

# THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By JOHN WILLIAMSON.

The Fourth World Congress of the Young Communist International met immediately upon the conclusion of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. The opening took place in the world famous Bolshoi Theater, formerly the Tsar's Theater. The hall was decorated in red from top to bottom. The theater was crowded with Moscow young workers who mingled freely with the delegates from every country in the world. Not only the body of the hall, but the six tiers of balcony rising up to the air, and the stage, a good-sized hall in itself, was packed with young communists.

Comrade Zetlin, on behalf of the executive committee, formally opened the congress and delivered a speech dealing with the problems before us. The presidency was then elected and seated upon the stage. The writer represented the English-speaking countries. Speeches of welcome were then made by representatives of the Comintern, Profintern, Red Army, Women's Conference, International Red Aid and many other organizations. Each of these were received by loud applause and the singing of the Internationals. We must not forget the Young Pioneers who were represented by two young comrades who delivered speeches equal to any.

After these speeches, representative groups from Y. C. I. factory nuclei in Russia presented banners to the German, French and Swedish leagues. The Russian comrades all expressed the hope that their comrades in other lands would increase their activities and become mass organizations representing the millions of young workers and fighting participants in the every-day struggle.

During the latter part of the evening, the Moscow league presented several tableaux, a sport and musical program. The grand opening session adjourned amidst great enthusiasm, yells, shouting and singing.

**The Work Begins**  
The congress lasted nine working days and there were present 108 regular delegates and 26 fraternal. These included representatives from every land. America had three regular and one fraternal delegate. Many times during the session, committees from factories and the Red Army came and presented banners to the Y. C. I. or individual leagues.

Comrade Manuilsky reported on behalf of the E. C. of the C. I., and went into great detail with the present world economic situation and the recent Congress of the Comintern. It is only possible to give here in very brief form the principal points of his report.

He pointed out that the capitalist world was gradually becoming colonies of either the U. S. or Great Britain. However, due to the geographical make-up of the British Empire, there was a tendency of decentralization. Canada was gradually being assimilated by the U. S. and the other colonies, such as India, Egypt, and Australia, were continually demanding greater independence and freedom of action. Temporarily, world economics seemed to improve, but we must also realize that the chaos and devaluation of economics was extending to the victorious countries also, and there was a greater world uniformity than ever before in capitalist countries.

Comrade Manuilsky then dealt with the world agrarian crisis, dealing especially with America. He pointed out that the entire Communist movement must conduct greater activities among the peasants than hitherto, and specifically pointed out that the Y. C. I. only has an influence among the young industrial workers, and practically no influence in the country. This must be remedied immediately, as it is impossible for us to hope for success without the support of the peasants.

He dealt at great length with the Experts' Report on Germany and showed that this was much more severe than even the original French report. The essence of this report was simply the colonization of the German proletariat and we must fight bitterly against it. One of the principal tasks before the entire Communist movement was the defense of the German workers against colonial enslavement.

It was significant that the entire social democratic movement had capitulated to this latest move of the capitalists and were a party to its adoption. The trump card of the capitalists during the war were the

social democrats and again today we see this in evidence. Witness the social democrats in Central Europe, Great Britain and he might well have added America, where they are the bosom pals of LaFollette. The social democrats must be regarded simply as the third party of capitalism in every country and fought bitterly to the end. Our fight against world capitalism means a vigorous and bitter fight against the second international who are the rulers and henchmen of world imperialism.

**United Front From Below**  
Dealing at great length with the Fifth Congress, he dealt specifically with the defeat in Germany, the Russian discussion and lastly the question of the United Front or the Workers' and Farmers' government. He pointed out the confusion that existed and the right tendency in various parties which had been scuttled by the E. C. of the C. I. and how the Fifth Congress had thoroughly cleared the situation. The United Front tactic must be considered a tactic whereby we gain contact between the communists and the backward masses. In different countries it will take various forms. The United Front must be fundamentally carried out from below and at all times the Communist Party must guard its independence of propaganda and action while carrying out these maneuvers.

Least, but not least, Manuilsky pointed out that the Fifth Congress was the starting point for a thorough Bolshevizing of our international. The Y. C. I. and its various national sections had a particular task before it as the youth members must be trained Leninists if they were to become the leaders of the adult Communist movement. While many compliments had been paid the Y. C. I. for its activities in the Ruhr, and on the field of shop nuclei, we must not overlook our failures. The Ruhr work appeared exceedingly big because no real anti-militarist work had ever before attempted. We must extend and further strengthen this work. We must become a real mass organization and this can be done only thru a complete reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei.

