In Norway the Workers Sport movement affiliated to the R.S.I. has 25,000 members. Here again, the work of the League is weak, only ten per cent. of the Y.C.L. membership being organised in the sport organisations. The Social Democrats are opposed to any independent workers sport movement, and undoubtedly sooner or later a split will take place. The American League works in the Labor Sports Union, which was established in 1926. Since 1926 this organisation has grown from 1,500 to 4,000 members. Two national Sports Meetings were organised, and one is to be held in 1928. The League is fighting inside the Sport Organization against the Nationalist Chauvinist influences of the various language groups, particularly the Finnish. In Czecho-Slovakia the Y.C.L. does not carry on much work among the workers' sports organisations, which are generally under our ideological influence, and only very few fractions exist in the reformist sport organisations. In France our League paid very little attention in previous years to the Workers' Sports Organisations. There has been an improvement of late, and the political influence of the Y.C.L. has therefore increased. The Sports Organisation has grown since 1924 from 2,000 to 12,000 members, the overwhelming majority being indifferents or socialist young workers. With the exception of the

Sport organization in Alsace Loraine, which is affiliated to the L.S.I., but sympathizes completely with the R.S.I., the French Workers Sports Federation is affiliated to the Sportintern. A series of international matches have been played and the organization regularly publishes sport papers with a circulation of 15,000 copies. In Italy, where all sport and cultural organizations, excepting the Fascist organizations are prohibited, the League nevertheless made an attempt in 1925 to organize a proletarian sports movement. This was, however, soon smashed by Fascist reaction. In Great Britain the Trade Union Congress, dutifully passed every year a resolution in favour of a workers sport movement. But not till 1927, when the Y.C.L. took the initiative, was the British Workers Sports Federation, which for a good many years had existed more dead than alive, developed. The League, by steady work, had won the leadership of the most important local organisation (London). That organisation carried out an International football match in Paris in 1928, in spite of the prohibition of the L.S.I. In the Summer of 1927, the League sent a football team to the U.S.S.R. The gates taken at the football match were given to the "Reply to Chamberlain" fund. The experiences of the team in the Soviet Union were printed as a pamphlet and distributed in thousands of copies. The Argentine Workers sports organization, which has approximately 6,000 members, participated under the leadership of the Y.C.L. in political activity and demonstrations in connection, for instance, with the Friends of the Soviet Union, the campaign for the liberation of Mexico, etc. Although the fraction work of the Y.C.L. is rather weak we have the leadership in our hands. The Y.C.L. of Uruguay leads the Workers' Sports Federation in that country.

The work of our fraction in the Red Sport International is satisfactory. The relations between the Y.C.I. and the R.S.I. are very good.

### PROLETARIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS.

In Germany in October, 1924, the Red Young Front Fighters' organization was set up in conjunction with the organization of the Red Front Fighters. 500 of the 800 young workers, who had attended the conference, joined the new organization, which has now about 20,000 members. The Red Young Front Fighters' organisation actively participates in all meetings, demonstrations, and campaigns of the young workers as a proletarian defence organization. By means of the Red Young Front Fighters, the Y.C.L. was able to reach masses of young workers, to influence them politically and to bring them nearer to the League. The second national meeting at Whitsun, 1925, in Berlin, was attended

by tens of thousands of young workers. The Red Young Front Fighters have already great traditions of struggle against fascism and police terror. Thousands of young workers from the Young Red Front Fighters have joined the Y.C.L. During last month the organization had some difficulty in finding new methods of work owing to the ebbing of the Fascist wave. This, however, is being steadily solved under the leadership of the Y.C.L. The German government has attempted to declare the Red Young Front Fighters' and Red Front Fighters' organisations illegal, and only stayed its hand because of the general elections.

In Austria, at the beginning of 1928, a Red Young Front Fighters and Red Front Fighters' organisation was set up, which, however, remained comparatively small. Many members of the Socialist Youth League of Austria joined the Red Young Front Fighters organisation. Both of the above organisations were prohibited after a short period of existence.

In Great Britain the Party took the initiative in setting up the Labour League of Ex-servicemen at the end of 1927. The National Congress of the Y.C.L., G.B. decided in March, 1928, to organise youth sections of the L.L.X.

The Y.C.L. of France towards the end of 1926 organised the Young Anti-Fascist Guards, who were formally set up at their Congress in St. Denis in November, 1926. This organisation is built on the lines of the Red Young Front Fighters as a youth organisation of the A.R.A.C. (Ex-servicemen's League) and has about 1,500 members. Sixty per cent. are non-Party young workers, thirty per cent. members of the Y.C.L., and ten per cent. members of the Social-Democratic Youth and reformist trade unions. During the Government of the Left Block the Young Anti-Fascist Guards fought actively and with great success against the growing Fascist wave. After Poincaré, when the Government passed to open reaction, the Young Anti-Fascist Guards were forced to extend their fight against Government oppression, and for the defence of the young workers against the State power.

During the second half of 1927 a Young Red Front Fighters' organisation was set up in Greece. At the end of 1927 this organisation had 700 members, fifty per cent. of whom were non-Party young workers.

## OTHER FORMS OF WORK.

Some of our Leagues carry on activity inside the workers' clubs, cultural, and educational institutions. The American League works in the youth sections of the various workers' clubs and mobilises the young workers for the support of the workers' struggles (Miners' Strike, etc.). The League also carries on

some work in the students' organisations. At the end of 1927 a students' conference took place, attended by eighteen delegates from fifteen colleges. Resolutions against militarism and the war danger were adopted.

The South American League carries on good work in the young workers' clubs and students' organisations. Some Leagues, particularly in the Balkan countries and the Mexican League, work in the young peasants' organisations.

The Chinese League organised a big anti-Christian movement in 1926, and set up Anti-Christian Leagues in the most important cities. During the Christmas week of 1926 big demonstrations were held in spite of prohibition by the authorities. The Pekin Government was even forced to prohibit Christian propaganda, obligatory religious training in schools, and to reform the Christian schools.

Little work on the part of our Leagues is being carried on in such organisations as Free Thinkers, Chess Clubs, Anti-Alcohol, and various other self-educational organisations (Esperanto, Ido, Dramatic Circles, etc.). There are hardly any fractions of the Y.C.L. in these organisations.

In summing up, we must say that with the exception of the Young Red Front Fighters, our work in the non-Party mass organisations of young workers is not satisfactory. We have very few fractions in these organisations. In addition, the practical work of our Leagues is viewed from a very narrow standpoint. We cannot expect good results if we work in these organisations only in order to utilise them for our Leagues, to draw them into our campaigns, and to win members from them for our organisations. These organisations have their own particular objects and aims, which fully justify their existence. We must look upon them not only as a source for recruits for the Y.C.L., but must carry on intensive work in them and for them in order to win by these means the confidence of, and the leadership over, the young workers inside these organisations.

## The Y.C.I. and Elections

In 1928 elections took place in various countries, France, Germany, Poland, Japan, Latvia. In addition, the first election-ballot will take place in America, and the elections in Sweden and Finland. In 1929 elections will take place in Great Britain. The last Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. in February, 1928, has paid particular attention to the election campaigns. In the political report of the Presidium guiding lines were laid down for the independent participation in all the elections by the respective Leagues. The Leagues must participate in these elections with special election programmes, special youth demands, and methods of agitational work among those sections of the young workers in the respective countries who have no vote. (We must also add that during the period under review elections have taken place twice. In 1924 in Germany and Great Britain, in 1927 in Austria and Norway.)

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE LEAGUES.

The Y.C.L. of France conducted the election campaign by publication of its election programme and popularising of the election tactics, decided upon by the February Plenum of the Comintern (independent candidates also against the Socialist candidates in the second ballot), and put forth nine Y.C.L. candidates in conjunction with the Party. The programme took up the following points of principle during the election: "The fulfillment of the demands of the young workers, radical improvement in their conditions of life, and "Peace cannot be achieved under the capitalist régime. The transformation of the whole agitation on a Socialist basis; that is, its cleansing from Chauvinistic and Imperialist rot and its being based, not on capitalist profit making, but on Socialist production; Socialist reorganisation of youth labour, which will make an end to the exploitation of the young workers in the factories and train the young workers to be technically-experienced producers; arming of the workers, not for Imperialist robber wars, but for the defence of the proletarian State—all these aims, which are decisive and on the way towards liberation of the working class, cannot be achieved by election campaigns, but only through the proletarian revolution, which will, with the help of the peasantry, pull down the whole capitalist-bourgeois-democratic State, and which will set up the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet régime—the only real workers' and peasants' democracy—the only force which is able to satisfy the demands of the young workers."



The League appealed also to the masses of young workers and peasants to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Young Communist League in an open struggle for a programme of demands, which contains the following main points: 1. Economic demands: no child labour under 14 years of age; eight-hour day, with inclusion of two paid hours of vocational training; control of apprenticeship system; revision of labour-protection legislation; minimum wage of ten francs per day; right to vote and to be elected in the trade unions, for all young workers. 2. "Military" demands: against the military legislation; transformation of the army into a voluntary army; reform of the military legislation; political rights and right to organise for the soldiers and sailors; increase of wages for all soldiers and control of the supplies by the soldiers; abolition of "fines" systems; longer holidays; abolition of the reservists' stage, etc. 3. Cultural and political demands: against Imperialist teaching in schools; vote at 18; complete amnesty for young workers, soldiers and sailors and reservists who had been arrested for anti-militarist activity."

The Y.C.L. in France succeeded in utilising the election campaign for a real mobilisation of the masses, the work among the troops, the development of actions, demonstrations, etc.

### GERMANY.

The Y.C.L. of Germany prepared itself for the May elections by drawing up a resolution on the practical tasks of the League in the election campaign in the present political situation in Germany, and the necessary measures for this campaign for the National Conference, which took place in April, 1928, in Chemnitz. The Y.C.L. at the same time published its own election programme, which contained, in addition to the demands of the Party, its particular demands on the questions of vocational training, school demands, the question of child labour, the army and navy, and which dealt with the economic and political situation of the young workers.

The first item of this election programme, which states our principal standpoint to the Parliamentary elections, runs as follows:—

"The bourgeois parties, from the German Nationalist to the Social-Democrats, lie to the masses—when they say that it is a question of deciding in free and equal election the destiny of the nation. We know that this is a lie, because it is nonsense to speak of free and equal election as long as there is a class (the bourgeoisie) which holds in its hands all means whereby to influence the masses (Press, schools, church, radio, economic pressure on the dependent workers, political power). It is a Social-Democratic method of misleading the

proletarian masses to tell them that the fight against the ruling class, which possesses all ideological, economic and political means of pressure on the workers (which they are also using daily against the masses, can be decided by a ballot paper.

“ In spite of this, however, we participate in the election struggle and in the voting. We know that the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown by the ballot papers. But we believe that the election campaign is a means of clearing from the minds of the workers all false issues. We consider the election struggle to be a demonstration for our demands and a test-stone of our influence among the masses. We act according to the words of Frederick Engels: ‘ The general and equal electoral right is a criterion of the ripeness of the working class. It will never be more in the present State. . . .

“ ‘ Because the election for us is not a question of vote-catching, but of mass mobilisation, our agitation is not only directed towards the voters, but equally towards the young workers and children, who have no votes.’ ”

The economic demands of the League put forth during the election campaign were mainly the demands of the Stuttgart Congress, i.e., the old youth programme. In addition, a programme of demands for soldiers and sailors was drawn up by the League, containing the following chief demands: “ Abolition of all extraordinary laws which limit the political and trade union rights of the soldiers in the army; introduction to a system whereby the elected delegates have the right to decide all questions concerning the welfare of the soldiers, such as food, wages, complaints, holidays, promotion, illness, etc., as well as political rights; free Press and free organisation of all soldiers and sailors. The League also put forth as a candidate of the working youth in the national list of the C.P.G. Comrade Conrad Blenkle, secretary of the Y.C.L. of Germany, thus guaranteeing this election.

Particular attention must be given to the very vivid and original methods which were adopted by our League during the election campaign. Plenty of material was issued to the local organisations—how to introduce their factory papers, street papers, etc.; the question of the election campaign; detailed speakers’ notes for meetings and house-to-house canvassing. The League succeeded, also, in drawing the children’s organisation, the Young Spartacus League, into the election campaign. Many meetings took place, in which the Young Pioneers gave recitations, dramatic plays, mass-speaking, etc.

Our League also utilised a series of original methods of agitation for the election campaign, such as cycling and demonstrations, exhibitions, lantern slides, marches, etc.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Young Workers' Communist League of America issued, on the 1st of March, a programme of social legislation for the young workers, intended for the July elections. The programme contained a short introduction which stated the position of the League against the large bourgeois parties, Republican and Democratic, as well as the petty-bourgeois politicians and leaders of the American Federation of Labour, who support the candidates of one of the two capitalist parties, according to their attitude towards the trade unions. The programme further contained the following demands:—

“The Young Workers' Communist League calls upon the young workers to support independent political action by the working class (united labour ticket, Labour party) against the capitalist parties and to rally behind the following demands:—

(1) A vote for the youth! Every young person eighteen years of age and over must be given the right to vote. (2) Six-hour day, five-day week. (3) Abolition of child labour. (4) Twenty dollars minimum wage. At the present time the average wage of the young workers in American industries is below fifteen dollars per week. This is far below a “decent” standard. (5) Youth protection. (6) Four weeks' vacation with pay every year. (7) Apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is not an important factor in the American industry generally, but is important in the building trade, printing trades, and some minor industries. We are against the legal regulation of apprenticeship, but are for the regulation by the trade unions and apprentices themselves; for the inclusion of the apprentices into the union with full rights, and against regulations that mean the exclusion of the apprentices from the industry and the union; against the indenture system; for the raising of the scale of wages and the lowering of the period of apprenticeship. (8) Vocational Training. Vocational training is in part an effort to make up for the decay of apprenticeship, in part the means of initiation for training highly-skilled technicians, foremen and engineers. It is used to arouse interest in industry in a lot of young people, without giving them any industrial training. At the present time, vocational training is either commercial (typing, stenography, book-keeping) or its equivalent to manual training. We are against the present system of vocational training, which is nothing but a fraud. We favour the installation of work schools in factories, modelled on the work schools in the Soviet Union, and the paid attendance of

all young workers between fifteen-eighteen, the hours at school to be included in the general work week, and to be graduated downward. Work schools to be regulated by the trade unions, the young workers attending the school, and the factory committees of the workers.

In order to mobilise the youth behind the movement for independent political action, the League will support the organisation of Farmer Labour Party, Youth Clubs, and Labour Party Youth Clubs, wherever a Labour Party exists."

### POLAND.

In Poland the Communists had successfully conducted their election campaign, in spite of the tremendous terror of the Pilsudski Government, the lists which were put forward under the leadership of the Communists (Workers' and Peasants' Unity) being permitted only in fourteen out of the over sixty election districts. In spite of this, 350,000 electors voted for the Communist list. The Y.C.L. of Poland actively participated in the campaign of the Party. It issued illegal newspapers, in the first place its own organ, "The Comrade," and the White Russian organ, "The Young Communist," also leaflets and factory papers. Particularly active was the League in the collection of signatures. The Y.C.L. not only did work among the young workers and peasants, but took the initiative in calling mass meetings and campaigns in the industrial centres, which were held under the direct auspices of the League, with League members as speakers. Many meetings were organised in the factories. In Warsaw, during two weeks, forty-six of such meetings took place, in Lodz eight, in the suburbs of Warsaw nineteen. The election demands of the C.P. and the Y.C.L. of Poland, which dealt with the questions concerning the young workers, were demands both of a political nature (such as votes for the young workers at eighteen years of age in the elections to the Sejm, education in schools in the mother language, etc.), and economic nature (such as demands dealing with the struggle against the measures of the Pilsudski Government against the young workers and peasants, and demands for improvement of the conditions of the working youth, such as "introduction of a youth-protection law, unemployment relief for the unemployed young workers in town and country, against the Fascist statutes, which enslave the youth, against war preparations, for reduction of the period of military training to six months, political rights for the soldiers, etc.).

Japan.—The Proletarian Youth League (there is no legal Communist youth organisation) in Japan actively participated in the elections in the Spring of 1928. The election campaign was conducted under the most difficult conditions of White Terror. The

Proletarian Youth League put forward in its programme the following demands: (1) Full right to vote at 18 years for both sexes. (2) Political rights to join parties. (3) Free assembly and free Press for young workers from 18 years of age. (4) Right to marry and divorce from 18 years of age. (5). Political rights for the soldiers. (6) Introduction of one year's service system in all branches of the army. (7) Increase of pay for soldiers on the basis of the existence minimum. (8) Self-government for the youth organisations. (9) Establishment and increase in number of factory schools and secondary schools, with the right of self-government by the students. (10) Equal educational facilities for men and women. (11) Increase of the numbers of elementary schools, abolition of school fees, and their replacement by support from the State. (12) Complete abolition of child labour under 15 years of age. (13) Abolition of nightwork and work in dangerous and unhealthy industries for young workers of both sexes, and for apprentices and shop assistants under 18 years. (14) Six-hour day and 33-hour week for young workers under 18. (15) Four weeks' holiday with pay. (16) Abolition of apprenticeship system.

The active participation of the Y.C.L.s in the various election campaigns is also of great importance, because in the 1927 elections twenty-eight millions of young workers were for the first time drawn into the election struggle. To win these sections of the young workers for Communism is, in the first place, the task of the Young Communist Leagues.

The Young Communist Leagues have developed great activity during the elections, because the election campaigns offer a good opportunity for popularising our programmes and demands for the mobilisation and activation of our organisations, and for the creation of factory groups.

The Y.C.L.s have put forward in various countries, in conjunction with the Parties, young Communists as candidates on the lists of the Communist Parties. This was done in order to put clearer before the masses of young workers the opposition of the bourgeois Parliaments to the demands and interests of the young workers, and to expose their attitude from the Parliamentary tribunes.

## Communist Children's Movement

After a period of quick development, which coincided with the general rise of the revolutionary wave, great difficulties for the Communist children's organisations became noticeable in 1923. This led in some countries (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Norway) to a serious weakening of all Communist children's groups. The German children's movement was declared illegal after the October defeat of the German proletariat, and lost tens of thousands of its members. The Bulgarian Children's movement was completely smashed; in Czecho-Slovakia it went out of existence; and in Norway a split in the Communist children's movement took place, parallel with the split in the Party and the Y.C.L., which resulted in the loss of half its membership.

The Executive Committee dealt with the situation in Germany and other countries, and came to the conclusion that a change in the organisational structure and the character of the activity of the children's organisations had become unavoidable. The course was adopted of establishing centralised children's Leagues, for developing activity among the masses of children in order to support the Party and Y.C.L. They are based on new organisational units—the school groups. This line was taken at the First National Congress of the German Young Spartacus League in October, 1924, and was supported by the Enlarged Plenum in March, 1925. The following years proved the correctness of the new plan, but showed, however, that it must be considerably broadened.

This period was also marked by an active discussion in the columns of the "Proletarian Child" and the "International of Youth" on the question of introducing the methods of the bourgeois Boy Scouts' organisation into the activity of our Communist children's groups. The outcome of the discussion was, that certain of the methods of the Boy Scouts (the attractive outer forms, inclusion of plays and mass celebrations, camps, etc.) must be introduced, whilst the Boy Scouts' system as a whole and the creation of go-between organisations, such as Red Boy Scouts' organisations, as proposed by some of our Leagues (Norway, Czecho-Slovakia), must be absolutely rejected. Thereupon, all the Leagues began to introduce the first named attractive forms of work step by step into the children's organisations.

110    **YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**  
**THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE\* AND**  
**ITS RESULTS.**

This Conference, which took place in September, 1925, in Moscow, with the active participation of leading comrades from the Communist Children's movement, had to draw up practical tasks in connection with the problems which confronted the movement in consequence of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and in view of the experiences which had been gained by the introduction of new organisational forms.

The Executive Committee laid down the most important task to be the economic struggle for the interests of the broad masses of toilers and exploited children.

This aim was accepted, after full discussion, by the German comrades participating in the Conference, as the aim of the organisation for the future work of the Children's Leagues and the Executive Committee.

The results of the Second Conference were considerable. In such countries as Great Britain, France and America, questions concerning real mass activity by the Children's Leagues were touched, and in Germany the Children's League, for the first time led a struggle for the economic interests of the children, linking it up with the general struggle of the working-class.

In a number of countries new Children's Leagues were set up (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and South America) and a growth of the whole children's movement became noticeable. In accordance with the instructions of the Second International Conference a Children's Bureau was created in the Executive Committee, which began to deal systematically with questions confronting the children's organisations.

In March, 1926, the Plenum of the E.C., Y.C.I., discussed at length the question of the children's movement and laid down the following special tasks: Strengthening of the leadership in the Children's Leagues by the Y.C.L., training of leaders and active children, study of attractive methods of work in order to satisfy the desires of the children, and the improvement of the mass work of the school and children's groups. The Executive Committee and the most important Children's Leagues consequently worked in this direction. The Summer of 1926 showed already a series of attractive forms of work (camps, outings, work in playgrounds) which had been introduced on the basis of the experiences in the Soviet Union. These forms were first introduced in Germany and from there extended to Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, France and America. In Germany many schools for the training

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\* The First International Conference of the Communist Children's movement took place in October, 1922, in Berlin.

of functionaries and active young pioneers were formed and the experiences utilised for other countries.

The General Strike and the Miners' Strike in Great Britain, the Passaic Strike (America), the important revolutionary movement in connection with the People's Ballot in Germany, the rise of the revolutionary movement in China—all these found expression in the activities of the Children's Leagues.

The Young Comrade's League of Great Britain carried on splendid mass work during the strike (organisation of a school strike of 11,000 children, struggle for concrete demands of the miners' children, etc.) The American Pioneer organisation quickly mobilised the children for the struggle of the workers (here, again, school strikes were organised in the localities where the struggle of the adults took place, and collections for the strikers were taken). The German League showed great initiative in supporting the mass activities of the C.P. of Germany; in China the first Young Pioneer Groups were organised in the factories and large industrial centres (Shanghai, Hankow, Canton).

These events have helped the movement for participation of the children in the general struggle of the working-class, and for real mass work by our Pioneer organisations.

### **THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT AND THE ACTIVITY FOLLOWING IT.**

The Third International Conference of Communist Children's leaders, which was organised by the E.C., Y.C.L. in February, 1927, in Berlin was well able to state, on the basis of the experience gained in the work of the Children's Leagues, how to organise attractive mass work, how to reorganise on the basis of school and factory groups, how to fight against opponent organisations, how to train section-leaders and active children, and how to get the support of the adults for the struggle of the children.

As a result of a careful analysis of all these questions the Conference adopted uniform rules as a sample for all Children's Leagues, theses on aims and methods of nuclei and group work and other questions of children's work, and therefore touched on all the problems rising from the activity of the lower units.

Particular stress was laid on two facts in the general activity of the Children's Leagues; the brightening of all our methods and forms of work and participation in coming strikes and school struggles.

The Eighth International Children's week and the whole summer work of 1927 was conducted on this line. Attractive



forms of work (living newspapers, mass plays) were popularised in Germany and are now being developed in other countries.

In connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Union the International Children's Bureau organised the visit of three children's delegations (from Germany six children and one leader; from Great Britain six children and two leaders; from France four children and one leader) to the Soviet Union. The delegation of the British children was particularly important and was linked up with the agitation against the break of relations by Great Britain with the Soviet Union. The children's delegations gave a new impetus to the development of the mass work of our Children's Leagues by pointing out the weak sides of that work (want of system, no close contact with other children's organisations, etc.). These weaknesses in the mass work; the omission of the struggle for the interests of the children; the simple copying of the activity of the Y.C.L. and the Party; the very unsatisfactory composition of the cadre of functionaries; and the lack of attention to the activity of the Communist Children's Leagues by the Y.C.L. and Party, brought about considerable difficulties during last year, resulting in stagnation, and in some Leagues even in a falling off in the children's movement.

The last Plenum of the E.C., Y.C.I., in analysing this question, stated that these difficulties can only be overcome by carrying out the following pre-requisites :—

(a) By the Y.C.L.'s. and Parties giving more serious attention to the children's movement and appointing new leading functionaries.

(b) By the Children's League increasing their activity in defence of the interests of the masses of children, particularly in connection with strikes of the adults, and in school struggles.

(c) By the inner life of the children's group and school groups being brightened and brought into contact with the living mass work of the children's movement.

From these points of view the questions will have to be discussed by the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I.

## The Activity of the Presidium of the E.C. Y.C.I.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. as the leading organ of the International Communist Youth movement, consisting of the representatives of the most important Leagues, concentrated its activity on the following subjects :—

(a) Carrying through of the decisions of the Congresses, and particularly of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I.

(b) Exchange of International experiences in all fields of work of the Young Communist Leagues.

(c) Thorough study of the conditions of the young workers in all countries and support of the Leagues in adapting their tactics and activity to the concrete situation and the life and struggle of the young workers and peasants.

(d) Concrete help in working out the political line and in the practical activity of the individual Y.C.L's. by utilising the experiences of other Leagues, drawing attention to the weaknesses and mistakes and through positive co-operation.

(e) Organisation of international actions and campaigns.

The activity of the Presidium was conducted on the basis of the complete, unvacillating carrying out of the political line of the Communist International and the ruthless struggle against all mistakes and opinions deviating from this line on an international and national scale. The fact that during the last four years no section of the Y.C.I. has opposed the line of the Comintern, and that various courses deviating from the standpoint of the Comintern have found very little support or support for a short period only is, in the final analysis, a result of the standpoint and work of the leading organ of the International Communist Youth movement.

The Presidium desired not only to help the Leagues and to arrive at a correct attitude in their activity, but also to win the masses of young workers and peasants for the Bolshevik slogans, and to lead them in the struggle for the realisation of these slogans. This task has not yet been carried through. Our main weakness consists in the fact that we have not yet succeeded in carrying through our slogans and in transforming them from slogans of the leading section of the young workers—the Communist Youth organisation—into slogans of the majority of the young workers. This task is still before us. Our attempts to solve it and to help all our Leagues realise it, is one of the main

guiding motives of the whole activity of the Presidium of the E.C. since the Fourth World Congress.

In which way has the Presidium led the Communist Youth movement and how did it conduct its work in the above-mentioned spheres?

The means for the work of the Presidium were: (1) Organisation of plenum sessions and enlarged executive sessions of the E.C., organisation of various international conferences and sessions in which the tasks were discussed with representatives from the Leagues, experiences exchanged and practical measures for the carrying through of our tasks laid down; (2) Concrete letters to the various Leagues on all questions of their activities; (3) Instructions on individual questions, campaigns and actions; (4) Sending of representatives of the E.C. for practical work in the Leagues; (5) Periodical discussions with the leading comrades of the individual Leagues; (6) Active participation in the preparations for, and organisation of, national congresses and conferences.

Out of the 46 members of the E.C. 15 to 20 comrades work regularly in the Presidium in conjunction with 10 to 15 political workers, leading the work of the Presidium.

The apparatus of the Presidium is as follows: (1) Presidium; (2) Secretariat (political organ); (3) a series of commissions or departments for special work, preparation and discussion of concrete questions in various fields (organisation, economic, trade union, anti-militarist, opponents, peasant, sport commissions, commission for international connections, agitprop. Eastern information department and international children's bureau). (4) Reporters, according to groups of countries, (previously commissions for groups of countries existed); (5) Editors of the "International of Youth" in various languages. All commissions and departments in which the most important Leagues are represented generally meet once a week.

A review of the concrete contents of the work of the Presidium is given, on the one hand, in the reports of the individual commission and in the following chapters of this book.

### **ECONOMIC TRADE UNION COMMISSION.**

Immediately after the Fourth World Congress an Economic Trade Union Commission was set up by the E.C.Y.C.I.. This Commission received reports on the economic trade union work of the various Leagues. Guiding lines were worked out for the trade union work in China, in the colonies, and on the work among the Negroes and in India. In this period also a general circular on the international situation and the tasks of the young

workers in the field of economic trade union work was sent to all Leagues.

In July, 1925, at the Berlin Conference of the European Young Communist Leagues, it was decided to organise an international trade union week.

The most important campaign after the Berlin Conference was this international trade union week, which was held in December, 1925. Nine meetings dealt with the preparation of the international trade union week, three meetings with the summing-up of the results of the campaign. Material was sent to the Leagues for the conduct of the trade union work. There was also published a special number of *Inprecorr* and a series of articles in the "International of Youth." For the harnessing of the results of the international trade union week, a circular was sent and a series of articles published in the "International of Youth" and *Inprecorr*.

In addition to the resolution on trade union work adopted by the Berlin Conference, concrete lines for the industrial campaigns and young workers' conferences were drawn up during this period.

The Trade Union Commission had to deal with the questions of trade union work in the individual countries. The following number of meetings of the Trade Union Commission discussed these questions: For Germany 6, Great Britain 3, Norway 1, Sweden 4, Denmark 1, France 2, Czecho-Slovakia 3, Finland 2, America 2, Poland 2, Switzerland 1, Austria 1, Turkey 1, Yugo-Slavia 1, China 2, U.S.S.R. 2.

After the March Plenum, 1926, the following were the main questions: The question of the British General Strike, the Passaic Strike, the recruiting week of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Congress of the International Trade Union Federation of Czecho-Slovakia (I.A.V.), the Congress of the Canadian Labour Party and the wide unemployment among young workers.

The last period of work of the Trade Union Commission is from January, 1927, to January-February Plenum of the Y.C.I., 1928. During this period 30 meetings of the Trade Union Commission were held. The problems of rationalisation and the changed rôle of the young workers in production, the question of organisation and organisational forms for the youth, youth sections and youth commissions, the question of the rôle of the young workers in economic struggles, the drawing in of apprentices into the strikes of the working class and the individual youth strikes were dealt with. The Commission also discussed the question of the fight against attempts at fusion of the international reformist trade union bureaucracy with the Socialist Youth International

and its sections. As a counter-measure against this, good co-operation on a revolutionary basis and close contact with the Red International of Labour Unions was established and a Youth Commission was set up in conjunction with the R.I.L.U.

In the Commission during the various periods of work representatives from the following Leagues: German, Czechoslovakian, French, Norwegian, British, Finnish, Italian, Soviet Union Belgian and American sat continuously.

### **THE WORK OF THE YOUTH COMMISSION ON THE R.I.L.U.**

By a decision of the Presidium of the Y.C.I. and the Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U., a Youth Commission was set up on the 3rd of March, 1927, which consisted of three representatives from the R.I.L.U. In the period from March, 1927, up to the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. in March, 1928, 12 meetings of this Youth Commission were held. The whole work of this Commission was actually led by our delegation. This Commission first of all dealt with the Youth work in the Red trade unions of France and Czechoslovakia; concrete instructions on the structure of Youth Commissions in Red trade unions were worked out. The Commission also dealt with the questions of the trade union youth work in Scandinavia, the C.G.T.U. in France, the I.A.V. in Czechoslovakia and the work of the youth opposition in the German trade unions. For the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U., special material on youth unemployment, youth work in the trade unions, and organisational forms of the trade union youth work were issued. As a result of the work of the Youth Commission, 12 youth delegates were present from various countries at the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. The Commission has also drafted a resolution on the questions of trade union youth work and a fighting programme of youth demands, which were adopted by the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U.

### **SUPPORT OF THE WORK OF OUR LEAGUES BY THE AGIT-PROP DEPARTMENT OF THE E.C.Y.C.I.**

The Agit-Prop Department has attempted to help the Leagues in their work as much as possible. In addition to the many instructions on current and special campaigns on an international scale, special national campaigns were supported by the publication of materials. For the periodical campaigns, such as 1st of May, March action, Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Week, International Youth Days, etc., speakers' notes, press material, posters, circulars, photos were sent out. Material dealing with the situation of the young workers in the Soviet Union were sent to the

Leagues or printed as pamphlets, etc. We have also helped in the organisation of special exhibitions organised by our League.

A syllabus of political minimum education was published in various languages.

The programmes of the various League schools were either drawn up by us, or the programmes sent by us to the Leagues were discussed and proposals and instructions were sent to improve them.

The Agit-Prop Department attempted to deal with the questions of the Leagues' work. We can say to-day that this work is being carried out in a more systematic fashion. One of the weaknesses is that the Russian experience is not yet sufficiently utilised. The Agit-Prop Department must become the centre which not only sends out instructions, but is also a real organ of political clarification and agitation.

### **THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE DEALING WITH OPPONENT ORGANISATIONS**

The "Opponents'" Department set itself the task of continuously reviewing the activity and the inner life of the opponents' organisations, to send information on this to our own Leagues, and to bring about the necessary counter-actions on our part. In connection with the Information Department, the Leagues received regularly information and press material about the opponents' organisations. In addition, regular articles on opponents' questions appeared in the "International of Youth."

