

# Results of the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I.

April, 1925

## I. The Main Factors which Determine the Position of the Leagues.

The present political position of the Communist Youth Leagues is marked by the following characteristics:

(a) The necessity of working together with the Parties in the Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth Leagues.

(b) Increasingly difficult conditions of work in comparison with the immediate past, especially among the masses of the proletariat and peasant youth.

(c) A certain decrease in the membership of the Communist Youth Leagues; as a result of persecution (France, Italy and some other countries, in spite of everything, show an increase in their organisation);

(d) An increase in internal dangers—ideological deviations—as a result of a certain slackening in the tempo of the World Revolution.

There are now some new factors in the world position which during the last decade was marked, in respect of capitalism, as the epoch of proletarian revolution. These factors became revealed "through the democratic pacifist era," and found their expression in the disappearance of any immediate revolutionary situation in Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary and others). But all these new factors do not change the real character of the epoch as an epoch of proletarian revolution. Throughout the world antagonisms continue to grow; with every day there is fresh news about the development of the class struggle; the much-talked of "stabilisation"—i.e., the durability of capitalism—experiences new and overpowering blows (the Balkans, France, Great Britain, Colonial movement, etc.). In our time class antagonisms are becoming more acute; they result oftener in conflicts than was the case before the war.

Communist Youth Leagues have recently been in very difficult straits owing to the repression on the part of reaction. The mass work of the Leagues has suffered most therefrom. But also the internal activity of the Leagues is endangered; the decrease of the possibilities of carrying on mass work naturally results in abnormal internal conditions of development for the Leagues. The German League was most affected by the decrease in the number of West European supporters of the Communist Youth Leagues, as an unavoidable result of the general political position. The cause of this is fairly apparent. This loss was to a certain extent counteracted by our brother Leagues in France, Italy and other countries, but still this state of affairs causes great difficulty in our work and confronts the League with the old, though always new, question of how to connect the inner activity with mass work.

## II. The Chief Tasks of the Communist Youth Leagues.

In the theses of the Bolshevisation of the Sections of the Comintern, the winning over of the entire young workers to the Y.C.L.'s is marked out among the tasks of Bolshevisation. What does this interpretation of the question mean? The theses on Bolshevisation give a perfectly clear answer: It is absolutely essential to win over that generation of workers which has grown up under conditions of the World Imperialist War and during the early stages of the World Revolution. The entire proletarian youth of the new epoch must be grouped together in opposition to the bourgeois leaders of the Labour aristocracy who form the chief support of Social-Democracy in all countries.

The last Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. was held during a specially historic period. It is true the difficulty which arises in finding new ways to gain our own aims was eased somewhat by the activity of the Executive of the E.C. of the Y.C.I.. The general tasks of the League were determined by the decisions of the Executive of the Y.C.I. Special stress was laid on the great political role of the Communist Youth Leagues, in the report of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., in those countries where Communist Parties still show strong signs of Social-Democratic influences (Czechoslovakia among others). *It is a well-known fact that the chief condition of Bolshevisation consists in overcoming Social-Democratic tendencies and traditions, whether these exist in acute or mild, in open or covert forms.* Communist Youth Leagues are not indifferent, nor will they ever be

indifferent to this struggle within the Party which decides the problem of Bolshevisation, which leads the Communist movement either into the morass of Social-Democracy or on the broad path to the development of a proletarian revolution. In this respect the task of the Leagues will be determined by the necessity in participating in the inner Party struggle in order to support in every way the policy of the Comintern, i.e., in order to focus all our forces on the struggle for Bolshevisation. Still, quite apart from the task of transforming Communist Youth Leagues into mass organisations, they must become the real reserve of the Communist Parties. The political education of the reserves consists in being included in the advanced guard—the Party and the Comintern—of the struggles which are being carried on against deviations from Communism. Whilst forces are being concentrated whilst the fight is being carried on for correct political policy, the best revolutionaries are developing who are destined to take the lead in a new ascent in the working class movement. It is not possible to mark out in an exhaustive manner the Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth Leagues, if the conditions, the position and the attending circumstances are not more exactly analysed and we restrict ourselves to mere stereotyped methods; for in this case the way to Bolshevisation consists mainly in transforming Communist Youth Leagues first and foremost into mass organisations; secondly, in conducting Leninist education of the youth into the right channels and fighting all deviations from Communism; and thirdly, in developing a real reserve of the Communist Parties—a reserve which is composed of workers who are free from Social-Democratic tendencies.

## III. The Working and Peasant Youth and the Communist Youth Leagues.

These are the main points at issue. But how is the task of the re-organisation of the Communist Youth Leagues into mass organisations to be understood?