In conclusion Comrade Manuilsky showed that the C. I. was composed of two distinct elements: First, the old element with social democratic experience and training and, second, the young the inexperienced element but largely free from this social democratic training. The international defended the "old Guard" in Russia because they had always fought this opportunism of the second international, but they greeted the young guard in Western Europe.

**The Report of the E. C.**  
The next important report was that of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. given by Comrade Schueller. Most of it will be covered in the reports under separate headings, so I will try to make it as brief as possible. The work of the E. C. could be divided under three general classifications.

1. Ruhr activity immediately after Third Congress.  
2. General political activity and the October defeat in Germany.  
3. Activity since October defeat and concentration on economic field.

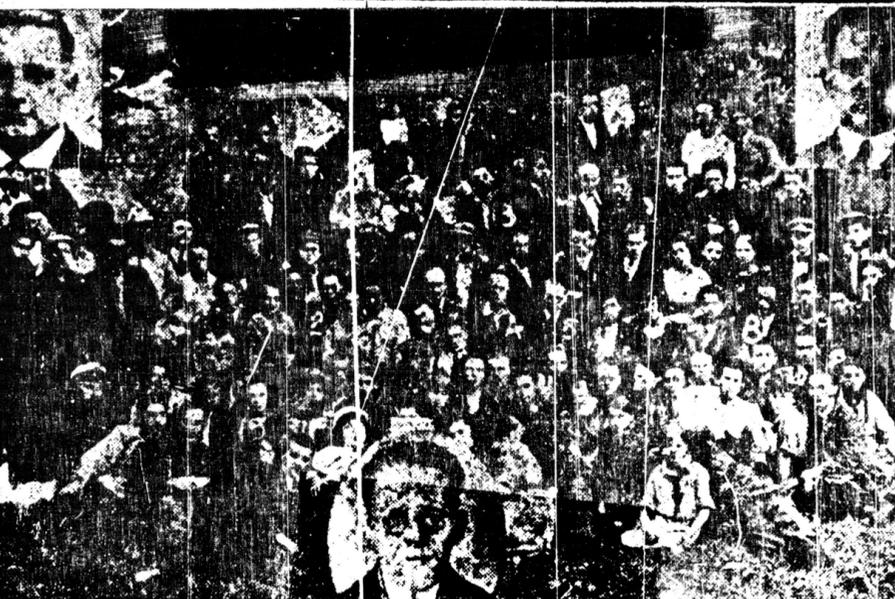
The Y. C. I. reacted to the Ruhr situation by the French league increasing its activity in the army. Much successful work was conducted and many nuclei of members formed as well as a special army paper circulated. This was entirely illegal activity and showed the comrades what success could be accomplished among the forces. If the German revolution had been successful the E. C. felt confident that the actions of the French soldiers would have shown how far reaching this propaganda had been.

The German league increased its nucleus activity manifold and the Ruhr was practically organized upon this basis exclusively. A very successful conference of all surrounding leagues was held where definite plans of work for each country were adopted.

It is essential that every league strengthen its political activity. While the party must be the political leader, we must be an active aid to the party in every movement. Our leagues must react to every important political event and utilize this in its activity.

The E. C. has concentrated on several leagues during this past period, as these were the most important. Work was centered on Germany until October, when the Communist Party of Germany failed to seize power. The right tendency never had a hold on

## AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS



A photograph taken at the fourth congress of the Young Communist International. The delegates marked with numbers are 1. Jacques Doriot (France); 2. Chantaly (China); 3. A. D. Springhall (England); 4. William Ruft (England); 5. John Williamson (United States); 6. Robertson (England); Jehm Zetlin (Russia); 8. Vuyovitch (Jugo-Slavia); 9. Bernhard Ziegler (Germany); 10. Richard Schueller (Austria); 11. John Edwards (United States); 12. Nat Kaplan (United States); 13. Rudolph (Germany); 14. Hill (Canada); 15. Oleta Vilde (Germany). In the upper left, John Edwards; the upper right, Oliver Carlson; lower center, John Williamson. The delegates who are covered with papers to make their faces represent countries in which the young communist movement is illegal, and where various "democratic" rules make it dangerous for them to be known.

our German league and the league has supported the position of the Comintern almost unanimously. The thorough discussion as a result of our defeat has had a wonderful effect upon the league and stimulated its activities.