A further task was the review and leadership of the opponents work of the Y.C.L.s, the exchange of experience and the co-ordination of the work of individual Leagues. In addition to some general circulars, the opponents work was critically reviewed on certain occasions; special letters were sent to the Leagues proposing certain means for improving their work. The Enlarged Plenum of the Y.C.I., in November, 1926, thoroughly discussed the opponents work, and adopted a resolution in which the experiences of our work were laid down and instructions given for our future work. All the other sessions of the Y.C.I. dealt with the opponents work in connection with the political tasks. The control and leadership of the United Front movement, which is being dealt with in another section, has also partly fallen within the field of activity of the Opponents' Department.

Our chief attention was directed towards the S.Y.I., as the enemy in the camp of the working class. Particular attention was therefore given to the review of the opposition movement in the Socialist Youth Leagues and to the attitude of our Y.C.L.s towards this movement. Materials and information was issued for every session of the S.Y.I. The Opponents Department also

worked in close co-operation with the Agit-Prop Commission in the preparations for the Twentieth Anniversary Stuttgart Conference.

During the period just ended the Opponents' Department adopted measures to strengthen our work among the members of the bourgeois youth organisations. Detailed information about the Boy Scouts' organisations was sent to the Leagues. A detailed report on the most important bourgeois youth organisations is being prepared for the Fifth Congress. The Opponents' Department also dealt with the growth of the Pacifist Youth movement and our attitude towards same.

### **ORGANISING COMMISSION.**

In addition to the reports from the individual League representatives on the organisational situation in their respective Leagues which was received by the Commission, the practical work also consisted in the discussion of the following questions: Structure of the Leagues, exchange of experiences in the organisation work of the various countries. Illegal work of our Leagues and preparations for illegality, help by the Parties, fraction work in the trade unions and other organisations. Organisational questions in the countryside, social composition of our Leagues and leadership, organisation of reporting from the factory group to the executive committee, questions of struggle against employers' terror, and fluctuation.

The Organisational Commission also worked out the statutes of the Young Communist International.

At least once in six months detailed letters on organisational questions were sent to the bigger Leagues, which were discussed and decided upon by the Organisational Commission. For special questions, such as the rôle of the factory group in the economic struggles, the rôle and tasks of the street groups, special instructions were issued by the Organisational Commission. Draft resolutions for the National Congresses and Conferences, and particularly for the Organisational Conferences of the various Leagues, were thoroughly discussed beforehand by the Organisational Commission.

In addition to this work, the Organisational Commission has discussed the statutes of the individual Leagues and made proposals for them.

### **SPORTS COMMISSION.**

For some time there was no Sport Commission, but only a reporter on sport questions. The work of the Sport Commission of the E.C.Y.C.L. extended to four fields (1) Preparation of the Leagues for important national and international sport con-

gresses and sport meetings (working out of instructions of the political line and concrete tasks); (2) Support of the work of the "Red Sports" organisations and of the opposition movement inside the Lucerne Sports International, leadership of the work of the Y.C.L. fractions in the Red Sports International; (3) Help to our Leagues in the organisation of sports organisations in those countries where no workers' sports organisations exist (Great Britain, America, etc.); (4) Review of various programmes of sport work (work sports, sport organisations in the trade unions, etc.); (5) Leadership and help in the work of the Communist Youth fractions in the sports organisations.

### INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

The Information Department of the E.C.Y.C.I. was established soon after the Fourth World Congress. The purpose of this department was to organise regular systematic information for the Executive Committee, the Leagues and the Press. The department is divided into three sub-sections: (1) The newspaper cutting section; (2) the newspaper and journal section; and (3) the library. In 1925 a Press review was issued regularly, which was transformed towards the end of 1925, for a short period, into a daily information bulletin. Since May, 1926, up to date, more or less regularly a Press bulletin is being issued weekly. From May, 1926, to the end of 1926, 26 Press bulletins were published; during 1927, 44. In addition to the Press bulletin regular special information on important problems and events in the young workers' movement are being issued.

The cutting section, which was in Berlin up to 1924, was brought to Moscow during 1925-6, and was there completed. In this section clippings divided according to the fields of work, from the most important papers, and from journals dealing with youth questions are being kept. The cutting section serves as a basis for the reports and investigations of the reporters of the E.C.

In the newspaper and journal section about 170 journals and 75 newspapers from all parts of the world are kept. Among these are papers and journals of our Leagues, the Central organs of the bourgeois Social-Democratic and Socialist youth organisations of most countries; and journals dealing with education and school policy. Apart from these, there are the papers of our Communist Childrens' League. In addition, the most important bourgeois dailies are kept, together with the central organs of Social-Democracy and Fascism and our Communist Party Press.

The Information Department regularly receives and utilises the information and reports of the Profintern, Comintern, Sportin-



tern, Pressintern, Mopr, etc. Close contact with the Information Department of the Comintern has been established.

The library contains approximately 6,000 books in German, French, English, Scandinavian, Italian, Czechish, Polish, Spanish and other languages, and 1,000 books in the Russian language. The books of the library are being placed according to the fields of our work. A catalogue by authors is in preparation.

The number of comrades working in the Information Department has undergone great changes; at the present moment it is six.

### EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

After the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I., an Eastern Department of the E.C., Y.C.I., was created for the first time. Among the tasks of this department were the following :—

(a) Study of the social and economic situation of the Eastern countries.

(b) Study of the situation of the young workers and peasants and the position of the youth movement in the East.

(c) Working out of questions of principle and the tactics of policy and activity of the Y.C.I. in the East.

(d) Instructions, circular letters and letters for Eastern countries.

(e) Information of the Western European and American sections on the youth movement in the East.

(f) Instructions and control of the individual sections and organisations.

(g) Working out of instructions for the Colonial Department of the Central Committees of the Y.C.L.'s of the home countries.

(h) Education and training of Y.C.L. functionaries from the ranks of the Eastern comrades.

The Eastern Commission consists of representatives from the following sections : Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, America. The composition of the Commission underwent changes, with the exception of a small group of comrades who work regularly in the apparatus of the Y.C.I. Representatives of the Y.C.L. section in the East did not work as permanent members of the Eastern department, because these sections do not have permanent representatives on the Executive Committee. This, of course, considerably hindered the work of the Department. The most valuable part of the activity of the Eastern Department was the current operative work, issuing of instructions and letters for the individual sections. No important event in the social life of the individual Eastern countries and their Communist Youth Leagues

and Youth Groups was left unconsidered by the Y.C.I., and adequate instructions, which laid down the line and tactics, as well as organisational forms, for the activity of each single fighting group of the Y.C.L., were sent out. The most important part of the preparatory work of study of the social and economic situation and the position of the youth movement in the various Eastern countries, can now be regarded as completed. Great activity in training and educating the Y.C.L. functionaries from the ranks of the Eastern countries was developed. The functionaries of the Eastern Department kept close contact with the youth sections and Y.C.L. nuclei of the Communist University of the Toiling Masses of the East, numbering about 1,000, and the Sun-Yat-Sen University, numbering about 540. In addition, special attention was given to individual young Communists coming from Asia and Africa. The participation of the representatives of the Western European and American sections of the Y.C.I. in the work of the Eastern Department was, to a certain extent, equal to the requirements of the training of Y.C.L. functionaries of the home countries for Colonial work.

Less satisfactory was the activity of the Eastern Department in the issuing of instructions for the Colonial Departments in the Central Committees of the Y.C.L.'s. in the home countries. The main reason consists in the fact that the Central Committees of the home countries do not have such departments, as the latter are in most cases, joined with the Colonial Departments of the Central Committee of the Parties, which results in the fact that not so much attention is being given to this work, and no instructions from the Eastern Department of the Y.C.L. are being asked for. As far as the information of the Western European and American sections on the youth movement in the East is concerned, this work is not very well organised, and was limited to the sending out of materials for the Western European and American journals and papers.

The Presidium of the Y.C.I. sent eight representatives to the various countries in the Near and Far East during the period under review, in order to directly instruct the organisations.

The Eastern Department had personal or written contact with the organisations of the following countries: China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Tanu-Tuwa, Persia, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Algiers, Tunis, South Africa, Angola, United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and Germany.

### **AGRARIAN COMMISSION.**

Soon after the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. it became evident that the majority of the Leagues had not taken any

measures to conduct systematic work in the countryside. It became necessary to organise a well-functioning Agrarian Commission in the E.C. Y.C.I. During the period of its activity the Commission always worked out a concrete plan of work, generally for three months. The first instruction sent out by the Agrarian Commission was directed to all Leagues on the organisation of an apparatus for work in the village. The instructions were sent out together with a covering letter stressing the importance of this work.

The further activity of the Agrarian Commission extended to the following three fields:—

1. Study of the experiences of the work of our Leagues among the peasant youth and working out of instructions. For this purpose reports of the representatives of the various Leagues were submitted, also in those cases where questions in the work of any League in the countryside arose. The Commission analysed the work of the Italian, Swedish, Polish, Bulgarian, French, Jugo-Slavian, Norwegian, Rumanian, Finnish, Chinese and Japanese Y.C.L.'s. A letter on child labour in the villages was sent to the Y.C.L. of Germany. The work in the country of some Y.C.L.'s was, however, not dealt with once, whilst the activity of other Leagues in this field was discussed several times (Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, France, Sweden). The experiences of the Italian Y.C.L. for 1925 (commencement of the work, results, weaknesses, etc.) were dealt with specially, and were laid down in a separate letter which was sent to the Leagues. In most cases personal instructions were given to the Leagues.

2. Working out of special questions of the work of the Y.C.L.'s in the villages. The Agrarian Commission took up a whole series of questions in every plan of work for special consideration: The organisational forms for work amongst the peasant youth; objects of work of the Y.C.L.'s in the countryside; methods of work, demands of the poor and middle peasant youth; organisation of an apparatus of peasant correspondents for the youth press; the work of the opponents among the peasant youth, etc. In general, the working out of these questions proceeded slowly. During the Plenum of the E.C., Y.C.I., in July, 1927, a special Commission for work in the villages was held. In this Commission most of these questions were dealt with, and the Presidium of the Y.C.I. adopted a special resolution, which was afterwards sent to all Leagues. In this resolution the following questions were taken up: The importance of the work of the Y.C.L.'s in the village; the weaknesses of the Y.C.L.'s in this field; the objects of the Y.C.L.'s work in the countryside; our relation to the peasants' organisation affiliated to the Peasants' International; our work in the mass Peasants' Leagues, etc.

In this category also belongs the preparation of the question of the Y.C.L.'s. work among the young peasants in connection with the Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I. This work is at present under way.

The third field of work is the work of the Agrarian Commission in connection with the setting up of youth sections at the International Agrarian Institute, the support of their work, and the joint discussion of some questions with other organisations working among the peasantry.

In view of the weak activity of the Y.C.L.'s. and the Y.C.I. in the work among the peasant youth, the work of the Commission did not achieve great results.

### **COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS.**

The interest of the young workers in the Soviet Union in international questions, in the exchange of opinion with young Communists of other countries, the desire to give help to the foreign comrades, has grown in the last period in connection with the sharpening of the revolutionary struggle abroad.

The chief tasks of the Commission for International Connections consist in organising connections between the groups of the Y.C.L. in the Soviet Union and the Y.C.L.'s abroad, by letter, exchange of literature and material on work conducted, etc. At the present moment correspondence is being kept up with Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden and partly with Great Britain and Norway. In regular contact by letter there are about 100 factory groups of the Y.C.L., S.U. and the Y.C.L.'s abroad. That this number of nuclei corresponding regularly is not bigger can be explained, in the first place, by the fact that the foreign organisations do not reply to the letters of the nuclei of the Y.C.L. S.U. Most of the foreign Y.C.L.'s are not conscious of the importance of the connection with the young Communists of the Soviet Union and therefore do not pay sufficient attention to the work of connections. Only Germany and Czecho-Slovakia have separate Commissions in the Central Committees which lead and control the connection work. The correspondence and connection with those two countries is therefore better.

Very well organised international connection work between the Communist youth organisations abroad and the Russian Y.C.L. leads to active support by the "Shef" organisations, which is proved by the experiences of some German, Czecho-Slovakian and French Y.C.L. organisations. This support expresses itself in the organisation of material help, in the conduct of Communist Saturdays, International Evenings, etc. The organisations of the Y.C.L. S.U. cannot conduct good "Shef" work, because they have very little, in many cases no material at all on the

life and activity of the organisations abroad. The foreign organisations, therefore, must come to their assistance by informing their "Shefs" regularly on their work, by sending material for the strengthening and enlivening of the international work and international solidarity between the Communist brother Leagues.

On the basis of correspondence and live connections, the Komsomols of the Soviet Union can become acquainted with the international youth movement through the general political and social situation in other countries, and vice versa.

The material assistance which is being given to the brother Leagues begins now to develop broad forms, and expresses itself in the following fashion : (1) Collection of the International Levy ; (2) Participation of the Young Communist League in all international campaigns of the Party and trade union ; (3) Organisation of systematic support of the organisations of the Y.C.I. by the "Shef" organisations ; (4) Participation of the Y.C.L. in the work of the "Mopr" (International Labour Defence, I.C.W.P.A.).

The tasks in this connection are the following :

Drawing in of international connection work into the general system of the training work of the Y.C.L.'s ; training of functionaries for international propaganda work, creation of circles and discussion classes at the corresponding committees of the Russian Y.C.L., creation of circles for study of foreign languages co-operation with Mopr and support in its work ; organisation of Y.C.L. corners in factories and workshops (these must become the centre of activity in the factories) ; systematic material assistance for the brother Leagues ; a wide propaganda campaign in the Press and publication of literature dealing with questions of the international youth movement.

### INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. did not issue any special directives on the question of the Communist Children's movement, with the exception of a short instruction regarding the necessity for closer attention being paid to questions of child education, (from the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern). This related not only to the Y.C.I., but also to the C.I.

At the same time, the situation which was created shortly after the Fourth Congress demanded the solution of a number of questions of principle, which were subsequently confirmed by the Plenum of the P.C., Y.C.I. The International Children's Bureau formulated and paid attention to those questions, the following steps being taken for their execution :—

1. The transforming of children's groups into a

centralised militant Children's League on the basis of school groups (laid down as a task, and carried through by the representative of the E.C., Y.C.I. at the First all-German Congress of the League of Young Spartacists in October, 1924, and then confirmed by the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C., Y.C.I. as obligatory for all Sections, in March, 1925).

2. A suggestion for the reformation of intermediary organisations of the boy scout type—"Red Boy Scouts" in Norway—turned down.

3. The commencement of the fight for the economic interests of children (raised at the Second International Conference of Children's Leaders in Moscow, in September, 1925, and confirmed by the Plenum of March, 1925).

4. The strengthening of the leadership of the children's movement by the Y.C.L.'s and E.C., Y.C.I. (by the formation of an International Children's Bureau in the E.C., Y.C.I., and of Children's Bureaux in all important countries. Also the first Central Training School for leaders took place in Germany in 1926). Decisions of the plenum of the E.C., Y.C.I. in March, 1926, and instructions of the Organising Bureau of the E.C., C.I., to all Communist Parties.

5. The introduction of new forms of mass activity in connection with the economic and political struggle of the Proletariat, including instructions *re* Summer Work, the organisation of camps, excursions; decisions in connection with the Miners' Strike in Great Britain; the Peoples' Ballot in Germany; the Passaic Strike; the struggle in China; also a special instructor's tour for a member of the International Children's Bureau through Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Switzerland, during the Summer of 1926.

6. All spheres of activity of the Children's League were systematised, and methods of work of the lower organisations clarified. The question of the struggle against opponent organisations was brought forward as well as the organisation of adult assistance of the children's movement. (Third International Conference of leaders of Children's Leagues in February, 1927. The journal "Proletarian Child" improved. Decision of the E.C., C.I., regarding the organisation of special committees of aid for the revolutionary children's movement.)

7. The training of leaders and development of active children's functionaries for this work, Central Schools were organised in Austria and Germany, conferences of leaders took place, and congresses of the Children's League were held in Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, Sweden and France.

Members of the International Children's Bureau visited all these countries.

8. Mass campaigns were conducted in connection with Seventh International Children's Week and preparations for the Tenth Anniversary in October. Three children's delegations were sent to the Soviet Union—English, French and German—in the summer of 1927, international propaganda being made for same; also delegates were sent to Austria and Holland.

9. Relations were established with the Paris International of Educational Workers, and two delegates were sent to the International Pedagogic Conference held in Leipsig, one of them speaking in Congress.

10. Establishment of International relations between pioneer organisations and patronage committees of the children's organisations abroad, were established (reception of delegations, financial assistance, forwarding of material, etc.).

11. The publication of children's literature and material for leaders :—"Pioneers of Bobinska" (German and Swedish edition); "Red Drummer" Library (German edition, in eight numbers); "Free Children of a Free Country" (German edition); "Pioneers of the S.U." (German edition).

12. Organisation of an excursion of 30 children's group leaders to the S.U. and sending of a Scandinavian children's delegation in the Summer of 1928. During the period just ended, new organisations were set up in twelve countries, whilst the organisations in three countries collapsed.

## **Sessions of the Plenary and Enlarged Executive**

The controlling body between two World Congresses in the Y.C.I. is the Plenary Executive. The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. consists of forty-six members. The majority of the E.C. members work in the Leagues. Plenary Sessions of the Executive Committee take place once in 6—8 months. They strike the balance of the past work of the Presidium and the Leagues, and lay down new tasks. Generally, sessions of the Plenary Executive are called immediately after the sessions of the E.C. of the Communist International. From time to time, particularly when dealing with important questions, representatives of the most important countries are invited. In this way the Plenary Executive is enlarged by ten to fifteen delegates.

Since the Fourth World Congress five sessions of the Plenary and Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. have been held—the first at the beginning of April, 1926; the second in March, 1926; the third in November, 1926; the fourth in June, 1927; and the fifth in February—March, 1928.

### **ENLARGED EXECUTIVE, APRIL, 1925.**

The first Enlarged Executive after the World Congress dealt with a series of questions arising out of the decisions of the Fourth World Congress.

The most important item of these sessions was the discussion of the thesis on Bolshevisation of the Y.C.L.'s. In this thesis the line of principle and the concrete tasks of our Y.C.L.'s in the field of work towards the development into mass organisations are laid down. This thesis is one of the basic documents of the Y.C.I.

A special concrete resolution was adopted dealing with the decision of the Fourth World Congress—re the necessity of a deeper study of Leninism.

A special item on the agenda dealt with various questions connected with the realisation of the slogan put forth by the Fourth World Congress ("Complete Reorganisation").

In the field of trade union economic work, the session has set four main tasks: (1) An international campaign for 100 per cent. trade union organisation of our membership. (2) Building and strengthening of the Y.C.L. fractions in the trade unions. (3) Campaign for international trade union unity. (4) Transition from general propaganda to the organisation of campaigns by industries and concrete work in the factories.



This session decided against the creation of youth sections at the International Peasants' Council. In addition to these questions, the session dealt with various practical questions of work amongst children, opponents, and sport organisations. On the question of sport work, the Enlarged Executive adopted a resolution in favour of the unity of the international workers' sport movement.

### PLENUM OF THE E.C., MARCH, 1926.

This session showed that the international Communist youth movement had already progressed beyond the lowest point in its development (1925). The most characteristic fact of this Plenary Session was the clear analysis of the situation of the young workers, and of the developments which took place in the youth and in the various youth organisations.

Several new questions were dealt with at that time. (1) Fluctuation in membership. (2) New methods of work. (3) Stressing of the necessity of working in the youth sections, where such exist (this session was still based on the decision of the Second World Congress). (4) Creation of committees of action and united front committees by organising young workers' conferences. (5) Development of proletarian democracy inside the Leagues. (6) Strengthening the necessity of the co-ordination of legal and illegal work in the countries of The White Terror.

For the first time for a long period, the discussion on the organizational tasks of the Leagues was not limited to the one question of organisation—factory group work. A series of other organisational questions were thoroughly dealt with. As far as re-organisation was concerned, this session set the slogan of re-starting further developments and concluding re-organisation after the first defeats, giving time limits for this work. Lessons from our experiences were drawn as follows: (a) re-organisation can only take place after factory groups already exist and carry on work; (b) the re-organisation must not result in loss of members; (c) it was recognised to be a mistake to consider street groups as an evil.

In addition to the trade union question, various questions of the children's organisations were thoroughly discussed, also our tasks in the fight for the young unemployed, the work of the Y.C.I. in the East and the tasks of our sport work. With respect to the young unemployed, the E.C. has put forth, in addition to the instructions on the means by which actions for the unemployed young workers in the various countries must be conducted, a series of demands for the young unemployed.

The Plenary Session also adopted the programme of political minimum training.

PLENUM OF THE E.C., NOVEMBER-DECEMBER,  
1926.

This session of the E.C. was able to state the unanimity of the whole Communist youth movement in the fight against the deviation from the Comintern in the various countries (Ultra-Lefts in Germany, New Opposition in the C.P.S.U.). This Plenary Executive considered the political attitude of the E.C. members, Vujovic and Michalec, to be a Social-Democratic deviation which does not find any support among the sections of the Y.C.I.

A review of the results of the United Front tactics against the Socialist Youth International (exchange of letters with the S.Y.I. youth delegations to the Soviet Union) was made. Various Leagues have taken the first step towards winning the young workers from the religious organisations. In this connection a number of mistakes could be observed. Some mistakes which were made in the application of the United Front tactics (Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria) were criticized. These mistakes were mostly "right" mistakes, but they were caused by the "lack of experience of the leading cadres of the Y.C.L." These mistakes, however, were only of a temporary character, and did not develop anywhere into continuous ones.

This Plenary Executive laid down in detail the tasks of the Y.C.L.'s in the sphere of anti-militarist propaganda, and particularly thorough criticism was made of the mistakes of the American Y.C.L. in this field.

For the first time, the question of the effects of capitalist rationalisation on the young workers was dealt with. The Y.C.L. supported the standpoint of the C.I. on this question. The opinion of some comrades that, as a result of rationalisation the role of the young workers in production becomes diminished, was rejected.

The Plenary Executive discussed in detail the question of the legal work of our illegal Leagues. The creation of legal political organisations in the countries of the White Terror was stated to be possible and necessary.

It was also decided to utilise the experiences of the German League in connection with the creation of Defence organisations (Red Young Front Fighters, etc.) for our other Leagues.

The Plenary Executive confirmed that, as a rule, the Y.C.L.'s must subject themselves to the obligatory leadership of the Party and to Party discipline. "But in those cases where the line of this or the other Party differs from the line of the Comintern or deviates, the Y.C.L. cannot and must not get bound by Party discipline, as for instance, in the May Days after the Pilsudsky coup

in Poland), remembering that discipline towards the Comintern binds stronger than the discipline of the Party."

The Enlarged Executive supported the attitude of the Polish League against all the groupings and tendencies in the C.P.P.

This session also laid down the concrete tasks of the Chinese, Korean and Japanese Leagues.

The question of organisation, and particularly the factory group work, was dealt with in a special item on the agenda. The Plenary Executive also adopted detailed resolutions on the system of political training, work among the children, opponent work, and adopted the organisation statutes of the Y.C.L. The tasks of the Y.C.L.'s in the winning over of young workers organised in opponents' organisations were discussed particularly carefully.

### **PLENARY SESSION OF THE E.C., JUNE, 1927.**

In the centre of discussion at this session were two main questions: (1) Fight against Imperialist War; (2) Effects of Rationalisation and our Tasks in the Trade Unions. The session came to decisions on all questions dealing with anti-militarist work.\*

The Plenary Session decided to revise the old decision of the Second Congress on work in the trade unions. Experience has shown that for the mobilisation of the young workers in the trade unions special organisational forms are necessary (youth representatives, youth committees, youth sections).

The session rejected the slogan of raising the school age, and put forward concrete demands in connection with the effects of rationalisation. In addition to these two main questions, the Plenary session also dealt very thoroughly with the tasks of the Chinese, British and American Leagues. During the Plenum an Agrarian Commission was held, the decisions of which were confirmed by the Presidium of the E.C.

### **PLENUM OF THE E.C., FEBRUARY, 1928.**

This session dealt with the following questions: (1) Report of the E.C.; (2) Work of the Chinese Leagues; (3) Trade Union questions; (4) Organisational Tasks. The Plenum fully supported the policy of the L.Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union and its fight against the opposition, and declared its complete solidarity with the decisions of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. The permanent crisis of the S.Y.I. was pointed out, and the tasks in connection with the struggle against the Otto Bauerlike tendencies within

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\* For details see the pamphlet "Communist Youth and War," by R. Schuller.

the S.Y.I. opposition were laid down. It was decided to carry on an intensive campaign in the mass organisations of young workers against the attempts of the S.Y.I. to subject them to its political and organisational influence. A series of successes in the struggle against the S.Y.I. were cited at the Plenum. Good results were also brought out in the discussion of the struggle against imperialist war danger (soldiers', reservists', and sailors' revolts, work in China, and among the colonial troops, etc.). The Plenum also dealt with the question of participation of the League in the coming elections (putting forth special election demands by the Y.C.L.'s).

The most important characteristic of the present situation of the Y.C.L.'s was pointed out to be the difference between the growing political influence of the Y.C.L.'s among the young workers and the organisational strength. Only two Leagues are constantly growing (Sweden and Greece).

The Plenary Session adopted a resolution against the splitters of the C.P. in the Western Ukraine and on the tasks of the Y.C.L. of the Western Ukraine.

A very thorough discussion took place on the activity of the Chinese League during the Wuhan period and on the new phase of revolution (illegality), and the main tasks of the Chinese Y.C.L. for the next period were laid down.

The Plenum thoroughly dealt with the preparations for the youth questions to be dealt with at the forthcoming Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. As far as organisational forms of trade union youth work are concerned, the Plenum came to the unanimous conclusion that the organisational forms of trade union youth work must be closely linked up with the young workers in the factories. The young Trade Union factory delegates must be called together for special conferences in the individual trade unions. "Setting up youth commissions and youth committees as a revolutionary form of youth work in trade unions against youth sections, is simply a reactionary form of this work and erroneous. There is no essential difference between such a youth section and a revolutionary youth commission which has become a mass organ." The proposals to set up special trade unions of the youth must be rejected. It is our task to draw the young workers into the existing trade unions. Apprentices must be drawn into the struggle during strikes.

The Plenary Session of the E.C. confirmed all the decisions of the First International Organisational Conference and adopted a short resolution for the application of same.

The Session also decided to call a World Congress; agreed upon the agenda for same, and on the necessary preparations.

## Central European Conference of the Y.C.I.

At a time when the suppression of Spanish and French imperialism in Morocco led to a revolt of the Moroccan tribes against imperialist oppression; when intervention in China was being feverishly conducted; and when the danger of a war of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union was very acute, the Y.C.I. called a conference of the Central European Leagues in Berlin (June, 1925), in order to discuss the concrete questions and tasks of the individual Y.C.L's. in their struggle against imperialist war.

The following Leagues were represented at this Conference : Germany, Great Britain, France, Soviet Union, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Poland, Balkan Federation and Scandinavian Federation. The most important document of this Conference was the resolution on the tasks of the Y.C.I. in connection with the danger of a new war. The war in Morocco, intervention in China, and the campaigns against the Soviet Union were stated to be the beginning of a new era of imperialist war. For every League concrete tasks, in the sense of concrete application of the well-known instructions of Lenin to the Hague delegation, were laid down. (1) Mass actions of young workers and peasants against the war danger (meetings, committees of action, protest strikes, demonstrations, fraternization with the troops, united front). (2) Young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union. (3) Work among the Colonial expeditionary troops and navies. (4) Immediate close connections of the Y.C.L of Great Britain with the revolutionary youth of China, India and Egypt; of the Y.C.L. of France with the revolutionary youth of Tunis, Morocco and Algiers; of the Y.C.L of Holland with the revolutionary youth of the Dutch colonies. (5) Work among the Colonial students and workers. (6) Particular strengthening of our work among the soldiers and sailors. (7) Immediate commencement of energetic work among the young peasantry. (8) Preparations for illegal activity in case of war. The Conference adopted special resolutions on the events in China and the tasks of the French Y.C.L. in connection with the Moroccan war. A resolution was also accepted dealing with the application of the United Front tactics and pointing out the mistakes of the individual Leagues and their tasks.

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## CENTRAL EUROPEAN CONFERENCE 133

The Berlin Conference decided to hold an International Trade Union week.

In addition, this Conference adopted concrete resolutions on the tasks of the following Leagues : (1) France; (2) Austria; (3) Germany; (4) Poland; (5) Italy; (6) Czecho-Slovakia; (7) Great Britain; (8) Hungary; (9) Poland; (10) Switzerland.

## International Organisational Conference

The International Organisational Conference, Berlin, in January, 1928, dealt with the following three questions very thoroughly, in addition to receiving reports from the individual Leagues on the organisational situation : (1) Questions of factory group work ; (2) Fluctuation in membership ; (3) Calling of Organisational Conferences.

### FACTORY GROUP WORK.

The Organisational Conference considered the most important mistakes in the factory group work to be as follows :—

1. No concrete tasks are being given to the factory groups.
2. The factory groups, which consist mostly of young members, lack leadership in the nuclei as well as on the part of the sub-district and district committees.
3. The inner life of the factory groups is very unsatisfactory.
4. Insufficient adoption of the policy of winning large-scale factories has had bad effects on the activity of the nuclei.
5. Incapability of most factory groups to adapt themselves to illegal work in the struggle against the employers' Terror.
6. No support by the Party factory groups.
7. Weak political activity of the factory groups.

Successes in the factory group work were noticeable during the last few months only in Germany and some illegal countries. In all other Leagues there is either stagnation or a falling off in this sphere of work.

The Organisational Conference laid down the following points as central lines for the work of the Leagues : Investigation of the organisational position of the Leagues ; review of all mistakes and weaknesses and utilisation of favourable experiences in the work of the factory groups ; policy of winning over the masses in the most important factories through the practical work of the League ; setting up of new factory groups and livening up of the existing ones to be our present chief task and the most important part of the work of reorganisation.

Starting from this line, the Organisational Conference put in the forefront the character of our factory group work. The activity of the factory groups depends upon the situation of our work in the following spheres :

1. Recruiting activity of the factory groups.
2. Role of the factory groups in the economic struggles of the young workers.
3. Illegal methods of work in the factory groups.

4. Inner life of the factory groups.
5. Support of factory group work by the whole organisation.

For all these five questions concrete instructions were worked out by the Organisational Conference which will help the Leagues and factory groups to utilise the international experience, to improve the quality of the factory group work, and to increase their numbers.

The Organisational Conference underlined the fact, that experience had proved that there are mainly three possibilities for the setting up of new factory groups :—

1. Creation of factory groups by contacts in the factories through the activity of working initiatives or concentration groups (factory group of newly won members).

2. Linking up of those of our members working in factories, who have been so far organized in street groups or local groups, into a factory group (factory group consisting in the main of old members).

3. Utilisation of the positions of the Party and creation of youth factory groups by, or with the assistance of, the Party factory groups.

All these three possibilities were utilised by the Leagues.

### FLUCTUATION.

The fluctuation of membership is very marked in all Leagues. In many Leagues there is not only a fluctuation of members, but also a fluctuation of local organisations. The Organisational Conference considered the following to be the main causes of fluctuation :—

- (a) The system of old territorial organisations, methods and contents of work and their composition.

- (b) Recruiting activity of our Leagues is only accidental, not systematic and planned. The members who have been won become passive, as a rule, after the first difficulties, and a large number of such members are lost to the League.

- (c) The inner life of our organisations is entirely unsatisfactory in most cases. The form and contents of our work do not satisfy the varied interests of the young workers.

- (d) The form of treatment of political questions is very often not adapted to the level of the young workers.

- (e) The existence of big organisational weaknesses in our organisations.

- (f) The new members are not being treated and trained specially.

The Organisational Conference decided on a series of measures, the application of which will help our Leagues to



abolish all those causes of fluctuation which depend on us, and to diminish the volume of fluctuation. In the first place, the local and general causes of fluctuation must be abolished in every country in every single organisation. Organisers must be sent to those parts where fluctuation is most marked. In all factory groups and organisations great attention must be given to the new members. The recruiting activity must be carried on in a systematic fashion and must be directed, in the first place, towards winning over the young workers in the most important factories. The casual element in recruiting work must be avoided. The forms and methods of our recruiting activity must also be considerably improved.

It is quite clear that various objective difficulties are the most important causes of fluctuation. The question of fluctuation cannot, and must not, be regarded in an isolated fashion; this question is only part of our general work. On the position of our general work depends to a great extent the volume of fluctuation. Where our work is good, fluctuation is only small. Therefore the best method to decrease fluctuation lies in the general improvement of the work of our Leagues.