Unlike the Russian Youth Leagues, the other Youth Leagues cannot undertake the task of including the peasant youth on a large scale. At the Enlarged Executive and at the sessions of the Political Commission, certain attempts were made to characterise the Communist Youth Leagues, in opposition to the Parties of a more comprehensive organisation, i.e., organisations consisting not only of young workers but also of peasant youth. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. was absolutely justified in rejecting the proposals

made in this respect and stressed the fact that Communist Youth Leagues should remain organisations of the proletarian youth. The various cadres of young workers have still a long way to go before they are all absorbed by the Communist Youth Leagues. There is in this respect a great deal of work to be done. All our forces, all the means at our disposal, must be concentrated on the conquest of the entire young workers without exception. That by no means signifies that work in the country, as formerly, should remain the Achilles' heel of the Leagues. The youth in the country which is at present being brought under the influence of the Communist Youth Leagues must become our ally; the proletarian sections, the young agricultural workers and the youth belonging to the small peasantry, crushed under the weight of taxation, must be brought under the influence of the Communist Youth League. In contradistinction to the R.L.Y.C.I., it is not possible for the other Communist Leagues to devote equal attention to the middle peasantry. Under capitalist conditions, the laws of private property make the middle peasants a power of varying significance, politically vacillating. But the neutralisation of the middle peasants pre-supposes that we have not only the negative duty to nullify the influence of the middle peasantry as regards the proletarian struggle against capitalism, but that we are faced with still greater political work of transforming these peasants into political allies of the struggling working class.

#### IV. Leninism and the Activity of the Communist Youth Leagues.

The activity of our Leagues should not in future be of a chance nature, but must be continually determined organically by Leninist teachings. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. has drafted definite instructions as a guide for the re-organisation of this work. *At this juncture it is not possible to be a Leninist and a Bolshevik if we fail to understand how to link up practical work and the revolutionary struggle with the Leninist theory of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.* For, can the anti-militarist struggle on the basis of the teachings of Lenin on imperialist war and the necessity of its development into a civil war, or colonial work be conducted if it is not done in connection with the teachings of Lenin on the role of the colonies and of the connection of the proletarian revolution in capitalist countries with the uprisings of the oppressed peoples in the

colonies and semi-colonies? But neither can organisational work, economic struggle, etc., be properly conducted without the knowledge of Leninist tactics in regard to the economic struggles of the workers, etc. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. laid stress on the connection between practical work and theoretical education as the basis of Leninist Youth education. Further, in the field of ideology, of tactics, of organisation, the Communist Youth Leagues must be imbued with Marxist and Leninist theory in their entire activity in the struggle against capitalism. Comrade Bukharin, in his report at the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. on Leninism and Marxism, very correctly drew attention to the opinion of Marx, who distinguishes his theory of the class struggle from all others. Marx points out that he did not discover the class struggle, that bourgeois scientists had done so before him. But in contradistinction to the others, he championed the view that the dictatorship of the proletariat was an unavoidable result of the class struggle. It is perfectly clear that the entire struggle and field of work of Communist Youth Leagues must be subordinated to this idea. It is merely a question as to whether the Leagues are in a position to recognise their work on the basis of the directions laid down by the last Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., whether they will understand how to become a real outpost of the working youth and to carry these along with them in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### V. Current Tasks should be Subordinate to the General Aims.

At the Plenary Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. attention was drawn to a number of successes of other Communist Youth organisations, both in the field of internal activity and in that of mass work. By degrees, Youth organisations are developing into the centre-point of the entire activity of the Communist Youth League; our economic propaganda, our demands, conferences of the young workers, the conduct of strike movements—all this increases the mass influence of the Leagues on the working and peasant youth and now the anti-militarist struggle has a much firmer basis than formerly. In the internal activity we are faced more definitely with the necessity of beginning mass education and the mass development of the League members and to subject to this task the formation and preparation of active cadres.

In present day circumstances, the danger of deviations is increasing in an unusual manner. The slackening pace of

the world revolution may lead to demoralisation, disappointment and even to despair in the ranks of the proletarian youth. The danger of narrow practicalism which eventually leads to opportunism, the danger of Left sects are continually imminent. These dangers are all the greater now, when our opponents are mobilising their entire strength against us in the endeavour to kill the consciousness of the inevitability of the world revolution in the ranks of the masses. These dangers can only be avoided by the Y.C.I. devoting more attention to the questions of theory, in order to understand the pending dangers and be in a position to meet them with theoretically clear perspectives concerning the world revolution, and finally that it secures ways and means of imbuing all fields of activity with revolutionary Marxist Leninism.

Such are the tasks of the Y.C.I. in the new epoch. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., in addition to the chief tasks concerning Bolshevisation and Leninist education of the Communist Youth Leagues, drafted a series of practical problems in close connection with the general work and the position of the movement in each individual country. Mention was made at the Enlarged Executive of resolutions dealing with economic work, organisational work, work in the country, in the children's movement, etc. At special commissions instructions were formulated for a number of the most important Leagues—America, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, etc. The Leagues, subsequent to the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., have been strengthened and are more prepared to fight; such results offer the greatest security for the successful surmounting of the difficulties which lie on our path to victory.

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