In Bulgaria our league was the first to see the mistake committed and immediately accepted the Comintern decision. Our leagues took an active part in the struggle against opportunism in the French and Swedish parties. In Sweden we have fought to uphold the C. I. against the rank opportunism—Hoklund. He and his group have done everything to obstruct the league, but we are succeeding in forcing him to take a definite stand.

In Great Britain our league showed a passive tendency at first in its attitude towards the labor government but this is being abandoned and an aggressive policy attitude assumed. The Russian league, with the exception of a few student elements, supported the majority of the E. C. of the Russia Party in the recent party discussion. The discussion tied the league with the party more than ever before and a greater understanding of Leninism was given the young league membership. The fact that only the student element supported the opposition was a significant fact and showed once again that the industrial element is the real backbone of our movement.

The matter of the United Front and the Workers' and Farmers' government has been a large one before all the leagues as a result of the German situation. The Fifth Congress of the C. I. has completely cleared up this matter and leaves no room for misinterpretation or opportunities for right wing tendencies to utilize this tactic to compromise our movement.

**IN Italy** we have left wing tendencies which follow the Bordiga group in the party. These tendencies are also dangerous although in a different direction. This left wing tendency is one of sectarianism and a refusal to carry on mass activity for fear of jeopardizing their purity or virginity as a Communist force. We must oppose this tendency just as vigorously as the one from the right as it will leave us separated from the masses of the workers instead of shaping their actions and being the leaders of the working masses. However, our Italian comrades are a militant body and while they are against the decisions in theory they carry out their instructions in practice. They have also carried on a great fight against the Fascist. We must aim to show them their mistakes and the necessity of becoming a real mass movement.

**Leagues Supported Comintern Policies**  
In conclusion this second phase Comrade Schueller pointed out that in the two major problems before the Comintern, namely the German and Russian, every league executive had supported the decisions of the Y. C. I. which had consistently supported the E. C. of the C. I. During the past period the Y. C. I. had supported all the policies of the Comintern and has endeavored to have every section carry these into practice in their respective country.

The E. C. never considered the shop nuclei as a mere organizational problem. Experience has proven that it is the fundamental means of building a mass organization and must be considered as such by every section of the international, then went into detail with the various countries dealing with their failures and successes. It was pointed out that only in Russia and Estonia were the League completely built upon the new basis. However, good progress was being made in several countries.

It was essential that America and Great Britain should quicken this organization. While it had taken a long time to get started the E. C. felt confident that the experience gained

would make every member realize how important this work was.

Once the League was completely reorganized upon the shop nuclei basis a completely new outlook was held by the membership. Every activity increased as a result and we became real mass organizations and the leaders of the whole working class youth.

Comrade Schueller then pointed out that the Comintern had made it compulsory for every Party to completely reorganize itself upon the new basis. As a result of this decision it was especially urgent that in these countries such as Great Britain and America where only a start had been made that these leagues must step lively to keep aloft the tradition of the Y. C. I. as the leader in this reorganization.

**ON** an international scale little had been accomplished in anti-militarist work. The only country which had actually participated in this work in a large scale was France. We then went into detail about the work in the Ruhr. This was a problem that must be faced and a determined stand taken by this Congress to force every league to increase its anti-militarist activity.

Dealing with economic trade union activity, Schueller called it "the one child that continually gives us trouble. This activity is one of the most important for every league. While it was true that the league had carried on good propaganda and some had really made a start in participation in the struggles of the young workers, that was not enough. It is fundamental that our leagues do not let a single strike occur without us bringing forward special demands and assuming the leadership of the strike. However, our aim must be to bring these young workers in our ranks. We must organize them into nuclei. We will then be in a much more advantageous position to further this work.

**In Youth Fraction in Unions**  
In our country outside Russia we succeeded in setting the majority of our membership functioning in union fractions. This must be corrected immediately. It is essential that we have separate communist youth fractions within the union. In order to make this effective it is doubly necessary for every league member to be a union member. We must also formulate our youth demands within the union and have them adopted and fought for.