### ORGANISATIONAL CONFERENCES.

The discussions laid down that organisational conferences serve as the most important means for reviving our organisational work, for overcoming weaknesses, for utilising group experiences and for carrying through our policy of becoming rooted organisationally in large-scale factories. The Organisational Conference had adopted detailed decisions on how to organise organisational conferences and the particular kind of questions which should be dealt with, etc.

The most important characteristics of the organisational situation of the Y.C.I. can be summarised after the Organisational Conference, which was attended by the organisational secretaries of the biggest Leagues, in the following points :—

- (1) There is a stagnation in the whole International with respect to membership; (2) In the field of factory group work there is, as a rule, stagnation and only exceptional cases of upward development; (3) The organisational work of the League is weak; it does not stand in the centre of activity; actions of the League are conducted without linking them up with organisational tasks; (4) Most Leagues are not yet sufficiently well organised; in all Leagues there are still many passive members and passive organisations; (5) The district committees are very weak, have often a very low level, and show very little initiative; (6) The small Leagues, like Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Portugal,

show steady decreases; (7) In the individual Leagues it is mostly weak, and small districts go backward, because the central committees concentrate their sole attention on the biggest and most important districts, and consequently neglect the smaller and country districts; (8) Many campaigns for the winning of the factories are being neglected.

These questions were thoroughly dealt with by the last Plenary Executive Sessions (February, 1928). The decisions of the International Organisational Conference, and the resolutions which were adopted by the last Plenary E.C. on this question, show the way by which the existing shortcomings can be overcome.

The International Organisational Conference dealt with the basic question of the organisational work, although no direct representatives from factory groups participated, and has resulted in strengthening of the organisation work of our Leagues.

## **The Y.C.I. and the International Youth Day**

The growing dangers of imperialist war and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, the increased oppression of the Colonies and the attacks against the working-class, made the International Youth Days, which were held every year on the first Sunday of September, mighty mass demonstrations of the young workers of the whole world.

In 1924 the young workers in Germany demonstrated, for the first time since the illegality of the Y.C.L. of Germany had been lifted, on a large scale, under the banner of the Y.C.L. In France a demonstration of one hundred thousand workers took place, about half of whom were young workers. In America the young workers demonstrated against the Chauvinist "Defence Day" organised by the imperialists, which was to take place on the 12th of September, and exposed the character of the C.M.T.C. In Great Britain the demonstrations were of particular political importance, as they took place during the period of the MacDonald Government. The young workers rallied under the slogans of the Y.C.L.G.B. against war preparations by the Labour Government, the building of cruisers, air ships and tanks. The continuation of the imperialist policy of the MacDonald Government was the main issue of the demonstration.

In 1925 the first waves of the Chinese Revolution began to break against the imperialists. The brutal shooting of workers in Canton and Shanghai developed a widespread mass movement of the workers. In Southern China, for the first time, demonstrations of young workers took place on International Youth Day, to which thousands of young workers and students rallied. In a series of capitalist countries, particularly in Great Britain, the demonstrations were held under the slogans of "Hands Off China." The increasing war preparations by the British Tory Government were met by the slogan of "International Trade Union Unity." The young workers of France rallied in mighty demonstrations against the war on Morocco and Syria. Tens of thousands of young workers attended the forty-two meetings organised. Leaflets were thrown from aeroplanes containing slogans of struggle against the war on the Colonial peoples. Many arrests took place. The young workers in Canada demonstrated against the militarisation of the youth and against the cadet system in large meetings held in Montreal, Toronto and other cities. In Germany the youth demonstrated against the

Guarantee Pact, against the Monarchist danger, against Fascism, and war in Morocco and Syria. Big demonstrations took place in South America (in Buenos-Aires, Rosario, Cordowa, and other cities) in connection with a recruiting campaign for the Y.C.L. In Poland, Belgium and Austria, thousands of young workers rallied to the demonstration under the banner of the Y.C.L.

The International Youth Day of 1926 was celebrated during a period of great struggles. In Great Britain the Miners' Strike was being fought. For many months thousands of young miners had been locked out, fighting heroically against starvation and police terror. The demonstrations, therefore, were concentrated on support of the miners' struggle and on the fight against the reformist traitors. The "Hands Off China" movement was supported throughout the country. In France 40,000 workers, a large part being young workers, demonstrated in support of the British Miners' Strike and against intervention in China. A very important fact was the participation of soldiers in these demonstrations. In Germany big demonstrations were held in Leipzig, where a banner of the L.Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union was presented; in Hamburg 20,000 young workers participated in the demonstration, in spite of prohibition by the president of police; in Meissen a bloody struggle with the Fascists broke out, during which some of the young workers were wounded. The main slogans of the Youth Day were: Against imperialist war, for support for the Soviet Union, for youth protection, unemployment relief, shortening of hours, etc.; in Berlin a demonstration numbering 20,000 took place, 6,000 of whom were young workers. A series of demonstrations were organised on a district scale; for instance, in Zuffenhausen for Wurttemberg, Minden for Lower Saxony, etc. At all demonstrations collections were taken up in support of the striking British miners. In Czecho-Slovakia 150,000 workers demonstrated (a large part of whom were young workers) in mighty mass demonstrations. Everywhere support for the striking miners in Great Britain was put to the fore front. In Austria the police of Vienna had originally prohibited the demonstrations and meetings. The mighty protest movement which developed, however, forced the police to permit a meeting in Vienna, which was attended by over 1,000 young workers. 30 meetings were organised a week later in other parts of Austria. In Sweden, meetings took place in Stockholm, which were attended by many young workers. In Norway the youth demonstrated in Oslo and other cities. Full support for the striking British miners was the main slogan. In America a series of meetings were organised by the Y.C.L. in the bigger cities, such as New York, Boston, St. Paul, Philadelphia, Washington and Los Angeles. The main slogans were Fight against the war

preparations, and for youth demands. The Y.C.L. of Canada issued a slogan of Intensive struggle against the militarisation of the youth in schools, and propagated a series of youth demands. Our South African League published a manifesto to the young workers, calling on them to fight against imperialist war and against the miserable conditions of labour of the white and black young workers. In Poland an illegal demonstration of young workers was held in Warsaw, attended by over 1,500 young and adult workers. This demonstration was broken up by mounted police, many young workers being wounded. The Y.C.L. of Bulgaria, which, after the events in Spring, 1925, had rebuilt its organisation, concentrated all its forces for the International Youth Day celebration. Large-scale arrests by the Government were carried out before and during Youth Day. In South America 2,500 young and adult workers demonstrated in the streets of Buenos Aires. Young Social-Democrats and Christians participated in the Youth Day demonstration in Belgium. The League won several new members. Mighty demonstrations of young workers were held in China, supported by the students. The youth in Canton, Shanghai, Hankow, and Chang-Cha rallied under the banner of the Chinese Revolution against Imperialist intervention.

The demonstrations on International Youth Day in 1927 took on a definite mass character. The Y.C.I. celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the First International Socialist Youth Conference. 5,000 young workers had come together in Stuttgart, Germany, in order to participate in the celebrations. The police had forbidden the foreign delegates to address the Conference, made raids on the houses of known Communists, and took away documents from the foreign delegates. They could not, however, stop the delegates from many countries delivering written messages of greetings to a mass meeting: 13 delegates from Czecho-Slovakia, 3 from Austria, 3 from Switzerland, 3 from France (one of them "Left" Social-Democrat), 2 from Great Britain, 1 from Belgium, 1 from Norway, 1 from Sweden and 1 delegate from the L.Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union were present. The young workers assembled gave a hearty ovation to the "Old Guard." Amid scenes of great enthusiasm, Comrade Willie Munzenberg presented a banner to the youth in the name of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany. The spokesman of the youth made a solemn vow under the banner to fight untirelessly for Revolution. In all other countries demonstrations in celebration of the International Youth Day were held, under the banner of the Young Communist International, against the Socialist Youth International, which long ago had betrayed the traditions of the First Socialist Youth International. The counter-demonstration of the S.Y.I.

in Stuttgart was only about half the size of our demonstration. The police had, of course, not prevented the foreign delegates of the Young Socialist from speaking in public. In France, in addition to the international slogans, the demonstrations took place under the slogan of Amnesty for all political, civil and military prisoners. Great masses of young workers marched in Toulon, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Ales, Bordeaux and St. Denis, under the banner of the Y.C.L. In addition, 38 demonstrations throughout France were organised on a district scale. In Great Britain masses of young workers demonstrated in the streets of London, Glasgow, Bradford, Birmingham, Newcastle and South Wales. In South Wales a representative of the French Y.C.L. addressed the demonstration. Many members of the Guilds of Youth participated in our demonstrations under our slogans. A representative of the French Y.C.L. was arrested just before the commencement of the demonstration and later sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In Belgium a demonstration of over 600 young workers was held in Brussels. This was the first demonstration of the Belgium League on International Youth Day ever held outdoors. The Socialist Youth organisation carried on a campaign against the demonstrations of the Y.C.L. and organised a counter demonstration in Tilff, which however, in spite of their big propaganda, was attended only by 120 young workers. In Norway, demonstrations were held in Oslo and other cities. In South America the Workers' Sports Federation actively supported the demonstration of our Y.C.L.

A particular place of honour must be reserved to the Y.C.L. of Italy, which, in spite of the ever-growing Fascist terror, always raised the banner of Communism on International Youth Day. Whilst the demonstrations of 1924 could still be held in a state of semi-legality, when factory meetings and demonstrations were still possible, the difficulties had grown immensely by 1925. In spite of this, 10,000 leaflets and 30,000 copies of the League's paper were distributed. In Pola, leaflets were dropped from aeroplanes. In Milan young workers demonstrated in front of barracks. By 1926 the League had been forced to organise illegal meetings outside the cities. These meetings were conducted under the slogans of elections for the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union, which left shortly after International Youth Day. Collections for the striking British miners were taken up. The meetings in 1927 took place in circumstances of complete illegality. 50 such illegal meetings were organised. The League distributed 20,000 leaflets and 11,000 copies of the

"Avanguard". Everywhere the twentieth anniversary of the First Socialist Youth International was celebrated. In spite of all suppression, in spite of torture and murder, the young workers and peasants of Italy rallied under the banner of the Y.C.L. of Italy and the Y.C.I. for the struggle against Fascism and the war danger.

# The Y.C.I. in figures

## I. THE DYNAMICS OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE Y.C.I. AND ITS SECTIONS.

### I. Big Legal Leagues Which Have Rendered Reports.

League	March 1925.	March 1926.	Novem. 1926.	June 1927.	End of 1927.	Middle of 1928.
German ...	24,735	18,032	20,642	19,014	18,768*	20,183
French ...	12,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,500†	10,500
Great Britain ...	550	800	1,752	1,300	1,280‡	1,400
Swedish ...	11,000	10,000	8,992	11,317	13,000§	14,500
Tzech ...	8,068	13,000**	11,338	12,274	12,789	12,789
Norwegian ...	6,000?	2,200	2,000	2,000	3,000	††3,000
North American...	4,000?	1,085	1,712	1,900	1,950	2,480
Greek ...	300	500	500	1,100	2,000	2,000
Canadian ...	400	1,000	1,000	1,000	850	1,100
Austrian ...	600	800	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300
	67,653	57,417	59,236	61,205	65,437	69,252

\* In January, 1928.

† Estimated according to the membership cards issued minus percentage of fluctuation. Membership cards sold in France in 1924 were 11,876; 1925, 16,470; 1926, 15,397; 1927, 15,403.

‡ October, 1927.

§ February, 1928.

\*\* Certainly exaggerated.

†† In all cases where no figures exist for the corresponding period we have taken the last figure given. The query marks refer to figures which are doubtful.

### II. Small Leagues Which Have Not Reported in Detail for Some Time.

League	March 1925.	March 1926.	Novem. 1926.	June 1927.	End of 1927.	Middle of 1928.
Belgian ...	60	350	350	400	250	250
Swiss ...	500	225	176	150	120	120
Danish ...	200	150	150	150	150	150
Dutch ...	450	450	300	300	300	350
Portugal ...	30	?	?	?	?	?
Luxemburg ...	30	?	?	?	?	?
South African ...	100	30	30	30	30	30
Mexican ...	300	300	?	200	1,200	1,200
Argentine ...	800	2,500	600	600	400	400
Chile ...	200	?	?	?	200	300
Brazilian ...	200	300	300	200	200	200
Uruguay ...	?	?	?	?	173	173
Peru ...	?	?	?	?	?	?
Australian ...	30	?	?	?	?	30
Iceland ...	120	70	70	70	70	70
	3,020	4,375	1,976	2,100	3,093	3,273



### III. Illegal Leagues.

[The following 17 Leagues : Chinese, Polish, Italian, Jugo-Slavian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Finnish, Esthonian, Palestine, Spanish, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, Persian and Turkish.]

	March 1925.	March 1926.	Novem. 1926.	June 1927.	End of 1927.	Middle of 1928.
Organisations of the Chinese Y.C.L.s in Soviet Territories	23,930	26,537	32,580	54,316	26,670	29,707
						25,000
						54,707

### IV. Legal Political Organisations of the Illegal Leagues and Sympathetic Organisations.

Organisation.	March 1925.	March 1926.	Novem. 1926.	June 1927.	End of 1927.	Middle of 1928.
1. Red Jungfront						
Germany	15,000	20,000	20,000*	24,000†	21,081	21,081
2. Young Anti-Fascist Guards, France	...	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,500	2,500
3. Red Guards, Austria	—	—	—	—	450	450
4. Red Guards, Greece	—	—	—	?	800	800
5. Legal Organisations in various countries	...	12,000	12,000*	7,200*	9,737	9,737
6. Korean Student League	...	?	?	?	23,000	23,000
7. Outer Mongolia	3,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	7,000	7,000
8. Inner Mongolia	—	—	?	?	1,000	1,000
9. Tana Tuva	...	—	?	?	1,500	1,500
	30,000	38,000	38,000	37,200	67,068	67,068

† October, 1927.

\* Estimated.

### The Y.C.I. Outside the Soviet Union.

Group of Leagues.	March 1925.	March 1926.	Novem. 1926.	June 1927.	End of 1927.	Middle of 1928.
1. Big Legal Leagues	67,662	57,417	59,236	61,205	65,437	69,252
2. Small Leagues	3,020	4,375	1,976	2,100	3,093	3,273
3. Illegal Leagues	24,150	26,757	32,630	54,316	26,670	54,707
	94,832	88,549	93,842	117,621	95,200*	127,232

\* This drop is only caused by objective reasons. The Y.C.L.s of China, Italy, Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria have lost over 28,000 members as a result of increased reaction, raids and transition into illegality. Meanwhile, the legal Leagues have won over 3,000 new members.

**The Y.C.I., Including the Soviet Union.**

1. Without the S.U. and without the Y.C.L. organisations in the Soviet territories of China ...	94,832	88,549	93,842	117,621	95,200	102,232
2. Y. C. I. in Chinese-Soviet-Rus. territories ...	—	—	—	—	—	25,000
3. Y.C.L. in the Soviet Union ...	1,200,000	1,640,107	1,964,319	1,936,992	2,030,000	2,030,000
		(Jan. 1926)				
	1,294,832	1,728,656	2,058,161	2,054,613	2,125,200	2,157,232
Sympathetic organisations	30,000	38,000	38,000	37,200	67,068	67,068

**Social Composition of Some Leagues.**

League.	Large and Middle-sized Factories.	Small Factories.	Agricultural Labourers.	Peasant Youth.	Clerks	Students and Others.	Unemployed.
Germany ...	30	60	3	2	1	—	20
Great Britain ...	40	15	—	—	20	—	25
Yugo-Slavia ...	26	25	22	15	?	?	—
Sweden ...	35	No information.		—	—	—	—
Latvia ...	12	38	17	6	21*	6	—
Czecho-Slovakia ...	25	39	24†	—	7	—	5.7
Norway ...	10-15	30	—	—	2	1	55
North America ...	50	10‡	2	—	15	23	?
Greece ...	11	54	15**	—	20††	—	—
Austria ...	20	20	—	—	—	—	30

\* Including seasonal workers.

† Including unemployed.

‡ Including peasant youth.

\*\* Including students.

†† Including young shop assistants.

**Percentage of Membership Organised in Factory Groups (Beginning of 1928).**

Germany ...	7.1
France ...	7.61
Czecho-Slovakia ...	10.8
Sweden ...	10.0
Great Britain ...	—
Italy ...	20 to 30
Poland ...	25 to 30
North America ...	0.76
Austria ...	6.0
Greece ...	27.0
Belgium ...	0.25
Denmark ...	0.33

Yugo-Slavia	...	...	...	...	...	...	?
Finland	...	...	...	...	...	...	30.0
Latvia	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0
Lithuania	...	...	...	...	...	...	20.0
Norway	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.95
Argentina	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.25

**Numbers of Factory Groups at the Beginning of 1928, Excluding  
China and the Soviet Union.**

Middle of year 1924	...	...	...	...	603	factory groups
March, 1925	...	...	...	...	1,100	" "
1926	...	...	...	...	1,900	" "
March, 1927	...	...	...	...	805	" "
January, 1928	...	...	...	...	650	" "

**Trade Union Organisation at End of 1927.**

	Per cent.
Germany	30.3
France	30.35
England*	90.0
Sweden	55.0
Czecho-Slovakia	27.2
Norway	19.0
North America	29.0
Greece	60.0
Austria	60.0
Poland	70.0
Belgium	80.90

\* Estimate according to reports of League. According to other reports only 40 to 50 per cent. of the membership of the British League are organised in trade unions.

# The Press of the Y.C.L.s in Capitalist Countries.

Name.	Country.	1923.	Year of Publication.		Remarks.
			1926.	1927.	
Circulation.					
<b>Weeklies:</b>					
"Avantgarde"	France	8,000	10,000	10,000	12,000
"Young Worker"	Great Britain	5,000	6,000	5,000	2,500
"Rote Jugendwacht"	Czecho-Slovakia	5,000	4,000	3,800	4,000
"Pravda Mladeze"	Czecho-Slovakia	5,000	4,500	4,000	4,500
"Stormklockan"	Sweden	13,000	13,000	13,000	13,000
"H. Neorata"	Greece	5,000	5,000	6,000	9,000
"Sickli"	Finland	13,000	13,000	13,000	
"China Youth"	China	8,000	11,000	22,000	
<b>Bi-Monthly:</b>					
"Die Junge Garde"	Germany	21,000	20,000	26,000	18,000
"La Jeunesse Ouvrier Communiste"	Belgium	—	5,000	4,000	4,000
"Barisan Muda"	Indonesia				
"The Young Masses"	Japan	4,000	4,000	5,000	
<b>Monthlies:</b>					
"Proletarietjugend"	Austria	4,500	4,500	4,000	4,000
"Dorast Chudoby (Slovak)"	Czecho-Slovakia	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
"Friatal Dolpozo (Hungarian)"	Czecho-Slovakia	2,500	3,000	2,000	2,000
"Karpatskaya Molodiosch (Ukrainian)"	Czecho-Slovakia		1,500	2,000	2,000
"Le Caserne"	France	12,000	16,000	18,000	21,000
"La Page de Jean le Gouin"	France		Between 4-5,000.		
"Pravda Molodjochi"					
Paper of the Proletarian Youth League, now illegal.					
Till 1927 fortnightly.					

Till 1926 fortnightly.

Till 1927 monthly.

Organ of our legal League.

Now illegal, the League published in addition two unofficial and a series of provincial papers.

Paper of the Proletarian Youth League, now illegal.

Till 1927 fortnightly.

Name.	Country.	1923.	Year of Publication.		1928.	Remarks.
			1926.	1927- Circulation.		
(Russian)	...	...	...	?	...	...
" Jannais Komunars "	Latvia	?	...	?	...	...
" Young Worker "	Latvia	?	...	?	...	...
" Musu Veliava "	America	4,000	4,000	6,000	7,000	Till 1927 fortnightly.
" Klassenkampen "	Lithuanian	?	...	1,500	1,500	Illegal.
" De Jonge Arbeider "	Norway	...	3,000	2,000	2,500	1926 weekly.
" De Roode Voorhoede "	Holland	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...
(Flemish)	...	...	...	...	...	...
" Arbeiterjugend "	Belgium	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	...
...	Switzerland	4,000	2,000	?	?	...
" Young Worker "	Canada	...	...	...	...	...
" La jeunesse Communiste "	Brazil	3,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	...
" La Lamarade "	Chili	—	—	—	500	Illegal.
Organs Appearing Irregularly :	...	1,000	1,000	1,000	?	Stopped.
" Juventud Communista "	Argentina	...	2,000	3,000	3,000	...
" Kampen "	Denmark	2,000	2,000	—	—	Stopped publication.
" Avanguardia "	Italy	2,000	2,000	—	—	Legal weekly, now illegal.
" Estrelle Roja "	Mexico	18,000	20,000	11,000	11,000	...
" Estrelle Roja "	Uruguay	...	...	...	...	...
" New Youth "	Korea	...	...	...	1,500	Stopped publication.
" Revolutionary Youth "	Mongolia	1,500	2,000	1,000	1,000	...
" Tscherwohej Znamej "	Bulgarian	1,000	1,000	200	200	...
" Red Flag "	Iceland	200	200	...	...	...
" The Young Leninist "	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Hungarian, Roumanian, Russian)	...	...	...	...	...	...
" Pdeitschi Prapor "	Roumania	...	...	...	...	Illegal.
" Young Bolshevik "	Italy	...	...	...	?	Illegal.
(Jugo-Slavian )	...	...	...	...	...	...
(in three languages	Yugo-Slavia	?	3,000	3,000	3,000	Illegal.
" Spartak "	Poland	—	500	500	500	Illegal.
" Young Communist "	West White Russia	—	1,500	1,500	1,500	Illegal.
" Comrade "	Poland	3,000	3,000	3,000	4,500	Illegal.

Since 1927 three times a weekly as supplement to Party organ.

Name.	Country.	1923.	Year of Publication.		1928.	Remarks.
			1926.	1927.		
Circulation.						
Legal paper under various names						
"Comsomol Warsaw "	Poland	3,000	3,000	4,500	4,500	
"The Young Communist "	Finland	100	100	200	500	Illegal.
"El Joven Obrero "	Spain	200	300	500	350	Illegal.
"Giovane Operaio "				5,000	?	
(Italian)	France	—	—	—	?	For Italian emigrant groups (hecto-graphed).
Journals :						
"Jugendinternationale "	German	?	5,000	3,000	3,000	Monthly.
"La jeunesse communiste "	France			4,000	6,000	Monthly.
"Kommunisticka internacionala mladeze "	Czechoslovakian					
"Ungdoms Internationalen "	Scandinavian	—	—	—	2,000	Six times a year.
"The International of Youth "	English	—	—	1,500	1,500	Four times a year.
"Junger Bolschewik "	Germany		2,500	3,000	3,500	Four times a year.
"Darba Janatnes Cels "		2,000				Monthly.
(Pasdarbibas Zurnals)	Latvia					
"Liesma "	Latvia					Monthly.
"Darbininku Jaunimas "	Lithuania					Monthly.
"O Neoe Leninisthe "	Greece		1,000	1,500	600	Illegal.
"Junger Bolschewik "	Czecho-Slovakian	1,000			1,500	Monthly.
		1,000				Stopped publication.

## REMARKS TO THE TABLES.

In the tables giving details of the Press of the Y.C.L.s in the capitalist countries, some organs are included which have ceased publication because of the Government terror. In addition to the papers mentioned, we have a series of papers, published in various cities in illegal Leagues, and also hectographed papers published by the various factory groups.

Several organs have in the period under review been changed from fortnightly into monthly papers (France, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Greece). On the other hand, some papers, as, for instance, the American, German and Norwegian, have been changed back from monthly into fortnightly.

In the period between the Fourth and Fifth World Congress the character of our youth papers has undergone a complete change. In the first place all organs have changed from the small quarto to newspaper size, according to the Russian example. This transformation indicates the attempts of our Leagues to make the youth papers real mass organs. The contents have also been improved. The papers are not only filled with political material, but contain also entertainment and educational material, questions of theory and practice, etc.

In spite of the fact that the contents of our papers have improved, there is still much room for betterment. The youth papers have adapted themselves to young workers in size and contents, but the circulation does not yet correspond to the needs and possibilities. Only very few papers have a larger circulation than their membership figures.

Almost all League papers contain letters from young worker correspondents. The young worker correspondents, however, are not linked up and closely connected with the editorial boards, with the exception of the Greek and partly the Czechish League. In some Leagues we have only a small number of correspondents who are corresponding regularly and almost no non-party young workers correspondents. It is a great weakness that only a few Leagues possess their own functionary organ, and that the international paper "International of Youth" has only a very small circulation.

In the capitalist countries 52 to 60 papers in 40 languages are published in all, with a circulation of 200,000 copies, and 11 journals with a circulation of 20,000 copies.

On the basis of the present situation of our Press, a series of tasks arise for the future work of the Leagues. The youth Press must become in contents and circulation a decisive and guiding factor in the life of the young workers, not only in the political, but also in economic and cultural questions. The prerequisites for this are : (1) Improvement of the contents of our

Press, more space to be given to the entertainment and cultural part. (2) Building up of an army of correspondents, particularly young factory worker correspondents. The young worker correspondents must be closely linked up in conferences and through letters with the editor and joined together in correspondents' circles. (3) Widespread propaganda among the membership on the question of the importance of the Press, particularly on the necessity of distribution in the factories and among the young workers outside of our organisations. (4) Constant agitation for new readers, organisation of Press campaigns, improvement in our distribution apparatus and financial restoration are the basis of a mass circulation of our youth Press.

The Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union publishes sixty papers, thirty-six of which are in Russian and twenty-four in various other national languages.

The League has also twenty-five journals, seven of which are central organs. Joint journals of the Central Committee with other organisations four, local journals in Russian six, local journals in national languages eight.

In the period between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses of the L.Y.C.L. of S.U. sixteen new papers were established, eleven of these in Russian and five in national languages.

The whole circulation of the youth papers (without journals) was at the time of the Eighth Congress 400,000. There are ten daily papers.

### International Children's Movement (Organisational Status).

		March, 1926.	May, 1927.	May, 1928.*
U.S.S.R.,	Pioneers ... ..	1,860,000	1,718,944	1,681,983
	Oct. Children ... ..	260,000	278,099	254,849
China	... ..	5,500	100,000	?
Indonesia	(Comm. Schools)...	5,000	—	?
Germany	... ..	14,000	12,000	10,000
Great Britain	... ..	316	716	585
France	... ..	2,000	2,000	1,800
Denmark	... ..	100	100	100
Finland	... ..	3,500	3,500	3,500
Holland	... ..	300	300	300
Norway	... ..	2,500	1,800	1,200
Austria	... ..	—	100	250
Poland	... ..	150	500	2,500
Switzerland	... ..	200	200	200
Sweden	... ..	800	1,000	1,500
Czecho-Slovakia	... ..	200	1,250	1,800
Korea	... ..	960	—	—
Mongolia	... ..	1,000	700	1,580
United States	... ..	2,500	3,000	4,000
Canada	... ..	600	700	700
Mexico	... ..	—	150	1,000
Argentina	... ..	—	400	?700



# 152 YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Uruguay	...	...	...	...	—	600	800
Chile	...	...	...	...	—	—	—
Palestine	...	...	...	...	—	—	100
New Zealand	...	...	...	...	—	—	50
						29,126	29,016
Including U.S.S.R. and China						2,159,626	2,126,059
						Members.	
							32,665
							1,969,497

(Number of Leagues outside of U.S.S.R. and China)

March, 1926 : 17 Leagues, 29,226 members.

May, 1927 : 22 Leagues, 29,016 members.

May, 1928 : 22 Leagues, 32,665 members.

\* Figures of the Soviet Union are January, 1928 figures. Now they are somewhat higher. Full details are not yet available.

## International Children's Press.

						Copies.	
						January, 1927.	May, 1928.
U.S.S.R.	...	...	...	...	...	?	?
Germany, " Dietrommel "	...	...	...	...	...	20,000	17,000
Denmark, " The Young Comrade " (not regul.)	...	...	...	...	...	—	2,000
Great Britain, " The Young Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	5,000	5,000
France, " The Young Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	7,000	?5,000
Finland, " Red Flag "	...	...	...	...	...	—	2,500
Holland, " The Young Comrade " (not regul.)	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	1,000
Norway, " Pioneer "	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	2,000
Austria, " Der Rote Jung Pioneer "	...	...	...	...	...	—	3,000
Poland, " Pioneer " (mimeographed monthly)	...	...	...	...	...	—	500
Sweden, " The Young Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	3,000	3,000
Czecho-Slovakia, " Der Kleine Hann "	...	...	...	...	...	3,500	5,000
" " " Der Rote Trommler "	...	...	...	...	...	2,800	3,000
" " " Children's Paper " (Supplement	...	...	...	...	...		
" " " Rude Pravo ")	...	...	...	...	...	8,000	8,000
Mongolia, " Reserve "	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	1,500
United States, " The Young Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	8,000	6,500
Canada, " The Young Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	500	1,000
Mexico, " The Fighting Child "	...	...	...	...	...	—	1,000
Argentina, " The Little Comrade "	...	...	...	...	...	5,000	5,000
Uruguay, " Pioneer "	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	2,000
Chili, " Forward," not periodical	...	...	...	...	...	?	?
						68,800	74,000

January, 1927 : 14 papers with a circulation of 68,800.

May, 1928 : 19 papers with a circulation of 74,000.

## PART II.

# SOVIET UNION

### THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LENINIST Y.C.L. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS.

The work of the Y.C.L. for the last two years was carried on under the conditions of a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyist Opposition.

On the eve of the Fifteenth Party Congress, the Trotskyist Opposition in the Y.C.L. published its anti-Leninist programme in relation to questions connected with the youth movement. In connection with the general theory of thermidorian regeneration of the Party, the Trotskyists in the League based their theory on the "thermidor in the League." In their platform they accused the Y.C.L. and its leadership of a wrong line in their activities in the villages, and a renunciation of the conquests of October; also attacking the Party leadership of the Y.C.L.

The fact of the creation and illegal distribution of the Trotskyist platform on the questions of the youth movement had all the tendencies of the formation of a special youth league of a Trotskyist character. Nevertheless, despite the energy and activity shown by the Trotskyist opposition for control of the Y.C.L. all its work ended in complete defeat. It was only able to surround itself by small groups of unreliable Y.C.L.'ers chiefly from non-proletarian elements.

On the eve of the Fifteenth Party Congress together with the inner Party discussion, the C.C. of the League opened a discussion within the ranks of the Leagues. This discussion was hailed with great enthusiasm by the most active elements in the League and concluded with a most severe defeat of the Trotskyists in the youth movement. 99 per cent. of the personnel of the League declared itself for the Party and against the Trotsky Opposition, which had degenerated into a Menshevik group.

The pernicious activities of the Opposition assisted anti-Soviet elements, putting new hope in them for the break-up of the Communist Party and of the Proletarian Dictatorship. By this means, those elements most dangerous and opposed to the proletariat, received great help through the Opposition in their fight for the influence on the youth.

The activities of the Opposition also encouraged the non-proletarian elements in the League to raise their heads here and there for the formation of a Union of Soviet Youth which would

unite all the social strata of the growing generation in place of the already existing Y.C.L. Therefore, the victory over the Opposition is a great conquest for the League, strengthening its position in the class struggle for the control of the Youth. The decisive rebuke administered by the Y.C.L. and in the first place by the proletarian nucleus in the League, showed the Trotskyists how strongly the ideological-political understanding of the League had developed, and to what extent the League stands firmly behind the Party, and is capable of fighting for Lenin's teachings. But independent of that the fight against the Trotskyist Opposition has deprived the League of much strength and energy, and there is no doubt that the practical work of the League has suffered thereby. As a result of this struggle, the Y.C.L. of the N.E.P. epoch has received its baptism in its fight for Leninism.

### **THE TRANSITION TO NEW METHODS OF WORK.**

The development of the youth movement of the S.U. for the past period took place under conditions of systematical attacks by the proletariat on the capitalist elements in the towns and villages, and the sharpening of the class struggle in the S.U. The same thing took place in the struggle for the control of the youth. During the last two years we see more clearly the manifestation of anti-proletarian tendencies, such as the growth of anti-semitism, and the attempts on the part of the churches and the clergy to strengthen and widen their influence amongst the masses of the workers, endeavours to bring forward a middle-class individualism against collectivism, etc. The danger of these tendencies increase especially during this epoch of the development of the proletarian revolution in which we are at present. The generation of workers, peasants and students now growing up, have not gone through the fire of the class struggle, neither in the pre-war revolutionary period nor during the period of civil war. The political consciousness of this young generation has been formed during the period of N.E.P. when a number of contradictions of the class struggle have been hidden by it. The remnants of the bourgeoisie in our country come forward not in open attack, but under the cover of loss of faith based on the material inequality and national enmities, drawing the youth back into middle-class ideology. Therefore the central problem put forward by the Fourteenth Party Congress and the Seventh Congress of the League, was the enlivening of the work of the Leagues, finding ways and means of approaching the problems of the masses, and co-ordinating the interests of the youth with the problems of socialist reconstruction. The old forms and methods of work could not satisfy the tremendous demands and activity of the masses on the question of socialist construction. This explains the energetic endeavours on the part

of the League during the past two years, to find new forms and methods of work, and we can say that in this respect the League has had certain successes. New forms of organisation and methods of work required by the new conditions and tasks of the Party have been approached. This has been clearly shown by the Leningrad organisation, which created a voluntary movement under the name of "Problems of Every-day Life." In practice it consisted of various groups of the League uniting on questions of interest to them, as for example. Groups of the greatest industrial workers; Group of communist relations to women; Group for the organisation of healthy amusements; Group for cleanliness. This movement in Leningrad has had its prototypes in other organisations. In Moscow, for instance, it took the lines of healthy recreation, in the village on the lines of organising of the Y.C.L.'ers among the peasants. In the Urals we have the so-called "industrial brigade" consisting of young workers and so on. At the same time, in a number of League organisations a wave of competitions took place, for the best industrial worker, the best harmonium player, the best Y.C.L. nucleus in the village, etc., etc.

In the actual type of its work, the League approached more closely than at any other period, the cultural-economic tasks of the Party and the Soviet Union. The League as a whole commenced assisting the Party in the fulfilment of such gigantic tasks as the socialist rationalisation of industry, improvement of agriculture, fighting against bureaucracy and improving the government apparatus, and lastly in approaching such questions as the struggle for a new cultural life.

But while we are able to record a definite movement in the direction of livening the activities of our League and fulfilling the main tasks of the 14th Party Congress and the 7th League Congress, we must at the same time sharply underline the slowness with which these main tasks are fulfilled. The development of work on the new lines found itself confronted with the opposition of the old forms and methods of work, routine and bureaucracy, which no doubt are to be found in the Y.C.L. apparatus and among a section of officials of the League. As a result of this in a number of organisations the good beginnings did not have the development they deserved, and throughout the whole League the work of making a systematic introduction of new methods developed extremely slowly. Many local committees after their first partial and superficial successes in the livening of their work, settled down into ruts with their ardour cooled.

Nevertheless, it can be said without question that the committees of the League have achieved definite results and bettered the leadership of the work of the organisation; and that the tran-

sition to concrete leadership has been made, but all this, in comparison with the tasks which face the League, Party and working-class, is absolutely insufficient.

Confirmation of the defects in the life and work of the Y.C.L. is to be found when checking the information of the committees on the membership of the League with the actual number of members. Here we find that we have a floating membership. 200,000 members have been lost to the League, 35 per cent. of this number owing to the fact that we were not able to make the work of the League sufficiently interesting. At the same time we discovered that a large number of members belong to the so-called "passive" Y.C.L.-ers, who are on the brink of leaving the League. A further review of our successes and defects is to be found in the October recruitment of young workers into the League. This recruitment gave the League only 60,000 young workers and agricultural labourers, which is absolutely insufficient, especially when taking into consideration the fact that the number of young workers in the League decreased from 47.5 per cent. on January 1st, 1926, to 44.2 per cent. in October, 1927. The October enrolment convinced us that mass work amongst non-party young workers and agrarian workers is very weak. This is an extremely grave warning for the whole of the League and its leading organs, because the most important guarantee for the successful development of the Y.C.L. is its strong tie with the proletarian masses and the constant increase of its ranks by new forces from our proletarian youth.

All this explains why the C.C. of the League on the eve of the Congress urged discussion of the defects of the League's work in matters such as League life, mass work and the organisation of activity of the masses on a voluntary basis, development of initiative and self-activity, the fight against bureaucracy and the development of fearless bolshevik self-criticism.

The attitude\* was definitely rejected by the C.C. and the whole of the League, it being quite obvious that under present day conditions there can be no real proletarian policy, which does not include cultural and economic work. It is necessary to remark on the continuous attention and interest on the part of the League in the development and work of the Y.C.I. The L.Y.C.L. of the S.U. was and has remained in the fore most rank of the Y.C.I., its most active and leading assistant. Such important political campaigns as International Day of Youth, the 10th Anniversary of the October Revolution, and the League

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\* That a broad development of the cultural and economic work in the Y.C.L. will result in a loss of the political proletarian character of the League.

"saturdaying" in aid of homeless children, were all carried out with great enthusiasm by the young workers.

The danger of War threatening the S.U., particularly at the moment of the break in diplomatic relations with Great Britain aroused great interest among the working youth of the S.U., who demonstrated their readiness to take up at any moment the defence of their socialist motherland. This was demonstrated practically, by organising military training of Y.C.L.-ers, and by raising the interest of the League organisations in questions of defence of the S.U. and the life of the Red Army and Navy.

The recent grain collecting campaign in the villages, was carried out with most active assistance from the Y.C.L. organisations.

All this, despite great defects in the work of the League, proves that the spirit of Bolshevism lives in the Leninist Y.C.L., and that the Y.C.L. was able to correctly gauge its cultural tasks and main political tasks and its international proletarian responsibilities.

### **THE ATTITUDE OF THE C.C. TO QUESTIONS OF LABOUR AND EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH.**

The proletarian government has to accomplish the organisation of youth labour on a new socialistic basis, overcoming great difficulties and contradictions arising out of the technical and economic backwardness of our country, and to being surrounded by capitalist states. These difficulties become more acute in the period of developing socialist industry, which demands the maximum possible of the financial resources of the country. It is sufficient to remember the transfer from war communism to the New Economic Policy, when as a result of the placing of industrial concerns on a paying basis, youth labour organised on the basis of the socialist legal code, was in danger of being squeezed out of industry. The rationalisation of industry also raised this question in a sharp form. The Party and the League always decided these unavoidable difficulties, not by ignoring the code of youth labour, but by uniting practically the principles of the socialist organisation of youth labour with the interests of the industry of the socialist state. The attitude of the C.C. of the League was based on this, and it remained firmly for the retaining of the Socialist Legal Code for Youth Labour, and at the same time endeavoured to link up the interests of various groups of young workers and the interests of the working class as a whole, with the tasks of socialist construction. This explains the decisions of the Fifth Conference of the L.Y.C.L. of the S.U. in connection with the re-examination of the existing quotas of young workers in industry.

That the old quotas had no connection with the new demands of industry, is shown by the fact that during a period of five years, the percentage of youth labour in industry varied between 5-6, never approaching the legal quota. The Fifth Conference of the League, and afterwards the Congress of Soviets decided to re-examine the existing quotas and to calculate them only in relation to qualified workers who require special training, on the basis of calculation of natural loss of labour power, as well as its influx in connection with the development of production. This meant a reduction of the quota by approximately 30 per cent. The work in connection with the examination of the fixed quotas of youth in industry in view of its complexity has only just been concluded by the Commission set up by the Peoples' Commissariat for Labour. It is necessary to remark that in this sphere the C.C. of the L.Y.C.L. of the S.U. has certain differences of opinion with the Supreme Economic Council. Its main difference is on the question of mass specialisations (weavers, rubber workers, etc.), which industries require for their training only a short period of time. The C.C. of the L.Y.C.L. insists upon a longer period of training in order to give the young workers also general Socialist education. This discussion must be definitely decided by the higher Soviet and Party organs.

The number of young workers in industry on the 1st January, 1926, was 133,992, and increased on the 1st January, 1927, to 139,368. In consequence of the decision of the Government to decrease the quotas of young workers and the acceptance of new young workers into the industry, the number of young workers on the 1st July, 1927, decreased to 131,989. If we take into consideration the new entrants into the factory schools, this number will be slightly more. Therefore, the main number of young workers, in industry on the basis of the fixed quota, has slightly decreased.

Amongst the other questions it is necessary to mention the discussion in connection with unpaid apprenticeship in state industry. As is well known, the line of the League was decisively against all experiments to introduce unpaid apprenticeship, which breaks the code of youth labour. For a number of years the League maintained its attitude, and was successful in having it carried through. These discussions re-occurred with greater heat on the eve of the Fifth Conference. The C.C. of the League stood firm against unpaid apprenticeship, and only after the decision of the higher organs did the conference accept the decision which allows for unpaid training as an exception in some districts. Despite this, the C.C. immediately after the Conference commenced to examine the experience of unpaid training, which had taken place for a number of years without permission in Ivano-

Wosnessensk district. The examination showed the absolute unreliability of unpaid training, not only from the point of view of the danger of breaking the legal code, but also from the point of view of struggle against unemployment amongst children of the workers. On the basis of this enquiry the C.C. of the League again raised the question of re-examination of the decision which allowed for unpaid training, even as an exception, before the fraction of the Central Soviet of Trade Unions and before the C.C. of the Party, and was successful in obtaining a reversal of the decision. Therefore, the attempt of the Opposition to view the matter as if the C.C. was adhering to the principle of unpaid training, is simply calumny.

The decision concerning revision of the quotas caused difficulties for the Factory Schools, as the number of students during the current economic year into these schools was decreased when compared with the previous year, and according to the decision of the corresponding organs should have been equal to the number of students leaving the schools the previous year. But some administrative organs tried to break this decision, endeavouring in certain places to accept no new students into the Factory Schools. The C.C. was compelled to conduct a fearless struggle and was successful in getting the Supreme Economic Council to issue a categorical decree that the decisions of the Party and Government in this connection, be put into being. As a result the number of young workers accepted into the Factory Schools in the majority of places was higher than the decision of the Government organs.

The principal discussion around Factory Schools was as to whether the Factory Schools justified themselves from the point of view of training qualified workers answering to the requirements of industry, and also from the point of view of financial economy in the preparation of qualified workers. The most active opponent of the Factory School system is Gastev, head of the Central Institute of Labour, who considers that the Factory Schools are "the result of the enormous energy of the Y.C.L. and the inattention of the adults." Gastev is endeavouring to bring about the training of new cadres of workers qualified only through narrow training in the particular industry required, to neglect polytechnic training and Communist ideology, i.e., he is approaching the question from the angle of business, and not taking into consideration the difference between Socialist and Capitalist rationalisation. The C.C. of the League systematically opposed these tendencies which in effect would lead to the breaking up of the Socialist organisation of youth labour, and stood firm for Factory Schools, as the basis form of preparation of new cadres of a Communist-conscious proletariat on the basis of unification of labour with theoretical training.



In connection with the alterations which rationalisation of industry causes in the industrial composition of the workers, the C.C. put forward the suggestion of reorganising the Factory Schools on the lines of three types of Factory School: Factory Schools preparing workers for mass professions (2 years), Factory Schools preparing highly qualified workers (qualified mechanics, etc.), and Factory Schools training universally trained workers, such as fitters, turners, etc. All these types of workers are essential for the transition period, and will be required for our industry. While the Supreme Economic Council does not object to the two latter named types of schools, it disagrees with the proposal for the first kind which prepared workers of mass professions, and economists put forward the suggestion that these workers be trained in the courses of the Central Institute of Labour, and by individual training. This question will, undoubtedly be one of the most hotly contested when putting into practice the reorganisation of the Factory Schools. Actually in the discussions on Factory Schools the attitude of the Y.C.L. is that of the Proletarian Government and Party, laid down in the Labour Code and in the decisions of the Party Congresses.

The question of the wages of young workers came before the C.C. from the point of view of decreasing the difference between the average pay of a young worker and the average pay of an adult worker. During the last period it has been possible to obtain a certain progress in the sense of lessening this difference, which at present is about forty—sixty per cent. In connection with the tariff reform (*i.e.*, reform in the scale of wages) and the abolition of piece work, the question of a regular system of payment for worker students has been raised. This explains the creation of training sections under conditions of non-decrease in the existing rate of wages of young workers, and the provision in the future for its systematic increase in relation to the average wage of an adult worker. The C.C. also obtained a corresponding decision from the A.U.C.C.T.U., and in the last collective agreement campaign, the students received an increase in the same way as the lower paid categories of workers.

Although we have not yet received the final results of the collective agreement campaign, it can be said that this campaign brought new changes in the relations of wages of young and adult workers, these changes being to the advantage of young workers.

The Y.C.L. in general and the C.C. in particular, has not paid sufficient attention to questions connected with the erection of secondary and higher schools. It cannot be said that matters in this connection do not require to be improved, and a re-organisation of the higher schools on the basis of better contact with industry and the tasks of industrialisation is definitely needed.

In the five year plan for the development of national economy, the questions of youth labour and education should be fully reflected. The C.C. worked out the main directives in this sphere, which were presented for confirmation to the 8th Congress. On the basis of these directives it will be necessary to do great work in definitely stating the concrete tasks in the question of organisation of labour and education of young workers on a new basis, which we must realise within the next five years.

The question of youth unemployment, is one of the most burning ones. The C.C. has worked towards solution of this question on the lines of bringing young workers into production, and also on the lines of assisting unemployed young workers materially and by finding them work. From this point of view the seven-hour day and the extra shifts in the textile industry played a great part. In the textile districts, where the question of unemployment amongst the youth workers was of great importance, it was possible to bring many of these young workers into industry.\*

### THE POLICY AND WORK OF THE LEAGUE IN THE VILLAGE.

In its work in the villages for the past period the L.Y.C.L. of the S.U., was able to rid itself of the anti-middle peasant tendency which existed, to strengthen its influence over the middle peasant youth and to consolidate the proletarian leadership in the youth movement of the S.U. As a result of this, the League rendered great assistance to the party in strengthening the union of the working-class and the village poor peasants with the middle peasants, and in the creation of essential prerequisites for still more decisive attacks on the capitalist elements in the village. This is the main achievement in the work of the League, with which it came to the 8th League Congress.

If the problem of combining the personal interests of the youth with the question of socialist construction were difficult to solve in industrial organisations of the League, the difficulties met with in the village League organisations were still greater. The C.C., congresses and conferences of the League repeatedly pointed out to all organisations, that all the cultural and economic work of the League in the village should be conducted along the lines of co-operation and collectivisation. Nevertheless, in the

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\* Nevertheless, there are over 100,000 young unemployed in the S.U. This figure will hardly be reduced during the next few years, owing to the constant influx of labour from the villages.

practical applications of this communist line, many perversions can be observed. Many village organisations of the League instead of developing their members along the lines of social co-operators, tended to develop them on lines of good individual land-holders.

The agrarian-propaganda activities of the League in the village were carried out in many cases in this manner, and to a large degree this accounts for the fact that the Y.C.L. did not always satisfy the needs of the young agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It also cannot be disputed that in the organisation of the young agricultural labourers and poor peasant youth, the League did not work satisfactorily.

The growth of the League in the village is illustrated by the following figures :—

Period.	Total number of members in village groups.	Workers.	Agricultural labourers.	Poor peasants.	Middle peasants.	Employees, etc.
1st Jan., 1926 ...	890,000	39,160	97,900	443,220	257,210	52,510
Per Cent. ...		4.4	11.0	49.8	28.9	5.9
1st Jan., 1927 ...	1,055,000	39,035	129,765	446,310	349,205	70,685
Per Cent. ...		3.7	12.3	44.2	33.1	6.7
1st Oct., 1927 ...	1,015,000	37,555	126,875	425,435	350,995	74,140
Per Cent. ...		3.7	12.5	41.9	34.6	7.3
Change from the 1st Jan., 1926 to 1st Oct.,						
1927 ...	+ 125,000	—1,605	+ 28,975	—17,785	+ 3,785	+ 21,630
Per Cent. ...	+ 14.0	—4.1	+ 29.6	—4.0	+ 36.5	+ 41.2
						Per cent.
1. Employees, etc., increased by ...						41.2
2. Middle peasants increased by ...						36.5
3. Agricultural workers increased by ...						29.6

If, we conditionally divide the agrarian section of the League into three groups : (a) agricultural labourers, workers, and poor peasants ; (b) middle peasants and (c) others—then we see that the first group has systematically decreased (on the 1st January, 1926 to 65.2 per cent., on 1st January, 1927 to 60.2 per cent., on 1st October, 1927 to 58.1 per cent.) and the second has increased from 28.9 per cent.—33.1 per cent. to 34.6 per cent. and third has also increased from 5.9 per cent.—6.7 per cent. to 7.3 per cent. Thus, the League in the villages grew during the last two years, mainly on the basis of middle peasant youth.

It is also necessary to note the extreme weakness in the work

of the League in Soviet agricultural undertakings and collective agricultural undertakings.

As regards the education of the peasant youth, the League has attained considerable successes; in the first place in the development of peasant schools and the improving of their social composition.

For the period from 1925-27 the percentage increase in schools was 58.8 per cent., and in pupils 88.0 per cent. But there are a number of defects in this sphere of work. The programme and practical work of these peasant schools are not adapted sufficiently to the tasks of collectivisation. The League's activities in regard to the liquidation of illiteracy are extremely weak. Cultural work is still badly adapted to the interests of the agricultural and poor peasant youth.

The grain-collecting campaign considerably revived the activities of the League, strengthened the village organisations, and assisted the developing of the class character, making the leading role of the League more important. At the same time the grain-collecting campaign, the carrying out of voluntary taxation, the Peasant credit campaign, etc., all brought to the forefront the defects of the practical work of the League in the village.

In many places it was discovered, that owing to carelessness and sometimes insufficient attention being paid to regulating the influx of new members, rich peasant elements under the guise of middle peasantry, entered the League.

The future task of the League therefore, lies in the definite correction of political mistakes in the village, in definite support of the Party in its struggle with the rich peasants (kulaks), organising the agricultural and poor peasant youth; re-educating the middle peasant masses entering the League, ridding the League of the rich peasant elements, and widening the influence of the League among the mass of non-party labouring peasant youth. The League must give all its forces to the service of collectivisation of agrarian economy.

The growth of new cadres of worker functionaries from among workers is a notable feature in the development of the League during the last year. This achievement is a proof of the growing strength of the proletarian youth within the Y.C.L., and completely confirms the correctness of the line of the League on this question. Surrounding conditions, the pressure of non-proletarian elements on the League, demand a firm and continu-

ous adoption of this line, which will be ensured by the class conscious proletarian policy of the League.

### THE GROWTH OF THE LEAGUE AND THE REGULATION OF ITS COMPOSITION.

Despite the clear line given in connection with the growth of the League and the regulation of its social composition, in many organisations this line was not carried out correctly. Many organisations did not control the work of their subordinate organisations in the fulfilment of the directives in this connection, In connection with this in some organisations the following defects were found :—

(1) Absence of correct control of the growth of the League in agrarian districts, and a tendency to pay too much attention to numerical increase.

(2) In many places the principle of class differentiation among the peasants accepted was not applied. Many nuclei did not correctly understand the instructions of the C.C. re acceptance of only best types of middle peasant youth.

(3) In various nuclei, insufficient attention was paid to the individual investigation, individual merits and defects of persons entering the League, thus accepting elements foreign to the organisation.

(4) Many districts paid insufficient attention to acceptance into the League of agricultural labouring and peasant youth.

The majority of organisations brought into the League the best elements of the middle peasant youth, and also made considerable headway among the poor peasants.

The rate of growth of the League commencing from January, 1926, fell somewhat. While in 1925 there can be recorded a numerical membership increase of 61 per cent., and in 1926 of 19.7 per cent., in 1927 owing to the control of the membership figures, the membership of 1,964,319 which existed on the 1st January, 1927, decreased to 1,922,371 on the 1st December, 1927.

The growth of the nuclei during 1926/1927 increased somewhat less. (During 1925 there was an increase to 16,440 nuclei, while from 1st January, 1926, to 1st December, 1927, i.e. almost two years it increased by 10,561.) The growth during this period is characterised by the following figures :—

Period.		Total No. of nuclei.	With collective undertakings and communes.	With Soviet agricultural undertakings.	Factory and Transport.	Village.	Miscellaneous.
On 1st Jan., 1926	...	57,137	7,972	40,490	1,425	1,425	7,250
On 1st Jan., 1927	...	65,806	8,292	47,016	985	827	8,686
On 1st July, 1927	...	67,698	8,795	47,538	863	753	9,749

Therefore it can be seen that the village and other miscellaneous nuclei had the greatest increase.

The growth of factory groups was insignificant. This is explained by the fact that in the village we had a larger basis for the growth of new nuclei (for 360,000 villages including the smallest types of village, we have 49,000 nuclei, i.e., for every Y.C.L. nuclei, seven villages) while in the town such a basis is practically non-existent. The following are the figures of factory groups:—

	Per cent.
(1) Large scale (with workers numbering from 500 and more) covered	100.0
(2) Middle (with workers from 100 to 500) covered	95.0
(3) Small (with workers from 50 to 100) covered	75.0
(4) Small enterprises (with workers up to 50) covered	40.0

The quantitative growth of the League is illustrated by the following table:—

*Changes in the social composition of the L.Y.C.L. of the S.U.*

Period.	Total number of members.	Workers.	Industrial Workers.	Agricultural Workers.	Peasants.	Handicraftsmen.	Others. Candidates of the League.
1/1/26	1,640,107	590,582	126,129	753,817	22,971	146,608	129,419
Per cent.	100	36.0	7.7	46.0	1.4	8.9	—
1/1/27	1,964,319	682,457	154,303	932,131	33,557	161,871	125,632
Per cent.	100	34.7	7.9	47.5	1.7	8.2	—
1/10/27	1,912,435	657,959	160,022	884,464	30,771	179,219	99,708
Per cent.	100	34.4	8.4	46.2	1.6	9.4	—
Change in absolute figures	+272,328	+67,377	+33,893	+130,647	+7,800	+32,611	—
Per cent. increase in each social group	16.6	11.4	26.9	17.3	34.0	22.2	—

By this means it can be seen that over a period of one year nine months, the absolute increase in membership of the League took place mainly on account of the peasant youth (+130,647).

The general growth of the League from January, 1926, was 16.6 per cent., the increase in industrial workers was only 11.4 per cent., agricultural labourers 26.9 per cent., peasants 17.3 per cent., handicraftsmen 34.0 per cent. and miscellaneous 22.2 per cent.

The basis for the further growth of the League in industry exists out of 1,400,000 working youth at the bench\* only 600,000 of whom have entered the League. The reasons can be said to lie in the following:—Firstly, that the Y.C.L. cannot keep pace with the growing demands of the working youth and of its political activity. Secondly, that mass League work is not adapted to the various activities of the different sections of young workers, both in relation to their position in industry and ages. Thirdly, that the League was unable to keep pace with the growth of young workers in industry.

All this, especially in connection with the fact that during the past year a greater number of non-proletarian elements have entered the League places before the organisations of the League the task of a more thorough regulation of thier social composition, and a development of mass cultural economic work of factory nuclei.

### PARTY KERNEL IN THE LEAGUE AND PARTY LEADERSHIP.

For the past two years the growth of dual membership in the League is characterised by the following figures.

Period.	Communist Members Candidates.	Total. Per cent.	Party cell.	Russian Party.
1/1/26 ... ..	42,181	101,860	144,041	8.8
Per cent. ... ..	29.3	70.7	—	—
1/1/27 ... ..	60,846	111,163	172,009	8.8
Per cent. ... ..	35.4	64.6	—	—
1/10/27 ... ..	73,867	98,317	172,184	9.0
Per cent. ... ..	42.9	57.1	—	—

The percentage of Y.C.L.-ers accepted into the Party in relation to the total membership, continuously increases.

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\* Figures of the Central Statistical Bureau.

Period.	Per cent. young communists in relation to total accepted into the Party.
For first half of 1925 ... ..	23.4
For second half of 1925 ... ..	28.1
For first half of 1926 ... ..	32.3
For second half of 1926 ... ..	36.2
For first half of 1927 ... ..	37.5

In all the League has since its inception transferred over 300,000 members to the Party.

In the army seventy-five per cent. of new members accepted into the Party are members of the League.

The number of Party organisations in the village is less than that of Y.C.L. nuclei. On the first of the seventh, 1927, there were 49.154 Y.C.L. nuclei, while the Party had only 18.275. Consequently, 30.879 Y.C.L. nuclei exist in villages where there are no Party nuclei.

Despite all difficulties the rate of growth of Party nuclei within the League in the villages has increased. If in 1925, of each 1,000 village Y.C.L.ers 65 entered the Party, and in 1926, 50; in 1927 there was an increase to 77.

A considerable section of Party organisations have not yet undertaken concrete leadership of the work of League nuclei and committees. Such questions as labour conditions, education of young workers, better methods of work, training of activities, regulation of the growth of the membership, etc., did not receive any practical solution through the leadership of the Party.

### PIONEER MOVEMENT.

The Pioneer Movement during the last two years has been one of the weakest points in the work of the League. It is necessary to state quite frankly that insufficient attention has been paid to this sphere of activity. Just at this time, the Pioneer Movement has been going through its most difficult period. These difficulties were caused by the weakening attention on the part of Soviet society to this movement and our incapability of working amongst children. This has reflected itself in the growth of the pioneer organisation.

From 1st April, 1925, to 1st April, 1927, there is a considerable decrease in the growth of the Pioneer organisation. From 1st April, 1926, to 1st April, 1927, the Pioneer organisation increased only by 0.8 per cent.



In absolute figures the increase is as follows :—

Date.		Pioneers.	Divisions.	Octobrists.
1st July, 1925	... ..	1,460,663	32,457	150,320
1st July, 1926	... ..	1,821,797	45,129	273,909
1st July, 1927	... ..	1,718,944	45,759	—
1st October, 1927	... ..	1,653,701	44,942	262,226

Not less disquieting are the figures showing the floating membership of the Pioneer organisation. We give the most characteristic figures for the period from 1st July, 1926, to 1st of January, 1927.

From 1st July, 1926 to 1st January, 1927, 4,042 new Divisions—228,162 Pioneers. 4,048 Divisions ceased to exist; 309,982 Pioneers left the organisation.

Forms and methods of pioneer work were very often mere reflections of the methods adopted by the League. Because of this there was a tendency to make the Pioneer organisation solely concern itself with politics. In contradistinction to this, in some districts, a complete denial of the need for political education of children was observed. The correct line should be to introduce both tendencies and to be able to organise pioneer work in such a fashion, that it should meet the requirements of the children, so that the basis of the education of the Pioneers should lie in their social-labour activities.

### CONCLUSION.

The Leninist League during the past two years attained great successes in the strengthening of its ranks, and has widened its influence on the masses of young workers in the town and village. The positive results of its development are that it was able to crush completely the Trotskyist Opposition within its ranks which threatened the bolshevik education of young workers; overcame the anti-middle peasant tendency, and has become a real mass Communist organisation in the village; has trained new cadres of activities, and strengthened the guiding rôle of the proletarian youth in the youth movement. Finally, the Y.C.L. has become an important aid to the Party in its cultural and economic work and social construction.

On the other hand, in the life and work of the League there were a number of deficiencies. The League has been unable to adapt itself sufficiently to the tasks of socialist construction; within its ranks exist bureaucratic factors; its mass work is still weak, and the practical tasks of proletarian policy in the village are very often not carried out properly.

The L.Y.C.L. of the S.U. enters a new phase of its development, when all its forces can be concentrated on real constructive work.

The ensuing period in the development of the League should be a period of live struggle for a real proletarian line and a reorganisation which will guarantee the bringing of still wider masses of young workers of town and country into the work of industrialisation of the S.U. and the collectivisation of agriculture.

## GERMANY

The four years since the Fourth World Congress were for the German Y.C.L. years of consolidation and rebuilding after the heavy setback suffered through the October defeat of 1923 and the wrong ultra-left policy of the Party and the Y.C.L. in the years following (1924-1925). This setback still continued during the first period after the Fourth World Congress, up to the second half of 1925. The general situation was very unfavourable both for the Party and the League. The partial stabilisation of German capitalism and the Dawes Plan, and the creation of a stable currency, created in the ranks of the discouraged masses, strong reformist illusions of a betterment of the position of the working class under capitalism. Also the pacifist-democratic era, the period of "Left" Governments in France and Great Britain, the speeches and peace conferences of the bourgeoisie created pacifist illusions. This unfavourable objective condition was made still worse through the incorrect policy of the Party and the Y.C.L. under the ultra-Left leadership of the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group. This group agreed only theoretically with the United Front tactics, without putting it into practice, and almost entirely neglected the trade union work. This led to a falling of the Communist influence among the working class, to an isolation of the Party from the masses, which resulted in insufficiently active reaction, even to the rising tide of the working class movement following after 1925. The Young Communist League jointly with the Party carried on this incorrect policy. It also, almost entirely neglected mass work, and instead, engaged, in the same way as the Party, the whole time in the inner Party discussion. The drop of the Y.C.L. was accentuated by the very hurriedly and schematically conducted reorganisation on the basis of factory groups, which entirely failed, and only caused very serious organisational weakening. From this unbearable position the Party and League were extricated by the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Autumn of 1925. The standpoint of the Comintern was appreciated by a big majority of the League. The delegation of the Y.C.L. was the only one which supported the proposals of the Comintern at the Party Congress, which was held shortly before, and the Y.C.L. was one of the staunchest supporters of the line of the Comintern in the Party discussion.

The Ninth League Congress, in October, 1925, in Halle, took place in the midst of this inner Party discussion. With a five-sixths majority, the Congress decided for the line of the Comin-

tern. The districts of Erzgebirge-Vogtland and Hamburg, which were in opposition, did not directly vote against the C.I. letter but vacillated on the estimation of the ultra-Left mistakes committed in the past and charged the C.E.C., which had decided for the line of the Comintern, with "Right" deviations. After the League Congress these two districts were, however, very soon won for the line of the Comintern.

The Ninth League Congress did not only criticise the policy of the Party, but strongly criticised the League for its lack of mass work, and put forth as the chief task the strengthening of the League through the application of United Front tactics and through work in the trade unions. Even before the Congress, the League had launched a broad campaign for the sending of the first young workers delegation to the Soviet Union. They succeeded in winning broad masses of young workers for the delegation; in many places United Front Committees, in which social-democratic and non-party young workers participated, were set up. The delegates were elected by well attended young workers' congresses in the districts. After the return of the delegation the League linked up the campaign with agitation for the United Front in the struggle for economic demands. The fighting programme issued by the League was adopted by well attended young workers' conferences all over the country. In view of the then existing great unemployment it contained special demands for the young unemployed, and resulted in the organisation of demonstrations of young unemployed in various districts and partly in the winning of some improvements.

The League also actively participated in the campaign for the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses in the beginning of 1926. In spite of the refusal of the Social-Democratic leaders, the Socialist young workers, jointly with the Y.C.L., set up United Front Committees for the organisation of the campaign in many localities. On the Rhine, in the Ruhr valley and partly also in other districts they succeeded in winning large sections of the working class elements from the Catholic youth organisations for participation in the United Front Committees and the agitation for the National Ballot. After the National Ballot, the League continued its United Front activity and organised in connection with the Congress of Toilers a National Conference of the young workers which was attended by representatives from 80 to 90 thousand young workers. Masses of young workers also participated in the sending of the second young workers delegation to the Soviet Union.

In spite of this strong revival of mass work, the League was unable to develop properly, owing to the continual inner Party discussions. The ultra-Left leading group of Maslow and Ruth

Fischer, which had been deprived of leadership, moved further away from the Party and adopted finally such an anti-Bolshevik, counter-revolutionary attitude that the Party could no longer allow them to remain in its ranks. The League conducted a broad discussion on the problems of the Party discussion against the splitting tendencies of the expelled, with the result that the ultra-Left opposition was entirely liquidated.

The Tenth League Congress, Easter 1927, marked the conclusion of the process of political clarification, and gave a picture of complete political consolidation of the League. In contradistinction to the Ninth Congress, which was still overshadowed by the Party discussion, the Tenth Congress could concentrate its chief attention to the practical tasks and the strengthening of mass work, initiated by the Ninth Congress. We can regard the year since the Hamburg League Congress, as a year of successful work and progress for the German League.

The Youth Day following the League Congress was held under the banner of struggle against the war danger. Jointly with the Party, the League conducted a broad campaign of meetings and demonstrations against Imperialist intervention in China and for the defence of the Chinese Revolution. The League also reacted in the same way to the break of Anglo-Russian relations and to the murder of the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw.

The struggle against the war danger was linked up with the fight against the German Government of the bourgeois bloc and against cultural reaction, which threatened the young workers and workers' children by a series of reactionary laws. (Law against indecent publications, "Schmutz and Schundgesetz" School Act.)

The League was very active in the sphere of trade union work. The percentage of members organised in trade unions has risen, the fraction work has improved. From 1926-27 the League succeeded in doubling the number of young Communists holding official positions in the trade union youth sections. In spite of the counter offensive of the Reformist bureaucracy, the many persecutions of Communist officials and the dissolution of all oppositional youth groups, the League has again increased the number of its official positions in the trade union elections of this year by a 100 per cent. The League conducted good work in mobilising the young workers for the great economic struggle and put forth special youth demands in all fights. The comparatively many strikes of young workers which took place during the last 18 months, were all led by the Y.C.L. These strikes were partly prepared by the Y.C.L. factory groups, but also in spontaneous strikes the League immediately undertook strenuous activity. In

all cases the young workers left in the lurch by the Reformist trade union bureaucracy, manifested their faith in the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. succeeded in concluding the majority of these strikes with favourable results.