In Germany a dangerous tendency occurred that of leaving the unions. This was largely a result of a similar tendency within the Party after the Left gained control. The E. C. had quickly corrected this and the Ger-

### Y. W. L. MEMBERS ARE ARRESTED FOR GIVING OUT ANTI-WAR PAPERS

**DETROIT, Mich.**—Three members of the Young Workers League, arrested here for distributing anti-mobilization day leaflets published by the Workers Party and League, were released by a German police sergeant on a bond of sympathy when he discovered that they were not opposed to the German people. The young workers going from door to door with party literature, found themselves confronted with drawn revolvers and a demand that they give over the leaflets for inspection. The police failed to discover anything seditious in the leaflets until they came across the name of Trotsky. To flaunt that name was to wave the red flag in the face of the bulls, who promptly escorted the boys to the police station. The sergeant at the station proceeded to a lecture on Americanization, which he cut short upon discovering that the boys did not condemn his particular brand of hyphenism.

man comrades today accept our position.

The French league had a difference with the E. C. regarding the question of youth sections within the trade unions. The E. C. was of the opinion that it was fundamental point of our program that the Young Communist League and only it, was the representative of the young workers in the everyday struggle. If all comrades would understand this point it would help us in our own work in America.

In our educational work we face a real crisis, internationally. It is essential that we realize our own weaknesses and act. During the past period we have gained many new members who have absolutely no background of our movement. Our functionaries are increasing without having received a real training. The task set by the Comintern to Bolshevize our entire organization must be adopted by our congress, and carried into actual practice. This does not mean that we are to fall into the error of becoming an educational sect or of neglecting our everyday work. It means that classes must be formed for every unit of the organization from top to bottom. These classes must teach the necessary Marxist historical background to our membership.

**SCHUELLER** then dealt briefly with the Agrarian and opponent youth and sports problem. Little had been done on these fields comparatively speaking. Each of these must receive the necessary attention of the Congress. **Children's Movement Developing** In children's work we had been very successful. A special feature of this work was the fact that the newer leagues, America, Great Britain, Canada, etc. had organized fine thriving junior sections, while the older leagues, Germany, Sweden, Norway, etc., had not increased this activity among the children. Papers were established in all the leading countries during the past period. This work must be continued as it is another source of bringing new trained life into the league.

Touching upon press, he said that the press, both international and national had improved. Internationally, we were issuing the papers regularly now. Many pamphlets had been printed in German and smaller amounts in the other languages. All of our national organs had improved in their make-up and many of them had been able to become weeklies or at least bi-weeklies. Especial mention was made of the great improvement in the American and Swiss papers.

He then took up the various leagues, dealing with the work accomplished and the tasks before them. In 1922 the Russian league numbered 252,000. Today it has in its ranks 840,000. A change in the composition of the league has also been attained. In 1922 only 26 per cent of the membership were industrial workers. Today this has been increased to 40 per cent. A decided change in the age of the membership has also been accomplished. Unlike other leagues, the average of the Russian league was a little low. The consequence has been as follows:

- 1922.
  - 10 per cent between 14 and 15 years
  - 30 per cent between 15 and 17 years
  - 30 per cent between 17 and 19 years
  - 21 per cent between 19 and over.
  - 1924.
  - 7 per cent between 14 and 15 years
  - 22 per cent between 15 and 17 years
  - 34 per cent between 17 and 19 years
  - 37 per cent between 19 and over.
- As a result, the character of the work of the league has changed. Today in Russia the Young Communist League is the representative of the young workers in factory, trade union, or elsewhere. The slogans of the Russian league are: Organize ev-

ery young industrial worker in Russia. Organize the peasant youth. At present only eight per cent of the league membership belong to the party. The league has decided to increase this to twenty-five per cent before the next congress. In every respect the Russian league is the pride of the international.

Much good work has been conducted by the German league. It has been especially successful in shop nuclei activities. Considering its size, more could have been accomplished on the economic trade union field. Due largely to this nuclei activity, membership increased to 70,000 prior to the October defeat. At this time, when the party and league were driven into illegality the membership dropped to 35,000. The league has drunk at the fountain of experience due to this occurrence, and many mistakes committed in the past will be avoided in the future. A healthy reaction has taken place and the membership has already increased to 45,000. Increased activities are noticeable. The German league must set itself a goal of 100,000 members within the next year.

The French league stands foremost in the fields—namely, anti-militarist and economic trade unionism. Some difference had occurred with the French league relative to the establishment of youth sections within the trade unions, but the congress felt that the best way to liquidate this opposition of our French comrades was an order to further increase their economic trade union activity.