In the vocational schools in various big cities the Y.C.L. organised strong movements against school reaction, arrests and corporal punishment and the reintroduction of religious teaching.

The rising wave of economic struggles and the activity of the League in them made it possible to improve the factory group work, which for years had been in a very bad state. Particularly during the last six months the number of factory groups has risen. In the first place, the existing factory groups were activated and played an important role in the economic struggles. An Organisational Conference held in the beginning of 1928 showed already rich experiences and successes of our factory group work, and will give great assistance in our further development of this work.

The growing activity of the League in the economic and political struggles found its reflection in the opposing youth organisations. In addition to the opposition movements in the Catholic youth organisations, a strong opposition movement, which stood for the United Front with the Y.C.L., grew up in the Socialist Youth League. The discussion in the S.Y.L. finally resulted in the splitting off of strong oppositional groups in three districts: Berlin, Leipzig, Westphalia, which mostly came over to the Y.C.L. Also in other districts many members left the S.Y.L. and came over to the Y.C.L.

Great progress was made in the training work of the League. The National School, which is held once every year since 1925, renders great assistance in the training of the leading cadre of the League. In all larger districts during the last year, one to two weeks district functionaries' schools and week-end schools were held. The training work in the groups was also enlivened and made more interesting.

This enlivening was also extended to the work of agitation. The League worked out a series of new educational methods, the "Rote Rummel" (Living Newspapers), Lantern slides, films, music, etc. The demonstrations, meetings and celebrations of the League are to-day of an entirely different character than before; they have become much more interesting and attractive.

Side by side with the Y.C.L., another revolutionary youth organisation has grown up since the Fourth World Congress, the Young Red Front Fighters. As a youth section of the Red Front Fighters' organisation it was thrown up spontaneously in defence of the working class against fascist marches and attacks.

The Y.R.F.F. have to-day 20,000 members, only 15 per cent. of whom are members of the Y.C.L. The rest is composed of non-party young workers. This organisation has the task of struggle against fascism and against imperialist war, and its campaigns and demonstrations are met with great sympathy by the young workers. A proof of this are the mighty demonstrations against the planned prohibition of the Red Front Fighters and the Y.R.F.F., which forced the government to drop their plans. The Y.R.F.F. fights in closest unity with the Y.C.L. It will be represented at the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. as a sympathising organisation.

The Youth Day held in Chemnitz, Easter, 1928, demonstrated the progress and activity of the Y.C.L. of Germany. This Youth Day was attended by strong delegations from the Y.C.L. and comrades from the Y.R.F.F., as well as by the young and adult workers of Chemnitz. It proved the tremendous fighting spirit of the Y.C.L.

The National Conference held in conjunction with the Youth Day clearly pointed out and criticised the still existing shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of the League.

The main weakness of the League is its still unsatisfactory number of members. In spite of the considerably increased activity of the League and its correspondingly increased influence among the masses of the young workers it has not grown organisationally. The successes in the recruiting work are being lost through fluctuation. Very weak is also the work in mass organisations, particularly among the hundreds of thousands of young workers organised in sport organisations. The anti-militarist work, the work in the countryside is still unsatisfactory. The National Conference has adopted decisions to strengthen the work in these fields and to transform the still unplanned and irregular work into systematic continuous activity. This will also enable the League to overcome its organisational weakness. The objective conditions for the League are favourable. The League itself is strengthened and has gathered valuable experience during the last year of work. There are, therefore, all pre-requisites for the German League to make progress during the next period and liquidate the still existing weaknesses.

## FRANCE

The turning point in the life and activities of the French League was the 1924 Congress. This Congress signified the final break with the theoretical and journalistic character of all the work of the League which had been conducted since the split. At this Congress a programme of activities was drawn up and demands for young workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors put forward. The Congress adopted a number of decisions which served as a basis for the energetic work of the League for the period 1924/26.

From 1924 the Y.C.L. officially participated in strikes in defence of the demands of the young workers.

Donarnez.—1,500 young workers struck work. Two of our demands were satisfied (Labour Safeguarding Code, and two hours education for apprentices). Our activities in this conflict assisted considerably the influx of new members into the League.

The strike of young telegraphists.—3,000 young workers took part in this strike. We were officially represented on strike committees and at all meetings. A partial success resulted and a Y.C.L. group was organised among the young telegraphists.

Bootmakers in Nancy.—1,000 young workers participated in this strike. The reformists who were at the head of the movement, under pressure from us were compelled to pay attention to our demands. After the strike we formed a district organisation in Nancy, where previously we had no contact. During the strike many young workers joined the Y.C.L.

Chateau Reguault.—In this strike 1,500 young workers participated. This is an extremely important industrial district in the North-West of France. At that period no movement existed here. We were able to bring into the League in this District nearly 50 per cent. of the local youth and to organise a number of groups in the neighbouring districts. At the end of the strike we had recruited 200 new members.

A series of small strikes took place in a number of small places in the provinces, and the League took active part in these.

The second positive feature of the economic work of the French League is the organisation of district conferences and national conferences of young workers. Campaigns for the organisation of these conferences were conducted from February to May and from June to October. The agenda of the conferences was the following: (1) The position of the youth and their demands. (2) Anti-militarist struggle and the defence of the interests of the soldiers. (3) The role and importance of the



Young Communist League. Apart from this, questions of local importance were of course also discussed.

During the first period, from February to May, 16 conferences were held, 1,600 youth delegates taking part; of these, 600 being unorganised. Representatives of Trade Unions were present at all Conferences. Over 2,500 young workers and peasants entered the League.

The Conferences called from June to October were better prepared and met with greater success. For instance, in the Paris District, 23 local conferences were called. Seven hundred and fifty delegates took part, 345 being unorganised. Following on the local conferences a Paris District Conference was held in which 500 comrades participated, over 60 per cent. being unorganised.

Fifty-one conferences were held in the provinces with 2,500 delegates participating; 850 being unorganised. Apart from the aforementioned conferences, six peasant youth conferences also took place. The object of these was the preparation of a national congress of workers and peasants. At this Congress 500 young workers and peasants participated, 450 being delegates from various organisations, 106 delegates belonging to no organisations. There were also delegates from the army and the navy. At this Congress the first French Youth Delegation to the S.U. was elected.

In the sphere of trade union work important successes were made. Relations with the General Unitary Confederation of Labour were strengthened, and we first took active part in its Conference in 1925. A resolution on the question of the youth greatly aided us in our further work. This Conference served as a starting point for wide activities on the part of the League in trade union work. All our demands for equal rights, etc., were adopted.

### **ANTI-MILITARIST WORK.**

During the first half of 1925, after the decisions of the Party Congress, the question of anti-militarist work was discussed at conferences of young workers, and corresponding agitation conducted during the preparations for these conferences. In 1924-25 the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria began. Together with the Party and trade unions, the Young Communist League was very active in Committees of Action fighting against the wars, and during the organisation of Conferences by the Committees of Action the League agitated for the calling of parallel Conferences of young workers. The aim of these conferences was the struggle for "elementary demands,"

anti-militarist agitation and struggle against war. Several such conferences were held, over 700 delegates taking part.

The anti-militarist work of the League and its fight against the war in Morocco were not limited to participation in the Committees of Action. We conducted three special anti-militarist campaigns having clear and definite aims. Drawing into the campaigns all recruits, acquainting the workers with the demands of the soldiers, the struggle against militarism—such were the aims of our campaigns. During “Anti-War Week” (2nd August, 1925), we popularised our slogans and Bolshevik tactic of war against war. This activity greatly increased our influence among the young workers, soldiers and sailors.

### **EDUCATIONAL WORK AND TRAINING OF LEADING CADRES.**

The Central Committees endeavoured in every way to train district functionaries (district secretaries, organisers, etc.). For this purpose six eight-day courses and one central course was held. 180 comrades went through the eight-day courses. The basis of these courses was theoretical training, clarification of the tasks of the Y.C.L., and also preparation for practical work. In 1924 the first central course was organised, 22 comrades taking part. The second course, organised, in 1926, had 55 participants, amongst whom were representatives of the Belgium and Italian Leagues. In 1927 five eight- and fifteen-day courses were organised. Despite several defects, in general these courses were productive of good results. Our experiences have taught us, however, that a central school demands good preparation and careful selection of comrades participating.

### **PROGRESS OF THE PRESS.**

During the last few years our Press has considerably improved. The official organ of the League “L'Avantgarde,” published in 1924 as a fortnightly, had a subscribers' list of 1,000 and a circulation of 8,000 copies. In September, 1925, it was decided to publish the paper weekly. At the end of May the sale increased to 11,000, and the number of subscribers increased to over 2,000. In connection with strikes taking place at that period special editions were issued, and some weeks the sales increased to 12 and 13 thousand copies. In 1927/28 the sales increased, though slowly. The average sales are 13,000 copies, with a subscription list of 3,000. The character of the paper has altered somewhat; a network of young worker correspondents has been organised. A special weekly was issued for the Paris district with the idea of obtaining a sale of 8,000

copies. Amongst the young workers our organ attains greater and greater popularity. Letters from various localities, and the successful fight of our sellers, particularly with the Fascists in the Paris district, prove the possibility of spreading our paper.

With regard to our other publications, the sales of "Conscript" (Conscript), published by the Y.C.L. twice yearly, are as follows:—1925, 30,000 copies; 1926, 40,000; 1927, 60,000 copies.

"Liberté," also published twice a year, had the following sales:—in 1925, 20,000 copies in the first half and 25,000 during the second; in 1926/27, 50,000 copies.

Regarding publications affecting the army, the sales of "La Caserne Barracks" grew in the following manner:—1924, 6,000; 1925, 12,000; 1926, 16,000; 1927, 18,000; 1928, 21,000. Despite the great difficulties which accompany the spreading of this publication, it is widely read in the army. The 21,000 copies published at the present moment, cater for not less than 60-80 thousand soldiers.

"Jean le Gouin" is published in 4,000 copies in 1928.

### THE PERIOD 1926-1927.

Here we must mention two important aspects of our work: economic trade union struggle and anti-militarist work. Regarding the first, our League has played an active part during the struggles in the period of the economic crisis of 1926. Our activities amongst the masses of unemployed young workers are to be seen in the industrial conferences organised under the auspices of the Y.C.L. Several of these meetings met with satisfactory success, and they had great importance in view of the fact that a great number of unorganised young workers participated in them. These conferences enabled us to determine methods of contact with young workers still employed in industry, for the struggle against capitalist rationalisation. The Unitarian Trade Unions were prepared to support the initiative of the Y.C.L. and to assist us. Meetings took place between the committees of the various Trade Unions and the League in order to divide the work of preparation of these conferences. The Y.C.L. was able, in a number of places, to organise a United Front with the Young Socialist League and several reformist trade unions. The Y.C.L. repeatedly took upon itself the initiative of organising demonstrations of unemployed young workers before the Municipal authorities and the Ministry of Labour. Despite the absence of experience in this work, successes can be recorded in so far as the organisation of the struggle is concerned, and also in that several demands were conceded. We also played an energetic part in a number of economic struggles.

Our trade union work in the General Unitary Confederation

of Labour made great strides. Our participation in the congress of September, 1927, was fairly successful. During the congress a conference of youth delegates was held, 60 delegates taking part. Some important resolutions were adopted; our programme of economic demands was agreed to, and the problem of anti-militarist activities was, for the first time since the commencement of the war, put forward for consideration, on the initiative of the League, thus making possible the adoption of a number of extremely important decisions (organisation of a trade union commission for anti-militarist work, etc.).

In order to obtain an understanding of our position in the trade union movement, and of the possibilities of our work in this field together with our successes, we will cite figures of youth representation in the leading organisations.

In the Central Executive Committee of the General Unitary Confederation of Labour the League has two numbers, in Central Committees of Unions—engineers, five members; textile union, three; woodworkers, two; clerks, two; miners, five; food workers, three; builders, three; chemical workers, two; leather workers and furriers, two; postal and telegraph clerks, two: Total 29. In regional organisations, of which there are 25, the League is represented at the most by two—three young workers, by this means the number of youth representatives is nearly seventy. There are nearly 1,500 district trade unions. We have at last succeeded in obtaining youth representation in more than 700 of such unions. Eighty-five per cent. of these youth representatives are members of the Y.C.L. It is true that our fractions are weak, but nevertheless they conduct some work. At the same time, in the majority of cases, our work is conducted in the trade unions through our contact with the youth officials. Our advantageous position in the trade union movement and the wide possibilities of work have made possible in a new phase in the economic work of the League, which is striving to develop it in the field of the trade union movement.

The most important factor in our work during 1927 was the struggle against the calling-up of reserves for training. During that year there were sixty cases of protests of regiments or divisions against this: Ranging from collective refusal to shave to destruction of prisons, collective attendance on the doctor, walking through the town with red banners, mass refusal to form up, etc. The discontent amongst the soldiers caused by the first attempts at war training, found its echo throughout France. This caused an energetic attack by the bourgeoisie on the soldiers, sailors, and our Party and Y.C.L. Severe repressive measures were adopted. Penal servitude from ten to twenty years was inflicted upon many soldiers. Hundreds

of active members were tried, many for their struggle against war, others for anti-militarist work during 1927. Anti-militarist work among new conscripts was also a feature of this activity. Our national campaigns. The yearly organisation of International Youth Week became the real monopoly of our League. Every year the importance of this campaign increases. Huge meetings are organised in the centre of the town, and numerous local and factory meetings held, and at the end of the week in all large districts a central demonstration is held. This Week grows in popularity and becomes a tradition.

Anti-militarist campaigns are organised twice yearly; namely during each recruiting period. In March and October twenty propagandists are sent for a month all over the country. It is necessary to remark amongst the forms of this work the organisations of new conscripts, meetings of Communist conscripts and sympathisers; at all such meetings a speech on the role of the army is made, and on the importance of struggle and the necessity of organisation within the barracks, etc. These campaigns become traditional, and at the end of each such campaign the results are carefully considered in order to find out the defects and mistakes in the work.

Apart from this, the Party and trade unions conduct other campaigns in which our League takes active part, puts forward its own slogans and demands and sends its propagandists to meetings and demonstrations (Day of the Commune, Anniversary of the imperialist war, Demands for amnesty). The Y.C.L. was able to use the election campaign for its anti-militarist agitation and for preparation of 1st May celebrations.

### **MEMBERSHIP FOR THE LAST YEARS.**

On the 31st December, 1924, there were 11,876 membership cards in existence with 44,836 stamps. 31st December, 1925, 16,000 membership cards with 55,980 stamps. It can be seen that the membership of the League considerably increased. This growth was the logical outcome of the economic and anti-militarist agitation, conducted by the League after the 1924 Congress. But in the following year there is a numerical decrease in the membership. A considerable number of new members were made, but at the same time the number of fluctuating members increased. This demanded special attention, and it was necessary to seek out such methods of work as would strengthen the loyalty of young workers to the organisation, and to open a wider field for political activity. These questions stand before the League. An improvement is noticeable, but it is necessary to say that we have not yet completely settled this extremely complicated problem.

At the 31st May, 1926, we had 11,785 membership cards and 35,350 stamps. These were confiscated in the middle of the year. In October, 1927, 14,800 membership cards were registered and these figures go to prove a certain stabilisation in the membership.

At the present moment the membership remains stationary. This stagnation is apparently a temporary phase, as the Y.C.L. undoubtedly has great influence on the masses of young workers. But there is a discrepancy between our influence and our membership. It is necessary to pay serious attention to this, and to rid ourselves of this difficulty.

## GREAT BRITAIN

The activities of the British Y.C.L. from the period of the Fourth World Congress, its participation in the great struggles of the British proletariat have raised the importance of the Y.C.L. and its rôle as a fighter in the strongest imperialist country in the world. In 1924, during the period of the MacDonald Government, the Y.C.L. revealed to the young workers the imperialist policy of the Labour Government (bombing of natives in Iraq, preparations for war against China and the S.U.). For the first time, work amongst the army and the navy on a large scale, was begun. In the General Election the League played an active part; 15,000 leaflets were distributed, three special numbers of the "Young worker" published, each with a sale of 10,000 copies, and a special programme of youth demands was put forward in the election campaign conducted by the Party. In Battersea, where the only Communist Member of Parliament was elected, the League played an active part in the Party campaign. In the economic field, the League successfully conducted a campaign amongst young workers employed in the metal and shipbuilding trades. In 1924, when the Government answered the murder of the Governor-General in Egypt with an ultimatum and repressions, the League was active in the "Hands off Egypt" campaign, and demanded the evacuation of British troops from Egypt. In December, 1924, the enlarged Executive dealt with the question of Trotskyism and unanimously supported the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern in the struggle against the opposition.

The successes achieved in 1924 made possible the fortnightly publication of the "Young Worker," which hitherto had been published once a month. The terrible conditions of the miners led the League to conduct a campaign amongst the young miners. The League answered the attack on the railway workers by a special campaign amongst young railway workers. Special demands and a programme was put forward for the young workers in these industries which met with great popularity, especially among the young miners. These campaigns were connected with the campaign or organisation of young workers into the unions. The League commenced paying more attention to the Pioneer movement, and in a number of districts children's organisations began to spring up. The League showed itself to be active in the campaign for International Trade Union Unity, and for unity with the Soviet Union as a weapon against the war preparations. Successes were also established in educa-

tional work, and a new League Syllabus was issued and many weekly courses and groups conducted in all districts.

On the 11th and 12th July, 1925, the Congress of the League took place in Manchester. This Congress may be characterised as a congress of Bolshevisation. Important resolutions were those on increased trade union activity, on the formation of factory groups, on training work and on the United Front. In the summer of 1925 the League conducted active propaganda against the war of France in Morocco. A representative of the British Y.C.L. was sent to the Berlin Conference of European Leagues. One of the most important results of this Conference was the wide campaign conducted in the League and Party on the question of the attitude of Communists in the event of a new imperialist war. When 200,000 textile workers were faced with a lock-out in connection with the reduction of their wages by five per cent., the League conducted a campaign among the young textile workers, and although its forces among the young textile workers were not very great, much activity was shown, and new recruits were made by the League. The League also conducted a campaign with special demands for young unemployed. Meanwhile the position of the miners was becoming more and more critical, and the Y.C.L. therefore strengthened its campaign among the young miners. The C.C. sent a number of organisers to the coalfields and issued a special pamphlet for young miners. Thanks to systematic work in the coal districts, the influence of the League among the young miners increased considerably.

Two resolutions demanding the affiliation of the Y.C.L. to the Labour Party were on the agenda of the L.P. Congress. The Y.C.L., together with the C.P., conducted a broad campaign for affiliation.

The campaign for a united front with the I.L.P. Guild of Youth and the youth sections of the Labour Party was everywhere conducted with great energy. Mistakes and waverings made in connection with the affiliation of the united front tactic, were rectified by the Central Committee by means of a special campaign within the ranks of the League. In the Autumn of 1925 the General Secretary of the League, together with the leaders of the Party, stood before capitalist justice and was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment. The campaign conducted by the League, together with the Party, the Minority Movement and the I.C.W.P.A. for the liberation of our comrades, deserves special mention. Every Sunday young workers under the leadership of the Y.C.L. marched to the gates of the prison, and there demonstrated their sympathy with the imprisoned Communists. In London and several other places we were able to draw the I.L.P. Guilds of



- Youth into this campaign. At the Conference of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, held Easter, 1926, the C.C. of the League made an offer of a united front, but this was defeated by 37 votes to 25. At this period the I.L.P. Guild of Youth had, according to their figures, a membership of 9,000. Despite the refusal of the united front, the Y.C.L. strengthened its work in this direction, and numerous United Front Committees were set up on the basis of demands for the trade union organisation of young workers, the release of the twelve Communists, and for the sending of a Young Workers' Delegation to the Soviet Union. Thousands of copies of the pamphlet on the United Front were distributed.

The Conservative Government, having finished its preparations for an attack on the miners, provoked the General Strike of May, 1926. The General Strike, which the young as well as the adult workers conducted with enormous enthusiasm, was unexpected by the General Council itself. Every member of the League understood that the time of trial had arrived, and answered the call by unflagging activity. In all Strike Committees and Committees of Action the Y.C.L. had its delegates. The C.C. sent practically all its members into the important industrial areas, leaving at the Centre but a small bureau. Despite strict police surveillance and almost hourly raids, 2,000 copies of the "Young Striker" were distributed daily in London, and in several other large towns. During the days of the General Strike the League distributed 60,000 leaflets. The I.L.P. Guild of Youth and the Youth Sections of the Labour Party practically disappeared from view as organisations, and only where United Front Committees or Left Wing organisation existed, did they work under the guidance of the Y.C.L. A considerable number of active League members were arrested during this period. In the coal districts the League was active in organising Defence Corps against the attacks of the police. The League untiringly agitated for the participation of young workers and apprentices in the strike, for the defence of apprentices in the event of breach of agreements and for youth representation on all Committees of Action. The immediately visible results of the work of the League was that 200 new members entered its ranks. After the betrayal of the General Strike, the Y.C.L. concentrated all its energies on supporting the miners' lock-out. A great campaign was conducted, and for nine months young Communists were to be found in the front ranks of the struggle. Ruthless criticism of the tactics of the General Council and the E.C.s of the trade unions, which sabotaged the struggle and tried to break it up, considerably strengthened the influence of the League amongst the young workers. The Pioneer organisation played a great part in the coal districts in the struggle for support of the children of

strikers, and for free food and clothing. The heroic fight of the miners was the testing period of the Y.C.L., and was brilliantly carried out.

The campaign for the sending of the first British Youth delegation to the S.U. was made use of by the League for the support of the miners' struggle, or the strengthening of International Trade Union Unity, and for the struggle against the war preparations on the S.U. The success of the campaign was undoubted, especially when taking into consideration that all the attention of the workers and their financial resources were being directed to aid the miners in their struggle. In September, 1926, the Youth Delegation left England and remained in the S.U. for over six weeks. On its return it conducted wide propaganda among the young workers.

In the middle of December, 1926, the Fourth Congress of the League was held in Sheffield. The successes of the League during the miners' lock-out were recorded, and plans for the strengthening of the organisation and the formation of factory groups worked out. The League showed great activity in the campaign for support of the Chinese Revolution. Leaflets were distributed among soldiers and sailors, and propagandists were sent to the most important ports. The League sent its delegate to the Congress of the League against Imperialism, which was held in Brussels.

The League participated in the working out of the political line of the Party in the agitation for a general strike as a means of struggle against war preparations. When the Baldwin Government broke off diplomatic relations with the S.U. in May, 1927, the League conducted wide propaganda against the break and against war preparations on the S.U. In the economic field a campaign among unemployed young workers against the reactionary Blanesburgh Bill was carried out. The Children's League was mobilised for struggle against the "seditious teachings bill." In the middle of June the Second Congress of the Young Comrades' League was held, at which it was decided to send a Children's Delegation to S.U. This Delegation left for the S.U., despite the refusal of the Government to issue the required passports and despite the vicious campaign of the bourgeois press. After a three months' stay in the S.U., the delegation returned and conducted a wide campaign. The Congress of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, which took place at Easter, 1927, disclosed the large growth of opposition within its ranks and the influence of the League. Counter-resolutions were put forward against each resolution. The resolution or a United Front with the Y.C.L. was defeated by a narrow majority of 29 against 24 votes. The fight for a united front was intensified and a Left

Wing Committee organised. The League showed great activity in the campaign against the Anti-Trade Union Bill, and agitated for a General Strike. It conducted wide propaganda for support of the Vienna Uprising in July, and together with the Party organised mass demonstrations throughout the country for the freeing of Sacco and Vanzetti.

As a result of the activities of the League a football team from the London Group of the British Workers' Sports Federation was sent to the S.U., in reply to the invitation of the Russian trade unions. On their return a report was issued in pamphlet form. Two delegates of the Y.C.L. took part in the celebrations of the Twentieth Anniversary of the First Congress of the Socialist Youth International in Stuttgart. The League was active in the struggle of the miners, particularly in the Durham area. It replied to the threatened attack against the textile workers by an energetic campaign, issuing leaflets, and putting forward special youth demands. At the Ninth Party Congress a practical resolution on the support of the League by the Party was adopted.

When the leader of the Boy Scout Movement, Baden-Powell, commenced his campaign for the collection of £50,000—for struggle against the Y.C.L., the League replied by a counter-campaign, which extended to the ranks of the Boy Scout Movement.

The League energetically supports the struggle of the Party for new leadership in the trade unions. Successes have been achieved in the Fife and Lanarkshire areas, where the Party have obtained leading positions in the miners' union, and other important mining districts.

A Second Youth Delegation was sent to the S.U. on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. The decay of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth had increased, and the opposition was particularly strengthened, thanks to the campaign of the Delegation and the publication of the resolutions of the Congress of Young Friends of the S.U. The Manifesto of the Delegation, which called for unity on the basis of a revolutionary programme, was signed by a number of leading members of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth. In connection with the Canton uprising the League conducted propaganda for the support of the Chinese Revolution. In November, 1927, the first National Y.C.L. School was organised.

In 1928 the complete break-up of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth became visible. At the Y.C.L. Congress, taking place simultaneously with that of the Scottish Divisional Council of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, representatives of this organisation from Scotland and other districts, spoke as fraternal delegates in favour

of the Guild members joining the Y.C.L. In April a Unity Conference was held in Scotland, at which the Scottish Guilds of Youth joined the Y.C.L.

The League displayed great activity in the struggle against Industrial Peace propaganda and parleys on the part of the trade unions. The Fifth Congress of the League, which was held at the end of March, displayed clearly the great political development of the League, the strengthening of its influence in a number of industries, and the strengthening of the organisation..

## CHINESE Y.C.L.

Since the last World Congress great changes have taken place in the Chinese League. From a small organisation of students it has developed into a mass organisation of the proletarian youth. With depleted ranks, but with the rich experience of past events, the League, after the Wuhan events (2nd half of 1927) became illegal.

Up to the time of the last Congress of the Y.C.I., the Chinese League barely numbered 1,000 members, who were in the main students. The majority of the organisations were situated in a few large towns (Shanghai, Canton, Chan-Sha, Peking). In the university towns, they had practically no relations with the proletarian young workers, and still less with the young peasants. In that period, the mass work of the League was mainly conducted among the students. The work inside the organisation was adapted to its student membership, and its educational work suffered from being too abstract. The Committees of the League were not organised according to fields of work, but according to the class of the membership (Students' Department, Workers' and Peasants' Department). Only in the Spring of 1925 did the Y.C.I. associate itself with the wide political movement, on the arrival of Sun-Yat-Sen in the North.

The Shanghai events and the General Strike in Shanghai and Hong-Kong which followed, as also the boycott of foreign goods, were the basis of the work of the League. The Y.C.L. played a leading role in all these events. Y.C.L.'ers were organisers of workers' trade unions and committees in order to effect the boycott. From this period, the basis of the work of the League, its membership and the type of its work completely changed. Already in 1925 the League was reorganised on a new basis. Gone were the Workers' and Peasants' Departments in the committees which were formed like the usual Y.C.L. organisations. Factory Groups were set up in the large towns. The Y.C.L. participated in several economic struggles. Its organisation broadened and launched out into new places. At the Plenum which was held in October, 1925, in Peking, the membership had already reached 3,000. The organ of the League, "The Chinese Youth," became the only popular youth journal, and its sales steadily increased. In the South of China, in Kuantung, the first attempts of the Y.C.L. at conducting work amongst the peasants were made. In Canton the League organisation, together with the revolutionary forces, took part in the liquidation of the reactionary coup.

At this period, the League for the first time formulated its economic programme and carried it through the trade unions. Several new District Committees were organised in Honan, Wunan and Hupeh, and in the North a Northern Committee of the League was set up.

Several Y.C.L. organisations played a leading part in various important events, for instance: in Tsingtan the League led a strike of workers. For active work in this town several members of the League were beheaded. The work inside the Y.C.L. considerably improved. The political educational work was adapted to the requirements of the young workers. Together with the Party, a school for the training of leading members in the Centre and North of China, was organised.

In the beginning of 1926, after the defeat of the army of Kuo-Sun-Ling and the Second People's Army in Henan, the work of the League became more difficult owing to reaction. The organisations of Anen (Tsiang Tsi), Dairen Tsingtan and Henan were broken up, and the Shanghai organisation also suffered. Despite the entrance of many new members into the League its total numbers did not increase.

During this period a discussion took place in the League on the question of a Young Kuomintang. The Canton Committee put forward the suggestion that a Young Kuomintang should be organised on the same basis as the old Kuomintang in order to bring the youth into the national-revolutionary movement. The C.C. did not agree to this suggestion, although the decisions of the Fourth Y.C.I. Congress had foreseen the necessity for the formation of a similar organisation in China. As the question of a Young Kuomintang is part of the colonial question at the forthcoming Congress, we omit here the arguments both for and against.

The question of further work amongst students was discussed. A large number were in favour of the formation of left student leagues of youth and for a split of the students' movement, which was under the control of the League. This suggestion was not agreed to, as at that period the mass of students still worked for the revolution.

For the first time discussion on methods of work amongst peasant youth were raised. It was decided to form youth sections of Peasant Unions and to utilise all possible means for the organisation of the youth into the peasant unions.

All this time the League C.C. paid greatest attention to the numerical increase of its organisation.

For the first time young workers commenced active participation in the work of the League. For this purpose, town district committees were enlarged, meetings of secretaries of factory

groups and workers in trade unions were instituted. And finally, only in 1926 did the Y.C.L. take steps for the organisation of a Pioneer movement throughout China. The first pioneer sections were organised in Canton and Shanghai at the end of 1925, but in 1926 the organised development of the pioneer movement commenced. The Y.C.L. was forced to have several discussions with the Shanghai trade unions as to the character of the pioneer organisation. The Shanghai trade unions suggested that the Pioneer organisations should limit themselves to cultural tasks and not take part in the economic struggle of the young workers. The Y.C.L. stood for the participation of the pioneers in the economic struggle, since the pioneers consisted for the most part of children of workers who were not protected by the unions. Similarly the theory that the pioneers should form a unified organisation of the Kuomintang type was not agreed to. The C.C. of the League, who stood for the point of view that the class struggle within the Kuomintang would develop and become stronger with the growth of the revolution, rejected this theory and worked for the formation of pioneer organisations based on the class struggle, formally under the guidance of the trade unions, but actually controlled by the Y.C.L.

With the development of the national revolution, the work of the Y.C.L. also grew. During the most successful period of the national revolutionary movement, the Y.C.L. grew to 40,000 members and 120,000 pioneers. The Y.C.L. participated in the struggle for Shanghai, Wuhan, Honan and other towns. In many places the League led strikes of young workers, and sent hundreds of propagandists into the villages, for the organisation of peasant leagues. The Y.C.L. played a leading part in many peasant trade unions and leagues. In Shanghai the League published three daily papers for young workers during a period of two months.

The Fifth Congress of the Chinese League played a tremendous role, and considered the results of the work of the League in all spheres. It took place in June, 1927, in Huhai. The Congress laid down the line for work among young workers and peasants, and drew up a programme of economic demands applicable to the changed situation. The Congress recognised that a more correct form of work amongst peasant youth was the organisation of special youth sections of peasant unions and the creation of military sport Leagues of the peasant youth. Steps were taken to place the pioneer movement under League control.

The reactionary movement in the first place hit the Y.C.L. organisations. Thousands of young Communists were exterminated.

A very great role was played by the League in the struggle

against opportunism within the Party. The C.C., on behalf of the League, was the first to associate itself with the Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern, and fought for its accomplishment against the sabotage of the leading group of the C.C. of the Party. The Shanghai Committee of the League also played a great part in the Shanghai events, repeatedly criticising the opportunist mistakes of the Party Committee.

Everybody is aware of the actions of the C.C. of the League during the fall of Wuhan, when the C.C. of the Party permitted obvious opportunist mistakes, and quite openly sabotaged the instructions of the C.I. The C.C. of the League during that period wholeheartedly supported the C.I., and openly criticised the C.C. of the Party before the Party masses. Actually the Y.C.L. during that period was the organisational centre of struggle against opportunism within the Party, and to the League can be attributed a great role in the formation of a new guiding Party centre.

The increasing reaction destroyed many Y.C.L. organisations and at the same time caused a number of tendencies to appear within the League, of which the most dangerous was putchism. A struggle was conducted against this. The other side was vanguardism, an endeavour to put forward the Y.C.L. in place of the Party. At the November Plenum of the C.C., the vanguardists was defeated. Apart from this, there was a group which endeavoured to prove the necessity of liquidating the Y.C.L., the motive for this being the necessity of strengthening the Party.

The liquidators were successful in Canton, where actually the organisation was fused with the Party. The same position held good in several districts under Soviet control. The C.C. of the Chinese League fights against these tendencies. In the main it is possible to state that the Y.C.L. is ridding itself of these deviations and is following the lead of the last Plenum of the Y.C.I.

At the present moment the League has 10,000 members. The organisations which suffered the largest losses were the Canton, Kupch and Konan organisations. The Shanghai organisation at the present moment is the best and strongest in the League and has the greatest influence among the young workers.

The role of the young workers during the last period has considerably increased among the active elements of the League, although the training and bringing forward of active workers involved certain difficulties. In some organisations of the League there existed strong anti-intellectual tendencies.

In the new phase of the Chinese revolution, the Y.C.L. takes its place numerically weaker, but greatly strengthened in quality.



## POLAND

The Fourth Y.C.L. Congress, which laid down in a special resolution the line of work of the Polish League for the ensuing period states that "the main task was to bring the League nearer to the political life of the Party, and to strengthen and widen the general political activity of the League in all its spheres of work."

All the work of the Polish League after the Fourth Congress was conducted along this basic line. The League took part in all questions which came before the working class and before the Communist Party of Poland.

It was most active in the internal life of the Party, in the solving of difficulties standing in the path of the Communist movement in Poland, in the working out of the political and tactical line of the Party.

This fact explains why the Y.C.L. as a whole has grown and considerably strengthened itself, politically.

The political perspective of the Polish League has been considerably widened. The League has grown and is able to cater for the requirements of the young workers and peasants which hitherto passed unnoticed or unappreciated.

As a result of this move and a corresponding organisational growth of the League, and thanks to the general leftward tendency of the working and peasant masses of Poland, particularly in view of the disillusionment with the Pilsudsky Government, the influences of the League among the young workers and peasants has also grown.

At the present moment, the League is a serious political factor, not only in the youth movement, but throughout the whole labour movement of Poland.

Nevertheless, the political development of the Polish League did not take place without mistakes. Together with the Polish Party it lived through two large ideological crises.

The C.C. of the Party, at the head of which in 1925 were ultra-leftists, came forward at that time against the tactics of the German, French and Bulgarian Parties, accusing them of opportunism. The controlling elements of the C.C. made a bloc with the German ultra-leftists for a united front attack on the Comintern. The C.C. of the League supported the attitude of the Party leadership, and in this way, the League together with the Party went the whole path of ultra-left deviations.

The second serious ideological and political crisis of the

League took place in connection with the fascist coup in Poland of May, 1926. The leadership of the Party, viewing this coup as a petty bourgeois coup, and one of the stages in the path to the proletarian revolution, drew from this incorrect theoretical formulation the equally incorrect political and tactical conclusion that it was necessary to support Pilsudsky.

This right opportunist tendency, which reduced the influence of the Party in May, 1926, to nil, also met with no opposition on the part of the League. On the contrary it shared in the majority of the mistakes made by the Party.

However, the sources of mistakes in the League were quite different from those in the Party. The roots were to be found, not in the ideological ultra-Left or Right-Wing formulation, but in the weak and immature political development of the League, and the absence of criticism of the mistakes of the Party.

Therefore, the League was able to find comparatively easily the correct way out of both the first and second crisis, and without much inner friction could accept the line laid down by the Comintern and the Young Communist International.

The Polish League learned the lessons of its previous errors, and at the present moment is firmly against all features of inner Party and inner League life which, in its opinion can lead to Ultra-Left or Right-Wing deviations.

Thus the League conducted a campaign against Trotskyist elements within the League, and assisted the Party in its fight against Trotskyism.

The Polish League from the very beginning opposed the Nationalist-kulak (rich peasant) elements in the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, and was able to mobilise the whole of the Western Ukrainian League against the national opportunist elements headed by Vasilkiv.

The League has also made a step forward in its practical work. This work, particularly under the conditions in which it is conducted (fascist regime, terror, etc.), has become really mass work. It reaches not only the young workers, but the working class as a whole. This is shown by the participation of League organisations in Party campaigns, as for instance the election campaign to the Sejm, during which in Warsaw out of 400 pre-election mass meetings, 120 were organised by the League, out of 10,000 signatures collected on election lists in Greater Warsaw 6,000 were collected by the League.

In 1925 during International Youth Day, in street demonstrations in Warsaw, only 250-380 persons participated, or in other words the whole of the Warsaw League organisation, and in 1926 at the same demonstration, there were already 1,000 participants, and in 1927 nearly 2,000.

In Warsaw City, Greater Warsaw, Lodz and Western White Russia, nearly 20,000 working and peasant youth participated in International Youth Day, 1927.

Characteristic of this step forward is the work done by the League in connection with the calling of conferences of young workers. The League during the last period has been successful in organising such conferences in Warsaw, Lodz, Upper Silesia, and Kraukow. Over 15,000 young workers in industry and organised in trade unions were represented at these conferences.

The League conducts important work amongst young workers organised in trade unions and youth sections, fighting for the formation of such sections despite active opposition on the part of the Pepesovs. Over 10,000 young workers are organised in youth sections under the control of the League.

The mass work of the League has strengthened in other spheres, and partly in sport. Despite the fact that the whole apparatus of the Union of Workers' Sport is in the hands of the reformists, at a number of conferences and meetings of this organisation delegates adopted resolutions put forward by the League.

The illegal and legal publications of the League have increased; the factory papers are of great importance.

Apart from general campaigns such as 1st May, strike campaigns, the elections to the Sejm, the League conducted a number of campaigns such as the organisation and leading of a number of strikes, trade union week in 1925, campaign against Fascist youth legislation and for the defence of the political and economic rights of the young workers, all of which were part of a general campaign against the danger of war and defence of the Soviet Union. All these campaigns come under one general slogan of struggle against Fascist dictatorship and for revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

During this period the League was able to split a number of opponent organisations and to strengthen the Left opposition within them. This took place in connection with the Socialist Youth League of Teschen, Silesia, which is influenced by the S.P.P., the League of Peasant Youth, etc.

The League systematically opposes the development of the Socialist Youth organisation of the S.P.P. and the Fascist youth organisation "Sharp shooters" (Strelak).

Organisationally the Polish League is three times as great as it was at the time of the Fourth Y.C.L. Congress. The increase was made up in the first place of young workers in large industry, and partly, particularly in Western White Russia, of peasant youth. A corresponding increase in the factory groups has taken place and a development in the initiative of local committees and factory groups.

The League's work among agricultural labouring and peasant youth is much weaker; as also is its work in the army and bourgeois military training organisations.

The League centre must pay attention to these defects and endeavour to find ways and means of getting rid of them in the near future.

The organisational strength of the League in relation to its political influence among the young workers is very poor.

In order to overcome this disproportion great efforts will have to be made, more particularly in view of the fact that, together with the excellent political conditions of work—the swing to the Left—innumerable difficulties also crop up. Sharpening of Fascist regime and police repressions, mass terror and inquisition of arrested comrades, publication of bourgeois papers and formation of organisations for struggle against communist youth, etc., are but a few examples of these difficulties.

But the very fact that the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to adopt such tactics is proof of the fact that the influence of the League on the masses of young workers steadily increases.

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The period between the Fourth and the Fifth World Congress has played a great rôle in the development in the Czech Y.C.L. In this period the League succeeded in commencing mass work in all spheres. Only after the Fourth World Congress did the League learn how to work seriously under the difficult conditions arising from the national situation in Czecho-Slovakia. If the young Czech worker in the League previously played a passive rôle, this situation has now been greatly improved through the consequent carrying out of the so-called "Czech course."

When the League after the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. began to apply the decisions in order to establish the preliminary conditions for Bolshevisation, the League went through a crisis in the course of which all those old functionaries who could not adapt themselves were replaced by young elements. Since the Fourth National Congress in 1925 the Czech League has begun its mass activity, conducted regular trade union work, systematic organisational work, introduced new methods of work and improved its training work. This Congress also brought about a change in leadership by drawing the Czech section of the movement into responsible leadership.

The Fifth National Congress, 1926, brought a continuation of the course begun at the Fourth National Congress, and the Sixth National Congress, 1928, laid down concrete tasks on the basis of the experiences gathered between the two Congresses.

### THE PARTY AND Y.C.L.

When after the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern, the Party was confronted with the question of Bolshevisation, the old social democratic traditions of the Party expressed themselves in the confusion on the rôle and the political line of the Party, and brought about a serious crisis. The League took up a clear stand in this crisis, supported the line of the Comintern, and actively worked on its application. During the whole period of this crisis, the League was absolutely unanimous. Only when the bloc between the centre and the majority of the Party, which brought about the real restoration of the Party, was set up, some voices in the League were raised against the bloc. A serious campaign of clarification was necessary in order to achieve a correct attitude. During the period of Trotskyist Opposition, the Y.C.L. carried on a struggle against the deviation from the line of the Comintern fight from the beginning. The League, however, did not undertake early enough a thorough campaign

to clarify the questions of the Opposition. Through that, some oppositional tendencies became noticeable also in the Y.C.L. Particularly, Michalec tried to smuggle in Trotskyist oppositional views on the Y.C.L. into the Party. The League, however, succeeded in liquidating this opposition also in the Y.C.L. with very few sacrifices. Only in Prague, there were some students, and in Ostrau, Brünn and Böhmisches-Krumau were some members who sympathised with the opposition. After the Sixth National Congress, which adopted clear decisions on the question of opposition, and which declared in its resolution that ideological solidarity with the Opposition cannot be united with the retention of Y.C.L. membership, two districts in the Reichenberg district opposed the resolution of the Congress. In these two districts, however, the opposition was defeated.

The relations between the Party and League have greatly improved of late. Although the lower Party organisations do not yet correctly understand the rôle and work of the Y.C.L., the League is being supported in its work by the leading organisations.

The League several times took a critical attitude towards the Party in political and tactical questions. The League criticised the insufficient activity of the Party in the time of the Vienna events and the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, the mistaken and insufficient slogans in economic struggles and the mistakes of the Party in the application of the United Front tactics.

### **ANTI-MILITARIST WORK AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR DANGER.**

The Czech Communist movement does not possess any traditions of Bolshevik anti-militarist work. The League has not succeeded so far in linking up the great campaigns against the war danger, for the defence of the Soviet Union with organised work inside the army. The League developed great activity in the struggle against the reactionary militarist laws which were introduced to increase the period of military service, which robbed the soldiers of the right to vote and brought about various other hardships of an economic nature. It conducted for several months a broad campaign against the military reforms, which found its climax in the Anti-War Week. During this period more than a hundred demonstrations and meetings were organised, in which great masses of the Socialist and indifferent youth also participated. The great weakness of this campaign was that those sections which were directly concerned, the soldiers, were not drawn into this work, which was not linked up with intensive activity inside the army and has not created organisationally favourable conditions for anti-militarist work. Only towards the end of 1927, a

real serious start was made in anti-militarist work, after practically nothing had been done in this field for two years. In the Autumn of 1927 a recruiting campaign was conducted, which was prepared and led by the centre. For this purpose a series of recruits' conferences and recruits' farewell celebrations were held, and plenty of agitation and propaganda material was published. The experiences gained in this campaign were utilised in the development of further measures for the systematic continuation of the anti-militarist work. Little progress is being made in this work, because the Party does not pay sufficient attention to it. The League completely redrafted the old, faulty soldiers' programme and has now published a new programme of soldiers' demands, which serves as a good basis for broad activity among the soldiers.

The campaigns against the army estimates, the campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union, against intervention in China was linked up with a broad propaganda campaign on our attitude in case of an imperialist war and on principle questions in this connection.

### THE UNITED FRONT.

The United Front tactics were practically applied, particularly during the preparations for the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union, and in economic and political campaigns.

During the last years the League has conducted three campaigns for the sending of youth delegations. Only two delegations from Czecho-Slovakia visited the Soviet Union, the third being prevented at the last moment by the refusal of the Czecho-Slovakian Government to grant visas. The preparation of the young workers delegation was carried through by the League in a series of factory meetings and young workers' conferences. For the second youth delegation, thirty such young workers conferences on a district scale were held. The composition of the young workers at these conferences were as follows: Communists 56 per cent., indifferent 38 per cent., other working class youth organisations 6 per cent. The United Front Committees, which were elected by the conferences were composed of: Communists 32 per cent., indifferent 22 per cent., Socialist youth 46 per cent.

The climax of the various united front activities was the First National Young Workers' Conference, which was also preceded by a series of district conferences and factory meetings. The Congress was attended by 297 delegates from 214 factories. Only 88 of the delegates were Communists. The Congress, in addition to the organisation of the third young workers' delegations, was utilised for the struggle against militarism and im-

perialist war danger, and for the mobilisation of the young workers for the economic struggle.

Successful work was undertaken during the campaign of the third young workers delegation. The delegation also issued the report on the Congress of the Young Friends of the U.S.S.R. in the Czech language.

In the German Socialist Youth League and the Czech National Socialist Youth organisation, oppositional tendencies developed, which were more or less connected with us, and influenced by us. The contracts were, however, not permanent ones, and in decisive moments and at conferences the opposition completely failed. The reason for this can be found in the weak organisation of the opposition elements and the lack of a political platform of the opposition.

The League committed a series of errors in the application of the united front tactics; on the one hand there was an over-estimation of the united front, and an opportunist application, and on the other hand there was confusion over the question of the organisations with which we could form a united front.

### ORGANISATION.

The weakest part of the League's work has always been the organisational work. Immediately on commencement of reorganisation, which was conducted quite mechanically, the League underwent a crisis. In 1925-26 there were 250 factory groups, which number dropped down to 70. Only through individual work in the various fields, through continual attention to large scale factories and the study of the conditions prevailing in the various districts and through the organisations of organisational conferences has an improvement become visible. The League now consists of 113 factory groups, 229 street groups, and 305 village groups. 25 per cent. of the whole membership work in factories, though only 11 per cent. are organised in factory groups. The League numbers 13,000 members. The work of the factory groups has been improved by the application of the decisions of the various organisational conferences, by the enlivening of work and laying down of concrete tasks.

In the organisational sphere, the League has made great progress by launching out in the Czech districts. In many Czech districts where previously no youth organisations existed, such do now exist.

In the period under report, the League also commenced to organise Ukrainian young workers, in the Zakarpatska Ukraina. The apparatus of the League was strengthened in the centre as well in the districts.



**ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WEEK.**

Only from the time of the International trade union week can we speak of a serious commencement of trade union work by the Czech League. The Y.C.L. set itself the task of achieving 100 per cent. trade union organisation of its membership, the creation of trade union fractions and systematic work in the trade unions. The Second Congress of the I.A.V. (International Trade Union Federation) adopted a resolution, put forth by the Czech League, which demanded special facilities for the entry of young workers into trade unions and the setting up of youth commissions. Approximately 1,000 new members were won for the trade unions in the trade union week held after the Sixth National Congress. In the course of this trade union campaign 358 factory meetings were held in 11 districts.

The work of the Youth Commissions in the Red Trade Unions has been neglected. Only during the last period an improvement became visible. There exists now a Central Commission of the Executive Committee of the I.A.V., 13 district commissions and 10 local youth commissions. The League organised a series of trade union conferences, which discussed concrete tasks and work inside the trade unions and elected youth commissions. Although during the last trade union week several hundred members have been won, only 25-30 per cent. of the membership of the League are organised in trade unions, as the majority of the new recruits were unorganised.

The League played an active rôle during the various economic struggles. In addition to some smaller struggles, we must mention the organisation of the struggle of the young glass workers in 1925, the active participation in the great textile workers' struggles in 1926 in Middle and East Bohemia, the builders' struggle in 1927, and the miners' struggle in 1928. In all these struggles the Y.C.L. put forward special youth demands, was represented on the strike committees and organised special youth meetings. During the last miners' struggle 8,000 out of the 30,000 strikers were young workers. 20 youth meetings were held. Apart from the struggle of the young glass workers, there was a series of independent young workers' strikes in Czecho-Slovakia, which were concluded more or less successfully. The League conducts at the present moment, jointly with the Party, a large campaign against the worsening of social insurance.

**AGIT-PROP ACTIVITY.**

During the period since the Fourth World Congress, systematic training work was begun. During this period three League schools were held, one Czech, one German,

and one both German and Czech, attended by approximately 100 functionaries. After the first League school, 30 district schools with 600 comrades attending were organised. The comrades who had passed the Central School were utilised for these schools. In 200 elementary courses, 4,000-5,000 members received political minimum education. In addition, special courses for training of members were held at various times.

All campaigns, such as International Youth Day, May 1st, and others, show the great political influence of the League on the masses of young workers. For International Youth Day 250 meetings were organised, which were attended, in addition to many adult workers, by 40,000 young workers.

The League is now actively working to improve its methods of work and to brighten the inner life of the organisations. The "Blue Blouses," which are modeled after the Russian, are very popular.

### **WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.**

So far no systematic work is being conducted among the young peasants and young agricultural labourers, although the League has many organisations in the villages. In 1926 a week of agitation was organised in the countryside; this, however, with the exception of the Slovak districts, did not meet with any particular good results. In May, 1928, a Conference of functionaries working in village organisations was held.

### **PIONEER ORGANISATIONS.**

For a long time the Pioneer organisations were not under a central leadership. For this reason this movement developed very slowly. Only the Sixth National Congress decided to organise a Central Children's Bureau, which safeguards the development of Pioneer organisation. At present 2,000 Pioneers are organised in 70 sections. The Pioneer organisation publishes a Children's paper in Czech under the joint editorship of the Party and League, and a children's paper in German has been issued since May of this year.

The work in the Proletarian Sport Movement has been badly neglected. Although in the Red Sport organisations alone 30,000 young workers are organised in the German workers' gymnastic and sports movement a strong opposition movement has sprung up, and although a large percentage of the members work actively in the sport organisation, no fractions exist and no systematic work is being conducted.

### **PRESS.**

In the period under report, the League has created

papers (appearing fortnightly in German and Czech) were transformed into weeklies. The League now publishes five papers in German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian, with the total circulation of 14,500 copies. The German and Czech papers are weeklies, the others monthlies.

### **PERSPECTIVES.**

Since its dissolution in 1922, the League has worked in a semi-legal state. The repression against the Y.C.L. is stronger than against the Party. The Government tries by all methods at its disposal, particularly through persecution of the League's functionaries, to weaken and paralyse the work. In addition to this, there exists a strong employers' terror. Nevertheless, the conditions for the development of the League are very favourable. The situation in Czecho-Slovakia becomes sharper every day, the masses are getting more and more active and the number of larger and smaller economic struggles grows steadily. If the League will understand how to utilise the favourable conditions to the fullest extent, how actively to lead all struggles, and how to strengthen its work in all spheres, only good results can accrue.

## ITALY

At the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. the Italian was the only delegation which supported the thesis of the extreme Left group of Bordiga, and stood for the opposition point of view. Nevertheless, in contradistinction to Bordiga and his friends in the Party, who would not agree to accept any leading positions, the C.C. of the League agreed to carry out the decisions of the Congress in a disciplined fashion.

Despite several waverings and indecisions, the League approved of the tactics employed by the Party during the period of crisis in connection with the murder of Matteotti. Later, at the Enlarged Executive, the Y.C.L. delegation agreed with the Thesis on Bolshevisation of Communist Parties and Leagues, and opposed the Ultra-Leftists.

When the preparations for the Third Party Congress and Ninth League Congress began, the extreme Left organised themselves into a fraction, endeavouring to put forward their own "Compromise Committee" against the C.C. This attempt to break the most elementary Communist discipline was defeated, thanks to the immediate interfering of the Party, supported by the C.C. of the League and a great number of comrades. It is necessary to say that this fractional attempt met with no success among the youth. After this experience, the C.C. of the League in June, 1925, for the first time unanimously accepted the lead of the C.I. and C.C. of the Party. The period of difference between the Y.C.I. and the Italian Y.C.L. came to a close at the Ninth Congress (February, 1926), at which the Bordiga opposition could only muster 5 per cent. of the votes.

One of the questions under dispute was that of the unification of the Y.C.L. and Socialist Youth, supporters of the Third International (comprising the main section of the Socialist Youth League) expelled from the Socialist Party of Italy for their support of the Comintern. The Fourth World Congress made a decision on this question which was put into effect without any difficulties. As a result of this decision the membership which was then nearly 4,500 increased by 500 members. This figure speaks for the progress of the League (twice as many members in 1923 during which period the proletarian movement suffered the greatest depression as a result of the seizure of power of Fascism, and the wave of Communist repression.

The economic trade union work began to develop in 1924. In

the large towns many conferences were held and illegal meetings of young workers took place. The youth, as such, made itself heard inside the ranks of the trade unions. At the Conference of the General Confederation of T.U.'s the League in the name of 50 meetings, put forward demands for consideration, but the reformists adopted a loose resolution relating to the education of young workers, which naturally was not put into practice. In reply to this, the League continued its own campaign, and called a national congress of young workers. This Congress was held in March, 1925, over 50 delegates from the main proletarian centres of Italy attending; but all participants were arrested. The police were assisted by the reformists in sabotaging the interests of the young workers.

The Peasant Week was very successful: it was organised in 1924, and was accompanied by the publication of relevant material and the calling of six regional conferences of peasant youth. This campaign was distinguished as the commencement of the activities amongst the masses of young peasants.

The Y.C.L. developed slowly but steadily. In the beginning of 1925 the membership reached 8,000. The central organ of the League "Avantgarde" had a sale of 12,000 copies and groups continued to develop. In July these figures reached 12,000 and 20,000 respectively. The journal had become a real mass organ. But in the second half of 1925, Fascism having strengthened itself in power, thanks to the betrayal of the social-democrats, commenced a vicious attack on the communists. "Avantgarde" was closed down. Many comrades were arrested and tried. Our influence did not decrease but continued to widen, but our membership decreased considerably. Simultaneously, the General Confederation of Labour excluded a number of comrades, amongst whom were several young communists. The League together with the Party, conducted an energetic campaign for trade union unity.

The struggle for a united front began to bear fruit. In socialist youth organisations, maximalist as well as reformist, which incidentally are considerably weaker than our League, the seeds of decay began to be felt. We began to penetrate republican youth organisations. Several groups and sections of this movement came closer to us.

The illegal ninth Congress was a proof of the strength of the League. It was preceded by 100 group meetings and forty-two illegal provincial congresses. Forty-five delegates attended representing 8,000 members of the League. Questions on the political line of the Party and activities of the League were widely

discussed. After the Congress regional conferences were called to put into practice the decisions of the Congress.

During 1926 the campaign for the sending of a Youth Delegation to the S.U. was conducted. All the other campaigns were based on this central campaign—a United Front campaign, a campaign for the defence of the S.U. against imperialist war, in defence of young workers, for the strengthening of trade unions, etc. Thirty-two illegal conferences with representatives from factories were held, and forty-two youth committees for struggle for proletarian unity set up. More than 50 per cent. of the delegates and members of the committees were non-party and members of other organisations. As a result of this work the reformist league was liquidated and the maximalist league completely demoralised. The republican league was also affected, and, what is extremely important, we were successful in penetrating the ranks of catholic youth.

Emergency laws adopted in November, 1926, mass arrests and exiles did not stop the work of the League, which remains the only youth organisation fighting against Fascism. The factory groups continue their close connections with the masses. The best elements of the maximalist youth entered the League. Socialist organisations, as a result of the work of our League and the policy of betrayal of the reformist leaders, have completely deteriorated. The illegal press, which achieved a certain degree of development after the closing down of "Avantgarde" (the Communist Youth had a circulation of 15-20,000 copies) continued to exist and increase. Apart from "Avantgarde" (sales 11-12,000) many local organs and newspapers were published around factories, and also many leaflets. During a period of eighteen months the League distributed 190,000 leaflets, 135,000 copies of newspapers and 10,000 pamphlets containing League material, exclusive of material distributed by the Party.

The young workers gave active support to the illegal re-organisation of the trade unions. It played a great role in the numerous strikes (ninety strikes, 230,000 workers participating), which took place during that period, despite the fiercest repressions.

In the large towns seven big factory conferences were held, which were preceded and followed by meetings and conferences. These conferences discussed the questions of struggle against Fascism, of the re-organisation of the proletariat, defence of the youth, etc., and elected sixteen youth committees for united proletarian struggle.

A second delegation to the S. U. was organised for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Italian League had to pay dearly for its mass activity. The League lost 1,000 members, 800 were arrested and 200 exiled. Many comrades have lost their reason, others died owing to their inhuman tortures in Italian prisons. Nevertheless, the existence of the League is assured by its strong ties with the masses and the heroism of its members, which was proved at its second national conference, held in the beginning of 1928.

## SWEDEN

At the time of the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I., the Swedish League had to wage a great struggle against Höglund who tried to manoeuvre the Communist Party out of the Communist International. The Y.C.I. during this period, therefore concentrated its activity on Party political questions. That the Party leader Höglund found so few supporters for his line is to a great extent due to the work of the Y.C.L. in the organisations up and down the country and to the articles in the League organ "Stormklockan." In August 1924, the Swedish Party split. Höglund and his supporters left the Party and set up a new Party. In the League there was also a not inconsiderable group, which left the League and formed a small separatist organisation. Höglund also called his Party "Communist." After the cleansing of the Communist Party from the Reformist elements, the League had to give over to the Party its older trained functionaries. A rejuvenation of the League was undertaken, and during the period from 1923-25 approximately 4,000-5,000 members of the League were transferred to the Party.

The Y.C.L. has now undertaken the carrying out of practical young workers tasks. Since the Tenth League Congress in April 1926, a change has been effected in the activity of the League. For the first time youth questions were put in the foreground and new forces entered the leadership from top to bottom. The League carried on good activity in training new leading functionaries through a League school held in June 1926. A beginning was made in reorganising the League on the basis of factory groups. This, however, has met with great difficulties, as the organisation retained the character of the old times. The League, which in 1926 numbered 9,000, was built on the basis of the so-called "clubs," Communist Youth Groups—territorial organisations. These "Clubs" were not linked up with the life of the young workers in the factories and were mostly engaged in general propaganda and educational work. However a series of factory groups was set up, and in various districts industrial conferences of young workers were organised. But these beginnings were not based on a firm policy directed towards a complete change in the methods of work.

The Social-Democratic Party strongly supported the proposal of the so-called Navy Commission in the Spring of 1927 for the construction of warships for the Baltic Fleet, amounting to 105 million crowns. This resulted in an opposition movement in the Social-Democratic Party. The war policy of the social-democrats

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gave the Party and League good opportunities for propaganda which were amply utilised. In 1927 the Y.C.L. gained 3,000 new members, due in the first place to good activity during the Navy Campaign.

The League also conducted a broad campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union and organised in 1926-27 two youth delegations to the Soviet Union. Several social-democrats from the first youth delegation were expelled from the Social-Democratic Youth League.

In the field of anti-militarist work, the League lacks continuity in its activity. Very good campaigns however have been conducted, and the League is now undertaking the building up of strong organisations in the Army and Navy. On the occasion of the visit to the Baltic of British warships, which was a hostile demonstration against the Soviet Union, leaflets were distributed among British sailors in the Swedish ports.

During the last years a workers' sport movement has grown up in Sweden. The workers' sport organisations are organised in a group inside the bourgeois sport organisations. The Y.C.L. for some time neglected, but has lately improved its activity in this important field of work. This is more important than ever in view of the fact that the workers' sport organisations have declared in favour of leaving the bourgeois sport organisations and setting up an independent workers' sport league.

In May 1925, the League celebrated its Twenty-fifth Jubilee with a Congress and a youth day in Stockholm. In the jubilee year a broad campaign is being conducted, in which the League has set itself the task of solving important questions in all fields of League work. At the present moment the League numbers 13,000 members. The League organ "Stormklockan" has a circulation of 12,500 copies.

## NORWAY

The Y.C.L. of Norway was in a very difficult position at the time of the Fourth World Congress because it had to make many sacrifices at the setting up of the Communist Party in 1923. The League was very much weakened financially by the fractional struggle in the Norwegian Labour Party and concentrated almost exclusively on political questions. After the organisation of the Communist Party, the League had to overcome its vanguardism and to transform it from a party fractional organisation into a fighting organisation of the young workers. The Nineteenth Congress decided to carry through the so-called rejuvenation and, starting from a certain date, all members over 23 years of age had to go over to the Party. Against this decision rather strong opposition was voiced at the Congress, and it has been proved in practice that this decision was not a successful one. as many organisations have collapsed because the rejuvenation was conducted too schematically.

In the Party there were still strong opportunist groupings. The Y.C.L. supported the line of the C.I. in the struggle against the opportunism of the Party, and thus considerably contributed towards the clarification and bolshevisation of the C.P. of Norway. The difficulty consisted in the fact that already before the split in 1923, the C.I. fraction committed various opportunist mistakes. This gave the leader of the Norwegian L.P., Tranmael, the opportunity to appear more "Left" than the C.I. Through the almost unanimous standpoint of the Y.C.L. in favour of the Comintern the Tranmaelists were forced to set up a separate youth league. They called the new youth league "Left Communist Youth League."

Later on it was proved, however, that all these left phrases were again only a cloak for opportunism and reformism. Thus the Tranmael Party has proposed to the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties to leave their Internationals and to set up a unified Workers' Party. In 1927 the Tranmael Party joined the Social-Democratic Party. The Social -Democrats have left the Second International, with the agreement of the latter, in order to wage a struggle inside the Party for the affiliation of the whole unified party to the Second International. The Tranmaelists and Socialist youth also joined together and developed more and more into a Social-Democratic youth organisation. The going over of Tranmael to Social Democracy considerably clarified the political situation in Norway. Instead of three parties and youth leagues, there were now only two.

The Y.C.L. had great difficulty in going over to practical youth work, because the organisation had been for such a long time a purely political organisation. After the Fourth World Congress the League commenced to carry through reorganisation. In all, 25 factory groups were set up, but they never played a great role in the life of the League and collapsed after a short period of existence. Now the League has again started to get busy with factory group work, and endeavours to avoid the mistakes which were committed in 1924-5. The league has now the task of winning the masses of young workers in the large-scale factories. The collapsed factory groups are to be re-established and new ones set up. The factory groups take an important place in the League's work. The rich experience of other Leagues in the sphere of factory groups are being utilised.

In the field of anti-militarist work the League did good work, in spite of the fact that this work is particularly difficult in Norway, as the time of service for the soldiers is only 48 days. One of the weaknesses of the anti-militarist work is the fact that no stable organisations have been created in the army and navy but only campaigns have been conducted. Particularly good campaigns were conducted during the visits of foreign fleets. The Y.C.L. distributed leaflets among the British and German sailors. In 1927 the campaign among the British sailors resulted in a police raid against the C.P. and the Y.C.L. In the training fields and the military camps every summer, agitational material was distributed, in the course of which many young Communists were arrested.

The League only began last year to conduct systematic trade union work. The Y.C.L. got out a collection of material for the Trade Union Congress in 1927, dealing with the conditions of the young workers in Norway, and making proposals for the trade union organisation of the young workers. After the Congress the League launched a broad campaign in all trade union cartels and trade unions for the setting up of youth committees and youth representatives in the trade unions. The last Plenary Session of the Y.C.L. in April, 1928, also decided to raise the question of setting up youth sections in the trade unions.

The League carried on little systematic fraction work in the Norwegian workers' sport organisation, which developed in the course of a few years into a considerable mass organisation. The League conducted good work prior to the last Congress of the Workers' Sports League in 1928, and after the Congress, which considerably strengthened the position of the Communists, the League decided to strengthen and systematise the work in the workers' sports organisation.

During the last great discussion of the Communist Party of

Norway, which was caused by the Labour Party taking over the government, the Y.C.L. took a strong line against the opportunists inside of the Party. In the Y.C.L. itself, there were certain vacillation, which, however, were overcome after a thorough discussion of this question. The League now stands under unanimous political leadership.

In the summer of 1928, the Y.C.L. of Norway celebrated its twenty-fifth jubilee. For this purpose a great jubilee campaign is being undertaken. Two League schools and one Pioneer camp will be held, and a Russian young workers' delegation is to be invited. The League Congress will take place in November. In all spheres of work the League has laid down concrete tasks for the jubilee year. The membership is to be increased from 3,000 to 4,000. The circulation of the League organ is to be safeguarded by regular publication, and the factory group work is to be seriously tackled.

# **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

## **GENERAL STATUS OF WORKING YOUTH.**

During the past period there has been a gradual increase in the participation of the working youth in industry, till to-day they number over eleven million, i.e., one-fourth of the total working population. These are distributed amongst all of the important industries. The general economic conditions of the working youth are very poor, being far below the average conditions of the adult workers, and their wages even being much lower than is the accredited minimum living wage of the government and bourgeois statisticians.