**A** CONSIDERABLE increase in membership has taken place and a good start in nuclei work is also noticeable. This must be increased as well as a definite start made in the sport and agrarian questions.

After a long period of crisis the Czechoslovakian league is in a healthy condition. This is due primarily to their activity in reorganizing and building their league upon the basis of shop nuclei. Since conditions are favorable it is necessary that the league recruit a substantial number of new members. The executive committee demanded a membership of 30,000.

Repeating what Comrade Zinoviev stated in the Comintern Congress, that "Great Britain is today the most important country confronting the Communist movement." Schueller pointed out that at last we had a healthy nucleus of an organization in Great Britain. Already the league had made successful attempts on the economic field, especially among the miners. A successful children's movement had also been launched. It was necessary that the young league intensify its work among the masses and in the trade unions. The British league had a clear field and great opportunities to organize a mass movement upon the shop nuclei basis.

**Y. W. L. Going Forward.**  
The American league, according to Comrade Schueller, was gradually feeling its way towards a mass movement. The conditions were very favorable for building the American league upon the basis of nuclei and it was essential that it was completely built upon this form of organization in the future. A beginning had been made in economic trade union work. This was not enough. The league must become the leader of the young American workers. Success had attended the children's work in America and undoubtedly America has the best children's movement of any of the English-speaking countries. Two fields of work which must be considered in the future are sports and agrarian. A definite start on these two and an increase in the work already started is necessary. (Special articles dealing in detail with the American league and the problems before it will appear separately.—Ed.)

### The National Executive Committee at Work

Let's make the Young Workers League a young workers organization! In conjunction with the policy of the international to lower the age limit within the movement, our N. E. C. has followed suit. We want to make sure that the young run the organization, and that the older elements transfer their field of activity from the Y. W. L. to the W. P. As a consequence, it is trying to shape its work in such a fashion that the younger members of the committee be drawn more and more into responsible position, and that others, not on the N. E. C. be drawn into national work. With the next convention of the League we expect to have members like Edwards, Abern, Carlson, Gannes and Borgeson leaving the youth movement behind them. But not only is this rejuvenation to take place in the N. E. C. in the districts and cities the same process must begin now of training newer and younger members for positions of leadership with the older members preparing to go more and more into the work of the party. In fact, the N. E. C. is insistent that the process begin at once and all over the country to make the league a real league of youth.

Besides this, the N. E. C. is out to tighten up the organization, to make it function rapidly and thoroughly and as an entity. In short, it is following the slogan of BOLSHEVIZING the league as outlined by the recent congress of the Y. C. I.—and in this respect one of the things it intends to do is to ENFORCE DISCIPLINE. Not that alone, but it has also planned a systematic campaign of work for the period between now and the national convention.

In accordance with a decision of the N. E. C. we publish regularly a synopsis of the most important decisions of the N. E. C. and the secretary in the Young Worker, we publish the decisions of the National Executive Committee, 3rd and 13th.

Carlson made member of N. E. C. The national executive committee consisting of Abern, Carlson, Kaplan and Williamson elected to make thorough examination of condition of league and report ways and means of improving financial condition. Book by Gannes to be published serially in Young Worker after examination by editorial committee. All members of the Y. W. L. refusing to comply with N. E. C. decisions in anti-militarist activity be punished, such punishment to range from suspension to expulsion. A special committee be appointed to investigate all cases and bring in recommendation on same. Carried unanimously.

Report on Y. C. I. Congress made by Y. W. L. delegation. Williamson presented written statements on detail of delegation. Edwards gave detailed verbal report. Carlson reported on American delegation. Kaplan reported as minority delegate at congress.

The following motion was then adopted: That we accept the report of the delegates and declare their ac-

It is impossible to take up all the leagues at this time. Hence it to say that progress was witnessed in all cases but the executive committee made criticism of all leagues.

The decisions of the third congress had proved themselves to be absolutely correct, and aside from supplementing various decisions, our principal task must be, as ever before, to build a mass organization. Today the Russian league is a real mass organization. Our other leagues must all become such.

A peculiar feature with which we are confronted is the vast difference of membership between the league and the party in every country. While the E. C. does not expect the league membership to be as great as that of the party in all countries, it is essential that a closer membership relationship come about. Aside from the Russian league which has practically doubled the membership of the party, our Swedish league is the only other one whose membership is equal to that of the party.