Politically, large numbers of the working youth are directly under the influence of the bourgeois youth organisations. Despite this fact, there is an increasing response on their part due to the pressure of social changes, and they are beginning to be an important factor in the life of the country. The principal revolutionising factors are: restriction of immigration which makes the youth one of the main sources of unskilled labour; the continued farm crisis, which drives large numbers into the city labour market; the increased rationalisation since 1922 of American industry, which has increased the proportion of young workers in industry, and even created a whole series of youth industries; the acute crisis in specific industries, such as coal mining and textile, where the youth are being driven to the forefront as the militant section of these workers; and, lastly, the present unemployment, resulting also from rationalisation, which affects a section of the working youth.

## **CHARACTERISATION OF THE LAST FOUR-YEAR PERIOD.**

At the time of the fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. the League had already adopted a general programme of Communist activity, which was receiving its initial introduction, into practice. From this period up to the present time there have been four main characteristics of League work and life:—

(a) Concretisation of the decisions on mass work through increased participation of the League in the actual struggles of the young workers.

(b) Organisational consolidation of the League through the establishment of a better working apparatus, the liquidation of the obsolete language units and the development of some new leading forces.

(c) Increased politicalisation of our work by trying to react to and give a practical lead on all current political events.

(d) The periodic factionalism and resulting internal crisis, based primarily on a reflection of the unhealthy Party situation, has been a great obstacle in the path of greater progress on the part of the League.

### **ORGANISATIONAL STATUS.**

In the past period the organisational apparatus has been improved and strengthened through the liquidation of the obsolete language units, and the creation of district apparatus co-ordinated nationally. The League as yet is still a small group separated from the masses of the American young workers, although some progress has been made towards increasing the membership. In contrast with approximately 1,700 members at the Fourth Congress, to-day the League numbers 2,400 members. There has been considerable fluctuation caused primarily by the internal situation and the great turn over annually in membership. The social composition of the League has fluctuated. Up to 1927, the tendency was towards an increase in the worker elements in the League. In 1927, all elements exclusive of students numbered 77 per cent., while to-day the total of all elements exclusive of students is 64 per cent., showing a decided increase in the student element in the League, which is not good. At the same time the League is still insufficiently rooted in the basic industries. A decided improvement is reflected in the national composition of the League, by having to-day 66 per cent. native born in contrast to approximately 20-25 per cent. in 1924.

The experiences of the League in re-organisation have been many and varied, but have resulted in few practical achievements, exclusive of the aforementioned liquidation of language units and the experience and knowledge gained. The League still has the primary task of organising shop groups as the prerequisite for a later complete reorganisation.

### **TRADE UNION AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES.**

In the field of mass work, the League has made the greatest achievements in economic trade union work. It participated in all of the important strikes and in some, such as Passaic and mining, the League has been a very important factor. In these strikes the League, through its slogans, demands and activity, has gained the confidence of many times the leadership of the young workers involved. Some of the weaknesses have been the tendency to issue general instead of concrete demands, to hide the official face of the League, and to gain insufficient organisational results from the influence achieved.

The outstanding activity of the League has been its concen-

tration on the mining industry for a period of four years. While at first this tended to be abstract and journalistic, gradually with the continued crisis in the coal industry culminating in the present strike lasting already one year and resulting in the betrayal by the bureaucracy and the actual disintegration of the union, the League has become a vital factor in the present campaign to win the strike and to rebuild the Miners' Union with the labour fakirs outside. This activity has expressed itself during the union election and convention period, the strike period with its resulting battles with the coal operators, labour fakirs and armed forces of the State, as well as in the present campaign for saving the union and rebuilding it, simultaneously conducting an organisation drive in the unorganised fields. In every district and nationally League members are to be found in the leadership of the Left wing forces of the miners' struggle. In connection with this the League organised successful United Front Miners' Relief Conferences of youth organisations.

Linked up closely with our strike activity has been one of the basic campaigns of the League, namely, unionisation of the youth. This is especially important because of the actual lack of effort on the part of the existing unions to organise the young workers. In some places the League has been responsible for the organising of new unions in industries where the youth are predominant. Experience has been gained in the calling of youth conferences, four of which have been held to date—three in the mining industry and one general conference.

While factory activity is conducted and a number of factory papers issued, this work as yet shows many weaknesses, especially an underestimation of the importance of individual activity on the part of every League member.

To the present unemployment crisis the League has reacted quickly, many times taking the leadership over the Party, despite some serious errors, which have been made in the form of the demands.

The League has conducted a campaign, both internally and externally, against the C.M.T.C. This has resulted in popularising the League as a champion against capitalist war.

In the United Front activities many mistakes, primarily of a pacifist character, were committed in 1926-27. The mistake of making united fronts only with petty bourgeois, liberal groups have been recognised and corrected to a large extent.

While previously much of the activity was limited to general propaganda, recently steps have been taken towards more concrete work, such as demonstrations and the distribution of literature among marines and soldiers who were being sent to Nicaragua and China.

The weak beginnings of work inside the armed forces must be greatly improved and developed.

Recognising the important rôle of sports in America, as a weapon of the bourgeoisie, and the lack of any workers' sport movement, it is encouraging to see the formation of the Labour Sports Union. This, however, is still too narrow and does not embrace the typical American working youth sport organisations. The broadening and development of this organisation is a main task.

Progress can also be recorded in the building and advising of the Young Pioneers—efforts to create Farmer Labour Youth Clubs to reach the agrarian youth—the beginning of a serious election activity by adopting an election platform, which includes a programme of social legislation for the youth—and the establishment of a yearly series of district and national training schools.

### ESTIMATION OF PAST PERIOD.

While progress has been made during the past period, this has been spasmodic in character, and was only accomplished when the efforts of all comrades were involved.

In the mass struggles of the young workers, it has been individual members and not sufficiently the League as an organisation, which have won the confidence and leadership of those involved.

The League as yet is still isolated from the masses of typical American youth, as can be seen from its small membership, the social and national composition of this membership and the small percentage of members in basic industries and large factories.

Sufficient flexibility and broadness in our work and proper attention to lighter features and new methods adaptable to America are still lacking.

Organisationally the League is much smaller than its general influence. The crystallisation of this influence in organisational forms is a task which has not yet been carried through. A major weakness of the League is the absence of shop groups and insufficient development and training of native local and district elements for leadership.

There is noticeable a decided lack of understanding of the present war danger situation in the ranks of the League. This leads to many mistakes, some of which, like the pacifism mentioned above, have already been condemned by the E.C. of the Y.C.I.

Such important activities as work among negroes, colonial work, opponent and agrarian have been entirely neglected, only the first of these receiving the slightest attention.



## AUSTRIA

The Y.C.L. of Austria passed through great struggles during the period under report, and can look back upon a series of good results.

Towards the end of 1924 and during 1925, the Young Socialist League in Austria suffered great setbacks, which almost developed into a complete collapse. Concurrently a left opposition grew up inside the Y.S.L.; this opposition directed its activity with increasing sharpness against the reformist policy of the Central Committee. In the course of this struggle inside the Y.S.L., leading oppositional comrades were expelled, which resulted in several Viennese local organisations leaving the League. In the summer of 1925 the Independent Young Socialist League was organised, which published its own organ and had about 500 members in Vienna.

In the autumn of 1925 the first youth delegation to the Soviet Union was organised in connection with a broad campaign of the League in defence of the Soviet Union. This was not only the first youth delegation from Austria, but the first youth delegation to the Soviet Union. In this delegation, in addition to two Communists, there were several members of the Y.S.L. and the newly organised Independent Y.S.L. After the return of the delegation a broad campaign was conducted; more than 100 meetings were held, attended by almost 10,000 young and adult workers.

In connection with the worsening of the economic situation about that time, the Y.C.L. called, in the winter of 1925, the first National Young Workers Congress. This Congress took place in the middle of December, in spite of the veto of the police. Four hundred delegates attended, the majority of whom were Social Democratic and non-Party young workers. In addition to the resolution calling for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the arming of the proletarian youth, the Congress adopted a fighting programme for the young workers. The meetings before and after the Congress served to mobilise the young workers in the factories, particularly in Vienna. In the middle of January, 1926, the League held its Eighth National Congress, which was a unity congress with the Independent Y.S.L., which had in the meantime developed towards the Y.C.I. The gain of members which the Y.C.L. achieved through the I.Y.S.L. joining amounted to about three hundred.

After the Eighth National Congress, a period of reorganisa-

tion and stabilisation of the organisation was passed through. In the beginning of 1927, a period of increasing reaction in Austria, the League laid the centre of gravity of its work on the struggle against the reactionary organisations and the reactionary government.

During the July Uprising of the Viennese proletariat, the Y.C.L. gave all its forces to the service of the young workers, and proved that it fully understands the tasks of the Y.C.L. Our League stood in the front ranks in every struggle.

After the 15th of July the League drew the correct lessons from these events and supported the line of the C.I. in this connection. At the same time it conducted road recruiting work, which resulted in the winning of large numbers of new members. This, however, did not express itself in a great increase of the Y.C.L. membership, as a great number of the older members was transferred into the Party. Seventy per cent. of the Viennese organisation, for instance, are now young members who joined the League only in 1927.

Summing-up, we can say that the situation of the League is at present such that it can show many good achievements. On the other hand, the rejuvenation of its membership creates great difficulties, which must be solved through practical work under the firm leadership of the Central Committee.

## BALKAN COUNTRIES

The struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat of the Balkan States for influence on the young workers and peasant youth has become extremely sharp during the last four years. The attacks of the reaction against the Communist movement were mainly directed against the Communist youth. In this struggle our Balkan Leagues played a heroic part. In the struggle for the winning over of the young workers, the bourgeoisie not only set up its own organisations and formed neutral organisations, but endeavoured by physical means to exterminate the League. The Leagues in the Balkans suffered heavy losses; thousands of our comrades languish in prisons and hundreds have died in the struggle.

Despite these extremely difficult circumstances (strict illegality, white terror), and in spite of several defeats, the Balkan Leagues have not ceased their work. At the present moment they are somewhat weak numerically, but despite their slow growth, the Leagues have great influence among the young workers and peasants. Wide masses of young workers participated in the various campaigns conducted by the Leagues, such as the International Day of Youth, struggle against war on the Soviet Union (Greece and Rumania), campaign for the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union (Greece, Bulgaria, and Jugo-Slavia). The political activity of the Balkan Leagues is to be found in their active participation in the political life of the Communist Parties. In inner Party questions the Leagues stood firm for the line of the Y.C.I. and the C.I.; in the struggle against opportunism and liquidatory elements (Greece), against Right Wing tendencies and fractional struggle (Jugo-Slavia), against all waverings and for complete acknowledgement of all errors, against legalism (limiting work within legal restrictions) and liquidation tendencies (Bulgaria and Rumania).

The Balkan Leagues have acquired a certain amount of experience in the sphere of legal forms of work.

Economic trade union work has been conducted somewhat poorly. Press agitation and propaganda was conducted satisfactorily only by the Greek League. The Jugo-Slavian League was the only League regularly to publish an illegal press. With the exception of the Bulgarian League, no work against our opponents has been conducted. Some activities in anti-militarist work was conducted by the Greek, and partially by the Bulgarian League. Fairly energetic work was carried out among the peasant youth.

The Greek League for some period worked under conditions of illegality, but after the fall of the dictatorship of Pangalos (from the end of 1926 to March, 1928), the League became legal. Up to the end of 1926 sectional tendencies were strongly developed within the Greek League, and generally speaking, the work of the Greek League was unsatisfactory. In February, 1927, the Greek League, with the aid of the C.C. of the Y.C.I., held its Congress, and from that time great successes can be recorded in all spheres of its work. The Greek League is one of the few sections of the Y.C.I. which can boast of a ceaseless influx of new members during the past year; during this period the League has increased to three times its previous membership. Owing to its active political work, the League at the present moment plays an important rôle in the Greek Labour Movement. It has also played a large part in the struggle against the liquidational tendencies within the Party and in the liquidation of the Party crisis. The Greek Y.C.L. is the only youth organisation of young workers in Greece. The League publishes a weekly paper with a sale of 9,000 copies, and a monthly journal for its leading members with a sale of 2,500 copies. Despite the great numerical growth, there still exists a great discrepancy between the organisational strength of the Greek League and its political influence. The League has conducted a number of mass campaigns. Nearly 30 per cent. of the League membership is organised in factory groups.

The League suffers from a lack of active workers. The task before the League at the moment is preparation for work under illegal conditions, and following on this the struggle for a legal League.

Apart from the afore-mentioned papers and journals, the League publishes a paper for students and "The Communist Library"; fifteen pamphlets have already been issued. The economic trade union work is unsatisfactory, although the League has great influence, for instance, among young tobacco workers. In Thrace and Macedonia the League led several strikes of adult workers. Youth sections exist in several trade unions. At the present moment the League is carrying out systematic propaganda for the organisation of youth sections in all trade unions. The number of organisations in the villages continuously increases, and several village conferences have been held.

The League founded the "Anti-Fascist Guard," which already by the end of 1927, consisted of 700 young workers, half of whom were non-Party.

The League conducts a certain amount of work in the Workers' Sports Movement; 1,200 young workers are members of workers' clubs which are under League influence. At the present moment the League is carrying out a campaign for the formation of a Workers' Sports League.

The Jugo-Slavian League began serious illegal work only after the break-up of the legal Workers' League of Youth in 1925. While the former organisation existed legally the illegal activities of the Y.C.L. were very weak. Now the League fairly regularly (once in two months) publishes an illegal paper ("The Young Bolshevik"), issued in several thousand copies. Groups are organised in many factories. However, the inner life of the League organisations is very poor. The work of the nuclei is exceptionally weak. During the past two or three years the social composition of the League has improved.

In July, 1926, the Third League Congress was held. The previous activities of the League were criticised in a Bolshevik fashion and the main future tasks outlined. Up till the time of this Conference practically no trade union work had been conducted. A sectarian tendency exists within the League (Macedonia). The Congress considered very thoroughly all questions relating to mass League activities; work within the trade unions (youth sections), and amongst youth peasant organisations, and the youth of oppressed nationalities, questions of struggle against Fascism and work in the army, and also the questions of Communist educational work. Its influence among the young workers grew, and organisationally the League was strengthened. The League commenced work within the trade unions. The Jugo-Slavian League paid insufficient attention to the possibilities of legal activities. Up to the present only a small number of youth sections were organised within the trade unions. It is necessary to mention that in this work the League meets with opposition from the Conservative and Right Wing leaders of some of the trade unions.

The League has practically no organisations in the industrial regions—in Slovenia and partly in Voivodino—where there are large Party organisations, and also in various peasant districts of Croatia and Bosnia. Despite the existing danger of war, anti-militarist work is only in its elementary stage, and only in Dalmatia has it been conducted at all intensively. The work within peasant organisations and amongst the youth of the oppressed peoples was very weak. The technical apparatus of the League also leaves much to be desired.

During the last year the League has suffered many heavy losses in the struggle against reaction. During the past two years the leading cadres of the League, owing to the break-up of the League, have changed three or four times.

The League played an important part in the inner Party struggle, particularly in the fight against the right social democratic tendencies within the Party. With the exception of several

slight waverings, the League in all questions carried out the line of the Y.C.I. and the C.I.

The Bulgarian League. After the Fourth World Congress the Bulgarian League passed through three stages in its development: (1) The period before it was broken up in connection with the attack on the Sofia Cathedral (mass murder, mass arrests, many death sentences, and a number of long-term imprisonments); (2) period before the raids in September, 1926; (3) period from September, 1926, to the present time. In all these three periods, the Y.C.L. struggled, in the face of unheard-of terror, the like of which has not been seen in any other country, to carry out active Communist work among the young workers.

The first period began immediately after the defeat of the September uprising in 1923. The League was soon able to bring together its forces and begin energetic illegal, as well as legal, activities. It showed great political activity, and organised wide mass demonstrations, in which young workers and peasants participated. At the beginning of 1925 it numbered 4,000 members; it was organised on a factory group basis, and conducted intensive work within the trade unions, and led various legal organisations (sports, cultural, etc.). Apart from the publication of regular legal and illegal papers, the League also issued leaflets, factory papers, and several pamphlets. The League was able successfully to conduct the United Front tactic. Within the League an intensive educational campaign took place for the purpose of training League members how to behave in the event of their appearing before the Fascist court.

The second period is characterised by the endeavour to get into touch with those organisations which were broken up as a result of the reaction which reigned after the Sofia events. This was effected within six months (middle of September, 1926). Despite the worsening objective conditions, the League was able to revive its organisations in the most important districts. After the Sofia events the bourgeoisie mobilised all its forces for the winning over of the youth. A number of bourgeois and neutral organisations were formed. Nevertheless, our League was able again to win the confidence of the young workers, cause crises to take place within various bourgeois organisations, and again to achieve leading rôles within various legal organisations of working and peasant youth. In the sphere of its legal activities, the League committed a number of opportunist mistakes (tactic of United Front with the Socialist Youth League), which were, however, liquidated with the assistance of the Y.C.I.

In September, 1926, the C.C. and leading cadres of the important League organisations were broken up. Following on this came mass arrests, mass penal servitude sentences, terror, etc.

Again before the League stood the task of reviving its connections and organisation. In this connection much has been done, but at the present moment this task has not yet been completely fulfilled. The League energetically fought against liquidation tendencies which existed within the Bulgarian Party and against the desire to conduct its work only within legal limits. The League has to work under extremely difficult conditions: (1) The results of the last attack on the League have not yet been thoroughly liquidated; and (2) the necessity of energetic struggle against liquidation and opportunist tendencies. Reaction and the policy of the Fascist Government cause the growth of a mass movement of young workers and peasants. The Y.C.L., despite all difficulties, has been able to place itself at the head of this movement. The political activities of young workers and peasants develop under the slogans of the League. The young workers within the bourgeois and Fascist sport organisations are gradually moving leftwards.

The trade union work of the League is not very satisfactory, but great successes have been arrived at in the utilisation of legal possibilities. The League conducted several good campaigns; for amnesty of political prisoners, the sending of a youth delegation to the Soviet Union, 1st May Celebrations, etc.

Rumanian League.—After the World Congress the Rumanian League, despite the heavy blows of the reaction which at one time was able simultaneously to break up nearly all League organisations, had to fulfil three main tasks placed before it by the Fourth Congress: (1) Uniting under the leadership of the C.C. five different Y.C.L. organisations, which up to 1924 had existed independently in various provinces; (2) take an active part in the political life of the Party (struggle for independence of Bessarabia, campaign in connection with the Tatar-Bunar case, participation in municipal and Parliamentary elections, winning over of young unemployed workers, strike of printing workers); active participation in Party work (struggle against liquidation tendencies, fight against Kristescu and against various other deviations).

The League actively participated in the revival of the Party organisation. As a result of innumerable attacks on the League it is organisationally very weak. The level of underground work is very low. At the present moment more than 500 members of the League are imprisoned.

The League conducts energetic trade union work, and has been successful in winning the leadership of several trade union organisations. Work amongst the peasant youth is improving, and several village groups are in existence. The anti-militarist work of the Rumanian League has been very weak.

The League publishes its organ, "The Young Leninist," irregularly, in editions of 450-500, in Russian, Rumanian, Hungarian, and German.

## BALTIC STATES

The bourgeoisie of the "independent governments" of the Baltic States, placed in power by the imperialists, have stabilised their economic position by increasing the exploitation of the workers and the proletarian elements of the agricultural districts and by increasing the rates, thus further burdening the already heavily taxed peasantry and a section of the town petit-bourgeoisie.

It is quite natural that such steps should rouse the dissatisfaction of the enlightened masses of these countries, a most vivid example of which is the Esthonian rising in December, 1924.

At the same time, it is well to note that the bourgeoisie of these countries maintain power mainly through the support of international imperialism. The social democratic parties, which in these countries were either in power themselves or in coalition with the bourgeoisie, served the latter to the best of their ability.

In view of the international and the internal situations of these countries, the revolutionary movement is continually repressed and persecuted. In Lithuania it is not only illegal to be a member of the Party, but even of a trade union under the influence of the Party. Since the Fourth Congress our Leagues in the Baltic States have suffered the most terrible persecution from the bourgeoisie and from Fascism. Some of them, such as the Esthonian and Lithuanian Leagues, have gone through the fire of armed class struggle, firstly, during the rising in Esthonia in 1924, and secondly, during the fascist coup in Lithuania in 1926. Many active comrades were lost in both struggles, and many imprisoned for long periods; some were sentenced to life imprisonment.

All our Baltic Leagues had to mobilise their forces in order to preserve their existence, so that together with the communist parties they could fight against either the already existing Fascism, or against the threatened Fascist coup. In this struggle all our Baltic Leagues, with the exception of the Finnish, lost their legality. But in spite of the difficult conditions of work, the persecutions and illegality, our Leagues were able to re-organise their ranks, to develop and strengthen their illegal organisations, and, with very few exceptions, to escape making any important political mistakes.

### FINLAND.

The Finnish Y.C.L. existed legally until 1924, when the reactionary government declared it to be illegal. In 1925 it again



attempted to exist as a legal organisation, but was again forbidden. From that period, the legal Y.C.L., having 12,000 members in 1924, ceased to exist as such.

However, in 1924, the Finnish League commenced to re-organise its ranks on the basis of illegality. At first, its illegal groups consisted of 100 members, and at the beginning of 1928 there were nearly 600 members and fifty factory groups in existence. At the end of 1926 there did not exist more than seven factory groups.

At the same time, the illegal Y.C.L. controlled a wide network of various types of cultural and other legal youth organisations, consisting of 10,000 members.

In 1925 the legal organ of the Y.C.L. was no longer published, but instead, a weekly literary journal, with a sale of 10,000 copies. An illegal publication appears monthly, numbering 250-300 copies.

The League takes part in economic campaigns, conducted by the Party. Although the economic demands and aims of the League have now become considerably more practical, nevertheless, only the first steps in this field of work have been attempted, and much has yet to be done.

The work of organising the young workers into trade unions is on a much better footing. The Y.C.L. controls a wide network of youth committees in left and reformist trade unions. During the past year the League has done a lot of work in the formation of its fractions in the various departments of trade unions. At the beginning of 1927 it had five trade union fractions; now there are sixty.

Together with the Party, the League conducted a number of political campaigns. Apart from participation in general, proletarian holidays, such as 1st May, the organisation of youth holidays, or the International Day of Youth, the League also actively took part in the Elections of 1925 and 1927.

While conducting general anti-militarist propaganda, the League also conducts systematic preparatory work amongst recruits.

The weak points in the work of the League are lack of organisational work in the army, a too general approach to the needs of the peasant youth (with the exception of Northern Finland), and also an under-estimation of the importance of systematic work in social-democratic and peasant organisations, which are partly under Fascist influence.

## LITHUANIA.

The organisational development of the Lithuanian Y.C.L. took the following line: At the moment of the Fascist coup in December, 1926, the League had fifty per cent. more members than at the time of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. Although the League greatly suffered, owing to the Fascist coup, it has now 100 per cent. more members than during 1924, and ten factory groups. The League organ "Darbininku Jaunimas" (Working Youth) is published illegally. It has a circulation of 600 copies.

The main political mistake made by the Lithuanian League after the 4th Congress, in connection with the Fascist coup, was that they, as also the Party, did not estimate correctly the petty-bourgeois government, nationalists and social democrats, and its inability to play a leading rôle in the fight against Fascism. As a result of this, the League incorrectly estimated the main tasks of mobilising the greater masses of young workers and peasants for the fight against Fascism under the control of the Party.

Contenting itself with general propaganda against Fascism, the League, at the same time, did not make the utmost use of the possibilities for establishing itself amongst the masses. However, with the assistance of the E.C., Y.C.I., the League was enabled to rectify its line.

The chief task of the League at the present moment consists in rallying the mass of young workers in the fight against the attempts of the Polish imperialists to annex Lithuania, against the Fascist dictatorship of Valdemaras; and against the inclusion of Lithuania in the anti-Soviet bloc. Therefore, it is necessary for the League to find new forms of legal work, and to conduct a determined struggle against the social democratic and Fascist youth organisations.

## ESTHONIA.

As a result of the defeat of the December rising of 1924, the League lost a great number of its most active and leading members. A number of local organisations were also broken up and liquidated. It was possible for the League to exist only as an illegal organisation, and it is therefore easily understood that this effected the organisational weakening of the League, decreased its membership, and also the extent of its activities.

Nevertheless, ideologically and politically the League remained firm. Its estimation of its tasks under new conditions was correct, namely, the rallying of the young workers for new struggles against reaction in more favourable circumstances.

The League paid more attention to the political education of its members. It published its central organ "The Young Proletarian." Amongst its campaigns the League also conducted a

campaign against Trotskyism and fought against the permeation of Trotskyism within the ranks of the Party and League.

The tasks which the League set itself in the sphere of the economic fight of the young workers in industry and agriculture (where 105,000 rich peasant holders exploit not only youth, but also child labour) are, though not put quite concretely, essentially correct.

The Esthonian League also conducts a wide anti-war campaign and a campaign against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to deprive young soldiers of a vote.

At the same time, the League exposes the "Leftism" of the social democratic and other opportunist youth organisations, and conducts a fight against the Young People's Christian League and other bourgeois and semi-fascist youth organisations.

In endeavouring to regain its legal basis, the Esthonian Y.C.L. pays great attention to sport and legal cultural political work.

### LATVIA.

In 1925 the Y.C.L. of Latvia suffered greatly, and as a result of many arrests at the Centre and the liquidation of a number of local organisations, all the work of the League, and particularly its legal activities, was considerably reduced.

However, during the same year, owing to the endeavours of the League, the Youth Sections of the Trade Unions began to develop wider activities. The main mistake made in its further work, lies in not paying sufficient attention to the concrete demands of the young workers, but laying too much stress on the political struggle.

Despite many difficulties in its work, despite terror and persecution, the Y.C.L. of Latvia in the following years was able to reconstruct its ranks. Amongst its successes must be recorded the considerably increased political rôle and influence of the League amongst the young workers; the organisational strengthening of the League; and the work amongst youth sections in the Trade Unions.

During the past two years the League has conducted several campaigns together with the Party and independently, as for instance: Campaign against the preparation of war on the S.U. campaign against the Trotskyist opposition in the Russian Party, International Youth Day, etc.

On International Youth Day during the past few years, 10,000—15,000 young workers have participated. At meetings of the League in Riga there are attendances of 1,000—2,000, while the Social democratic organisation cannot muster more than 100 young workers.

Nevertheless, the work of the League suffered from several defects, and in one or two cases from mistakes of principle. Among the latter are the mistakes which were made in anti-militarist propaganda, which, if developed, threatened to lead the League on the reformist pacifist path of struggle against militarism. Other shortcomings were the weak work in the T.U. Youth Sections, the economic slogans which were issued were too general, and too vague an approach to the needs of the young workers and peasants; lack of work amongst the youth, and too little attention paid to the work of legal organisations.

The main tasks of the Estonian League at the present moment are the fight against the influence of Fascism and social democracy on the young workers, organising of the masses for struggle against Fascism and exposure of social democracy.

## LATIN AMERICA

The situation in Latin America offers good possibilities for the development of our movement. The proletariat in these countries is not very developed, but everywhere an increasing proletarianisation of the working masses, due to the development of industry, is noticeable. In addition to the revolutionary workers' movement, there also exists an anti-militarist movement (directed particularly against North American capitalism) which in addition to the workers also rallies the poor peasants and a section of the petty bourgeoisie.

The youth plays a particularly great rôle, in view of the high percentage of young workers in industry (about thirty per cent.).

Our organisations in Latin America are not very strong, but the general situation makes a great strengthening possible. There are hardly any Social-Democratic youth organisations. This makes it possible for us to work in fertile soil, as far as the organisation of a class movement is concerned. We do not want to say, however, that there are no strong opponents to be fought. Our chief task in the countries where Communist Parties exist, or where the bases for such exist, is to organise Y.C.L.s. This is the case in Cuba, where the C.P. leads a broad mass movement; in Equador and Colombia, where we can get the support of some section of the old Socialist Party, and in Chili, where only a reorganisation is necessary. In the countries—such as Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico—where we have our stronger organisations, a further strengthening of them is an absolute necessity, in order to overcome the difference between our organisational strength and our influence.

In Equador, a federation of the revolutionary youth exists, which contains a considerable number of Communists, Socialists and non-Party elements in its ranks. Such organisations exist, though not centralised, in Mexico. Comrades in the trade union movement in Peru proposed also to create such an organisation in their country. The programmes of these organisations is in the first place anti-imperialist, which renders it possible to rally broad masses of workers, peasants and students.

We are confronted with the question of what attitude to take up towards these organisations. This will have to be solved by the Fifth World Congress.

In connection with the anti-imperialist movement, a rather strong Left movement of the students has taken place. It will be a mistake to organise a separate Communist Students' movement. Our Leagues must set up fractions in the revolutionary

students' organisations, in order to bring about an alliance with the workers and poor peasants.

In many countries the youth does not participate in the trade union work at all. In other countries it is very weak. The important rôle of youth in industry demands a decisive improvement in this work. A Trade Union Conference of Latin America is to be organised. The young workers must actively participate in the preparations for this conference. This will bring forward the activity of the youth in all Latin America.

Our Leagues have in general no connection whatever with the peasantry, who are the strongest elements in all the countries of Latin America. This is a serious question, which will have to be closely investigated.

Our opponents are represented by the Y.M.C.A., Catholic Youth League, and the bourgeois sport movement. We must develop a broad campaign of struggle against these organisations, which have many young workers in their ranks. Particularly the Y.M.C.A. must be fought as a direct supporter of North American Imperialism. The workers' sport movement, which has a certain basis, must be further developed.

Our League conducts some activity in various mass organisations, such as educational, music, art, women's organisations, etc. This is very useful work, which must be continued and improved. In order to put our Leagues into a position to conduct work in all fields, we must raise their present very low theoretical level. Particular attention must be given to organisational questions. Without internal stabilisation of our organisations, no real progress will be possible. Fluctuation is very strong, not only in membership, but also in organisation. We must lay great stress on the winning of all basic workers from the factories and on their organisation in factory groups. In the following we shall give some details on the most important countries.

### ARGENTINE.

The Argentine League was represented at the Fourth World Congress, but not till December, 1925, was the League formally constituted with a Central Committee elected by Congress. On this occasion the whole League took a stand against a sabotaging group, which was expelled from the Party. After the Congress the League made progress. In 1926-27 a broad campaign among the recruits was conducted, which led to the arrest and sentence of a number of comrades. The League organ, "Juventud Comunista," has a circulation of 3,000. The children's organisation numbers 300. The Red Sports Organisation has about 2,000 members.

The League numbers at the present moment 400 members,

200 of whom reside in the city of Buenos-Aires. A League school was organised, and some trade union work conducted.

During the last crisis of the Argentine Party, the majority of the E.C.Y.C.L. and a section of the membership supported the opportunist splitting movement under the leadership of Pénélon. The Y.C.I. sent instructions demanding unification of the movement.

### MEXICO.

The Y.C.L. numbers 600, the Red Young Pioneers' League 800 members. Both organisations always participate in demonstrations and workers' and peasants' conferences. During the Miners' Strike the League developed very good activity. Our comrades participated in the leadership of several autonomous trade unions. In general, however, the League does not conduct any work in the trade unions. Some work has, however, been developed in mass organisations of the workers, peasants, students, and women.

### CHILI.

Prior to the coup d'état of General Ibañez, who forced our movement into illegality, our League had considerable strength. The League numbered 500 members, and published its monthly organ in 2,500 copies. At present preparations for illegal work have been undertaken.

### BRAZIL.

The Party organised a Y.C.L. in the beginning of 1925. The League could not properly develop, as it was forced into illegality a few months after its inception. In spite of that, however, it continues to carry on activity. A certain number of factory groups exist in the factories, particularly in Rio de Janeiro. The illegal monthly organ, "The Young Communist," is published in over 500 copies. Some activity is conducted in the revolutionary trade unions, among the students, and in the worker sports groups organised by the employers.

The League very actively participated in the recent political elections, which brought such successes to the Party, in spite of illegality.

### URUGUAY.

The League was organised in 1925. In 1926-27 it supported the Party in the struggle against the opportunist leader Miveli, who was expelled from the Party.

At the present moment it numbers 200 members organised in three districts. In Montevideo there are three factory groups. In this city, in which the majority of the League membership resides, eighty per cent. of the members are workers. The fort-

nightly central organ, "Estralla Roja," is published in 1,000-1,500 copies. In addition five factory papers are being issued, though not regularly. The Fourth League Congress in November, 1927, and the Montevideo Conference in March, 1928, decided upon a series of measures for strengthening of the organisation and agitation among the masses. A school was organised and several campaigns conducted, such as International Youth Week, Lenin Week, etc. The Children's organisation numbers 500, the Red Workers' Sports Federation 1,000 members.



## OTHER LEAGUES

Besides the sections of the Y.C.I., the activities of which were described above, there are also Y.C.L.s in the following countries: Canada, Australia, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Iceland, South Africa, Tunis, Algiers, and Communist Youth Groups in Luxemburg, Ireland, the Philippines, and Egypt.

The Y.C.L. of Canada numbers 850 members, issues regularly a bi-monthly paper, and developed quite extensive activity in the field of struggle for economic demands of the youth. The League has organised various young workers' strikes, particularly in the mining industry, and participated in a leading capacity in strikes of the adult workers.

The Y.C.L. of Australia was organised in 1928. Prior to that there were only individual young Communist groups in existence. At the present moment Y.C.L. groups are organised in various big cities of Australia.

In the larger cities of Algiers and Tunis Y.C.L. groups exist, which are under the direct leadership of the E.C. of the Y.C.L. of France. In Tunis several youth strikes have been organised by the Y.C.L.

In South Africa we have had organisations since 1925. They are developing also among the negro population and are active among the young workers of the European colonist elements.

The Y.C.L. of Belgium issues regularly two newspapers, one in French and one in Flemish. It numbers 200 members. The League actively participated on the side of the C.I. in the recent Party discussion. A commencement in economic trade union work has been undertaken.

The Y. C.L. of Holland has 500 members. During the last period it conducted a series of campaigns among the young workers (particularly in the textile industry) with much success, and it publishes regularly several factory and reservists' papers. Organisationally, however, the influence of the League is weak and it has not yet been rooted in the factories.

The Hungarian Y.C.L. leads a heroic struggle against White Terror. During recent years bourgeois prison justice has robbed the League of its best leading elements. The League has great influence among the young workers, organised in the trade unions.

The Y.C.L.s of Spain and Portugal work in complete illegality. The Spanish League regularly issued its organ.

The Y.C.L. of Switzerland has 120 members and publishes a paper, although not regularly.

The Y.C.L. of Denmark numbers 150 members.

In Iceland a Y.C.L. exists with a membership of about 70.

# **Statutes of the Y.C.I.**

## **I. PRINCIPLES AND STRUCTURE OF THE Y.C.I.**

1. The tasks to be carried out on an international scale are the winning over of the working youth of all countries for the aims of Communism and for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, necessary for the realisation of Communism. The working youth should be educated and organised on the basis of active participation in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and in its struggles against capitalism, and particularly against imperialist wars. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues, which are fighting for the aims of the Communist International and with it for the political, economic and cultural demands of the working youth in town and country, and for their inclusion into the Communist International and co-ordination as a reserve force of the Communist Parties, have amalgamated themselves into an International Young Communist Organisation.

2. This organisation is called "The Communist Youth International."

3. The Communist Youth International is a section of the Communist International, recognises its programme and statutes and is subordinate in its activity to the C.I. and its Executive Committee.

4. The Y.C.I. consists of sections according to countries. These sections recognise unreservedly the programme and statutes of the Y.C.I., and carry out the decisions of its World Congress and its Executive Committee.

All sections of the Y.C.I. are called: "Young Communist League" of the respective country (Section of the Young Communist International). In no country can there be more than one Y.C.I. Section. Decision with respect to the affiliation of new sections rests with the Executive Committee, and final decision with the World Congress.

5. The political activity of a Y.C.L. is subordinate, on a national scale, to the Communist Party of the respective country. In the event of differences, the Y.C.L. adheres to the decisions of the C.I. and Y.C.I., and places international discipline above national Party discipline.

6. Anyone who recognises the programme and statutes of the national League and the Y.C.I., who has become a member of one of the nuclei of the League organisations, who participates actively in League work, who pays membership dues regularly and carries out all decisions of the League and the Y.C.L., is eligible for membership.

7. The basis unit of the Y.C.L. is the factory and street nucleus (in factories, mines, workshops, offices, on landed estates, in residential districts, in rural districts), to which all Y.C.L. members working or residing in their localities must belong.

8. In all non-Party mass organisations of the working and peasant youth (trade unions, sport Leagues, defence organisations, cultural associations, etc.), which have Y.C. Leaguers in their ranks, they are to be co-ordinated into fractions.

9. The Y.C.I. and its sections are constructed on principles of democratic centralism. The determining principles of democratic centralism are :—

(a) Election of all leading League organs for the nucleus Bureau up to the League Executive at general members' Labour Party meetings, at district (regional) and national Congresses. The leading organs have to render account at regular intervals to their members or the elected representatives of same.

(b) Binding recognition of all decisions of the higher League organs by the lower organs and the League membership, strict League discipline, prompt and complete carrying out of the decisions of the Executive of the Y.C.I. and C.I., and of the leading League and Party organs.

(c) League and Party questions can be discussed by League members and organisations only prior to decisions with respect to them by the competent League organs or by the E.C. of the Y.C.I. and C.I. As soon as a decision is arrived at concerning any question on the part of one of those organs, the discussion must stop and the decision must be carried out, even if part of the membership or of the local or national organisation disagree with the said decision.

Under illegal conditions, appointment of minor League organs, as well as co-option endorsed by the higher League organs are admissible.

The sanction of the E.C. Y.C.I. is necessary in co-opting new members to the C.C.

10. Strict League and Party discipline is the highest duty of all members and organisations of the Y.C.I. and its sections. A breach of discipline leads to disciplinary measures. With regard to organisations these measures may be : Censures, removal of executives and setting up of provisional executives which function until a Conference is held, dissolution of the organisation and a reorganisation of the membership. With regard to members these measures may be : Censures, removal from office, conditional and final expulsion. The organisations and members against whom disciplinary measures are taken have the right to

appeal to the next highest body and the World Congress. The disciplinary measures are in force until they are rescinded.

## II. THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE Y.C.I.

11. The supreme authority of the Y.C.I. is the World Congress, which takes place, as a rule, after every World Congress of the C.I. It is convened by the Executive Committee. Every section is under an obligation to send delegates. The number of delegates is decided by the Executive Committee.

12. The delegates of the Leagues to the World Congress are elected at League Congresses. If there is no League Congress held before the World Congress, the elections are held at a League Conference or at a Plenary session of the Central Committee.

The election of delegates must be connected in the Leagues with a thorough preparation of the questions to be dealt with at the World Congress.

13. The number of votes to which every section is entitled is determined by a Congress decision based on the membership of the respective League and of the political importance of its country.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. participate at the World Congress with the right of consultative voice.

14. The World Congress alone has the right to modify the programme and statutes of the Y.C.I. It examines the activity of the Y.C.I. and its E.C. as well as that of the sections, and decides the programmatic, tactical, and organisational questions of the Y.C.I. and its sections. Its decisions are binding for every section and for every member of the Y.C.I.

15. An emergency World Congress can be convened by the Executive Committee or whenever this is demanded by as many sections as had not less than one-half of the votes at the last World Congress. Consent of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. is required in every case.

## III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE Y.C.I.

16. The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. is its leading organ for the period between two World Congresses. It is elected at every World Congress by individual vote. The World Congress determines each time the number of its regular meetings and candidates.

17. The Plenum of the E.C. meets periodically and guides and controls the activity of all the sections of the Y.C.I. and the carrying out of the international decisions. Its decisions are binding for all sections. The Leagues are entitled to appeal

against these decisions to the World Congresses. However, they are bound to carry out these decisions until they are rescinded by the latter.

18. The Executive Committee has the right to rescind or modify decisions made by League Executives and League Congresses.

19. The Executive Committee has the right to expel Leagues, groups of Leagues, or individual members who act contrary to the statute, to the decisions of the World Congress or the Executive Committee. Those affected by the decisions of the Executive Committee have the right to appeal to the next World Congress.

20. The E.C. elects from its midst a Presidium which guides and centralises the entire political and organisational work of the E.C. and regulates and controls the carrying out of the work decided upon. The Presidium also distributes the entire work among the members of the E.C., appoints the representatives in the various countries and draws into the various sections a staff of collaborators for steady work in the various spheres, using also members of this staff as representatives of the E.C. in the sections. The numbers of members and candidates in the Presidium is determined by the Plenum of the Executive Committee.

21. The E.C. appoints from its midst a secretariat to prepare and carry out the work of the Presidium, to maintain connections with other international organisations and with members of the E.C. abroad and its own delegations, and also for the administration of the apparatus of the Executive. The Presidium has the right to make—whenever necessary—additions and changes in the composition of the Secretariat, which must be submitted to the E.C. for confirmation.

22. The E.C. publishes regularly the central organ of the Y.C.I. the "Young Communist International," at least in all the important languages.

23. The E.C. is entitled to establish sub-secretariats in regions under its guidance and control, for the maintenance of relations with the section or group of sections, or more effective work in them and control over them, as well as for the purpose of superintending the publishing activity of the Y.C.I.

24. The seat of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. is the same as that of the Communist International.

#### **IV. THE ENLARGED EXECUTIVE OF THE Y.C.I.**

25. The Enlarged Executive consists of the members of the

E.C. and the representatives of the sections. It decides important questions of policy, principle and tactics, the decision of which cannot be postponed to the regular World Congress. It also discusses the current activity of the Y.C.I. and of its sections. It meets, as a rule, in connection with every session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

26. The Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Executive Committee respectively, decide on the composition of the Enlarged Executive, the League representation and the number of representatives.

## V. THE SECTIONS OF THE Y.C.I.

27. The Central Committee of the sections of the Y.C.I. are under an obligation to keep the E.C. informed about all questions connected with their activity, to send to the E.C. the minutes of all its sessions and other League material, to keep up regular correspondence with it, and to report to it regularly at least every two months.

28. League Congresses can be convened by the League Executive only with the consent of the E.C. The League Executives are also under an obligation to notify the E.C. of any forthcoming plenary sessions of the Central Committee and of national Conferences. They are also obliged to forward in good time to the C.C. all the material prepared for these sessions, in order to enable it to take up a definite attitude to the decisions elaborated and to send delegates to the League and to give advice.

29. Individual sections of the Y.C.I., and particularly adjoining sections, should establish between one another close organisational relations and exchange information. This can be done by mutual representations at Conferences or Congresses, by Conferences of groups of countries, to be convened on the occasion of special political events, by exchange of speakers, and of leading forces, mutual reporting, youth days, and regular connections between the factory nuclei of the various Leagues. However, none of these measures must be taken without the consent of the E.C., without its guidance and control.

30. A certain number of sections of the Y.C.I. for whose joint activity this is expedient (for instance, the Balkan League) and for which practical and political considerations demand co-ordinated action, can, with the consent of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., form a federation working under the guidance and control of the E.C. of the Y.C.I.

31. Y.C.I.s must also pursue their activity illegally. Therefore, timely preparations must be made by them. In its control over the affiliated sections, the E.C. must bear in mind the pos-

sibility of their illegal existence, and must give them utmost support in this preparatory work.

32. Y.C.L. members cannot visit another country without the consent of their Central Committee. Members leaving their country without the consent and mandate of the C.C. of their League must not be received by any other section of the Y.C.L. Those who have changed their abode must report themselves to the Y.C.L. in the country where they have settled, in order to be registered there.

## **VI. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT.**

33. In order to provide working class children with a Communist education and to draw them into the struggle of the working class, Young Communist Leagues are establishing in all countries Communist Children's Organisations, which work under the control of the Young Communist League of the country.

The E.C. guides and controls the work of the Communist Children's Organisations through its International Children's Bureau.

## **VII. THE FINANCES OF THE Y.C.I.**

34. The Y.C.I. secures money from membership dues, profits from its publishing activities, special assessments and contributions. The money is used for the upkeep of the organisational apparatus of the Y.C.I., for agitation and education, and for the support of the weaker sections.

35. Every member of the Y.C.L. must pay five American cents annually to an international assessment. The sections together with the E.C. must see to the collection of this membership assessment and its transmission to the E.C.

36. The Y.C.I. treasury is administered by the secretariat of the Executive Committee. The finances of the E.C. and its sub-secretariats, the publishing houses, and the individual sections are controlled by an international auditing commission elected by the World Congress.

## **VIII.**

37. According to the decisions of the Berne Youth Conference in 1915, and of the First Congress of the Y.C.I., an International Youth Day is celebrated annually on the first Sunday in September. The political line and the international slogans on this occasion are determined by the E.C.

All sections of the Y.C.I. are in duty bound to make the International Youth Day a powerful demonstration of the Young Communist International, and to utilise it at the same time for the education of their members and the working youth in general.

# **Thesis of the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. on the Question of Sport Work**

## **I. INTRODUCTION.**

From the point of view of the class struggle, our work among the masses of worker sportsmen is important: for the reason that the sport organisations constitute an important field and object of the struggle for the youth between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (and also between Communism and Reformism); because the sport organisations, particularly in the countries in which the bourgeoisie is effecting military reforms, are an important link in the system of militarism and of bourgeois military training, and because the bourgeoisie increasingly exploits them as a means of struggle against the class-conscious strata of the proletariat and as a means of increasing the exploitation of the workers (company sport clubs).

From the point of view of transforming our Leagues into revolutionary mass organisations, the systematic activity of the Communist youth among the young workers engaging in sport is important in two respects: (1) for our Leagues the workers' sport organisations are one of the most important sources for the mass recruiting of new members; (2) they are one of the best channels through which the masses of working-class youth may be influenced and led by our League. No other labour organisation contains the working youth on such a mass scale as the workers' sport societies. Therefore, gaining influence in these organisations and the capturing of their Executives is one of the most important means in the struggle of the Young Communist Leagues for the leadership of and influence over the majority of the working youth.

## **II. INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE BOURGEOISIE ON THE FIELD OF SPORT.**

Recent years have been characterised by an increased endeavour to bring the masses of the toiling youth under the influence of bourgeois ideology by means of sport and sport organisations: establishment of new bourgeois sport organisations of the most varied kinds in a number of countries; company sport clubs and so-called labour sport introduced on a large scale in many countries; intensification of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to win over the school children by means of sport; militarisation of the youth conducted with the aid of sport (in the schools and



through the strengthening of military training sport organisations, intensification of propaganda activity in bourgeois sport (large sport supplements in the capitalist press, which is circulated by the millions); increased organisation of various public sport events on a local, national and international scale. There is a boom in the bourgeois sport movement and a strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie within the sport organisations. The number of young workers who are being influenced by bourgeois sport is likewise growing, although in some countries the workers' sport organisation have split away from the bourgeois organisations, and in other countries a split is about to take place.

### III. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND SPORT.

The activity of the Social Democracy and of the Lucerne Sportintern was strengthened in recent years in three directions: (1) sharpened offensive against the influence of the Communists in the workers' sport organisations with the aim of isolating the Communists (by means of expulsions and splits) from the masses of workers engaged in sport; (2) establishment of organisational collaboration between the Lucerne Sport organisations and the Social organisations and the Social Democracy, especially with the Socialist youth organisations; (3) dilution of the class character of the workers' sport movement and strengthening of the collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

### IV. ACTIVITY OF THE Y.C.I. AMONG THE YOUNG WORKERS ENGAGED IN SPORTS.

The Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I. declares that the decisions of the Fourth World Congress and of the various plenary meetings of the E.C. Y.C.I., regarding the tasks of the young Communist organisations on the field of sport were not given sufficient attention by the majority of the Sections of the Y.C.I. (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria (in parts), Sweden and others). An exception is the work of the British, Finnish and Norwegian Leagues. The passivity of the Young Communist Leagues in the field of sport work is not merely a shortcoming, but a political error, a consequence of the under-estimation of this work and a lack of comprehension of how to conduct mass work.

Activity among the sport youth and the winning of the masses of worker sportsmen is first of all an affair and task of the Young Communist Leagues. The Fifth Congress considers it absolutely necessary that, from the point of view of the contact of our Leagues with the masses of the working youth as well as from the point of view of the satisfaction of the interests and demands

of the youth by our organisation, there must be a decisive change in the work of the Y.C.L.'s on the sport field. The Y.C.L.'s must introduce a change in their attitude towards sport work, identical to that which, in their development into Bolshevik mass organisations, the Communist Parties had to make, and in part, are still making, with respect to trade union work.

### V. SOME TACTICAL QUESTIONS.

(1) The workers' sport organisations are broad mass organisations of the working-class and it is, therefore, not correct to require, as a condition for eligibility to membership in the workers' sport organisations, membership in the trade unions. The tendency towards the establishment of special trade union sport clubs, which are organs of the trade unions, and will not admit worker sportsmen who are not trade union members, is to be combatted. The workers' sport societies must work for the development of the class-consciousness of their members, for their entrance into class trade unions, making the closest contact with the trade unions, participating in the struggles of the workers—but they cannot, and must not, transform themselves into organs of the trade unions. In the existing trade union sport group we must fight against rules providing that workers who are not trade union members are barred from joining such societies. The formation of workers' sport societies according to occupation or industry and on the basis of the factory, must be supported by us.

(2) The offensive of the reformists in the workers' sport movement, which is only one sector of the attack of the reformists against the revolutionary elements in the labour movement, cannot be settled by compromises and concessions. Stronger organisations, more intensive work among the membership for our slogans and against attempts to split and expulsions—this must be our reply to the attacks of the agents of the Social Democratic Party in the workers' sport organisations.

(3) The affiliation of workers' sport clubs to bourgeois sport associations in countries with a developed labour movement, where there are as yet no independent workers' sport associations, must be limited to the shortest possible time. Remaining in the bourgeois sport organisations for too long a period cannot be justified on the ground of the necessity of winning the largest possible number of workers' sport clubs for separation, because the separation from bourgeois sport and the establishment of independent workers' sport associations constitutes the best agitation for winning over the workers' sport clubs and for their withdrawal from the bourgeois sport federations.

(4) The control of the apparatus plays a big rôle also in the

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sport organisations, and it is very important for our work to control the leadership and the apparatus (editorial boards, official positions, etc.). But this work must proceed on the basis of a persistent and systematic struggle for the demands and principles of the revolutionary workers' sport movement. Therefore, it is not enough to control the leadership, without, at the same time, carrying out the necessary political work among the members.

(5) It is not always necessary to raise the question of affiliation to the R.S.I. immediately the leadership of a workers' sport organisation is in the hands of the supporters of the R.S.I. The question of affiliation to the R.S.I. is dependent upon various tactical and political factors. We must carry on a most extensive agitation among the members in the respective organisations—for the R.S.I., for its principles and policy, for the international unity of the workers' sport movement; we must expose the leadership and policy of the L.S.I., arrange joint meets, but only raise the question of affiliation after due consideration of all tactical factors, when it has been sufficiently popularised and prepared for among the membership.

(6) The policy of endeavouring to elect members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. only into the leadership of the workers' sport organisations, is incorrect. We must strive to win non-Party young worker sportsmen into active championship of the principles of the revolutionary workers' sport movement by their participation in the leadership.

(7) The demands of workers' sport organisations for financial and technical-sport aid from various State organs, parliaments and municipalities is permissible only on the condition that the class character of the respective workers' sport organisations shall not for a moment be weakened thereby. Basing requests for support from the State upon arguments of a philanthropic nature ("We work to better the health of the people," etc.) which wipe out the class character of the workers' sport movement, is to be considered an opportunistic mistake. Participation in various State sport enterprises, is to be rejected.

## VI. TASKS IN THE SPORT ORGANISATIONS.

(1) The aims that we set ourselves in our activity among the youth engaged in sport are the following: Winning all labour organisations for the programme and demands of the revolutionary workers' sport movement (Red Sport International); drawing in of the workers' sport organisations and associations in all struggles of the working-class, especially in the economic struggles (picket duty, courier service, defence corps, etc.), and in the struggle against the menace of imperialist wars. These aims are attained by means of:

(a) The most active participation of the Communist youth in the day to day practical and sport work, which has the same importance for winning the confidence of the young workers in the workers' sport organisations as has the practical work in the trade unions for winning over the members of the trade unions. The sport organisations cannot be won merely by campaign-like activity (adoption of resolutions from time to time, and motions on occasional questions of sport work).

(b) Intensive struggle against the tendencies for the political neutrality of the workers' sport organisations and against the so-called "pure and simple sport movement," on the basis of concrete examples and experiences. In all workers' sport organisations there must be carried on a systematic training activity of members and officials along the line of the class struggle.

(c) Struggle for a maximum of proletarian democracy eligibility of election to Executives, right of the membership to determine all important questions, and the widest possible independence of the various organisations, sports and departments.

(d) Introduction of the elements of proletarian defence training in the workers' sport organisations (circles, sharp-shooting detachments, protection of labour demonstrations, where there are no special defence organisations, etc.).

(e) Active collaboration in the labour sport press and in the sport supplements of the labour press.

(f) Intensive recruiting activity of all Y.C.L.'s among the worker and peasant youth for their entrance into the workers' sport organisations.

(2) While uninterruptedly fighting the bourgeois sport organisations as instruments of the bourgeoisie in the class struggle, we must develop intensive work within workers' sport organisations affiliated to bourgeois federations for their separation from the bourgeoisie, and for creation of, or affiliation with workers' sport federations. The Fifth Congress instructs the Sections of the Y.C.I. to foster and support in every way the establishment of independent workers' sport federations, especially in Sweden, Yugo-Slavia, Greece, Denmark, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Roumania, China, Japan, Canada and Mexico.

Work must be undertaken also in the existing neighbourhood sport clubs and societies in which there are many workers and employees (Great Britain and America). In these clubs we must carry on agitation for affiliation with the workers' sport federations.

**We must also strengthen the fight against the sport organi-**

sations in connection with the various religious sport bodies, which are very active.

3. In the reformist sport organisations the Y.C.L.s must carry out the following tasks:—

Development of a persistent and intensive work among the masses of the members of the Lucerne Sections for joint meets with R.S.I. units, for the establishment of unity and against the policy of treason and splitting conducted by the leaders of the L.S.I., and a campaign against the policy and the whole system of reformist work in the workers' sport organisations on the basis of concrete examples, particularly in such questions as are obvious to the worker sportsmen, e.g., connections with the imperialist League of Nations, collaboration with the bourgeoisie (in municipal sport meets, joint sport committees, passivity towards company sport clubs, prohibition of games with "Russian teams," prohibition of participation in the Moscow Spartakiade, establishment of organisational contact with the Social Democrats, etc.).

The centre of gravity of the work of the R.S.I. adherents in the L.S.I. must lie among the masses of worker sportsmen to an even greater degree than previously; exchange of letters and negotiations with the headquarters is to be restricted to a minimum.

Opposition work within the L.S.I. Sections must be organised (fractions, systematic direction, organisation, opposition organs, conferences, etc.), and the limits of oppositional movement must be extended far beyond the borders of the Party and Y.C.L. fractions.

Joint meets must also be organised on a local scale and against the will of the central bodies of the L.S.I. Sections. For the strengthening of the struggle for unity we must exploit on a wide scale the results and the joint activity of the L.S.I. and R.S.I. members in the Moscow Spartakiade.

The reformist content and methods of the educational work of the L.S.I. Sections (Helsingfors decisions) must be sharply combatted by us.

Special attention must be devoted by the Leagues to the winning of the youth departments of the L.S.I. Sections.

4. The R.S.I. and its Sections and supporters are confronted with the following tasks:—

## VII. TASKS IN THE Y.C.L. ORGANISATIONS.

Our tasks in the Young Communist organisations are the following:—

Orientation of the mass of the membership to the necessity of intensive work among the worker sportsmen through: —

(a) Popularisation, by means of a thorough study of the decisions of the World Congress.

(b) Educational work in the organisations, groups, etc. (especially the task of combatting company sports), and in the Press.

(c) Frequent carrying out of our tasks, on the sport field, at the plenary meetings of the C.C.s, and at national conferences and congresses.

Creation of an apparatus for sport work. In every central, district, and local committee, there must be sport commissions or department heads for sport work, who carefully keep track of all events and developments in the sport organisations, and who direct the sport work. This sport work must not evolve into a departmental matter, but must be dealt with frequently in the committees. With respect to the direction of the sport fractions, the closest collaboration must be established with the Party. It is desirable, for the central direction of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. sport work as a whole, to establish joint central commissions for sport work under the Party C.C. (composed of representatives of the C.C. of the Y.C.L., Org. Department of the Party, and the heads of the Party and Youth fractions in the sport organisations).

Increasing the percentage of Y.C.L. members who are organised and active in the sport bodies. The overwhelming majority of our membership must be organised in the sport bodies. The Leagues must see to it that their members take an active part in the sport activities of the workers' organisations.

Creation of a network of fractions in all workers' sport organisations: in those which have not yet separated from the bourgeois bodies, in the L.S.I. organisations, in the R.S.I. Sections, in the company sport clubs, and, above all, in the special youth groups and departments of the sport associations. The sport fractions are built on the same plan as the trade union fractions: they are a part of the Party fraction for the conduct of work among young worker sportsmen and for the carrying out of the instructions of the Y.C.L. From time to time there must be consultations and conferences of the sport fractions on a national and district scale.

Introduction of sport activity in all legal and illegal Leagues and in sport generally (various ball games, races, outings, hiking, cycling, etc.). The sport activity of the Y.C.L. members in the Y.C.L. organisation takes place in accordance with the policy of brightening and livening the internal life of our organisations, and must under no circumstances lead to the creation of

special sport groups or sport sections of the Communist youth, or any sort of "competition" with the workers' sport organisations. Within these limits sport activity shall also be introduced into organisations of the types of the Junior Red Front. The actual sport training and activity of Y.C.L. members must be carried on in the workers' sport organisations.

From the point of view of their transformation into mass organisations, as well as from the point of view of winning over worker sportsmen and the livening up of the contents of our Press, the League newspapers must deal with the questions of sport work and sport activity to a much greater extent than in the past.

Affiliation of the Y.C.L.s to the local cartels of the workers' sport and cultural federations—even though only with a consultative voice—now existing in certain countries (Germany) and active participation in them. An intensive propaganda and a struggle is to be conducted in the workers' sport and cultural organisations for the admission of the Y.C.L. into such local cartels.

Establishment of collaboration between the Y.C.L. and the workers' sport societies, particularly with the youth sport departments (exchange of invitations to public affairs, arrangement of joint recruiting campaigns for the workers' sport society or the youth department, joint outings, e.g., with the "Friends of Nature." Manifestoes and appeals on the part of the Y.C.L. addressed to the entire toiling youth calling upon them to take part in the affairs arranged by the workers' sport organisation.

Collaboration and seizure of the initiative in the establishment of close relations between the workers' sport organisations and the trade unions, the raising of the question of trade union support in every way for labour sports. It is especially important that there be established close connection and collaboration between the workers' sport organisations (and youth departments) and the youth sections and youth committees of the trade unions.

### **VIII. STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMPANY SPORT MOVEMENT.**

The employers and their organisations, and the municipal and State authorities, are proceeding with the organisation of factory and official sport clubs in order to hinder the development of the class-consciousness of the workers and to withdraw the workers from the influence of the class organisations, while making necessary preparations for the introduction of industrial peace, in all countries and in all branches of industry.

The purpose and tasks of these company and Governmental

sport clubs, and of recess-gymnastics, are the following: (1) Establishment of a relationship of dependency upon the employer (sport equipment, gymnasiums, sport-grounds, expenses paid to attend meets, overtime, wages paid for time spent in gym. hours, guarantee against lay-offs, etc.); (2) control of the workers by the employers after working hours; (3) making the workers inactive in the class organisations (diverting them from class struggle and from class organisations), weakening the workers' sport societies and fostering the bourgeois sport movement; (4) raising of the productive capacity of the workers (corrective exercises, counteracting of fatigue, harmonisation of sport activity with the character of production); (5) ideological influence (literary and scientific circles, company organs, officers and employers' agents as sport instructors, propagation of the slogan that "all men are equal in gym. suits"); (6) preparations for class collaboration in the factory (factory funds, company club life, company newspaper, company houses, employers' welfare schemes); (7) recruiting field for factory Fascism; (8) link in the system of military training; (9) counterposing apprentices and adult workers (by means of special organisations for apprentices).

The tactics of the Y.C.L. in fighting this weapon of the employers against the working class must be the following:—

1. The combatting of company sports is not only an affair of the sport organisations and of the youth, but of the entire labour movement. In the actions against company sports there must be drawn into active participation, apart from the Party and youth organisations and apart from the workers' sport societies, the trade unions, Red Front, Junior Red Front, and factory councils. The major premise for successfully combatting company sports is the vigorous activity of Party and Y.C.L. groups in the factory. The strength of the factory sport movement in the various enterprises is proportional to the influence of the Party and Y.C.L. groups. The chief basis for fighting company sports must lie in the adequate activity of the nucleus in all fields of work.

2. In the factory, trade union, workers' sport organisation, Press, and everywhere throughout our whole activity we must expose the real character of the company sport clubs, we must fight for their dissolution and for affiliation of their membership to the workers' sport organisations; and in their place we must fight for the creation, strengthening and recruiting for independent, class-conscious workers' sport organisations. This is the general line of our position against the company sport movement.

3. Wherever the employers' factory sport clubs do not yet

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exist, and especially where their organisation is being planned, we must mobilise all forces (Party and Y.C.L. groups, factory councils, trade unions, shop papers, workers' sport clubs, factory personnel meetings, Party and trade union Press) in order to make their formation impossible.

4. Wherever there are already company sport clubs and recess gymnastics, we must above all direct the struggle against the compulsory participation of the workers in the affairs of these institutions. In those cases where the company (and especially the Government) sport organisations have a truly broad mass character, where participation is enforced by any sort of duress or where the employers succeed in veiling the yellow character of the organisation, so that even class-conscious workers are attracted by these organisations, it is a mistake to confine ourselves solely to combatting them from the outside.

While constantly unmasking the company sports organisations as instruments of the employers against the working class, and while at all times emphasising our point of view of hostility to them in principle, we must in such cases simultaneously conduct disintegrative work inside the company sport organisations. For this reason our members, and by agreement also some members of the workers' sport bodies and trade unions who know their job, must be sent into the company sport units for the purpose of organising fractions of class-conscious elements, disintegrating the company sport clubs and winning over their members for affiliation with the workers' sport organisations on the basis of a struggle for the following slogans and demands:—

(a) Democratisation of the company sport clubs (election of executives, right of the members themselves to decide matters, regular holding of membership meetings, etc.).

(b) Countering the agitation and work of the employers and their agents (sport instructors, individual propaganda, dissemination of Party, factory, labour sport and trade union press, co-reporters and speakers at various lectures, etc.).

(c) Discharge of Fascist sport instructors and employment of sport teachers from the workers' sport organisations.

(d) Countering of the efforts to affiliate the company sports' bodies to bourgeois sport federations, or agitation for withdrawal from the latter, propaganda for affiliation to the workers' sport bodies, and for the joint arrangement of meets with the workers' sport federations.

(e) Affiliation of members of the company sport bodies to the class sport organisations of the workers (trade unions, anti-Fascist organisations, etc.).

For the attainment of this goal there is required the organisation of the members of the class trade unions and workers' sport organisations inside the company sport bodies (in practice under the leadership of the nuclei and our fraction). The slogan: "Away from the company sport unions" should be raised as a slogan of action in cases where, by the withdrawal of the majority over a certain number of workers from the company sport body, its further activity will be made impossible.

5. In general we must support the tendency towards the creation of workers' sport organisations on a factory basis, in large enterprises, mines, etc., if there exist the necessary prerequisites. The creation of factory workers' sport organisations as a "reply" to the formation of company sport bodies which have a mass character, is as a rule not to be recommended, because thereby the class-conscious part of the workers is separated from the backward mass contained in the company sport body.

6. Recess gymnastics are to be viewed as one of the links in rationalisation, which we must fight as a phenomenon which intensifies the exploitation of the workers. We must especially conduct a struggle against the compulsory introduction of recess gymnastics. Nevertheless, in so far as this is introduced, the participation of the workers in these exercises during working hours, must be met by the following demands: Full pay by the employer for time lost during exercises, higher wages for improvement of nourishment, shortening of the working day, and, in a word, full compensation for the labour-power expended by the workers through the recess gymnastics.

7. We must demand that all public sport grounds and gymnasiums, as well as those of the company sport bodies, must be freed for general use; especially the right of the workers' sport organisations to utilise them must be fought for.

8. The passivity of the reformist leaders of the trade unions and workers' sport organisations towards the question of company sports must be utilised for the exposure of their collaboration in the consolidation and rationalisation of "our industry." The raising of questions for the combatting of the company sports in the workers' sport organisations will not only have the purpose of "forcing the reformist leaders to take up a determined struggle against the bourgeois company and governmental sport

movement," but of exposing them and their passive attitude and reluctance to engage in real struggles.

9. Our entire Press (youth, Party, trade union and shop papers, etc.), must painstakingly gather all facts about the anti-working class and capitalist character of the company sport organisations, disseminating and utilising this data in a general agitation against company sports.

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