**THE** international has made great progress during the past year, but now as in the past, our fundamental slogan must be: "To the Masses!" And this can be attained only thru building our league upon the shop nuclei basis and by being active in every field of activity given us by the congress. Our aim must be a mass organization both in numbers and in influence.

**Shop Nuclei—Again.**  
A splendid report on shop nuclei was given by Comrade Olypiere. He dealt in detail with the progress made by the various leagues on this field giving the number of nuclei and the percentage of the membership already reorganized. He pointed out that the decisions of the third congress and the fourth bureau session on nuclei work had proved themselves to be correct, and our task at the present congress was to lay out more extensive plans on the actual transformation in its final stages and the organizational relationship after the complete reorganization.

Many of the difficulties that confronted the older leagues would be avoided by the newer leagues, such as those of America and Great Britain, where it was unnecessary to go thru the old system of territorial branches. This could be eliminated by building the American league upon the basis of shop nuclei from the ground up. No more territorial branches should be organized. We would then bring into the basic units of our organization an influx of real proletarian elements. The present membership would at the same time be gradually reorganized until we were completely upon the new basis.

To the degree that the various leagues were active in nuclei formation did they strengthen their ranks and increase their activity. This is only natural, since the masses of young workers are in the industries and the nucleus offers the method of organizing them. Our economic trade union work receives great impetus from the various nuclei since they are in a key position to further this work from inside the factory. In fact, we must lay it down as a rule that our tasks generate from the workshop.

During the past period as start has been made by all leagues. Some have been silenced, and practice itself has shown the superiority of the new form of organization. While the past decisions hold good in every respect, it is necessary to extend our slogan from "Organize shop nuclei" to the slogan "Reorganize the league on the basis of shop nuclei. A new impetus must be given the nuclei work driving forward to the COMPLETE REORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE.

(To be continued.)  
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### CHICAGO ACCEPTS Y. C. I. REPORT; CALL ON N. E. C. TO ACT STRONGLY AGAINST ALL DISRUPTIVE STRIFE

One of the best membership meetings yet held in Chicago by the Young Workers League heard a report by Oliver Carlson, on behalf of the American delegation to the fourth congress of the Young Communist International, in the name of the national executive committee of the league.

Comrade Carlson, who has been a member of the executive committee of the international since he gained experience and wide knowledge of the movement all over the world, reported on the new developments in the Young Communist movement since the last congress was held.

At the end of the report questions were asked and discussion followed, from which it appeared that the assembled comrades were in complete agreement with the report on the Y. C. I.

**Propose Resolution.**  
Comrade Valeria Melts, city secretary of the league, proposed a resolution of endorsement of the report and calling upon the National Executive Committee to deal drastically with any attempts upon the part of individuals or groups to promote faction-

alism in the Young Workers' League. The resolution which was unanimously adopted, reads as follows:  
We accept the report made in behalf of the American delegation to the Y. C. I. and endorse the decision of the Y. C. I.  
We pledge whole-hearted support to the work to be carried on as outlined by the Y. C. I. under the guidance of the National Executive Committee;  
In order that this can be accomplished as quickly and efficiently as possible, we urge upon the N. E. C. that it take drastic measures against all individuals or groups who promote or continue factional strife to the detriment of the welfare of the Young Workers' League.

tions and declarations were correct and proper; that we do not accept the policy and statements of comrade Kaplan at the congress of the Y. C. I. in regard to the American delegation, which are incorrect and slanderous upon the N. E. C. and upon the Party C. E. C. in particular. That we approve of the decision of the 4th congress of the Y. C. I. and the 6th congress of the C. I. as well as of the statement of the American Commission of the Y. C. I.; that this report in the Young Worker explain the whole case of the American problem before the Y. C. I. be published in the Young Worker. (This will appear in our next issue—Ed.)

Election of a secretary—Carlson, Abern, Williamson. No delegate allowed to report to branches without Chicago membership meeting. To be ruled thru principal districts to report on Y. C. I. congress.

At the meeting of the 18th, the report of the secretary, together with proposed outline of work for Y. W. L. up to date of national convention was accepted. (See next issue of Young Worker—Ed.)

The secretary's recommendations for the N. E. C. were accepted. The composition of these committees appears on another page in this issue.